

GAZNEVÎ MAHMÛD: A NEGLECTED OTTOMAN CLERK
HIS CAREER, MISCELLANY, AND HIS RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY
NETWORK

by
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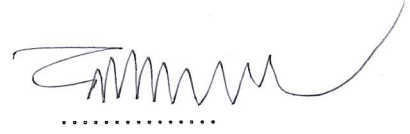
Sabancı University

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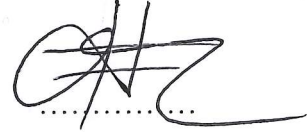
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ABSTRACT

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M.A. Thesis, July 2017

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Tülay Artan

Keywords: Gaznevî Mahmûd, Miscellany, Naqshbandi, Network, Clerk

This study aims to reveal the religious and literary network that existed around Gaznevî Mahmûd, an Ottoman clerk who had a passionate desire to advance along the bureaucratic ladder of the late seventeenth century Ottoman Empire. To this end, this thesis traces the characteristic features of the network in which Gaznevî Mahmûd, a pious poet and bureaucrat, was situated; it does so by utilizing archival documents pertaining to a *waqf* established in the name of Gaznevî Mahmûd, alongside an analysis of the poems composed by several other poets for inclusion into Gaznevî's miscellany. Through these methods, this study attempts to uncover the strength of Gaznevî Mahmûd's affiliations with adherents of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order, and with other high-ranking clerks who were in the service of the Imperial Council or various vizierial households. In addition to this main objective, this study also aspires to construct a plausible biography and career history of Gaznevî Mahmûd; in this, it will depend primarily upon archival documents, as most previous research has largely neglected the topic due to the paucity of information regarding his life and career. Finally, this study aims to understand the reasons behind the completion of Gaznevî's miscellany, and what motivated him to take on such a large project in the first place.

ÖZET

GAZNEVÎ MAHMÛD: İHMAL EDİLMİŞ BİR OSMANLI KÂTİBİ MESLEK HAYATI, MECMUASI, DİNİ VE EDEBİ ÇEVRESİ

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Keywords: Gaznevî Mahmûd, Miscellany, Naqshbandi, Network, Clerk

Bu çalışma, geç on yedinci yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bürokratik basamakları tırmanmak isteyen aşırı hırslı bir Osmanlı kâtibi olan Gaznevî Mahmûd'un etrafında vücut bulan dini ve edebi çevreyi ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla bu tez, dindar bir şair ve bürokrat olan Gaznevî Mahmûd'un içinde bulunduğu çevrenin kendine özgü niteliklerinin izini, Gaznevî Mahmûd mecmuasına derç edilmek için birkaç şair tarafından yazılan şiirlerin tahlilinin yanısıra, onun adına kurulan bir vakfa ait arşiv belgelerini değerlendirerek sürmektedir. Bu yöntemler sayesinde, bu çalışma Gaznevî Mahmûd'un Nakşibendi-Müceddidi tarikatının müritleriyle ve Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn'da veya çeşitli vezir konaklarında hizmet veren üst düzey kâtiplerle olan bağlantılarının kuvvetini ortaya çıkarmaya teşebbüs etmektedir. Bu asıl amaca ilaveten, bu çalışma ayrıca Gaznevî Mahmûd'un muhtemel yaşam öyküsü ve meslek hayatı geçmişi esasen arşiv belgelerine dayanarak yazmayı amaç edinmektedir; çünkü önceki çalışmaların çoğu Gaznevî Mahmûd'un hayatına ve meslek geçmişi dair yetersiz bilgiden dolayı bu konuyu ihmal etmiştir. Son olarak, bu çalışma Gaznevî mecmuasının derlenmesinin arkasında yatan sebepleri ve Gaznevî Mahmûd'u en başta böyle bir tasarıyı üstlenmeye sevk eden etkeni anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

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INTRODUCTION

Sebeb-i te'lîf

Classical Ottoman poetry is characterized by a number of prevalent tropes, and common among these “repeated formulaic descriptions”¹ is the dream or vision that leads the author to the creation of a work. Yet it was not a dream or some supernatural voice that led me to prepare a thesis on Gaznevî Mahmûd’s “miscellany” – that is to say, which led me to study his compiled collection of miscellaneous poems and other artistic documents. In fact, when *Hocam* Tülay Artan gave me the name of the miscellany at the very beginning of the first year of my master’s program, and encouraged me to look at it further, I must admit that both Gaznevî and his miscellany left me greatly confused. After undertaking a short survey of the extant literature, however, I realized that the amount of research available pertaining to Gaznevî and his miscellany was actually very small, and more importantly, even those who had written about Gaznevî’s miscellany have so far been unable to present a comprehensive biography of its composer. More precisely, there was almost nothing yet written about Gaznevî’s career and life story. In such a situation, every new finding could represent a remarkable contribution to the field. Since those who have already touched upon Gaznevî and his miscellany in their own research have written that he was not mentioned in many well-utilized primary sources, such as the biographical dictionaries, I decided to focus my research on the collections of the Ottoman Archives instead. After making a cursory survey in the Archives, I realized that contained within were several documents concerning a *waqf* established in the name of Gaznevî Mahmûd. When I examined these documents, I noticed that they referred to Gaznevî’s social status, his family, and to the official duties that he fulfilled. For this reason, I decided to explore the remaining sources and write a possible biography and career history of Gaznevî Mahmûd.

¹ I have adopted this usage from Aslı Niyazioğlu’s article on Nev’î-zâde ‘Atâ’î’s reasons for composing *Meşnevîs*. See Aslı Niyazioğlu, “The Very Special Dead and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Poet: Nev’î-zâde ‘Atâ’î’s Reasons For Composing His *Meşnevîs*,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 25 (2008): 224.

Furthermore, I was led to study Gaznevî's miscellany by the rather unsatisfactory status of current research on the subject. Although a small number of scholars, such as Uğur Derman, Yıldız Demiriz, Süheyl Ünver, Gülbün Mesara, and Filiz Çağman, have already touched upon the miscellany in their own studies, not one of them has chosen to examine the miscellany closely in a separate and comprehensive study. While all of the aforementioned researchers have noticed the importance of Gaznevî's decorative paper works (*kat'ı*), a new and more comprehensive study has not yet been done of his poetry, including the poems recorded in his miscellany. When I began to make transcriptions of the poems, however, I became aware that a few of the poems were, in fact, composed by other poets. Accordingly, I became convinced that the production of the miscellany was hardly some solitary enterprise, and in fact many other individuals had made significant contributions to the miscellany during its preparation process. After an initial investigation into the poets who had composed poems for the miscellany, I realized that all of them were contemporaries with Gaznevî Mahmûd. From this discovery, I began to think about the literary and religious networks in which Gaznevî was situated. This study developed as a consequence of these initial thoughts. Though my focus here is specifically on Gaznevî and his literary circle, since nobody before has, to my knowledge, focused on the poems written down in the miscellany, I have also included a chapter studying the miscellany's poetic content.

In the first chapter, I will attempt to write a possible biography and career history of Gaznevî Mahmûd. To this end, the chapter will be organized into three main sections. In the first section, I will try to briefly summarize what has already been written about Gaznevî's life and career story, and point out the gaps in current scholarship and the difficulties the extant primary and secondary sources present. In the second section, we will take into consideration the archival documents concerning Gaznevî's *waqf*, and from these documents I will attempt to reconstruct Gaznevî's life and career. Lastly, once more with reference to the archival sources, I will describe Gaznevî's *waqf* in greater detail; incorporating a charity school (*mekteb*), an inn (*han*), and a fountain (*çeşme*), Gaznevî's *waqf* was a major part of his life and demands a more in-depth discussion. In this chapter, I also intend to uncover Gaznevî's personal inclinations and skills, utilizing the same archival documents concerning his *waqf*.

The second chapter will focus on the miscellany itself, and will attempt to examine how and why Gaznevî Mahmûd composed such a work in the first place. In contrast to the claims of previous research, it appears as though the composition of the miscellany

took a considerable amount of time. It also appears, as stated above, that Gaznevî's main purpose in composing a miscellany was to arouse the interest of the sultan and to advance his position at the state office. In addition to this, by taking the seals emplaced on to the miscellany into account, I will also assert that one of Gaznevî's main reasons for creating the miscellany was to give solace to the sultan, who had become demoralized following the catastrophic defeat at Vienna in 1683. Aside from these claims, I will also, naturally, examine the miscellany and introduce it to those who are not acquainted with it. Nevertheless, it is important to note that I will only focus here on the poems written down in the miscellany. Other areas of potential interest, including the miscellany's decorative paper works, paintings, and ornamentation, are not the primary subject of this study and will be left for future research.

In the third chapter, I will mainly focus upon the identification of Gaznevî's religious affiliation. In order to do so, it is necessary to consult both archival documents and Gaznevî's miscellany; from these sources, I will try to evaluate the strength of the relationship between Gaznevî and the disciples of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. Of particular importance are 'İzzî and Hâdî, two Naqshi-Mujaddidi poets who composed poems for Gaznevî's miscellany; based upon this connection, I will argue that Gaznevî likely possessed close bilateral relations with adherents of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. I will also examine the transfer of Gaznevî's *waqf*, following Gaznevî's death, to the nephew of *Şeyhülislam* Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi, a celebrated Naqshi-Mujaddidi figure of the first half of the eighteenth century. Taking all of these together, it seems clear that Gaznevî likely had strong ties with Naqshbandis of the time. However, before focusing on Gaznevî's relations with the Naqshbandis, I will briefly summarize the history of the Naqshbandiyya and their presence within the Ottoman Empire.

The fourth chapter aims to focus on the literary and bureaucratic network in which Gaznevî was situated. Looking at the poems composed by Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, Hâdî, Nahîfî, and 'İzzî, poets who all contributed to Gaznevî's miscellany, I will try to examine the characteristics of the network that had formed around Gaznevî as a central figure. For this purpose, after presenting the biographies of the aforementioned poets, I will evaluate the content of their poems. In doing so, I will demonstrate that Gaznevî's main purpose for including this array of poets was, in fact, more mundane than pure aesthetic or literary pleasure; in fact, he stood to gain worldly benefits from reaching out to this network. By including poems from poets, most of whom were renowned clerks in the Imperial Council

(*Divan-ı Humayun*) or the vizierial courts, he may have been attempting to develop a more intimate relationship with the sultan.

SOURCES

a- Primary sources

Archival documents, consisting of an account book transferred from the Financial Office (*Mâliyeden müdevver defter*) and registers concerning Gaznevî's *waqf*, are the only primary sources from which we can derive a possible career history of Gaznevî Mahmûd, and are key to his relations with adherents of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. The biography of Gaznevî has been left almost entirely unreconstructed and unrecorded, both by the biographers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and by contemporary research; this has been due to the paucity of primary source material on the subject. My attempt to produce a biography of Gaznevî is thus, to some extent, exceptional. However, since the number of archival documents utilized here is also very limited, and mostly restricted to Gaznevî's *waqf*, this attempt at producing a biography of Gaznevî will necessarily contain many gaps and omissions. Furthermore, since all of these documents are official legal records, they may not have necessarily reflected the reality of certain situations in Gaznevî's life. Nevertheless, by making critical readings of them, I will attempt to describe, as accurately as possible, the course of Gaznevî's life, career, and his affiliations with various Naqshi-Mujaddidi disciples.

b- Secondary sources

Uğur Derman was the first researcher to examine Gaznevî's miscellany, which he did in a brief article from 1974.² In this short space, he focused primarily on the decorative paper works (*kat'ı*) produced by Gaznevî. He also evaluated the degree of Gaznevî's ability in poetry, calligraphy, painting, decoration, and ornamentation. According to Derman, Gaznevî was not as talented as the classical Ottoman poets in composing poems; his degree in calligraphy was upper intermediate, but not expert; and his paintings and ornamentations were advanced in terms of their profundity and depth of meaning, but quite workmanlike in terms of actual technique. It was only in the arts of decoration and bookbinding that Derman judged Gaznevî to have been very successful. Having given his

² Uğur Derman, "Benzeri olmayan bir sanat albümü: Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası," *Türkiyemiz* 14 (1974): 17-21.

opinions regarding the miscellany itself, Derman also provides us with some biographical detail about Gaznevî Mahmûd: he was a Turk, having his origins in Central Asia/Ghazni; he lived in İstanbul in the 17th century, and lived in Bosnia for a time as well. Except for the poems written down in the miscellany itself, however, Derman failed to present evidence that would support his arguments. Furthermore, since he focused mostly upon the decorative paper works, paintings, and ornamentation of the miscellany, he neglected to describe in detail the poems composed by Gaznevî and other poets. For this reason, he was unable to discover Gaznevî's affiliations with Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi disciples, as well as his counterparts who had been appointed as clerks in the Imperial Council and the vizierial courts.

Gülbün Mesara and Süheyl Ünver, researchers who focus on the Turkish-Islamic arts of ornamentation, also briefly touch upon Gaznevî's miscellany in their studies.³ In contrast to Uğur Derman, however, they have not analyzed the content of miscellany per se; instead, they have given us some short introductory information about the miscellany's general structure. Without revealing their sources, they state that Gaznevî Mahmûd prepared the whole miscellany himself, including its decorations, binding, ornamentation, and poems. Taking the miscellany's decorative works into account, they also state that Gaznevî was proficient in the decorative arts. While undoubtedly helpful, as their studies do not go into great detail, their research into Gaznevî's miscellany is not satisfactory for a researcher who wants to understand more about Gaznevî's life and his work.

For a more remarkable analysis of Gaznevî's miscellany, we must turn to the works of Yıldız Demiriz, who has focused on the miscellany's decorative illustrations and watercolor flowers. In contrast to Derman, Ünver, and Mesara, Yıldız Demiriz claims that these illustrations may not have been the sole products of Gaznevî himself, considering the variety and heterogeneity of the different decorative paper cuts and paintings contained within the miscellany. Indeed, both in terms of quality and style, each of the paintings, decorations, and ornamentations of the miscellany are quite unique. What makes Demiriz's studies particularly interesting, however, is her effort to give an entry to each folio that includes decorative paper works and watercolor flowers. From this vantage point, it is clear that her contributions are very valuable for understanding

³ Süheyl Ünver and Gülbün Mesara, *Türk İnce Oyma Sanatı: Kaat'ı* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980): 9-10; and Gülbün Mesara, *Türk Sanatında İnce Kağıt Oymacılığı (Kati')* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1998): 26-2

the aforementioned works on paper and paintings. Just like Derman, Ünver, and Mesara, however, she failed to scrutinize the literary content of the poems written down in the miscellany. Indeed, her oversight in this regard is such that the two poems which indicate the miscellany's date of completion were mistakenly translated; as a result of this misreading, her studies regularly repeat the date that Gaznevî completed his miscellany as 1087/1676-77, rather than the correct year of 1097/1685-86. On a more basic level, she was also unable to identify Gaznevî's name when she first wrote about his miscellany in 1986. While she had corrected this by 1999, when she wrote another article on Gaznevî's decorative illustrations and watercolor flowers, it should be clear that there is a dire need for a more comprehensive study on Gaznevî's work.⁴

Finally, we must make mention of Filiz Çağman's invaluable work on the historical development of decorative paper art and its practitioners in the Ottoman Empire.⁵ Though Çağman does examine Gaznevî in her work, even she fails to present new evidence that would allow us to write a comprehensive biography of Gaznevî; furthermore, she does not analyze the poems written down in his miscellany. Instead, she prefers to cite what has already been said by previous authors, such as Derman, Mesara, and Demiriz. Due to her lack of interest in the poems themselves, she is unable to reveal Gaznevî's affiliations with the religious and political groups of his time. Of course, we should bear in mind that her work aspires to be only a brief introduction to Gaznevî's decorative works, rather than a comprehensive study of his poems and his relationships with other components of state and society. Nevertheless, because of the various shortcomings of all extant research on the topic, a new study is clearly needed to introduce Gaznevî, his miscellany, and his socio-political affiliations, to the broader field of Ottoman studies at large. This is the gap that this particular study aims to fill.

⁴ For Yıldız Demiriz's contributions to the literature see Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı kitap sanatında naturalist üslupta çiçekler* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1986): 267-277; "Tuhfe-i Gaznevi (Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası)," *P Sanat, Kültür, Antika* 13 (1999): 46-61; and *Osmanlı kitap sanatında doğal çiçekler* (İstanbul: Yorum Sanat, 2005): 57-65.

⁵ Filiz Çağman, *Kat'ı* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2014): 198-201.

CHAPTER: 1

WRITING A PLAUSIBLE BIOGRAPHY FOR GAZNEVÎ MAHMÛD

In this chapter, I intend to write a plausible biography of Gaznevî Mahmûd, utilizing archival documents pertaining to a *waqf* established in his name. The study of Gaznevî Mahmûd's biography has been largely neglected, and this is true even of the authors of the various biographical dictionaries composed in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. To this end, firstly, I intend to examine the extant primary and secondary sources, to show how Gaznevî Mahmûd was neglected by previous studies. Secondly, focusing on the particular pseudonym adopted by the author, I will claim that Gaznevî Mahmûd was born somewhere in Central Asia; furthermore, I will explore the possible means by which he or his family took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Thirdly, focusing on the archival documents relating to Gaznevî Mahmûd's *waqf*, I will try to reconstruct a plausible life and career story for Gaznevî Mahmûd.

I.1. Gaznevî Mahmûd: A neglected personality

Due to a severe lack of information in the most commonly utilized primary sources, the study of the life and works of Gaznevî Mahmûd has historically been rife with unconfirmed and unsupported statements. This has been particularly true of those secondary sources in which Gaznevî's decorative paper works (*kat'î*)⁶ and poetry are discussed, and even more so when these sources describe Gaznevî's miscellany (alternatively known as *Mecmû'a-i Eş'âr*, Gaznevî Mahmûd *Mecmuası* or *Tuhfe-i Ğaznevî*).⁷ Due to the paucity of sources, even those modern researchers interested in the

⁶ The terms *kaat'î*, *kati'*, *katiğ*, and *kat'î* have been preferred by modern Turkish researchers for describing decorative paper work in Turkish. Following Filiz Çağman's invaluable book, *Kat'î*, I prefer to utilize the same term in this study.

⁷ There are several secondary sources which have included studies of the artistic works of Gaznevî Mahmûd, focused on his miscellany, or have speculated about his life; in this study, I have encountered the following works: Uğur Derman, "Benzeri olmayan bir sanat albümü: Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası," *Türkiyemiz* 14 (1974): 17-

life of Gaznevî, and those interested in his work, have failed to utilize original archival material and have instead repeated unconfirmed speculations, many of which were first made by Uğur Derman.⁸ In researching Gaznevî's miscellany, Derman attempted to find clues about the author's ancestry, and to determine where and when he had lived. Based upon this research, Derman wrote that Gaznevî's hometown was somewhere near Ghazni/Ghazna, that he lived in 17th century İstanbul, and that, at some point, he had lived in Bosnia.⁹

*Ġaznevî lafzen didüm tārīhini mecmū 'anuñ
Oldı biñ toqsan yedi sālinde bu tuhfem tamām*¹⁰ [1097/1685]

O Ġaznevî, I have uttered in words the date of the miscellany
My present has been completed in ten ninety-seven

Derman, taking this last distich of the miscellany into consideration, claims that Gaznevî presented his artistic work to the sultan after completing it.¹¹ Although it is obvious that Gaznevî wrote the aforementioned distich in 1097/1685, it is still unknown if he was actually able to complete the miscellany as stated and present it to the sultan. Yıldız Demiriz's assertion that Gaznevî completed the miscellany ten years earlier, in 1676-77, deserves some attention; in fact, this discrepancy arises from her failure to read the aforementioned distich properly. Even though Derman had read the distich properly

21; Süheyl Ünver and Gülbün Mesara, *Türk İnce Oyma Sanatı: Kaat'ı* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980): 9-10; Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı kitap sanatında naturalist üslupta çiçekler* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1986): 267-277; Nurhan Atasoy, *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans*, ed. and trans. Tülay Artan (Memphis: Lithograph Publishing Company, 1992): 140-141; Gülbün Mesara, *Türk Sanatında İnce Kağıt Oymacılığı (Kati')* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1998): 26-27; Yıldız Demiriz, "Tuhfe-i Gaznevi (Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası)," *P Sanat, Kültür, Antika* 13 (1999): 46-61; Nurhan Atasoy, *A garden for the sultan: Gardens and flowers in the Ottoman culture* (İstanbul: Aygaz A.Ş, 2002): 160-163; Berrin Coşkun, "Klasik Türk Kitap Kaplarının Süsleme Özellikleri ve Kati' Sanatının Bunlar İçindeki Yeri," M. A. Thesis (Gazi Üniversitesi, 2004): 68; Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı kitap sanatında doğal çiçekler* (İstanbul: Yorum Sanat, 2005): 57-65; Süheyl Ünver, *Türk Süsleme Sanatları*, ed. Gülbün Mesara and Aykut Kazancıgil (İstanbul: İşaret, 2010): 252-253; Meryem Nazan Türkoğlu, "Türk Kati' Sanatı ve Sanatçılarından Örnekler," M.A. Thesis (Gazi Üniversitesi, 2011): 25-26; Filiz Çağman, *Kat'ı* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2014): 198-201; Safiye Morçay, "Türk Sanatında Kati'," M. A. Thesis (Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 2014): 221-223. I thank Safiye Morçay for sharing some chapters of her thesis with me before its publication.

⁸ Uğur Derman, "Benzeri olmayan bir sanat albümü: Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası," *Türkiyemiz*, 14 (1974): 17-21.

⁹ Derman, *ibid*, 18.

¹⁰ Mahmud Gaznevi, *Mecmua-i Eş'ar ve resimler*, İÜNEK-TY 5461, fol. 59b.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 19.

back in 1974, Demiriz seems to have ignored this in her own work. In 1986, she produced the following transliteration, with several obvious faults:

*Gaznevi lağza [lafzen] didim tarihini mecmuanın
Oldu bin seksen [doksan] yedi salinde bu tuhfum [tuhfem] tamam.*¹²

There are several issues with this transcription, not the least of which is her creation of two meaningless words (*lağza*, *tuhfu*). For our purposes, the more important mistake here is her misreading of the completion date, by substituting “eighty” (*seksen*) instead of the correct “ninety” (*doksan*). A similar mistake is made by Nurhan Atasoy in her book, *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans*. Despite correctly indicating that Gaznevî’s miscellany was completed in 1097/1685, she inadvertently confuses the dates even further, writing of the miscellany that it “contains poems written by Mahmud Gaznevi for Sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603).”¹³ As can be understood from both the poems themselves and the date, the miscellany was prepared not for Mehmed III, but for Mehmed IV (1648-1687), over eighty years later.

At this point, the shortage of information about Gaznevî’s life and works is already becoming rather apparent. As was already stated by Derman, there is no information about Gaznevî’s life in the most well-known biographical sources.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, the main reason behind this problem is the negligence of the authors of the biographical dictionaries (*tezkire*) of the 17th and 18th centuries regarding Gaznevî Mahmûd’s poetry. The biographical dictionaries of Yümnî (d. 1662), Rızâ (d. 1671), Âsım (d. 1675), and Güftî (d. 1677), all biographers of the 17th century, and of Safâyî (d. 1726), Mücîb (d. 1727), Belîğ (d. 1729), Sâlim (d. 1743), Râmiz (d. 1784), Silahdâr-zâde (d. ?), and Safvet (d.?), the biographers of the 18th century, do not contain any entries about Gaznevî’s life and poetry.¹⁵ For this reason, later biographical sources such as

¹² Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı kitap sanatında naturalist üslupta çiçekler* (İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1986): 267; “Tuhfe-i Gaznevi (Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası),” *P Sanat, Kültür, Antika*, 13 (1999): 48; *Osmanlı kitap sanatında doğal çiçekler* (İstanbul: Yorum Sanat, 2005): 57.

¹³ Nurhan Atasoy, *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans*, ed. and trans. Tülay Artan (Memphis: Lithograph Publishing Company, 1992): 141.

¹⁴ Derman, *ibid*, 17.

¹⁵ See Mehmed Salih Yümnî, *Tezkire-i Şu’arâ-yı Yümnî*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013); Zehrî Mârzâde Seyyid Mehmed Rıza, *Tezkire-i Rızâ*, ed. Gencay Zavotçu (İstanbul: Sahhaflar Kitap Sarayı, 2009); Kazasker Âsım, *Zeyl-i Zübdetü’l-eş’ar*, ed. Mansurîzâde Mehmed Emin, İÜNEK-TY 1711 (1121/1709); Güftî, *Teşrifatü’ş-Şu’arâ*, ed. Kâşif Yılmaz (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2001); Mustafa Safâyî, *Tezkire-i Safâyî*, ed. Pervin Çapan (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2005); Manzurîzâde Mustafâ Mücîb, *Tezkire-i Mücîb*, ed. Kudret Altun (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1997); İsmail Belîğ, *Nuhbetü’l-âsar li-zeyl-i zübdetü’l-eş’ar*, ed. Abdülkerim Abdulkadiroğlu (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 1985); Kadıasker Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkire-i Sâlim*, ed. Ahmed Cevdet (Dersaadet: İkdâm Matbaası, 1310/1894); Râmiz, *Ramiz ve Âdab-ı Zürefâ’sı: inceleme-tenkidli metin-indeks-sözlük*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Ankara:

Osmanlı Müellifleri, Sicill-i Osmânî, Eslâf, Esâmî, which were prepared using the earlier biographical dictionaries, also do not include entries about Gaznevî.¹⁶ In addition to these sources, there is no entry on the life and works of Gaznevî Mahmûd in other well-known reference works, such as *Vekâyi'ü'l-Fudalâ, Tekmîletü'ş-Şakâ'ik*, and *Hadîkâtü'l-Cevâmi*.¹⁷ Although the chronicles are, generally speaking, significant sources for understanding the life stories of ignored political figures,¹⁸ the chroniclers of the relevant period are also silent about the life and career of Gaznevî Mahmûd. For this reason, one cannot write Gaznevî's life story by depending solely upon renowned chronicles of the late 17th and early 18th centuries.¹⁹ Due to the dearth of information in the biographical dictionaries, it is in fact the poems written by Gaznevî Mahmûd that, despite their limited numbers, can be seen as the most significant source for the study of Gaznevî's life. Nevertheless, as İsmail Erünsal as so eloquently put, one must be wary of taking the poems of the poet as truth, since he has different personalities in poetry and life:

The works of the poet himself will, of course, be the first and most reliable source for his own biography. In this way can be shown to some extent the relationship between his life and his poetry, admittedly very slight and tenuous... Unless they could be substantiated from other sources, it was thought best to ignore them. In fact, the persona of the Ottoman poet was

Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994); Silahdârzâde Mehmed Emîn, *Tezkire-i Silahdârzâde*, ed. Furkan Öztürk (İstanbul: DBY, 2015); Kemiksizzâde Mustafâ Safvet, *Nuhbetü'l-âsâr min ferâidi'l-eş'âr*, ed. Reşid Hüseyin, İÜNEK-TY 6189 (1235/1820).

¹⁶ When it comes to writing the life story of an Ottoman poet in the Classical Turkish Literature, the most generally favored method is to consult biographical dictionaries and later biographical sources which are, themselves, based on the previous sources. For shortcomings of such a method see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Arşivlerin Önemi," in *Edebiyat Tarihi Yazıları: Arşiv kayıtları, yazma eserler ve kayıp metinler* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2016): 137-140.

¹⁷ See Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vols. 1-2, ed. A. Fikri Yavuz and İsmail Özen (İstanbul: Meral Yayınevi, 1972-75); Mehmed Süreyyâ, "Mahmud," in *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 3, ed. Nuri Akbayar (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996): 907-928; Fâik Reşâd, *Eslâf: eski bilginler, düşünürler, şairler*, trans. Şemsettin Kutlu (İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, 1975); Muallim Nâci, *Esâmî: Millet-i İslâmîyye'de en ziyade şöhret bulmuş olan ricâl ve nisadan (700) kadarının hurufu heca tertibi üzere muhtasar terâcim-i ahvâlini hâvidir* (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1308/1892); Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Vekâyi'ü'l-Fudalâ*, vols. 3-4, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989); Fındıklılı İsmet Efendi, *Tekmîletü'ş-Şakâ'ik fî-Hakki Ehli'l-Hakâ'ik*, vol. 5, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989); Ayvansarâyî Hüseyin Efendi, Alî Sâtî' Efendi and Süleymân Besîm Efendi, *Hadîkâtü'l-Cevâmi*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001).

¹⁸ Feridun Emecen, "Osmanlı Kronikleri ve Biyografî," *İSAM* 3 (1999): 84. For a comprehensive study on the Ottoman chronicles see also Erhan Afyoncu, "Osmanlı Siyasi Tarihinin Ana Kaynakları: Kronikler," *TALİD* 2 (2003): 101-172. I thank Günhan Börekçi for bringing the latter article to my attention.

¹⁹ In accordance with this purpose, I have scrutinized the following chronicles: Defterdâr Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâyât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995); Râşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi, *Târîh-i Râşid ve Zeyli I: 1071-1134/1660-1729*, vol. 1-3, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır, and Ahmet Zeki İzgöer (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013).

*quite distinct from the actual personality of the man, and this distinction is deliberately maintained.*²⁰

Accordingly, we will need other sources in order to write the biography of a poet who was neglected by his contemporaries. In this regard, archival records can be extremely beneficial for a researcher intending to pen the life story of a poet, for “almost all poets appeared in official records either in this or that way, since they were in the civil service or because they established a relationship with the court and other dignitaries.”²¹ Indeed, when I inquired about Gaznevî Mahmûd in the Ottoman archives, I realized that there were in fact many documents contained there which were related to Gaznevî’s position in the financial department, his charitable foundation (*waqf*), and his socio-religious status. These archival records will, in what follows, represent my most essential source for writing a possible biography of Gaznevî Mahmûd.

I.2. A Preliminary Biography of Gaznevî Mahmûd

As was already mentioned above, there is little debate between modern researchers on the origins of Gaznevî Mahmûd, due to his literary pseudonym (*mahlas*) referring explicitly to his home city. Of course, we should not put too much faith in the relationship between his pen-name and his ancestral homeland, because there were many determining factors that could influence a classical (*divan*) poet’s choice of pseudonym.²² When we look at those classical poets whose pseudonym reflected their geographical origins²³, however, it seems quite likely that Gaznevî was indeed originally from the city or region of Ghazni/Ghazna. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that pseudonyms reflecting the homeland of the poets constitute one of the rarest types of pseudonyms,²⁴ so our sample size is quite small. It is also important to remember that the pseudonym could, and generally did, surpass the poet’s actual name among the literary and general public; these pseudonyms were not used as mere nicknames, but rather were strongly

²⁰ İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca’fer Çelebi*, With A Critical Edition of His Dîvân (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1983): XVIII

²¹ İsmail E. Erünsal, “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Arşivlerin Önemi,” 138.

²² For instance, Ömer Faruk Akün enumerates twelve categories of pen-name, each of which provides multiple reasons for a poet to choose such a name. See Ömer Faruk Akün, “Divan Edebiyatı,” *TDVİA*, vol. 9 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994): 394-397.

²³ J. T. P. de Bruijn, “Takhalluş,” *EI*, vol. X (Leiden: Brill, 1998): 123.

²⁴ Akün, *ibid*, 396.

identified with the poet in the society at-large.²⁵ Regarding the pseudonym of “*Ġaznevî*” in particular, there is an example given by Müstakîm-zâde Süleymân Sa‘deddîn Efendi (d. 1778) in his renowned biographical dictionary, *Tuhfe-i Haţtâtîn*²⁶, that is very remarkable. In his entry about a certain Mustafâ Gaznevî (d. 1699), Müstakîm-zâde states that, due to his teaching post in Gaznevî Mahmûd’s school, Mustafâ earned a reputation as “*Gaznevî Hoca*” among the rest of the populace.²⁷

When we consider the detail as to Mustafâ Gaznevî, and the dearth of information and detail about Gaznevî in the biographical dictionaries, we can conclude that, though Gaznevî Mahmûd may have been fairly well-known in society as a personality, and people may have been aware of his homeland, the writers of biographical dictionaries were likely to have been completely unaware of his poetry, as they did not write even a single entry about him. Müstakîm-zâde was one of those writers who failed to write about Gaznevî Mahmûd in his comprehensive Arabic book, *Mecelletü’n-nişâb fi’n-neseb ve’l-kunâ ve’l-elkâb*, in which he introduced a variety of Turkish and Islamic notables.²⁸ Although he refers to several previous scholars whose pseudonym was also “*Ġaznevî*”, there is no mention of a Gaznevî Mahmûd among them.²⁹ Since it is clear that Gaznevî Mahmûd likely had his origins in Ghazni, his arrival in the Ottoman Empire presents us with further questions. We cannot produce an exact explanation for his arrival, due to a severe lack of evidence in the primary sources available to us, but it is possible to draft a reasonable hypothesis. There were any number of reasons why one might visit the capital of the Ottoman Empire; he may have arrived as a merchant, diplomat, or as a prospective pilgrim. As either one of these, he might have come to the capital through the Hejaz-Damascus-Constantinople route. This latter possibility is the focus of the third chapter;

²⁵ Mehmet Kalpaklı, “Divan şiirinde mahlas üzerine,” *Kitaplık* 45 (2001): 254.

²⁶ For more information about Müstakîm-zâde see Ahmet Yılmaz, “Müstakîmzâde Süleymân Sâdeddîn,” *TDVİA*, vol. 32 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006): 113-115. For his invaluable biographical dictionary of calligraphers see M. Uğur Derman, “Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn,” *TDVİA*, vol. 41 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2012): 351-353.

²⁷ “*Ġaznevî Mahmûd nâm kimesnenüñ hayrı olan mektebe mu’allim olduğda Ġaznevî Efendi Mektebi’nüñ h’âcesi dimekten Ġaznevî H’âce terhîmiyle ihtişâr-ı tab’-ı nâsa enseb olmağla şöret bulmuşdur*” See Müstakîm-zâde Süleymân Sa‘deddîn Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Haţtâtîn*, ed. İbnülemin Mahmûd Kemâl İnâl (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928): 548. Müstakîm-zâde also states that Muştafâ Efendi used “*Ġaznevî*” as his pseudonym in his poems.

This detail was firstly pointed out by Uğur Derman in his article. See the third footnote in “*Gazneli Mahmud Mecmuası*,” 21. See also Filiz Çağman, *Kat’ı*, 198-199.

²⁸ For an introduction about *Mecelletü’n-nişâb* see Ahmet Yıldız, “*Mecelletü’n-nişâb*,” *TDVİA*, vol. 28 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2003): 237-238.

²⁹ Müstakîm-zâde Süleymân Sa‘deddîn Efendi, *Mecelletü’n-nişâb fi’n-neseb ve’l-kunâ ve’l-elkâb*, İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı-AY 1100 (1168/1754): fol. 330a.

for now, however, it is enough to say that, regardless of which theory is believed, proving any particular case is a remarkably difficult exercise when we consider the paucity of hard evidence. Indeed, it is even conceivable to assert that Gaznevî Mahmûd may have been born in İstanbul, or that he may have immigrated to the Ottoman Empire with his family when he was only a child. In fact, based solely upon the poems themselves, we might consider this to be a reasonable guess, as the poems recorded in Gaznevî's miscellany lack the archaic words still in use in Eastern Turkic communities. That is to say, within a sufficiently long period of time, he may have adapted to Ottoman accent and literary manner.

Despite the general shortage of information about the origins and life of Gaznevî, a few records concerning his official duties, his family, and his socio-religious status, exist within the Ottoman archives. A register dated May 4, 1686 (*fî 10 Cumāde'l-āhire sene 1097*), which is the first notice of Gaznevî Mahmûd in the archival records, indicates that Gaznevî was an assistant clerk in the secretarial quarters of the Financial Office (*Ḳā'im-maḳām-ı Tezkire-i Mālīyye*) at some time before the aforementioned date.³⁰ Gaznevî's title in this register, *tezkire*, implies that his main duty in this position was record keeping. Besides this, the other duties of the *tezkireci* included producing summaries of petitions and recording the summaries of legal cases.³¹ The office (*Mālīye kalemi*) in which Gaznevî was appointed during this period was organized under the auspices of the Central Financial Office, and was responsible for financial correspondence and decrees.³² The Central Financial Office, or *Bāb-ı Defterī*, consisted of various offices (*kalem*), and each office was managed by a chief clerk (*hoca*) who controlled junior clerks (*halife*), scribes (*kâtib*), and pupils (*şâgird*). Those who were recruited to these offices were examined by the chief clerk before their appointments.³³ Under these circumstances, it is likely that Gaznevî, too, was examined by the chief clerk,

³⁰ BOA, *Maliyyeden Müdevver Defter-3241*, (1097/1686): 1. This book of registers contains the decrees dating to 1097/1685-1686. At the top of the first page of the book, Gaznevî Mahmûd is mentioned alongside Alî Efendi, the assistant of the Minister of Finance of Rumelia (*Ḳā'im-maḳām-ı Defter-dār-ı Şıḳḳ-ı Evvel*).

³¹ Ziya Karamursal, *Osmanlı Malî Tarihi Hakkında Tetkikler* (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1989): 145.

³² Gülfettin Çelik, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Merkezi Hazinesinin Maliye Büroları," in *Osmanlı Maliyesi: Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, ed. Mehmet Genç and Erol Özvar (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2006): 116; Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi* (İstanbul: Dergah, 1985): 43; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1984): 348.

³³ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*, 335.

but it is difficult to estimate the exact date of his assignment due to a lack of hard evidence.³⁴

Another register, dated November 3, 1756 (*Biñ Yüz Yetmiş senesi Şafer'inüñ tokuzuncı günü*) indicates that Gaznevî Mahmûd was relatively successful in his office in 1680s and was starting to rise through the ranks. In this record, es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil, the appointed trustee (*mütevelli*) of Gaznevî Mahmûd's *waqf*, refers to Gaznevî's title as the "Accountant of Anatolia" (*Muhāsebe-i Anaṭoli*).³⁵ This specific detail is repeated in all other records dating to subsequent years.³⁶ It is clear from the repeated references to Gaznevî as a "*Anadolu Muhasebecisi*" that Gaznevî had risen, from being a mere clerk, into a much more senior position, and that he held this more prestigious office for a long period of time. Some details concerning the role and conduct of a "*Anadolu Muhasebesi*" are, perhaps, necessary; in fact, the position of Anatolian Accountant transformed significantly over the centuries. The office, which was responsible for the regulation of imperial and vizierial *waqfs* established in Anatolia, was formed under the aegis of the Central Financial Office (*Bâb-i Defterî*) in the mid-sixteenth century.³⁷ By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the office had become responsible for recording payments to the beneficiaries of customhouse revenue and tax farms (*mukata'a*), and employees of the office came to be assigned to manage certain *waqfs*. Financial Office employees also became responsible for writing the warrants of newly appointed officers.³⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, the main responsibilities of the office had shifted to encompass the recording of the accounts of various tax farms, as well as the allocation of the official retirees and the stationing of troops on the Mediterranean islands.³⁹ Although these latter responsibilities were considerably more prestigious than those possessed by the earlier iterations of the office, we do not know if Gaznevî was appointed to this office or assigned

³⁴ 18th century Ottoman chronicler Râşid Mehmed (d. 1735) mentions another Mahmûd, who was the son of Hüseyin Pasha and who was appointed to the secretariat of the Financial Office as a clerk in the early days of November 1695 (*28? Rebi'ü'l-evvel 1107*). However, since the date of the assignment indicates a later decade the aforementioned Mahmûd might be irrelevant to our purposes. See Râşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid ve Zeyli I: 1071-1114/1660-1703*, vol. 1, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, Yunus Uğur, Baki Çakır, and Ahmet Zeki İzgöer (İstanbul: Klasik, 2013): 513. The relevant passage is as follows: "... Defter Emîni Hüseyin Paşazâde Mahmud Bey mâliye tezkireciliğine nakl ü tahvîl olunup..."

³⁵ BOA, C. MF. 113/5638/3.

³⁶ I shall refer to them in subsequent section.

³⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *ibid*, 341.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 347.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 355.

these duties due to his presentation of the miscellany to the Sultan, or because of some other reason. Considering the evidence available to us, it is hard to make a definite statement; nevertheless, it is certainly within the realm of possibility. This situation only grows more complex when we realize that other sources make no mention of Gaznevî's appointment, The *Târîh* of Râşid Mehmed, for example, fails to mention the appointment of Gaznevî to the rank of Anatolian Accountant. Indeed, we possess only three records concerning appointments to this office during this time period: one regarding Alî Efendi, who was the Accountant of Anatolia before August 20, 1685⁴⁰, one for es-Seyyid Yahyâ Efendi, who was dismissed from the office on February 12, 1695⁴¹, and a final record of a Küçük Müezzîn Mehmed Efendi, who was the head of the office from October-November 1695 to October 1697.⁴² Therefore, it is possible that Gaznevî was appointed to this office either between May/June 1686 and January 1695, or at a later time, between November 1697 and the years 1710/1715.

Apart from his profession and geographical origin, archival records also introduce us Gaznevî's family members, including his wife, and tell us a fair amount about his socio-religious status. These documents can also give us an estimate of his date of death. The register mentioned above, dated November 3, 1756, tells us not only the occupation of Gaznevî Mahmûd, but also his socio-religious status. Due to the fact that this and subsequently written records refer to Gaznevî as a pilgrim (*el-Hâc*), it is clear that he must have visited Hejaz, probably through Damascus. Although there is no available evidence about the exact date of his hajj, it would be logical to assume that he performed the pilgrimage either late in life, or before starting his career. Another register, dated July 4, 1719 (*Fî's-sâdis 'aşere min şehr-i Şa'bānu'l-Mu'azzam min sene ihdā ve şelāşîn ve mi'ete ve elf*) mentions Gaznevî's wife and son, and furthermore tells us about his death. Since Gaznevî is referred to as deceased (*merhûm*) in the document, there is no doubt that he must have passed away before July 1719. We can deduce the date more precisely by looking at the name of Hanîfe Hâtûn, his wife, which is also inscribed on the document. Along with her name, the document also includes a rather enlightening description, as follows: "Lady Hanîfe: the trustee, the mother of the son of the deceased endower"

⁴⁰ See *Târîh-i Râşid*, vol. 1, 284; *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 204.

⁴¹ *Târîh-i Râşid*, 479-480; *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 516.

⁴² *Târîh-i Râşid*, 515, 550; *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, 573.

(*Hanîfe Hâtûn el-mütevelliye ümmi veledi'l-vâkıfu'l-merhûm*).⁴³ While according to Islamic law, the son should be appointed trustee of the deceased father's estate, this role falls to the widow when the eldest son is below the age of puberty. Considering this fact, Hanife's appointment as trustee thus implies that their son was quite young when Gaznevî died; for this reason, we can readily assert that Gaznevî must have died sometime between the years of 1710 and 1719.⁴⁴ Taking all of these into consideration, it is clear that - contrary to Uğur Derman's estimation - Gaznevî lived, at least, up to the end of the first decade of the 18th century.

A further document, dated June 7, 1738 (*Biñ yüz elli bir senesi Şaferiniñ on sekizinci günü*) tells us that Gaznevî's lineage became extinct due to the death of his wife and, presumably, his son.⁴⁵ From this document, we read that es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil, a member of *ulema*, submitted a petition to the *şeyhülislam* es-Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi (d. 1745) and demanded the trusteeship of Gaznevî's *waqf* in the light of the death of Gaznevî's family. Mehmed Kâmil does not give us Hanife's exact date of death, but because he states that the responsibility of trusteeship was held by several other men after her death, she must have passed away a few years before, presumably between 1730 and 1735.⁴⁶ Since there is no mention of Gaznevî's son in this document, it is clear that he must have died sometime before his mother, or else the estate would have naturally fallen to him instead.⁴⁷

I.3. The *waqf* of Gaznevî Mahmûd

The archival records I have utilized here to write a possible biography of Gaznevî Mahmûd, are also the basic sources necessary for the study of Gaznevî's pious

⁴³ BOA, AE. SAMD. III. 176/17085/1.

⁴⁴ For more information about trusteeship in Islamic law see Nazif Öztürk, "Mütevelli," *TDVİA*, vol. 32 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006): 217-220.

⁴⁵ BOA, C. MF. 14/683/1. The aforementioned document is acopy of the original text in a register dated February 27, 1802 (*fî 24 L. sene 1216*).

⁴⁶ "Kıdvetü'l-ulemâ'i'l-muḥakkiḳîn es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil Efendi zîde 'ilmühü 'arz-ḥâl şunup vaḳf-ı mezbûruñ yevmî beş aḳçe vazîfe ile mütevelliyesi olan Ḥanîfe Hâtûn zevce-i Maḥmûd Efendi el-vâkıf müteveffîye ve meşrûṭun-lehi münkâz ve maḥlûl olup tevliyet-i mezbûre her sene bir âdeme virildiği şüretde..."

⁴⁷ Two gravestones located in cemetery of Hacı Mahmud Mosque in Izmir refer to a Ebûbekir Sâkıb Efendi (d. 1245/1829) the grandson of a certain Moravî Gaznevî Mahmûd Efendi, and a Hanîfe Hânım (d. 1272/1855), the daughter of Moravî Hâfız Alî Efendi. Due to the uncanny similarity of these names, it is quite possible to confuse Gaznevî Mahmûd with Moravî Gaznevî Mahmûd Efendi, and Hanîfe Hâtûn with Hanîfe Hânım, at first glance. However, the date of death for these two figures demonstrates that they were actually different personalities. See Necmi Ülker, "İzmir – Hacı Mahmud Camii Haziresi Mezar Kitabeleri (XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıl)," in *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı V/1* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1987): 23 and 30.

foundation, since all of them are also – or, in fact, primarily - related to his *waqf*. A document dated July 4, 1719 (*16 Şa‘bân 1131*) is the earliest record we possess that describes the pious foundations that Gaznevî founded; it indicates that attached to the foundation was a school (*mekteb*) and an inn (*hân*). Since we have no archival records from an earlier date which are related to the *waqf*, the exact year of establishment for these buildings remains unknown; however, two distichs written by ‘İzzî Süleymân (d. 1755) tell us that his school may have been built sometime in 1692/1693:

Gaznevî Mahmûd Efendi nâm hoş-hisâl
Teşnelere aşkı için bir çeşme yaptı bî-misâl
Lafzen u ma‘nen dedi İzzî ânın târîhini
*Sâl bin yüz dördte cârî oldu bu âb-ı zülâl*⁴⁸ [1104 (1692/1693)]

*

Gaznevî Mahmûd Efendi, named the good-natured
Built a fountain for the sake of the thirsty, unprecedented
‘İzzî in words and in sense has uttered its date
This pleasant water flowed in eleven-oh-four

Though from this stanza alone, there is no evidence that the school and the fountain were built in the same year, it is stated in a note above the poem that Gaznevî had built a fountain and school in the Uzunçarşılı neighborhood.⁴⁹ It is likely, then, that they were built together; apart from Ayvansarâyî’s *Mecmû‘a-i Tevârîh*, however, there is no mention of the fountain in the primary sources.⁵⁰ Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî (d. 1787) indirectly refers to Gaznevî’s school in his extensive dictionary, *Hadîkatü’l-Cevâmi‘*, which contains descriptions of the mosques of İstanbul. At the end of his entry on the *masjid* of Yavaşca Şâhin (d. 1478), Ayvansarâyî states that the school of Mahmûd Gaznevî is located near the mosque.⁵¹

From the archival records, we know that the trusteeship of the *waqf* had passed into other hands following the death of the primary trustees, i.e, Gaznevî’s wife and son.

⁴⁸ See Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Mecmû‘a-i Tevârîh*, ed. by Fahri Ç. Derin and Vâhid Çubuk (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985): 391.

⁴⁹ Fahri Derin and Vahid Çubuk incorrectly indicate in the index of the book that the aforementioned school and fountain were built by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579).

⁵⁰ According to a catalogue of fountains dated 1930, the fountain of Gaznevî Mahmûd was still flowing even at this late date. See Kâzım Çeçen, *Mimar Sinan ve Kırkçeşme Tesisleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1988): 221.

⁵¹ Ayvansarâyî, *Hadîkatü’l-Cevâmi‘*, 292.

When Hanîfe Hâtûn passed away in the 1730s, es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil submitted a petition to the *şeyhülislam* es-Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi and demanded the trusteeship of Gaznevî's *waqf*. The stated reason behind Mehmed Kâmil's request was clear and simple: "Since the trusteeship is given to another man each year, it is obvious that the *waqf* will be devastated in a short span of time which is not the demand of its founder(s)."⁵² For this reason, Mehmed Kâmil asked that the *şeyhülislam* assign lifelong trusteeship of the *waqf* to him, his children, and his prospective descendants.⁵³ A record dated May 30, 1801 (*fî 17 M. sene 1216*) indicates that Mehmed Kâmil indeed acquired rights to the *waqf*, and administered it from 1738 to 1801. According to this record, the daughters of the deceased Mehmed Kâmil (Şerîfe Ayşe Hânım, Şerîfe Fâtima, and Şerîfe Emîne) consulted the *şeyhülislam* Ömer Hulûsî Efendi (d. 1812) and requested the escheatment (*mahlûl*) of the trusteeship be reversed, and the *waqf* given over to them.⁵⁴ Another record, dated February 27, 1802 (*fî 24 L. sene 1216*) refers to the death of Emîne, the youngest daughter of Mehmed Kâmil. According to the document, Fâtima and Ayşe consulted the *şeyhülislam* and asked that the portion of the deceased Emîne be transferred to them, since Emîne had died childless.⁵⁵

Although we have no clues about the ultimate condition of the *waqf* under the administration of Fâtima and Ayşe, records dated to the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries demonstrate that the trusteeship of the *waqf* eventually came under the control of the Ministry of Imperial Endowments (*Evkâf-ı Humâyûn Nezâreti*).⁵⁶ A record dated April 3, 1906 (*21 Mârt sene 1322*), for instance, tells us that the *waqf* was annexed to the *waqfs* of Mecca and Medina. In the very beginning of this record, the *waqf* of Gaznevî is described as "the *waqf* dedicated to the

⁵² BOA, C. MF. 14/683/1. "tevliyet-i mezbûre her sene bir âdeme virildiği şürette müddet-i kalîlede harâb olması bedîhî ve bu mişillü vakf tertîb idenlerüñ murâdı vakfuñ devâmı olmağla..."

⁵³ "...tevcîh kayd-ı hayâtla kendüye ve ba'de vefâtihî şart-ı mezkûre üzre evlâd-ı evlâd-ı evlâdına virilmek üzere..."

⁵⁴ BOA, C. MF. 14/683/1. This record is a copy of the original text, found in a register dated February 27, 1802 (*fî 24 L. sene 1216*). "...babaları mahlûlünde naşb kendülere tevcih ve yedlerine berât-ı 'âlî-şân ihşân buyurulmağ babında..."

⁵⁵ BOA, C. MF. 14/683/1. "...küçük hemşiremüz Emîne Hânım bilâ-veled müteveffîye olmağla hisse-i mahlûlesi bu dâ'iyelerine tevcih ve ihşân ile..."

⁵⁶ The Ministry of Imperial Endowments was found by Sultan Mahmûd II (r. 1808-1839) in 1826 to administrate the imperial *waqfs* founded by previous sultans and their relatives, and to control and regulate all *waqfs* which were in existence in the empire. For more details about the historical transformations of the ministry see Nazif Öztürk, "Evkâf-ı Humâyûn Nezâreti," *TDVİA*, vol. 11 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995): 521-524.

Noble Sanctuaries”.⁵⁷ Considering the fact that *waqfs* which became unmanageable were seized by the Ministry of Imperial Endowments in this period and dedicated to Mecca and Medina,⁵⁸ it is clear that Gaznevî’s *waqf* had been abandoned once again. While we do not know actual reason behind the renunciation of the *waqf* by Mehmed Kâmil’s descendants, it is possible that Mehmed Kâmil’s lineage also may have went extinct, as we do not know if Fâtima and Ayşe gave birth to children or not.

Although we today possess a few archival records about the *waqf* of Gaznevî Mahmûd in the Ottoman Archives, the deed (*vakfiye*) of the *waqf* which contains the conditions of the endower remains lost. For this reason, when the deed of the *waqf* was demanded by the Administration of Elementary Schools (*Mekâtib-i İbtidâiyye İdâresi*) on January 23, 1906 (*10 Kânûn-ı Şânî sene 1321*)⁵⁹, the Ministry of Imperial Endowments (*Evkâf-ı Humâyûn Nezâreti*) replied on 25 March 1906 (*11 Mârt sene 1322*) that “although the *waqf* of the aforementioned school is registered, there is no record of the deed of the *waqf*.”⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the Ministry of Imperial Endowments attempted to establish the most probable deed of the *waqf* using the available archival records. In the document they utilized, the various posts supported by the endowment were enumerated: a teacher (*muallim*), librarian (*hâfiz-ı kütüb*), water drawer (*âb-keş*), gate-keeper (*bevâb*), cleaner (*ferrâş*), reciter of various *suras* (*eczâ-hân*), reciter of Qur’an (*kârî-i hatm-i şerîf*), and a reciter of *sura al-Yâsîn* and *sura al-İklâs* (*Yâsîn-hân, İhlâs-hân*)⁶¹ There are gaps in this listing, however; while the archivists used a document dated July

⁵⁷ BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/3/2. “Haremeyn-i Şerîfeyn’e mülhak evkâfdan...”

⁵⁸ These kinds of charitable foundations were named as *zürri vakıf* in Ottoman legal culture. The founder of the *waqf* would stipulate that the trusteeship of the *waqf* would go initially to his wife and biological children, and then to his prospective grandchildren (*neslen ba’de neslin ve fer’an ba’de fer’in*). In the case of the probable extinction of his lineage, the founder of a *zürri* endowment would devote the revenues of the *waqf* to the charities and impoverished of Mecca and Medina. For further information about *zürri vakıf* see Mustafa Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Haremeyn Vakıfları: XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllar*, (İstanbul: Tatav, 2002):146-153.

As Tülay Artan demonstrates, a similar situation was seen when it came to the imperial endowments: “It was usual for the freehold palace of an official or a member of the imperial dynasty to be bequeathed in *waqf* for the benefactors’ own use, and, following their death, for the use of their children and grandchildren. Only when the family line became extinct would it be leased out, and the rent sent to the Prophet Mosque in Medina or to the poor there and in Mecca.” See Tülay Artan, “The politics of Ottoman imperial palaces: *waqfs* and architecture from the 16th to the 18th centuries,” in *The Emperor’s House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, ed. U. Wall, M. Featherstone, and J. – M. Spier (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 369.

⁵⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/2/1. “...Gaznevî Maḥmûd Efendi Mekteb-i İbtidâ’îsi vakfiyesine lüzüm görülmüş olduğundan sicill-i maḥfûzdan ihrâcıyla irsâli ḥuşûşunda Evkâf-ı Humâyûn Nezâret-i Celîlesi’ne izbârı...”

⁶⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/3/1. “...mekteb-i mezkûr vakfı muḳayyed ise de vakfiyesine dâ’ir ḳayd bulunamadığı...”

⁶¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/3/2.

31, 1756 (4 *Zi'l-kā'ide* 1169) in which abovementioned duties were registered,⁶² in another document dated February 18, 1770 (*fi'l-yevmi's-sānī ve'l-işrīn min-Şevvāli'l-Mükerrem li-seneti şelāşe ve şemānīn ve mi'ete ve elf*) the duties of clerkship (*kâtib*) and calligraphy (*meşk*) were also mentioned.⁶³

The aforementioned documents, of course, refer to the trusteeship of Mehmed Kâmil Efendi, and thus we cannot be sure if the same conditions were instated initially by Gaznevî Mahmûd himself, if they were additions by Mehmed Kâmil; this uncertainty is due to the shortage of records regarding the earlier stages of the *waqf*. It is likely, however, that many of these posts were first established by Mehmed Kâmil, because of the extremely long time that he personally administrated the *waqf*: 63 years, from 1738 to 1801. Furthermore, it was probably Mehmed Kâmil who dedicated manuscripts to the *mekteb* of the *waqf*, because, as was already mentioned, he was a member of *ulema*. The sole reference we do have to the conditions of the *waqf* before Mehmed Kâmil's takeover dates to 1719. According to this document, Gaznevî had stipulated the creation of new donations for the good of his soul in the deed of the *waqf*, and, to this end, a schoolroom (*dershâne*) was built within the borders of the *mekteb*, in order to provide lectures on Islamic jurisprudence (*fikih*).⁶⁴ Apart from these archival documents, the only other notice we have about the *waqf* under the trusteeship of Gaznevî Mahmûd himself is the entry in Müstakîm-zâde's encyclopedia of calligraphers, in which Mustafâ Gaznevî, a teacher in Gaznevî's school, is identified.⁶⁵ Considering the purpose of Müstakîm-zâde's collection, it is clear that this Mustafâ Gaznevî was a calligraphy teacher at the school; for this reason, one of the stipulations of Gaznevî in his original deed must have been the teaching of calligraphy.

Conclusion

Generally speaking, due to the scarcity of information about the life of Gaznevî Mahmûd in biographical dictionaries and other more well-utilized primary sources, it is the archival records which relate to Gaznevî's *waqf* that constitute our most significant

⁶² BOA, C. BLD. 116/5777/3.

⁶³ BOA, C. MF. 105/5245/1.

⁶⁴ BOA, AE. SAMD. III. 176/17085/1. "...mekteb-i şerîfün vakfiyesinde vakfa nemâ ve fazla vâki' oldukça rûhî için ba'zî hayrât ihdâşına... mektebün hudûdî dâhilinde bir ders-hâne binâ olunup yevmi beş akçe vazife ile haftada üç gün fikih-ı şerîf dersi kıra'atı olunmasını..."

⁶⁵ Müstakîm-zâde, *Tuhfe-i Haţtâîrîn*, 548.

source on Gaznevî's life. Although his pseudonym does give us a broad idea about his geographical origin, we have no indisputable evidence to clarify when he or his ancestors came to the Ottoman lands, or when they permanently settled there. Nevertheless, considering the plain language of his poetry, it is in fact possible that he was born in the Ottoman capital, or that he came to the capital at very early age. Archival documents provide us with clues about his later life, including his assignments in the state agencies, as well as allowing us insight into his family, and his *waqf*. Utilizing these documents, we are able to fill in the gaps in his biography; we learn that he may have lived up until the 1710s, that he likely visited the holy cities on pilgrimage, and that his lineage eventually went extinct, with his *waqf* falling into other hands. The archival documents also, in a more subtle way, indicate to us that the miscellany completed by Gaznevî may have played an important role in his advance through the ranks of officialdom. It is clear that he was a rather low-level assistant clerk in the financial office before the completion of his miscellany. Afterwards, however, the records give us undeniable evidence that he attained the position of Accountant of Anatolia, a role of some importance, and which likely occurred as a result of his presentation of the miscellany. Nevertheless, due to the insufficiency of available evidence, we should avoid definite judgement on this point.

CHAPTER: 2

BECOMING FAMILIAR WITH THE *MECMŪ'A*

In this chapter, I intend to focus on the miscellany itself, with an aim towards understanding Gaznevî's artistic process, as well as the possible reasons why he composed such a work in the first place. To this end, I will first briefly introduce the miscellany in terms of its general features. Following this, I will examine Gaznevî's primary motivations in composing the miscellany; this chapter will propose that Gaznevî composed the work not only as a gift to the sultan, but also as a way of gaining stature in the imperial court and aiding in the advancement of his career. Furthermore, by taking the seals emplaced on to the miscellany into consideration, I will further speculate that he may have composed the miscellany as a means to console the sultan following the catastrophic Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683. Lastly, this chapter will focus on the text of the poems contained within the miscellany, and will attempt to examine the aesthetic techniques adopted by Gaznevî himself during the preparation process. While the decorative works included with the miscellany also deserve mention, the main purpose of this chapter is to examine Gaznevî's poetry; further studies of these decorative works can be found in other sources.

II. 1. The general features of the miscellany

Gaznevî's collection, consisting of 60 folios sized 30 by 19 cm and bound in a maroon leather cover, is registered in the catalogue of the Istanbul University Rare Books Library under the title of *Mecmu'a-i eş'ar ve resimler*. Although the miscellany itself does not have an original title, a record on the front page of the miscellany clearly indicates that it was originally comprised of these 60 folios (*'aded-i evrāk-ı hāze'l-mecmū'atü'l-laṭīfe sittün varaḳa*). Since it is known that the miscellany passed into the hands of the Istanbul University Rare Books Library from the imperial library at Yıldız

Palace⁶⁶, the seal emplaced on the top of the front page presumably can be attributed to the collection of Abdülhamîd II. Emplaced upon the front page are two other appropriation records, which demonstrate that the miscellany changed hands multiple times over the course of its life. The former record, written in the form of a Persian – Arabic mixed distich and dated to October / November 1829 (*sene Cā 245*) tells us that a certain Zîver Pasha (d. 1862) owned the miscellany during the year in question (*Ez-lutf-i Hudā-yi cān-perver / İstaşahbehū el-fakîr Zîver*).⁶⁷ The latter record, located near the first, tells us that Yûsuf Bahâeddîn, the son of Zîver Pasha, possessed the miscellany in 1282 / 1865-66, a few years after his father’s death. Unfortunately, since we have no other extant record regarding the circulation history of the miscellany, we do not know how it eventually passed into the collections of the Yıldız Palace Library.

Though the miscellany consisted originally of 60 folios, when we examine it, we discover that one of the folios (56a-b) has been lost. While we lack any information about the contents of the missing folio, considering the fact that the previous (55b) and subsequent (57a) folios are blank, we can conclude that the missing folio was likely also left empty. While it is possible to assume that this somewhat strange organization – multiple blank folios in a row – was an intentional choice by Gaznevî himself, it is more likely that this was due to a rather cursory reorganization of the miscellany after it was, at some point, separated. When we examine the miscellany carefully, we can see that some of the folios were given mistaken page numbers during the collection’s reorganization. As an example, separate distiches of the same eulogy, entitled “Der-sitâyiş-i Sarây-Bosna,” were written in two non-successive folios, 14b and 23a. Since a considerable part of the ode (7 of the 15 distiches) was written down in folio 23a instead of 15a, we can conclude that the current organization of the miscellany is an unreliable indicator of its original state. For this reason, the reorganization of the collection may represent a fruitful area of study for future researchers.

Another point that must be taken into consideration regards the contributors to the miscellany. According to Uğur Derman, who describes Gaznevî as a kind of polymath, the miscellany in its entirety was produced by Gaznevî himself. This includes all of the

⁶⁶ Derman, *ibid*, 17.

⁶⁷ Derman states that Zîver Pasha possessed the miscellany in 1828. According to him, it is likely that the sultan Mahmûd II (r. 1808-1839) bestowed the miscellany on to Zîver Pasha. See Derman, *ibid*, 17. For an introduction to Zîver Pasha’s life and works see Hasan Aksoy, “Zîver Paşa,” *TDVİA*, vol. 44 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013): 474-475.

components of the miscellany: the poems, except those written by Şehdî and Emnî, the decorative paper works, the paintings, and the calligraphic works; according to Derman, all of these components were created and gathered by Gaznevî alone.⁶⁸ Yıldız Demiriz, on the other hand, has argued against this notion, writing that Gaznevî was most likely not the only contributor to the miscellany because the degree of artistic and literary quality fluctuates quite heavily from work to work within the collection. Demiriz gives us the example of the seals contained within the miscellany; according to her, it is possible that many of the seals were produced by another artist who specialized in the art in question.⁶⁹ When we examine the miscellany itself, it seems likely that Demiriz is right in her argument; as will be argued in the fourth chapter, there were at least seven poets who contributed to the miscellany by composing poems, and who were likely solicited by Gaznevî to do so. In addition, it was not Gaznevî but Sırrî who produced the seals we find emplaced on several folios of the miscellany. It is only when we consider the miscellany's calligraphic works that we find something we can attribute wholly to Gaznevî himself; given that he was a clerk who was appointed to the Financial Office as a deputy clerk, and that he became the Accountant of Anatolia in subsequent years, it is certain that he had a thorough education in the calligraphic arts, and thus it is plausible to attribute the collection's calligraphy to Gaznevî's hand alone. Indeed, considering the many poetic works he penned in the *nesih*, *sülüs*, and *ta'lik* styles, it is clear that he was actually a rather talented calligrapher. Nevertheless, Gaznevî states in only one specific *sülüs*-type example, found in *fol. 28b*, that he himself penned the poem (*Hâlini i'lâm için yine mi şimdi Ğaznevî / Bir zârâfet eyleyüp yazdı bu beyti al-ile*); for this reason, we cannot be sure of this conjecture either.

II. 2. The non-poetic works taking place in the miscellany

As has been stated previously this thesis aims to focus on the poems included in the miscellany; nevertheless, some explanatory notes are also necessary in order to introduce the miscellany's decorative paper works, watercolor paintings, and seals to those readers who are unfamiliar with the work itself. To this end, the following notes should be taken into consideration for a better understanding of the miscellany's content.

⁶⁸ Derman, *ibid*, 9.

⁶⁹ Demiriz, "Tuhfe-i Gaznevi," 60.

Before discussing these other elements in greater detail, however, a summary of the poetic content of Gaznevî's miscellany is in order; it is included for reference below.

The form of poem	The number of poem
Quatrain (kıt'â)	66
Separate distich (müfred)	31
Four-feet stanza (murabba')	13
Ode (ğazel)	13
Eulogy (kaşide)	7
Ballad (şarkī)	3
Chronogram (tārīḥ)	2
Unidentified form	2
TOTAL	137

Table 1: The form and number of poems written down into the miscellany

- Decorative paper borders on 9 folios (6a, 8b, 15b, 31b, 32a, 35a, 38b, 39b, 40a)
- Cut-paper poems on 4 folios (18b, 19a, 32b, 42a)
- Watercolor paintings of flowers in vases on 6 folios (20a, 31a, 38a, 39b, 40a, 47b)
- A watercolor painting of the Aynalıkavak Palace on the Golden Horn on folio 25b
- 76 seals emplaced on 7 folios (46b, 47a, 47b, 48a, 48b, 49a, 49b)
- Various decorative paper works with several images of flowers in vases, trees, arched and domed buildings, furniture, and domestic utensils on 17 folios (7b, 10b, 13a, 16a, 21a, 26b, 30a, 31a, 33a, 34a, 35b, 37a, 41a, 48a, 48b, 49b, 50b)

When we examine the decorative paper works pertaining to the aforementioned images, we can categorize and arrange them as follows:

- **Cut-paper flowers in the vases:** This kind of work can be found emplaced on 4 folios (7b, 34a, 35b, 41a) in the miscellany. The vases, the design of which alternatively resemble a bucket (7b), a chalice (7b, 34a) or a pitcher (35b), often hold a variety of flowers, such as roses, cloves, hyacinths, narcissus, and irises which are described on several folios of the miscellany.
- **Trees:** Several decorative trees are also included in the visual repertoire of the miscellany, including a lemon tree (21a), an orange tree (26b), two cypresses (33a), a date palm (37a), and a willow tree (49a). There are also two unidentified decorative trees on folios 48a and 49b, upon the branches of which are emplaced various seals.

- **Arched and domed buildings:** Two realistic examples of Ottoman architecture that are depicted in the miscellany include two decorative single-arched buildings. Within the arches Gaznevî generally places newly sprung grasses and flowers, including several varieties of tulips and crown imperials (13a), as well as other flowers including primroses, irises, tulips, and several varieties of dianthus (41a). The miscellany also included a depiction of a domed building which resembles the dome of a kiosk. Situated within this structure is a water tank with a fountain (33a).
- **Furniture and domestic utensils:** In addition to the previously mentioned decorative paper works, there are also decorative illustrations of furniture and domestic utensils in the miscellany. Among these works include depictions of a fruit nappy (16b), an enamel bowl (50b), a red chest, here constructed out of tissue paper (16a), and a drawer, drawn as if it was made of mother-of-pearl (26b).
- Apart from these decorative paper works, there is also an unidentified decoration found on *fol. 30a* of the miscellany.

II. 3. The reasons behind the composition of the miscellany

Having established that Gaznevî's miscellany was, in all likelihood, a rather involved and complex project with multiple contributors, we now should turn to a more fundamental question: for what purpose did Gaznevî produce such a work? In this section, four possible reasons will be explored: firstly, the miscellany may have been intended as a gift for the sultan; secondly, it may have been utilized to demonstrate Gaznevî's skill in decorative art and poetry; thirdly, it may have been an attempt to ask for the sultan's help; and finally, it may have been intended to give solace to the sultan following the demoralizing defeat at Vienna in 1683.

II. 3. 1. The miscellany as a present

Perhaps the primary motivation for Gaznevî's composition of the miscellany was his desire to prepare a gift for the sultan. Three particular words (*tuhfe*, *nev-tuhaf* and *ihdā*), all of which were regularly used by Gaznevî in his poetry, seem to imply that he prepared the miscellany specifically as a present for the sultan. As was already mentioned in the first chapter, from the language of a chronogram dated to the year 1097/1685, it is clear that Gaznevî composed the miscellany as a present to the sultan (*Oldı biñ toksan*

yedi sâlinde bu tuhfem tamâm).⁷⁰ In another distich, in which he likens the sultan to the sun (*âfitâb*) and the miscellany to solar corpuscles (*zerre*), he states that his miscellany is worthless when compared to the sultan's precious gate (*Āfitâbâ egerçi bu tuhfe / Der-i kadriünde zerreden kemdir*).⁷¹ In addition to “tuhfe”, Gaznevî uses the term “nev-tuḥaf” in two different chronographic distiches as a signifier of his intentions in preparing the miscellany.⁷² According to both distiches, it is clear that he composed the miscellany as a gift to the sultan.⁷³

“İhdâ,” which literally means “giving gift”, is another word used by Gaznevî as a signifier of his purpose in producing the miscellany. In the third poem of the miscellany, using the poetic technique of self-interrogation (*istifhâm*), he asks himself to compose a book (in this context, the miscellany) as a present so that he might receive the support of the sultan (*Hâzret-i sulṭāna ihdâ bir kitâb itmez misin / Sâye-i devlet-penâhı iktisâb itmez misin*).⁷⁴ In the first distich of one quatrain, in which he refers to the miscellany as a keepsake (*yâdigâr*), he, again, implies that he produced the miscellany as a gift for the sultan (*İdüp ihdâ-yı şâh-ı kâim-kârı / Muşanna' naķışla bu yâdigârı*). Another poem in which Gaznevî uses both *tuhfe* and *ihdâ* in the same distich refers to the story of Solomon and the Ant; in the poem, he likens himself to the ant, and the sultan to Solomon. The main theme of the distich, however, is the worthlessness of his miscellany before the majesty of the sultan (*Nedür huṣûr-ı Süleymân'da tuhfesi mûruñ / Ki ide dergeh-i devlet-medârına ihdâ*). In short, when we take these aforementioned pieces of poetry into consideration, it seems likely that one of the primary purposes of Gaznevî in composing miscellany was to present it to the sultan as a gift.

II. 3. 2. Composing the miscellany as a mark of artistic skill

When we look at the poems written down in the miscellany, it is clear that Gaznevî possessed a second purpose in compiling his miscellany; more than just marking his devotion to the sultan, Gaznevî also wished to demonstrate his skills in composing poetry

⁷⁰ *Tuhfe-i Gaznevî*, fol. 59b.

⁷¹ Ibid, fol. 47b.

⁷² Though the term itself is the plural of *tuhfe*, and its literal meaning is “new oddity,” within its context in the miscellany it means “bizarre things suitable for a present” See İlhan Ayverdi, *Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, vol. 3, compiled by Ahmet Topaloğlu (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2005): 3197.

⁷³ Ibid, fols. 58b and 59b.

⁷⁴ Ibid, fol. 4a.

and decorative paper works. However, in comparison to the former purpose, the latter is much less explicitly described in the text of the work itself. For this reason, a careful reading of the miscellany is necessary to understand Gaznevî's full range of motivations. Let us take a particular example: in a quatrain in which the main theme is Gaznevî's praise of his own skill in decorative paper work, Gaznevî only clearly evinces his intentions in the second distich, where he states his hope that the sultan will realize his miscellany has surpassed Mani's *Ārhang*. This work, which was highly esteemed by Islamic artists, was held up as the paragon of painting skill and the height of adorned decoration (*Umarum ol şehinşeh diye Haḳḳā / Bu Erjeng'e getürmüş neng ü 'ārı*).⁷⁵ In addition to Mani, Gaznevî also compares himself with Fahrî, the most celebrated Ottoman artist of the 17th century in the realm of decorative paper work.⁷⁶ In the first distich of one poem, for instance, he states that if Fahrî had been able to see his miscellany he would have praised it. Yet this self-aggrandizement is tempered by the main theme of the poem, which is the miscellany's worthiness as a gift to the sultan, and the hope that the sultan will accept Gaznevî's work. (*Ümîd odur ide mühr-i kabûle şâyeste / İdüp o şâh-ı cihân dest-i lutfıyle imzâ*).⁷⁷ In this way, Gaznevî is able to "hide" his self-praise as a method to extoll the sultan. Another poem, incised into the cover of the miscellany, represents our last example in this regard. Examining the poem, we understand that Gaznevî is in fact explaining in a poetic manner the process of producing the collection's cover, and intent of the poem is to praise his skill in bookbinding. In the fifth distich of the poem, he once again justifies his pride by asking the sultan to judge his work's worthy, asking that he look onto the cover, and realize the beauty of Gaznevî's artistry (*Niyâz it Ğaznevî şâh-ı cihân-ārâya her demde / Nazar kılsun bu cilde şan'atun görsün ne ra'nâdur*). Taking all of these examples into consideration, it is clear that one of Gaznevî's main purposes in producing the miscellany was to demonstrate his own skill in poetry, decorative paper work, and bookbinding.

⁷⁵ Ibid, fol. 15b.

⁷⁶ For an introduction to Fahrî, see Muhittin Serin, "Fahrî," *TDVİA*, vol. 12 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995): 95-96; Filiz Çağman, *ibid*, 165-179; G. Jacob, "Fakhrî," *EI*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1991): 755.

⁷⁷ Ibid, fol. 46b.

II. 3. 3. The miscellany as a means to advance his career

Alongside the aforementioned purposes, Gaznevî likely had a third intention in mind when he began to compile his miscellany; this was the belief that the completion of this work would be advantageous for his career, and would lead to his appointment to a higher office. When we consider the large number of poems and distiches included in the work which reflect this belief, it is even possible to assert that meeting this expectation was Gaznevî's highest priority during the preparation of his miscellany. Indeed, when we look at the poems and distiches related to this theme, we notice that they generally include the phrase “arż-ı hāl” (submitting the situation, submission), explicitly indicating to us that Gaznevî was expecting some kind of a reward when he composed the miscellany. However, as we shall see, he never utters this demand for compensation explicitly; rather, he leaves the final decision to the sultan. As an example, in the last distich of one particular quatrain, Gaznevî writes that he prepared the miscellany as a statement of his situation, and following this, he states his hope that the miscellany will enjoy credit in the presence of the sultan (*‘Arż-ı hāl olmağ-çün itdüm hemân / Dilerüm olsun katında mu‘teber*).⁷⁸ In another quatrain he goes even further, writing that it is unnecessary to write about the state of his life, because every page of the miscellany can say more with ‘mute language’ than he could possibly say in writing (*‘Arż-ı hāl itmek ne lâzım saña kıl ü kâl / Hâlimi herbir varağ söyler lisân-ı hâl*). Since he uses the phrase “empty words” (*kıl ü kâl*) in this distich when referring to his poetry, it is possible to say that he may have attached more importance to his decorative paper works and paintings than his poetry.

Yet, what exactly was this ‘situation’ that so inconvenienced him? What sort of difficulties did he experience? Though he does not actually explicitly mention the difficulties he faced, we may infer from his poetry that he felt ignored by the imperial court, and that his talents had been unappreciated by the palace. Yet his actual demand was, perhaps, a little more mundane: in fact, these complaints were essentially a roundabout way of stating that he was unhappy at his position, and that he wanted to be appointed to a higher office. As an example, in the second poem recorded in the miscellany, he complains that although his only desire is to show his loyalty and deference to the sultan, he has been kept away from the palace and the sultan's service. (*Hakk bu kim şıdk-ı ‘ubūdiyettür ancak kârımız / Dergehüñden gerçi-kim çokdan ba‘id*

⁷⁸ Ibid, fol. 17a.

u zā'ilüz).⁷⁹ As Uğur Derman has described, in another quatrain, the topic of which is again the injustices and oppression he himself has suffered, Gaznevî asks the personified miscellany to describe to the sultan the difficulties he has faced (*Var ey mecmû'a būs it dest-i şāh-ı 'ālemi ammā / Benim ahvālimi 'izz-i hużūrunda 'ayān eyle / Baña itdükleri bī-dād zulmü söylegil birbir / Lisān-ı hāl-ile hāl-i perīşānum beyān eyle*).⁸⁰ Taking these particular examples into consideration, it seems clear that one of the main reasons behind the composition of the miscellany was Gaznevî's expectation of a personal reward from the sultan, most likely in the form of an advancement in his career. Nevertheless, as was already mentioned above, we must remember that he never explicitly states in concrete terms the difficulties of his "situation," so he may have had a more idiosyncratic reward in mind.

II. 3. 4. The miscellany as a means of consolation

Finally, we should consider one last possible motivation, which may have encouraged Gaznevî in preparing the miscellany. When we consider the timing of the miscellany's production, it seems prudent to wonder if the miscellany may have been intended to give solace to the sultan, who had become famously demoralized following the catastrophic defeat of Ottoman forces at Vienna in 1683. This is certainly a reasonable speculation, but we should nevertheless regard it with some caution, since we are not sure exactly when Gaznevî actually began to produce decorative papers, to work on the miscellany's ornamentation, or to compose the poems. Furthermore, within the miscellany itself, there is not a single distich which indicates that this was his intention. Yet when we examine the various seals emplaced on seven of the miscellany's leaves (46b, 47a, 47b, 48a, 48b, 49a, and 49b), we cannot help but to think about the aforementioned possibility. In her study of these seals, Yıldız Demiriz identifies them as seals of pedigree (*şecere*).⁸¹ Uğur Derman, on the other hand, has written in his article on the miscellany that these seals were in fact made by an engraver by the name of Sırrî, and dated to a number of different years.⁸² When we look closely at the dates and the name of the engraver carved into the seals, it is clear that Uğur Derman was right in this assertion;

⁷⁹ Ibid, fol. 3b.

⁸⁰ Derman, *ibid*, 18; *Tuhfe-i Gaznevî*, fol. 38b.

⁸¹ Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı kitap sanatında naturalist üslupta çiçekler*, 269; "Tuhfe-i Gaznevî," 52.

⁸² Uğur Derman, *ibid*, 21.

nevertheless, despite taking this initial step, he did not analyze the content of the seals, and thus could not produce a convincing description of their purpose. When we consider the content of the seals, we realize at first glance that many of them refer to religious passages. More specifically, Qur’anic verses and other proverbs concerning the importance of trust in God and God’s help constitute a substantial proportion of the seals’ thematic content. Examples in this regard include Qur’anic verses, such as “And my success is not but through Allah.” (*Wa mā tawfīqi illā bi’llāhi*), and “And whoever relies upon Allah then He is sufficient for him.” (*Wa man yatawakkal ‘ala’llāhi fa-huwa ḥasbuhū*)⁸³; and sayings such as “Allah is sufficient, He is One, and He is sufficient and strong enough” (*Ḥasbiya’llāhu waḥdahū wa kafā*), “My reliance is upon Allah who is my Creator” (*Tawakkuli ‘alā Khāliqī*), and “And my success and my persistence in faith are not but through Allah” (*Wa mā tawfīqi wa i’tiṣāmī illā bi’llāhi*). When we consider the repetition of this central theme – that is, trust in the will of God – it is not unreasonable to suppose that Gaznevî here was attempting to offer consolation to a Sultan in despair over the defeat of the Ottoman army, which had occurred two years before the completion of the miscellany, but which nevertheless cast a dark cloud over the mood of the Ottoman palace for some time afterwards.

II. 4. Techniques adopted in the miscellany

Since a considerable proportion of the miscellany consists of poems composed by Gaznevî himself, as well as those produced by various other poets who contributed to the miscellany, it is important to examine whether there are clues within the text that tell us about Gaznevî’s artistic methods. I intend, in this section, to examine two significant figures of speech - symmetry of proportion (*tenâsüb*), and attribution of events to beautiful reasons (*hüsn-i ta’lîl*) - which were used widely in Ottoman poetry, and make numerous appearances throughout the miscellany. In doing so, I will be able to show that Gaznevî adopted these figures of speech as artistic directives, which he used to forge a unified aesthetic sense when composing poems and decorative paper works on the same leaf.

⁸³ For verses see *Qur’an*, 11:88; and 65:3.

II. 4. 1. Symmetry of proportion (*tenâsüb*)

Tenâsüb, which is defined as “having a mutual relation and proportion; resembling; and being proportionate to each other”⁸⁴, is one of the widely adopted figures of speech in Ottoman poetry. According to this principle, interrelated words, terms, and phrases which are not antonymous should be used in the same line or distich, to create a harmony of poetic imagery.⁸⁵ Though the term is related to the symmetry of meaning in poetry and prose, I intend in this section to extend its scope by looking at how Gaznevî was able to utilize this concept in order to unify his poetic and decorative compositions on the same page. In fact, when we approach the miscellany with this principle in mind, we can see many remarkable examples of Gaznevî employing *tenâsüb* in his work. A quatrain accompanied by several cut-paper flowers on *fol. 10b* represents a good example in this regard. When we look at this leaf, we realize that Gaznevî’s floral decorations in fact mirror the words of his quatrain; decorative roses and hyacinths accompany his usage of “rose” (*gül*) and “hyacinth” (*sünbül*) in the poem. Though he does not mention other flower types (narcissus, tulip, and oxlip),⁸⁶ by using the trope of the “rose garden” (*gülcār*) as a central theme, he is able to create a kind of illustrative harmony between the cut-paper flowers and the word of his poetry. A similar kind of symmetry can be seen in *fol. 13a*, which contains cut-paper illustrations of newly sprung grasses and flowers, including several varieties of tulips and crown imperials (*ağlayan gelin*).⁸⁷ These illustrations accompany a short couplet, within which are the words “spring” (*nev-bahār*) and “rose garden” (*gülcār, gülşen*). The floral decorations, thus, help to symbolically support the imagery of the poem. In addition to these particular examples, there are several other places in the miscellany where the decorations are not merely abstract or aesthetic, but in fact illustrate and support the imagery of the poem; other examples include illustrations of a cypress (*serv*) and a pavilion (*kaşr*) in *fol. 33a*, a date palm (*naḥl-ı ḥurmā*) in *fol. 37a*, a willow tree (*bīd*) in *fol. 49a*, and an enamel bowl (*mīnā kāse*) in *fol. 50b*.

⁸⁴ Sir James Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon: Shewing in English the signification of Turkish terms* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1996): 596; and Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian – English Dictionary*, 6. impression (Norfolk: Lowe & Brydone Printers, 1977): 326.

⁸⁵ For a short definition of the term and for many examples concerning *tenâsüb* see Cem Dilçin, *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi* (Ankara: TDK Yayınları, 1983): 431-437.

⁸⁶ The varieties of cut-paper flowers are given by Yıldız Demiriz. See *Osmanlı kitap sanatında naturalist üslupta çiçekler*, 267.

⁸⁷ Demiriz, *ibid*, 268.

II. 4. 2. Attribution to beautiful reason (*hüsn-i ta'lîl*)

Hüsn-i ta'lîl is another widely adopted figure of speech in Ottoman poetry. The term itself is defined as “a beautiful and novel turn given to the reason assigned to some occurrence” in the Redhouse Ottoman dictionary,⁸⁸ and in practice *hüsn-i ta'lîl* referred to poetic habit of giving beautiful and unrealistic explanations for actual events or situations.⁸⁹ When we approach the miscellany with this trope in mind, we can see that several pieces of poetry in fact put this principle into practice, particularly when attributing fanciful origins to their accompanying decorative cut-paper works. One quatrain, penned on a white-toned paper background, gives us a good example of this motif. Since the ink of the quatrain in question is black, Gaznevî states that he rendered (his) black tears into black ink (*Sevâd-ı dâdeden kıldım mürekkeb*) to write the poem.⁹⁰ Another quatrain, penned in yellow ink on a red background represents a further remarkable example in this regard: in the poem, Gaznevî wrote that the paperboard had turned red from embarrassment, when others had stared at it; the ink, meanwhile, had turned yellow in fright when approached by the sultan (*Hicâbundan kızarmış rû-yı kâğıd / Olunca manzar-ı erbâb-ı nigâha / Şararmış hem mürekkeb dehşetinden / İrince âsitân-ı pâdişâha*).⁹¹ In a sense, Gaznevî is using these tropes in a rather interesting way, bringing attention not only to the content of the poem but the physical nature of the book and writing itself. These meta-textual devices complicate the already present multiplicity of meanings in his work, and indicate to us that Gaznevî conceptualized his miscellany not merely as a disparate collection of various poems and illustrations, but rather as a total work of a unified aesthetic – a conception which indeed comes through, despite the varying authorship and level of quality of the collection’s individual parts.

Conclusion

Perhaps the first thing we notice, when we examine the features of the miscellany itself, is that the collection has in fact changed hands several times within its lifetime. More specifically, it seems likely that it was bestowed by Mahmûd II to Zîver Pasha, who would later bequeath it to his son Yûsuf Bahâeddîn. Since it eventually passed into the

⁸⁸ Redhouse, *ibid*, 785.

⁸⁹ Dilçin, *ibid*, 443.

⁹⁰ *Tuḥfe-i Gaznevî*, fol. 9a.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, fol. 6b.

hands of the Istanbul University Rare Books Library after its transfer from the Yıldız Palace Library, it is clear that Yûsuf Bahâeddîn or his heirs must have, at some point, donated it to the palace. Due to all of these transfers, however, the original sequence of the miscellany's folios has been lost. For this reason, complete poems can often be found dispersed amongst non-successive leaves in the miscellany's current state. This produces numerous problems, but does allow us some insight into how previous owners of the collection had attempted to reconstruct the proper order. Following this discussion of the physical history of the miscellany itself, this chapter focused on the possible reasons that led Gaznevî to prepare a miscellany in the first place; when we examine this in detail, we become aware of at least four possible causes. Enumerated here, these possibilities include that Gaznevî prepared his miscellany (i) as a gift for the sultan, (ii) as a statement of his skills in poetry and decorative paper works, (iii) as a means to request the sultan's support for the advancement of his career, and (iv) as a means to console the sultan following Ottoman military defeats. Each one of these reasons has some degree of plausibility, and it is certainly possible that he had multiple motivations for commencing such a large project. Lastly, when we consider the text and decorations of the work itself, it seems as though Gaznevî had two particular artistic principles (*tenâsüb* and *hüsn-i ta'lîl*) in mind when he was crafting the miscellany's aesthetic. What is most striking here is his choice to draw a metaphoric and symbolic correspondence between the text of the poetry and the imagery of the decorative paper works; this correspondence is not limited to the poetic reality of the text, but also to the physicality of the book itself.

CHAPTER: 3

GAZNEVÎ MAHMÛD'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NAQSHBANDI-MUJADDIDI ORDER

In this chapter, utilizing the miscellany and the records pertaining to the *waqf* of Gaznevî Mahmûd, I will trace the possibility of a relationship between Gaznevî and the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order, which had first reached the Ottoman territories by the second half of the 17th century. Initially, however, a brief summary of the crucial points of the Naqshbandi order, particularly regarding the historical development of the order, is necessary. Firstly, this chapter will focus on the initial movements of the Naqshbandis into the Ottoman territories and the advent of the Naqshi-Mujaddidi deputies in the second half of the 17th century. Secondly, in regards to the miscellany of Gaznevî, this chapter will attempt to show that Gaznevî himself had connections with Naqshi-Mujaddidis of the time. Within this context, the poems written by Hâdî and 'İzzî, well-regarded Naqshi-Mujaddidi poets/dignitaries of the time, are of particular significance and must be taken into consideration when examining Gaznevî's relationship with the disciples of the order. Lastly, we will return to the initial transfer of the *waqf* previously described in the first chapter, I will propose that Gaznevî's close ties to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order may have resulted in the transfer of the *waqf* to Mehmed Kâmil Efendi, who was himself an eminent disciple of the order.

III. 1. Some notes on the history of the Naqshbandiyya

The Naqshbandiyya, which is still an active order all over the Islamic world, emerged in Transoxiana (*Maveraünnehir*), and from there expanded into several other regions, eventually becoming the most common and influential Sufi order in centuries.⁹²

⁹² The latter assertions are made by Şimşek. See Halil İbrahim Şimşek, *18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Nakşibendi-Müceddidilik* (İstanbul: Litera Yayıncılık, 2016): pp. 25.

There are two significant theories for the etymology of the epithet “Naqshband”. Taking into consideration the craft and pedagogy of Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn (d. 1389), the eponym of the order, Hamid Algar describes two different possibilities: “The epithet Naqshband is sometimes understood in connection with the craft of embroidering, and Bahâ ad-Dîn is said, in fact, to have assisted his father in weaving the embroidered Bukhâran cloaks known as *kimkhâ*. More commonly, however, it is taken to refer to the fixing, in the purified tablet of the heart, of the imprint of the divine name *Allâh* by means of silent and permanent *dhikr*.”⁹³ As may be inferred from this quotation, Algar is inclined towards the second, more mystical explanation. Necdet Tosun, on the other hand, has claimed that the first theory may, in fact, be more accurate, since Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn was himself an embroiderer, and it was due to this craft that his disciples were first identified as Naqshbandi by Abd ar-Rahmân Jâmî (d. 1492).⁹⁴

Though the epithet of the Naqshbandiyya is derived from Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn Naqshband, the history of the order begins with Abd al-Khâliq Ghujduvânî (d. 1179 or 1220) who, together with Ahmad Yasavî (d. 1166), was the pupil, disciple, and deputy of Yûsuf Hamadânî (d. 1141). The period from Ghujduvânî’s time to the age of Bahâ ad-Dîn Naqshband is denominated as *Tarîqat-i Khâjagân* or *Khâjagâniyya* in sources.⁹⁵ Therefore, some historians (i.e Hamid Algar) are inclined to omit this period from the history of the Naqshbandiyya, and consider it as a separate order.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, due to the continued emphasis on the eight common principles and the silent *dhikr* (*zîkr-i hâfî*) all of which had already been set out by Ghujduvânî,⁹⁷ it can be stated that the Naqshbandiyya was the continuation of the Khâjagâniyya. We should bear in mind that there was no consensus on the silent invocation among the preceptors of the

⁹³ Hamid Algar, “Naqshband,” *EI*, vol. VII, (Leiden: Brill, 1993): pp. 933.

⁹⁴ Necdet Tosun, “Tasavvufta Hâcegân Ekolü: XII-XVII. Asırlar,” Phd. Thesis, (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2002): 71-72.

⁹⁵ Şimşek, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Nakşibendî-Müceddidilik*, 31-32.

⁹⁶ Hamid Algar, “Hâcegân,” *TDVİA*, vol. 14 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1996): 431.

⁹⁷ These principles are dubbed as sacred words (*kelimât-ı kudsîyye*) in the Naqshbandi literature. The principles determined by Ghujduvânî are as follows: *hûş der-dem* (awareness of breath), *naẓar ber-ka-dem* (watching the step), *sefer der-vaṭan* (inward journey in spiritual path), *ḥalvet der-encümen* (solitude within society), *yâd-kerd* (reminding outwardly and inwardly of God’s name), *bâz-geşt* (return to the responsibilities of a person according to the shari‘a after performing pure dhikr), *niğâh-dâşt* (guarding one’s spiritual state), and *yâd-dâşt* (concentration on God). For more details and commentary on the principles see Şimşek, *ibid*, 245-252. See also “Naqshbandi principles,” (<https://naqshbandi.org/author/sufism786/page/4/>) (March 13, 2017).

For an introduction about the life of Abd al-Khâliq Ghujduvânî see Said Naficy, “Ghujduvânî,” *EI*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 1991): 1077-1078; Hamid Algar, “Gucdûvânî, Abdülhâlîk,” *TDVİA*, vol. 14 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1996): 169-171.

Khâjagâniyya. Although Yûsuf Hamadânî preferred vocal *dhikr* (*zîkr-i cehrî*), his disciple Ghujduvânî tended towards the silent *dhikr*. But Alî Râmîtanî (d. 1315) brought the vocal invocation back and this method was maintained until the preceptorship of Amir Kulâl (d. 1370), the preceptor of Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn Naqshband.⁹⁸

The period from the guidance of Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn to the guidance of Ahmad as-Sirhindî (d. 1624) is labelled as the “Naqshbandiyya” in Naqshbandi literature. During this period, the definition of the order became increasingly solid, due to the articulation of its last three principles by Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn.⁹⁹ However, it is possible to claim that Ubaid-Allah Ahrâr (d. 1490), the second great figure in the Naqshbandi chain (*silsile*) after Bahâ ad-Dîn, was an even more significant personality for this period, since he developed an intimate relationship with the Timurid rulers of the area. This was in contrast to the previous preceptors of the order, who preferred to remain at a distance from statesmen and politics.¹⁰⁰ Ahrâr was also able to expand the Naqshbandiyya far beyond Transoxiana into Iran, India and the Ottoman Empire. Since a large number of Timurid rulers and their nobles in Central Asia were disciples of the Naqshbandiyya, Khâja Ahrâr and his descendants and disciples asserted that they were the source of their high-ranking disciples’ strength in politics and internal power struggles.¹⁰¹ Muzaffar Alam states that the animating force behind his power and achievements may have resided in his organizational skill and enormous wealth rather than his spiritual leadership; indeed, he was one of the biggest landowners in Central Asia at the time.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Hamid Algar, “Hâcegân,” 431. For a short entry on Ali Râmîtanî who was approved as the founder of Azîzân order see Süleyman Uludağ, “Alî Râmîtenî,” *TDVİA*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1989): 436; and for Amîr Kulâl see Hamid Algar, “Emîr Kulâl,” *TDVİA*, vol. 11 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995): 137-138. The Naqshbandiyya spread into Khorasan, Afghanistan and India under the guidance Muhammad Baba Samâsî (d. 1354), the deputy of Râmîtanî. See Şimşek, *ibid*, 36.

⁹⁹ These three of the eleven principles which were enunciated by Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn were *vukûf-i zamânî* (temporal awareness), *vukûf-i ‘adedî* (numerical awareness), and *vukûf-i kalbî* (awareness of the heart). For an interpretation of the aforementioned principles see Şimşek, *ibid*, 252-256; and Algar, “Naqshband,” 934.

According to Necdet Tosun, the idea that the last three words of *kelimât-ı kudsiyye* were enunciated by Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn occurred in the Naqshbandi texts for the first time in the 19th century. Considering the rumor that *vukûf-i ‘adedî* was taught to Ghijduvânî by Khidir, Tosun states that it is almost impossible to claim that the latter words were enunciated by Muhammad Bahâ ad-Dîn. See Necdet Tosun, “Naqshbandiyye: Âdâb ve Erkân,” *TDVİA*, vol. 32 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006): 342.

¹⁰⁰ Şimşek, *ibid*, 40-41.

¹⁰¹ Muzaffar Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of Akbari Dispensation,” *Modern Asian Studies* 43, 1 (2009): 143.

¹⁰² Alam, *ibid*, 145.

Nevertheless, one should not ignore the importance of his spiritual authority while examining his period.¹⁰³

The third phase of the order, which took place between the preceptorship of Ahmad Sirhindî (d. 1624) and Khâlid Baghdâdî (d. 1827), is dubbed as the “Mujaddidiyya”. This phase of the Naqshbandiyya emerged in the Indian subcontinent, where a Naqshbandi sheikh, Bâqîbillâh (d. 1603) maintained his spiritual activities. As detailed by Hamid Algar, Bâqîbillâh, who was the spiritual descendent of Ubeid Allâh Ahrâr, went to India during the reign of Akbar and “despite the prevalence of Akbar’s pseudo-religion at the Moghul court, Bâqîbillâh initiated various courtiers and army commanders into the Naqshbandi order. By far the most significant among his disciples was, however, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindî.”¹⁰⁴ Sirhindî, from whom the epithet Mujaddidiyya was derived, was given the title by his followers of “the Renovator of the second millennium” (*müceddid-i elf-i sâni*), and “the divinely appointed imam” (*imâm-ı Rabbânî*). Indeed, as described by Şimşek, Sirhindî himself was convinced of his own sublimity and eligibility for the role.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the main reason behind this belief were the religious and political struggles between him and the Mughal court. The third ruler of the Mughal dynasty, Akbar (r. 1556-1605) had attempted to create a new sect out of orthodox Islam, the *Dîn-i İllâhî* (the Divine Religion); this was naturally seen by many as an attempt to deface orthodox Islam by creating a heretic cult. Sirhindî found himself in conflict with both the emperor and the *ulema* who had encouraged him or had remained silent against his policies.¹⁰⁶ Though Sirhindî did attempt to persuade the emperor to

¹⁰³ For an introduction on the Naqshbandiyya, its expansion, and its principles see also Algar, “Naqshbandiyya: in Persia and in Turkey,” *EI*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1993): 934-937; Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, “Naqshbandiyya: in India,” *EI*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1993): 937-939; Hamid Algar, “Nakşibendiyye,” *TDVİA*, vol. 32 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006): 335-342; Necdet Tosun, “Nakşibendiyye: Âdâb ve Erkân,” 342.

¹⁰⁴ See Hamid Algar, “The Naqshbandi order: A preliminary survey of its history and significance,” *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976): 142-143. For an introduction on Bâqîbillâh see Hamid Algar, “Bâkî-Billâh,” *TDVİA*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1991): 542-543; Bazmee Ansari, “Bâkî Bi’llâh,” *EI*, vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 1986): 957.

¹⁰⁵ In an epistle to his son and subsequent deputy Muhammad Ma’sûm he would write the following sentences: “I have believed that the responsibility of the millennium which is the reason behind my creation has sprung. Thank Allah who ordained me as the amendatory between two communities.” Şimşek, *ibid*, 46-47.

As is stated by Sh. Inayatullah, Abd al-Hakîm Sialkotî (d. 1656) was the first scholar who ascribed the title “renewer” to Ahmad Sirhindî. See Sh. Inayatullah, “Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindî,” *EI*, vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 1986): 297. See also Hamid Algar, “İmâm-ı Rabbânî,” *TDVİA*, vol. 22 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2002): 194-199; and Necdet Tosun, *İmâm-ı Rabbânî Ahmed Sirhindî* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2016).

¹⁰⁶ “The person most responsible for the overthrow of the ulema under Akbar was an eclectic, Shaykh Mubârak and his two sons, the intellectual Abu’l-Fadl ‘Allâmî and the poet Faydî. Shaykh Mubarak engineered the drafting and willy-nilly signing by the ulema [...] the ‘infallibility decree’ by which the ulema were forced to recognize the right of the *ijtihâd* of the Emperor when on a legal point there was a difference of opinion among themselves.” See Aziz Ahmad, “The role of Ulema in Indo-Muslim history,” *Studia Islamica* 31 (1970): 7.

For an introduction on the life of Akbar see Collin Davies, “Akbar,” *EI*, vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 1986): 316-317; Enver Konukçu, “Ekber Şah,” *TDVİA*, vol. 10 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1994): 542-544.

abandon these policies, it seems as though Sirhindī was unable to change Akbar’s mind, perhaps due to Akbar’s adherence to the Chishtī order, the historical rival of the Naqshbandiyya. The Chishtī, like the Naqshbandiyya, also operated in Mughal India.¹⁰⁷ Akbar’s favorable relationship with Chishtī order deserves further elaboration: the Chishtis, as described by Alam, differed from the Naqshbandis by being willing to interfere in politics. Furthermore, they “had generally pleaded for a kind of asceticism, and preferred to advise and bless the political authorities from a distance. Indeed, their *tasawwuf* has been based on a doctrine i.e. *wahdat al-wujud*, which had hitherto facilitated the process of religious synthesis and cultural amalgam.”¹⁰⁸ Considering this perception of Chishtī flexibility, one can readily understand the reasons why Akbar preferred them in his court after the 1570s, and why he established his new capital in Fathpur Sikri as “a token of respect for a living Chishtī saint”, Sheikh Sâlim Chishtī.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, this close relationship may also be one of the reasons why Sirhindī worked on the doctrine of *wahdat al-shuhud* (Oneness of Perception) instead of *wahdat al-wujud* (Oneness of Being) even though his preceptor, Bâqībillāh, had adopted the latter doctrine. This is to say that, religio-political struggles between Ahmad Sirhindī and Chishtīs, or association of Akbar with the Chishtīs, may have spurred on the development of Sirhindī’s reactions. Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that Akbar’s interference in orthodox Islam was extremely provocative and in many cases destructive.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ When Zâhir ad-Dîn Muhammad Babur (d. 1530) entered northern India to establish Mughal power in the subcontinent, Chishtī sheikh Abd al-Ḳuddus Gangohī (d. 1537) was the spiritual leader of the Lodi dynasty, the Afghan rivals to the Mughals. For this reason, when the Afghans were defeated by the Mughals, Gangohī himself was treated badly. However, it seems that bilateral relations between the Mughals and the Chishtī sheikhs were straightened out during the reign of Akbar. For more information about Chishtī and Mughal relations see Muzaffar Alam, “The Mughals, the Sufi Shaikhs and the Formation of Akbari Dispensation,” *Modern Asian Studies* 43, 1 (2009): 138-142, and 157-166.

¹⁰⁸ Alam, *ibid*, 162.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 162.

¹¹⁰ The following conditions of Sirhindī were accepted by Akbar’s successor, Jahāngīr (d. 1627), and represented clear indications of Akbar’s far-reaching interference in orthodox Islam: “Firstly, that the Emperor would abolish *Sajda-i Ta’zimi* or prostration; secondly, that all the mosques that had been erased should be erected; thirdly, that all orders prohibiting cow-slaughter should be cancelled; fourthly, that *Qadis*, *Muftis* and censors should be appointed to enforce Islamic code; fifthly, that *Jizya* or military tax should be re-introduced; sixthly, that all *bid’at* or innovations should be stopped and injunctions of the *Shari’at* or law be enforced; and seventhly, that all prisoners who had been sent to prison in contravention of above should be released.” See Burhan Ahmad Faruqi, *The Mujaddid’s Conception of Tawhid* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1940): 26-27. For more details about Akbar’s interference in settled Islamic tradition and codes see the second chapter, “His Times,” pp. 12-27.

For an introduction on the religious life in the Mughal Empire see Annemarie Schimmel, “Mughals: Religious life,” *El*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1989): 327-328.

The Mujaddidiyya swiftly expanded into outer India during the preceptorship of Sirhindî's three sons and grandsons,¹¹¹ to whom he bequeathed the Naqshbandis together with his *Maktûbât*, the epistles.¹¹² As has been indicated by Butrus Abu-Manneh in the following passage, Muhammad Ma'sûm (d. 1668) was the most significant figure among them: "While his father had laid down the theoretical foundations of the order and initiated many disciples in India, Muhammad Ma'sûm greatly contributed to its consolidation and expansion."¹¹³ Muhammad Ma'sûm trained and ordained many disciples, most of whom came from cities in Afghanistan and Central Asia, and sent them to various regions to spread the order.¹¹⁴ The Mujaddidiyya successfully maintained its doctrine relatively intact until the emergence of the Khalidiyya in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, which is the beginning of the fourth phase in the history of the Naqshbandiyya. The eponym of the Khâlidiyya, Khâlid-i Baghdâdî (d. 1827), was born into a Kurdish Qâdirî family in Sulaymaniyah,¹¹⁵ a city in Iraqi Kurdistan. After completing his spiritual education under the preceptorship of Abdullâh Dihlawî (d. 1824),¹¹⁶ a Naqshbandî sheikh in Delhi, he returned to Iraqi Kurdistan where he weakened the traditional dominance of the Qâdiriyya. The Khâlidiyya, within a short time, became very influential in Anatolia, particularly in the Eastern and South-eastern regions of Anatolia, the Balkans, Syria, and Caucasia.¹¹⁷ Among the distinguishing features of Khâlidis were their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire as the center of Islamic unity, and their animosity towards the colonialist European states.¹¹⁸ The following passage from Khâlid-i Baghdâdî which occurs at the end of his renowned treatise, *ar-Râbita* (The Link), demonstrates his clear loyalty to the Ottoman Empire: in it, he advises his followers to

¹¹¹ Şimşek, *ibid*, 60-62.

¹¹² Algar, "The Naqshbandi Order," 145.

¹¹³ See Butrus Abu-Manneh, "Sheikh Murâd al-Bukhârî and the expansion of the Naqshbandî-Mujaddidî order in İstanbul," *Die Welt Des Islams* 53-1 (2013): 4.

¹¹⁴ Butrus Abu-Manneh, *ibid*, 5. Murad al-Bukhârî and Yakdast Ahmad Juryânî were particularly remarkable during this period for the significant contributions they made to the expansion of the Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, I will briefly touch upon their endeavor in the next section.

¹¹⁵ Hamid Algar, "Hâlid el-Bağdâdî," *TDVİA*, vol. 15 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997): 283.

¹¹⁶ For a brief introduction to Abdullâh Dihlawî, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century," *Die Welt Des Islams* 22 (1982): 4-6.

¹¹⁷ Süleyman Uludağ, "Anadolu'da Hâlidîlik," *TDVİA*, vol. 15 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997): 296. See also, Algar, "Hâlidîyye," *TDVİA*, vol. 15 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997): 295-295.

¹¹⁸ Algar, "Hâlid el-Bağdâdî," pp. 284.

“pray for the survival of the exalted Ottoman state upon which depends Islam and for its victory over the enemies of religion, the cursed Christians and the despicable Persians.”¹¹⁹ The Khâlidîs also paid strict attention to the *shari‘a*, and they abstained from performing vocal *dhikr*.¹²⁰ Finally, contrary to the Naqshbandi traditions, as can be clearly seen today in Kurdish Khâlidî sheikh families, spiritual guidance is generally transmitted from father to son by force of social and historical factors; however no such tradition has emerged in other branches of the Khâlidîyya.¹²¹

III. 2. A brief survey of the historical presence of the Naqshbandi order in the Ottoman Empire until the 18th century

Although we have no definite information about the first Naqshbandi wave into Anatolia and the Ottoman Empire, when we consider the intimate relations between the Timurid rulers and the Naqshbandis, it is possible to imagine that the Naqshbandis initially arrived in Anatolia around the time of the Battle of Angora, fought between the Ottoman Empire and the Timurid Empire on July 20, 1402.¹²² It has also been rumored that Aya Dede, a Naqshbandi sheikh, together with his 300 disciples participated in the conquest of İstanbul in 1453,¹²³ but to this date we have no evidence as to whether or not these two groups of Naqshbandis were able to found lodges in Anatolia. Instead, the first known group of Naqshbandis to succeed in establishing themselves did so through the sufistic activities of Abdullâh Îlâhî of Simav (d. 1491) who became a disciple of Khâja ‘Ubayd Allâh Ahrâr in Samarqand and, after completing his training, “returned to his birthplace for a number of years before reluctantly accepting an invitation to settle in İstanbul. There at the Zeyrek mosque, he established the first Naqshbandi center in Turkey and found himself surrounded by a large number of devotees.”¹²⁴ Despite Algar’s claim that the first Naqshbandi center established by Abdullâh Îlâhî was in İstanbul, it is probable that he erected his lodge initially in his hometown, Simav, soon after his return

¹¹⁹ Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands,”: 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 284.

¹²¹ Süleyman Uludağ, “Anadolu’da Hâlidîlik,” 298.

¹²² Abdürrezak Tek, “Tekkeler Kapatılmadan Önce Nakşîliğin Bursa’daki Tarihi Süreci,” *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 16/1 (2007): 212.

¹²³ Tek, *ibid*, 212.

¹²⁴ Algar, “Nakshbandiyya: in Turkey,” 936.

from Samarkand.¹²⁵ Due to the considerable attentions he drew from the residents of İstanbul, however, he eventually abandoned the city for a life of seclusion and scholarship, leaving for Vardar Yenicesi in Thrace where he eventually died.¹²⁶ Though we do not have any evidence that he appointed deputies in Vardar Yenicesi, among his most renowned disciples were Emîr Ahmed Buhârî (d. 1516), Muslihuddîn Tavîl (d. ?), and ‘Âbid Çelebi (d. 1547)¹²⁷ all of whom were engaged in *tasavvuf* and the Islamic sciences.¹²⁸ Above all, what is most striking about Abdullâh İlâhî is his voluntary abstention from state affairs, in direct contrast to his preceptor Khâja Ahrâr.

Despite the first permanent appearance of the Naqshbandis in İstanbul during the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512),¹²⁹ the first Naqshbandi lodge, known as Yoğurtlu Baba Dergâhı or Ahmed İlâhî Tekkesi was revived in Bursa during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481). Considering the date of the restoration (1465), one might readily claim that Ahmed İlâhî (d. ?) came to Anatolia before the aforementioned date.¹³⁰ Therefore, despite the lack of evidence, we may also speculate as to whether Ahmed İlâhî was the first significant Naqshbandi figure in the Ottoman world who uninterruptedly maintained his mission in his lodge. Besides, as Mustafa Kara states, it is logical that Ahmed İlâhî would have remained in İstanbul for a while in order to preach sermons in Ayasofya, where he would have had his talk with the sultan, Mehmed II.¹³¹ Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Mehmed II also granted a *tekke* to a Naqshbandi immigrant by the name of İshak Buhârî-i Hindî, who “apparently did not produce a *khalifa* who could succeed his as *tekke* incumbent or continue to initiate disciples and thus perpetuate his spiritual line.”¹³² With this in mind, it can be said that the first traces of the Naqshbandis could be

¹²⁵ Mustafa Kara and Hamid Algar, “Abdullah-ı İlâhî,” *TDVİA*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1988): 110.

¹²⁶ Algar, *ibid*, 936; Kara and Algar, *ibid*, 111.

¹²⁷ Kara and Algar, *ibid*, 111.

¹²⁸ For an introduction on Emîr Buhârî see Mustafa Kara, “Emîr Buhârî,” *TDVİA*, vol. 11 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1995): 125-126; on Muslihuddîn Tavîl see Taşköprizâde, “Şeyh Muşlihu’ d-dîn Tavîl,” in *Şakaik-i Nu’maniye ve Zeyilleri*, vol. 1, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989): 366-367; on ‘Âbid Çelebi see Taşköprizâde, “‘Âbid Çelebi,” in *ibid*, 367-368.

¹²⁹ Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandîs in the Ottoman World 1450-1700*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005): 35.

¹³⁰ Tek, *ibid*, 214.

¹³¹ Kara and Algar, *ibid*, 111.

¹³² Dina Le Gall, *ibid*, 35. See also Mustafa Kara, “Buhara-Bombay-Bursa hattında dervişlerin seyr ü seferi,” *Divân* 20 (Spring 2006): 55.

found in İstanbul towards the end of Mehmed II's reign.¹³³ To understand the importance of Bursa for the Naqshbandis, we should consider that their presence in the city remained uninterrupted up until the beginning of the 20th century, due to the regular flow of Sufis to the city from Central Asia.¹³⁴

The rise of the Safavids as a sectarian Shi'ite state in Iran, at the very beginning of the 16th century, led to another Naqshbandi influx into the Ottoman Empire and, in particular, Kurdistan, the then current eastern frontier of the empire. The Safavid cruelty towards Sunni Sufi orders and the immigration of Sunnis and Naqshbandis, are described by Algar as follows: "The rise of the Safavid state sounded the knell for the Naqshbandī order in northern and western Persia, for with their strong loyalty to Sunnism the Naqshbandīs became a special target of persecution. Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī, a Sunni scholar who took refuge with the Ottomans, writes that whenever anyone was seen engaging in dhikr or murāqaba, it would be said 'This is a Naqshbandī; he must be killed.'" ¹³⁵ As indicated above, a considerable number of Naqshbandis took refuge in Kurdistan immediately following the Safavid conquest of Iran. For instance, "Sun'ullāh Kūzakunānī (d. 1576), the founder of the Tabriz Naqshbandiyya, fled to Kurdish-ruled Bitlis shortly after Tabriz became the Safavid capital in 1501." ¹³⁶ The Urmavis were another group of the Naqshbandis who fled from Safavid Tabriz to Orumiyeh under the leadership of their sheik, Muhammad Bādāmyārī (d. ?), sometime before 1570. ¹³⁷ The westward flow of the Urmavis was continued under Muhammad Bādāmyārī's son, Mahmūd, who moved to Diyarbekir and there became an extraordinarily powerful Sufi sheikh whose influence expanded to "the whole of Kurdistan, and farther away, from Erzurum, Mosul and Urfa to Van and even to distant areas of Iran, perhaps Yerevan and Tabriz." ¹³⁸ Due to his enormous socio-political and religious power, his presence on the campaigns against and peace negotiations with the Safavids, and his intermediacy

¹³³ Mehmet Ünal and Aliye Yılmaz, "Muhammed Murād-ı Buhārī ve 'Risāle-i Nakşibendiyye' adlı eseri," *Turkish Studies* 9/3 (Winter 2014): 1536.

¹³⁴ Tek, *ibid*, 213. For more details about the presence of the Naqshbandiyya in Bursa see also Le Gall, *ibid*, 80-85.

¹³⁵ Algar, "Naqshbandiyya: in Persia," 935. For more about the Safavid persecution of the Naqshbandis see Le Gall, *ibid*, 23-28.

¹³⁶ Le Gall, *ibid*, 72.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, 73.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, 75-76.

between the Ottomans and locals indeed, “for the local people he was someone who could act as protector or lobbyist with the Ottoman authorities, while for the latter he was serviceable because of his perceived ability to encourage or discourage local support or at least quiescence during an ongoing war” he represented a danger to the Ottoman state. Therefore, the sultan of the time, Murad IV (d. 1640) ordered his execution in 1639.¹³⁹

The Naqshbandi migration did not cease during the 17th century. On the contrary, Naqshbandi disciples continued to emigrate from Central Asia towards the west, into the Ottoman Empire throughout this century. Hoca Fazlullâh Nakşibendî (d. 1637) is a good example in this regard allowing us to comprehend the continuous Naqshbandi migration into the Ottoman world. As is stated in *Vekâyi’ü'l-Fudalâ*, after completing his training under Ahmed Sâdık Taşkendî, Fazlullâh Taşkendî left his hometown, Tashkent, for İstanbul where he sojourned for a while before going to Hejaz on pilgrimage (*cānib-i Dārü’s-salṭana’ya ‘azîmet ve bir müddet ikâmet buyurup ba‘dehü hacc-ı Beytu’llâhi’l-harâm ve ziyâret-i ravza-i Seyyidi’l-enâm ‘aleyhi’s-şalâtu ve’s-selâm için rû-be-râh-i semt-i Hicâz oldular*). After performing his hajj, Fazlullâh returned to İstanbul, became the *tekke* incumbent (*seccâde-nişîn*) of the Emîr Buhârî Tekkesi in 1608, and conducted this duty until his death in 1637.¹⁴⁰ A more intensive Naqshbandi propaganda effort in the Ottoman Empire, however, would emerge in the second half of the century, thanks to the endeavors of two eminent disciples of Muhammad Ma’sûm. These disciples, Murâd Bukhârî (d. 1720) and Ahmad Juryânî (d. 1707), both of whom were Mujaddidis originally from Bukhara, were ordained by Muhammad Ma’sûm after their training and sent westward into the Ottoman lands.¹⁴¹ Although Ahmad Juryânî settled in Mecca and spent the greater part of his life there, training and ordaining disciples in the city,¹⁴² Murâd Bukhârî travelled a much wider expanse, journeying to Cairo, Damascus, Bursa, and İstanbul to spread the order. After a short sojourn in Cairo, he went to Damascus in 1669 where he got married and established his lodge. In 1681, after receiving an invitation from

¹³⁹ Ibid, 76-77, and 140.

¹⁴⁰ Şeyhî Mehmed, ibid, vol. 3, 60-61.

¹⁴¹ Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The expansion of the Naqshbandî-Mujaddidî order,” 5.

¹⁴² Şimşek, *18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Nakşibendî-Müceddidîlik*, 83. Mehmed Emîn Tokadî (d. 1745), a renowned disciple of Ahmad Juryânî, after Murâd Bukhârî, was the second significant figure of the Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Empire. Butrus Abu-Manneh, on the other hand, thinks that Mehmed Emîn Bursevî was the second eminent personality who spread the Mujaddidiyya early in the 18th century. For more details on Emîn-i Bursevî see Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century,” 17-23. For the refutation of Halil İbrahim Şimşek on this topic see Şimşek, “Anadolu Müceddidilerine İlişkin Bazı Tarihi Bilgilerin Kullanılışı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *Çorum İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2, (Summer 2002): 218-220.

dignitaries of the capital, he travelled to İstanbul, where he continued his mission until 1686. Following this, however, between the years 1686-1708, he spent most of his time in Damascus, with the exception of a sojourn in Hejaz for performing the third pilgrimage. In 1708, Murâd Bukhârî arrived for the second time in İstanbul. However, due to the hostility and intolerance of the grand vizier, Çorlulu Alî Pasha (d. 1711), Sheikh Murâd was obliged to leave the city for another pilgrimage in the fall of 1709. But after a halt on the island of Chios, with his boat anchored in Alaiye, by permission of the *kapudan pasha* he was allowed to disembark and visit Konya and Kütahya. After the dismissal of Çorlulu Alî Pasha from the grand vizierate, he was finally allowed to reside in Bursa permanently, where he continued to preach sermons and train and ordain disciples.¹⁴³ In August 1717, he again returned to İstanbul, where he died in February 1720.¹⁴⁴

III. 3. Gaznevî Mahmûd: A Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi?

After this preliminary history of the Naqshbandiyya and its presence in the Ottoman Empire up to the beginning of the 18th century, this chapter will continue by examining the miscellany of Gaznevî Mahmûd and the records pertaining to his *waqf*. From these sources, it is possible to discern various clues about Gaznevî Mahmûd's relations with the Naqshi-Mujaddidis who held positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy. In doing so, I aspire to discover the possible spiritual links between Gaznevî and the Mujaddidiyya.

III. 3. 1. Possible reasons behind Gaznevî's presence in the Ottoman capital

As was already touched upon in the first chapter, there are several possibilities to be considered when writing a narrative of the way Gaznevî Mahmûd entered the Ottoman Empire. As was stated previously, considering his usage of language and the lack of archaic words in his poetry, I have theorized that he may have immigrated to the Ottoman

¹⁴³ One of Murâd Bukhârî's disciples, Hüseyin Ladikî (d. ?), recorded the sermons given by the sheikh in *Receb, Şa'bân, and Ramazân 1126 / July-October 1714*. Among the subjects of the sermons were the customs and principles of the Naqshbandiyya, the love for Allah and the Prophet (peace be upon him), the relations between faith and heart, the differences between inspiration, revelation, and *ijtihad* (judicial opinion), the differences between sainthood and prophecy, the importance of the silent dhikr, the differences between exoteric and esoteric sciences, etc. According to the records, the sermons took place in two different orchards dubbed as Menteş and "the garden under the street". Even though Şimşek states that the sermons were given in Ramazân 1714, as mentioned above, they were performed during the three holy months. See Şimşek, *ibid*, pp. 97. For more about the sermons of Murâd Bukhârî, see *Ba'zı Meclis-i Mehmed Murâd Buhârî*, İ.B.B. Atatürk Kitaplığı, O.E. Yz. 883-10. For the transcription of the text see Murat Demir, "Murâd-ı Nakşibendî ve Menâkıbı," M.A. Thesis (Uludağ Üniversitesi, 1998).

¹⁴⁴ The abovementioned anecdotes on the life of Murâd Bukhârî were taken from Şimşek, Abu-Manneh, and *Veķāyi'ü'l-Füdalâ*. See Şimşek, *ibid*, pp. 87-99; Şimşek, "Murâd-ı Buhârî," *TDVİA*, vol. 31 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006): 185-187; Abu-Manneh, "The expansion of the Naqshbandî-Mujaddidî order," 6-15; and Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *ibid*, vol. 4, 673-675.

Empire when he was a child. In this section, however, I intend to evaluate other possibilities about Gaznevî's voyage to Istanbul. Commerce is one of the most likely possibilities available to us for explaining Gaznevî's presence in the city. Given the fact that Gaznevî's hometown, Ghazni, was under the control of the Mughals from 1504 up until its fall into the hands of Nader Shah (d. 1747) of Persia in 1738,¹⁴⁵ one might infer that Gaznevî or his father was a merchant who engaged in ongoing trade in an east-west direction. When we consider the fact that "external land-trade was almost limited to the two caravan routes westward by way of Kabul and Kandahar" in the Mughal Empire,¹⁴⁶ we might assume that he dealt in caravan trade on these aforementioned routes, particularly since Ghazni was close to both commercial cities. Due to a lack of evidence and Gaznevî's position in the Central Financial Office, however, we cannot prove whether he actually engaged in trade in Istanbul or not.

It is also possible to explain Gaznevî's presence in the Ottoman Empire as, perhaps, a function of diplomacy. Although "in general, Mughal-Ottoman relations were marked by long gaps and were not productive of any worthwhile results or developments,"¹⁴⁷ both states continued to send embassies to each other when the circumstances necessitated. During the reign of Shah Jahan (r. 1628-1658) "who pursued a vigorous foreign policy and was motivated by a desire to build up Sunni front against a hostile Safavid Persia,"¹⁴⁸ several reciprocal visits took place between the two empires. For instance, on July 19, 1653, a Mughal mission under Seyyid Ahmad visited the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) in İstanbul.¹⁴⁹ Zülfikâr Agha was sent back to accompany Seyyid Ahmad as the envoy of the Ottoman sultan on the voyage home. In response to this, Shah Jahan sent another mission, under Kâ'im Bey, who visited the sultan in his court on May 21, 1656.¹⁵⁰ Ma'an-zâde Hüseyin Efendi, who was sent to Shah

¹⁴⁵ Enver Konukçu, "Gazne," *TDVİA*, vol. 13 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1993): 480.

¹⁴⁶ William Harrison Moreland and Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Mughals: Commerce and European trade connections with Mughal India," *EI*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1989): 325.

¹⁴⁷ Riazul Islam, "Mughals: External relations," *EI*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1989): 319.

¹⁴⁸ Riazul Islam, *ibid*, 319.

¹⁴⁹ Na'imâ Mustafâ Efendi, *Târîh-i Na'imâ*, vol. III, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2007): 1483-1487; 'Abdurrahman 'Abdî, *Vekâyi'-nâme: Osmanlı târihi 1648-1682: tahlil ve metin tenkidi*, ed. Fahri Ç. Derin (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008): 52-54.

¹⁵⁰ Na'imâ Mustafâ Efendi, *Târîh-i Na'imâ*, vol. IV, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2007): 1670-1671; 'Abdî, *ibid*, 92.

Jahan in response to Kâ'im Bey's mission, arrived back in İstanbul in May 1659.¹⁵¹ Given these reciprocal missions, one can conclude that Gaznevî Mahmûd may also have been amongst the participants of the Ottoman or Mughal diplomatic exchanges. Nevertheless, this remains a relatively improbable prospect, if only because we have no other clues whether or not Gaznevî had ever been in the Mughal capital, or if he had ever participated in any mission sent to the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, as can be understood from the following distiches penned by Gaznevî, throughout his entire life, he had neither once visited the imperial court nor met with the sultan. Addressing his miscellany, he asks it to transmit the difficulties he had encountered to the sultan:

*Destini yârüñ müyesser olmadı öpmek baña
Bârî ey mecmû'a var sen 'arz-ı hâl eyle aña
Evvelâ dest-i şerîfin bûs idüp böyle di-kim
Ġaznevî Maġmûd Efendüm çok du 'â itdi saña¹⁵²*

I have not been granted to kiss the hand of the beloved (sultan)
So, O miscellany, reach him and represent me (there)
Firstly, kiss his noble hand and tell him that
“My Lord, Gaznevî Mahmûd has made many benedictions for you”

A third possibility behind the presence of Gaznevî in İstanbul may relate to his pilgrimage, which ended in the Ottoman capital. Although I have already stated in the first chapter that he may have performed the pilgrimage later in his life, due to the scarcity of evidence the opposite situation is conceivable as well. Besides this, there existed two common routes for pilgrimage. As can be clearly seen in the example of the aforementioned Hoca Fazlullâh Nakşibendî, prospective pilgrims from Central Asia could initially begin their pilgrimage by visiting İstanbul and, after a brief sojourn, they would eventually make their way to Mecca. In the end, they would return to İstanbul, where they would reside for the rest of their lives. Another group of prospective pilgrims from non-Ottoman regions, on the other hand, would firstly perform the hajj and, after travelling through major Ottoman cities such as Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Konya, Bursa, etc., would arrive in İstanbul where they could be appointed to significant offices. Sheikh Murâd Bukhârî, whose biography was described above, is an example of the latter group.

¹⁵¹ Na'îmâ, ibid, 1833-1834; 'Abdî, ibid, 136-137.

¹⁵² Mahmud Gaznevî, *Mecmua-i Eş'ar ve resimler*, İÜNEK-TY 5461, fol. 18b.

Şirvânî Ebûbekir Efendi (d. 1722), whose life story is reported in *Târîh-i Râşid*, is another remarkable example in this context. According to Râşid Mehmed Efendi, together with prospective pilgrims from Persia and his father Rüstem Bey, Ebûbekir Efendi of Shirvan went to Hijaz for pilgrimage. After completing his religious obligation, he travelled to Cairo, where Şişman İbrâhîm Pasha (d. 1668) was the governor. Since Ebûbekir Efendi was well educated and well spoken, İbrâhîm Pasha patronized him in Cairo. After the death of the Pasha, however, in 1672 Ebûbekir Efendi made his way towards the Ottoman capital where he was in the patronage circle of the renowned Köprülü family, particularly of Amca-zâde Hüseyin Pasha (d. 1702) who appointed him to the Inner Treasury (*Hazîne-i Bîrûn*) as a clerk. After performing various duties in several offices for decades, Ebûbekir Efendi was ultimately assigned as the head of the Financial Office of Anatolia known as *Şikk-ı Sâni Defterdârlığı* at that time, and carried out his duty till his death in 1722.¹⁵³ Considering the fact that Gaznevî Mahmûd, too, carried out duties under the Central Financial Office in the later 17th century, one might easily make a connection between his and Ebûbekir Efendi's arrival in İstanbul.

III. 3. 2. Focusing on the Miscellany: Certain clues indicating Gaznevî's relations with Mujaddidis

After evaluating the possible reasons behind Gaznevî Mahmûd's presence in İstanbul, I now intend to focus on Gaznevî's relations with the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidis by considering the evidences located in his miscellany. To this end, two particular poets, from whom he took poems for the miscellany, 'İzzî and Hâdî, will be taken into consideration. As mentioned previously in the first chapter, 'İzzî penned two distiches for the fountain built by Gaznevî Mahmûd in 1692/93. When we look at the miscellany completed by Gaznevî, we can see that another poem written by 'İzzî was also recorded by Gaznevî in the miscellany. Although the poem is partly erased, it can be understood that 'İzzî intended to praise either his master or the sultan, both of whom are dubbed as beloved (*maḥbûb*) and beauty (*ḥübân*) in the poem.¹⁵⁴ Despite the homosexual

¹⁵³ For more details about the life and career of Şirvânî Ebûbekir Efendi see *Târîh-i Râşid*, vol. 3, 1318-1319.

Seyyid Nûrullâh Şirvânî, another Shirvani-born personality who made his way towards İstanbul in the mid-seventeenth century, was patronized by the *şeyhülislâm* Bahâî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1654). In 1650, due to his appointment to Yıldırım Han Medresesi, he went to Bursa where he carried out this duty until his death in 1655. See Şeyhî Mehmed, *ibid*, vol. 3, 227-228.

¹⁵⁴ An almost complete version of the aforementioned poem is as follows:
Bırakma tal'at güzel maḥbûbuñ ola bendesi
Büsbütün dünyâ deger ol gonçe-âsâ ḥandesî

associations of the aforementioned words, one should bear in mind the poly-semantic structure of the Ottoman poetry, and abstain from anachronistic approaches.¹⁵⁵ When discussing ‘İzzî, we should be aware of the fact that there were two disparate personalities, who used this pseudonym, were recorded in the biographical dictionaries of the time. Firstly, there was a certain ‘İzzî Mehmed (d. 1694), who had his origins in Van but soon after took refuge in İstanbul, where he became a clerk, courtier, and companion to dignitaries.¹⁵⁶ Secondly, ‘İzzî Süleymân (d. 1755) was an official chronicler who started his career as a clerk in the imperial council (*dîvân-ı humâyûn*). His adherence to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order was one of his most distinguishing features, so much so that he donated rental incomes to Murâd Bukhârî’s lodge, where he was eventually buried.¹⁵⁷ Considering the fact that ‘İzzî Süleymân penned chronographic distiches that marked the year of construction for buildings and of historical events,¹⁵⁸ one might then claim that it was ‘İzzî Süleymân who penned a dedicatory poem for the occasion of the construction of Gaznevî’s fountain, and the panegyric poem which was mentioned above. Accordingly, one can conclude that Gaznevî Mahmûd had close relations with adherents of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order, even if he was not a vigorous advocate of it.

Another scholar and poet, whose poem is recorded in Gaznevî’s miscellany, Hâdî (d. 1728), may also have been a disciple of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. In contrast to ‘İzzî, who praises his master or the sultan in his poem, Hâdî prefers to praise Gaznevî’s

Tâb-ı (...) görünce böyle bir meh-peykerün
Bu el-‘aceb-mi meh-liqâlar olsa ger efgendesi
Karşusunda boynı bağlu kûl gibi el bağlayup
Reh-güzârende turur şad hezâr üftâdesi
Bir melek-simâ güzeldür Haqq haţâdan şaklasun
Var-ise ser-cümle hûbânun budur beg-zâdesi
İmtihân itsün o meh-veş her ister(?) ‘uşşâkını
Var midur ‘İzzî gibi âşüfte bir dil-dâdesi (fol. 42a)

¹⁵⁵ For instance, the word “beloved” signifies three separate units in the classical Ottoman poetry: the sultan, the inamorata and Allah. For a comprehensive study on the voices of authority and mysticism see Walter G. Andrews, “The Mystical-Religious Voice,” and “The Voice of Power and Authority,” in *Poetry’s Voice, Society’s Song* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985): 62-108.

¹⁵⁶ See *Vekâyi ‘ü'l-Fudalâ*, vol. 4, 115; Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkire-i Sâlim*, ed. Ahmed Cevdet (Dersa’âdet: İkdâm Matbaası, 1315): 475-476.

¹⁵⁷ Feridun Emecen, “‘İzzî Süleymân Efendi,” *TDVİA*, vol. 23 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2003): 566. For the full list of deceased men and women buried in the courtyard of the lodge see Ahmet Semih Torun, “Şeyh Muhammed Murâd-ı Buhârî Tekkesi Haziresi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 34 (Aralık 2010): 132-159.

¹⁵⁸ Feridun Emecen, *ibid*, 566.

miscellany itself, by extolling its pleasurable aesthetic power.¹⁵⁹ Although there is no indication in the primary sources such as the *Tezkire-i Sâlim* or the *Sicill-i Osmânî* that he had resided in İstanbul for a long time, it is known that he was promoted in his duties when Ebû Sa'îd-zâde Feyzullâh Efendi (d. 1698) was assigned to the office of *şeyhülislâm*, and he would later on become the *mollâ* of Üsküdar in subsequent years.¹⁶⁰ His son Mehmed Emîn Efendi (d. 1743), who had worked in Tripoli (Trablusşam), Kayseri, and Belgrade as a *medrese* teacher (*müderres*) and a qadi (*mollâ*),¹⁶¹ was most probably a Naqshi-Mujaddidi disciple who exchanged letters with Murâd Bukhârî. An Arabic epistle entitled “To Hâdî-zâde Mehmed Efendi, the son of our master” and recorded in the collection of Murâd Bukhârî’s epistles indicates that the sheikh had contact with Mehmed Emîn as well.¹⁶² Since we have no clues as to whether ‘Abdülhâdî, whose pseudonym was Hâdî and who was born in Bursa where he lived for a long time and was buried, sojourned in İstanbul or not, we might assume that there was another poet whose pen name was Hâdî who, in fact, did reside in the capital. However, when we consult the biographical dictionary of Sâlim which records the biographies of poets who lived, for the most part, in the last quarter of the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th century, we realize that there is only an entry on “Hâdî”. Therefore, one might assert that it was ‘Abdülhâdî from whom Gaznevî received a poem for his miscellany. Nevertheless, it is still ambiguous as to how they made contact with each other, and whether they kept in touch with Murâd Bukhârî when he was in Bursa and İstanbul.

¹⁵⁹ Since I will focus on Hâdî’s and other poets’ poetry in the third chapter I will not go into detail here, with the exception of giving his poem, as follows:

Zehî mecmû‘a-i kenzü’l-me‘ânî
 Cihânda görmemiş dîde anı
 Zehî naqş-ı ferah-zâ u muşanna‘
 Ne Erjeng itmege kıadir ne Mânî
 Nazar kılsunlar erbâb-ı ma‘ârif
 Ki görsünler kemâlât-ı cihânı
 Sezâdur olsa manzûr-ı şehinşâh
 Mü’ellef eylesün şad imtinânı
 Ne mümkün Hâdiyâ vaşfi ide hâme
 Budur haqq kim bulunmaz ana şânî (fol. 58a)

¹⁶⁰ See *Tezkire-i Sâlim*, 715-717; *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. 1, 123.

¹⁶¹ *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. 2, 458.

¹⁶² The aforementioned Arabic epistle is entitled in the collection thusly: “İlâ el-veledi’l-‘azîz Mevlânâ Hâdî-zâde Mehmed Efendi”, see *Mektûbât-ı Şeyh Murâd Nakşibendî*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi V.E. 1780, fol. 32a-32b.

III. 3. 3. Focusing on the *waqf* records: Why was Gaznevî's *waqf* granted to Mehmed Kâmil Efendi?

As was already mentioned in the first chapter, a document dated June 7, 1738, demonstrates that es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil Efendi consulted the *şeyhülislâm* of the time, es-Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi (d. 1745) and demanded the trusteeship of the *waqf* of the deceased Gaznevî, especially since his wife, Hanîfe Hâtûn, also had died a few years earlier. Since many documents dated to subsequent years bear Mehmed Kâmil's name, it becomes clear that he was indeed awarded with the trusteeship of the *waqf* until his death, at the very beginning of the 19th century. Since the *waqf* that was founded by Gaznevî was given to Mehmed Kâmil after the death of Gaznevî's wife, this section will focus on the probable relationship between Gaznevî's family and Mehmed Kâmil Efendi. Through this connection, I will be able to demonstrate the close ties between Gaznevî and the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order.

The granting of Gaznevî's *waqf* to Mehmed Kâmil raises a few curious points, which deserve elaboration. One may wonder about the real reasons behind this shifting of hands; to this end, the following questions must be first answered: Was Mehmed Kâmil acquainted with Gaznevî and his wife before their deaths? To what extent did being a *seyyid* affect the transfer of the *waqf*? What was the real reason behind the demands of Mehmed Kâmil; did he really attach such importance to the continuation of the *waqf*, or was he primarily motivated by his own self-interests? When we focus on the entries pertaining to Mehmed Kâmil in the primary sources, we realize that there is only one entry referring to his exact date of death. As mentioned previously, an archival document dated May 30, 1801, indicates to us that Mehmed Kâmil Efendi died within a short time before the document's creation. In the *Sicill-i Osmânî*, an entry on Karabey-zâde Hacı Mehmed Kâmil Efendi, who was the son of Osmân Efendi and the nephew of the abovementioned *şeyhülislâm* es-Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi, clarifies that he died on April 23, 1801 (9 *Zi'l-ħicce* 1215).¹⁶³ Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (d. 1895), corrects some details of this account in his comprehensive work on the history of the Ottoman Empire, writing that Mehmed Kâmil Efendi's title was *Kara Bekir-zâde*, rather than *Karabey-zâde*. This is something also confirmed by Michael Nizri, who has produced an extensive research

¹⁶³ *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. 3, 861.

on the slain *şeyhülislâm* Feyzullâh Efendi (d. 1703) and his household.¹⁶⁴ From these sources, we can say with some certainty that es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil Efendi, who was the nephew of the *şeyhülislâm* Mustafâ Efendi and the grandson of the slain *şeyhülislâm* Feyzullah Efendi, died in the April of 1801. As far as the rest of his biography is concerned, according to Mehmed Süreyyâ, the historian and biographer who penned the *Sicill-i Osmânî*, along with other sources, Mehmed Kâmil Efendi was born in 1142/1729-30, and became a *müderriş* in 1744, when he was just 15 years old. After being appointed as the *mollâ* (qadi) of Galata in 1769, of Egypt (Cairo?) in 1776, and of Medina in 1778, he was assigned as *nakibüleşraf*, the chief representative of the descendants of the Prophet, on May 31, 1786. He carried out the duty of the chief military judge of Anatolia (*Anadolu kadaskeri*) from April 2, 1788, to March 4, 1788, the date he was appointed as *şeyhülislâm*. On September 8, 1789, however, in the beginning of the reign of Selim III (r. 1789-1807) he was dismissed from office and exiled to his *arpalık*,¹⁶⁵ Keşan, where he sojourned for 17 months. He was the son of Fatma, one of Feyzullâh Efendi's daughters, who was married off to Karabekir Efendi-zâde Osman Efendi (d. 1769), the chief military judge of Rumelia. Apart from his three daughters, Fâtima, Ayşe and Emîne, who were discussed in the first chapter, he also had a son by the name of Muhib Mehmed Efendi (d. 1792).¹⁶⁶

Given the fact that the *waqf* of Gaznevî Mahmûd passed into the ownership of Mehmed Kâmil in 1738, when the latter was only 8 or 9 years old, the authenticity of the formal archival documents needs to be verified. As detailed earlier, within the document it is stated that es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil Efendi consulted the *şeyhülislâm* and demanded the trusteeship of Gaznevî's *waqf*, which at that time passing into a new hand every year. The rather lofty title used for Mehmed Kâmil in the document - *kıdvetü'l-'ulemâ'i'l-muḥakkikîn*, (the pioneer of pundits who investigate the truth) - was a signifier of someone very advanced in Islamic scholarship; yet this title is quite strange when we consider that,

¹⁶⁴ See Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet: Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4, simplified by Dündar Günday (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1994): 1788; Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): 67.

¹⁶⁵ "In general, the concept of *arpalık* (literally: barley money) refers to a special source of income given to officials of all groups in the elite as a supplement to their salary or living allowance upon their leaving office or while they were waiting to be appointed." See Michael Nizri, *ibid*, 153.

¹⁶⁶ This very short biography of Mehmed Kâmil Efendi is written by considering the following primary and secondary sources: BOA, C. MF. 14/683/1; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. 3, 861-862 and vol. 4, 1098; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. 4, 1788; Michael Nizri, *Ottoman High Politics and the Ulema Household*, 66-67; Abdülkerim Abdülkadiroğlu, "Mehmed Kâmil Efendi," *TDVİA*, vol. 28 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2003): 494; "Mehmed Kâmil Efendi," in *İlmiyye Sâlnâmesi: Meşîḥat-ı Celîle-i İslâmiyye'niñ Cerîde-i Resmîyyesine Mülḥakdır*, ed. Meşîḥat-ı 'Ulyâ Mektûbcılığ (Dârü'l-hilâfetü'l-'aliyye: Matba'a-i 'Âmire, 1334): 560-561.

as stated above, he was just 8 or 9 years old at the time. One should also pay attention to the fact that Mehmed Kâmil's father, Osmân Efendi, who was still alive in 1738, was not even mentioned in the document. Taking all of this into consideration, it seems likely that the main reason behind the transfer of the *waqf* was for the prospective self-benefit of Mehmed Kâmil, rather than out of any concern for the continuation of the *waqf* itself. For this purpose, the *şeyhülislâm* es-Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi granted the *waqf* to his non-adult nephew es-Seyyid Mehmed Kâmil instead of the child's father, Osmân Efendi. To better understand this decision, we should look at the particulars of Mustafâ Efendi's career:

*Mustafa Efendi (1679-1745), Feyzullah's second son, climbed all the rungs of the medrese ladder in the short space of just two and a half years. In September 1698, he received his first appointment in the legal establishment when he was appointed judge of Salonika along with the honorary rank of judge of Edirne. Afterwards his father appointed Mustafa to the following positions: (honorary) judge of Mecca (October 1699), sitting judge of Mecca (January 1702), sitting chief military judge of Anatolia (March 1703). He was aged only 24 when he was appointed chief military judge of Anatolia, skipping the intermediate stage of judge of İstanbul.*¹⁶⁷

As can be understood from the quoted passage, Mustafâ Efendi had experienced a system in which nepotism and self-seeking were regarded as conventional practices. Accordingly, even though the primary sources describe him as modest, pious, graceful, benevolent, and fair,¹⁶⁸ it seems that he was, too, inclined to nepotism and self-seeking. What makes Mustafâ Efendi special for us, however, is his adherence to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. It is known that his father, Feyzullâh Efendi, was a disciple of Murâd Bukhârî, and endowed farms and lands to the sheikh in Damascus.¹⁶⁹ His son Mustafâ Efendi continued to contribute to the order in İstanbul by granting a *tekke* to the Naqshbandis in Nişancı, after his return to the capital.¹⁷⁰ Although we have no evidence regarding his long sojourn in Bursa (1703-1730), one could assume that he formed a close friendship with Murad Bukhârî and other Naqshi-Mujaddidis during his obligatory residence in the city. In this regard, one could likewise think that he had close relations with the Naqshbandi adherents in İstanbul. Given that Gaznevî himself may have been an adherent of the Naqshbandiyya, it is possible that Mustafâ Efendi was aware of his *waqf*

¹⁶⁷ Michael Nizri, *ibid*, 92-93.

¹⁶⁸ See *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. 4, 1154; and *İlmiyye Sâlnâmesi*, 560.

¹⁶⁹ Şimşek, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Nakşibendî-Müceddidilik*, 93.

¹⁷⁰ *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol. 4, 1154.

which passed into different hands every year. Therefore, a second reason behind the transfer of the *waqf* could have been the *şeyhülislâm* Mustafa Efendi's intention to take the *waqf* under the protection of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidis.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on the relations between Gaznevî Mahmûd and the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order, and I have tried to uncover clues as to the nature of this relationship from Gaznevî's miscellany and the records pertaining to his *waqf*. To this end, in the first section, I have included a brief history of the Naqshbandiyya, from its inception to each of the four phases it eventually evolved through. Fundamentally, however, the second section was focused upon the long-lasting presence of the Naqshbandiyya in the Ottoman lands. In this section, I have taken the individual movements and large-scale migrations of the Naqshbandis into consideration. In the last part of the chapter, I have tried to reveal evidence pertaining to Gaznevî's relations with the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidis, the third phase of the Naqshbandi order. To understand this relationship, various elements must be analyzed: initially, this chapter focused on the various possible reasons for Gaznevî's arrival in the Ottoman capital. Secondly, it examined the poems taken from 'İzzî and Hâdî, two well-known Naqshi-Mujaddidi disciples of the time, into Gaznevî's miscellany. I have claimed that Gaznevî might have had close relations with the adherents of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. Lastly, I have looked at the transfer of the *waqf* of Gaznevî, have traced the possible influence of the Naqshbandis on the process of the transfer. In what follows, we will consider the poets from whom the poems were taken for the miscellany, and in doing so I will focus on the intellectual network in which Gaznevî played an active role.

CHAPTER: 4

THE LITERARY NETWORK AROUND GAZNEVÎ MAHMÛD

In this chapter, I intend to focus on the literary contributors to Gaznevî's miscellany. By looking at the poets (İzzî, Nahîfî, Hâdî, Emnî, Şehdî, and Şerîf) from whom Gaznevî Mahmûd received poems for his miscellany, I will attempt to reveal the literary circle in which Gaznevî himself was situated. To this end, I will initially utilize primary and secondary sources to produce biographical notes on the lives and careers of these aforementioned poets. Secondly, I will examine the distiches written by these poets, and I will make commentaries about their context and evaluate them in terms of their literary form and content. In doing so, I aim to reveal the features of the literary network which existed around Gaznevî. Furthermore, I aim to also analyze the remarkable characteristics of those poets whose distiches would eventually be incorporated into Gaznevî's miscellany.

IV. 1. The Literary Network Around Gaznevî Mahmûd

Gaznevî's miscellany included not only artistic works such as decorative paper works but also poems written by a small number of poets, most of whom lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. Although we may keep the words of the poet T. S. Eliot in mind that "No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead."¹⁷¹ it seems as though we can value Gaznevî not by setting him against the dead, but rather by placing him amongst his own contemporaries. Since all the poets from whom Gaznevî took distiches for his miscellany were Gaznevî's contemporaries, in this chapter, I aim to understand the literary network that had formed around Gaznevî by

¹⁷¹ T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1951): 15.

focusing on their biographies and poems. Through this, I will be able to elucidate one of the possible reasons behind lack of information about Gaznevî's own art, career, and life story: the willful neglect of the authors of later biographical dictionaries. As we shall see, it is possible that the renowned biographer of the eighteenth century, Sâlim (d. 1743) might represent first and foremost factor behind mystery surrounding Gaznevî; for though he identified and introduced most of the poets penning distiches for Gaznevî's miscellany, he did not write even a single word about Gaznevî's life and career.

Before going into detail, however, a short description of the relevant distiches by these poets is necessary. When looking at the miscellany, we can see that Gaznevî gave titles to seven of the eleven poems taken from other poets. In producing these titles, he referred to the forms of classical Ottoman poetry. For instance, one of the poems taken from Emnî was marked as "Ġazel-i Emnî" which indicates that it is a lyric ode. Another poem taken from Şehdî was marked as "Ġazel-i Şehdî der-vaşf-ı mecmû'a" in the miscellany. This title tells us that by penning this ode, Şehdî intended to praise Gaznevî's miscellany. Poems which were not entitled in the miscellany were mostly penned by Gaznevî himself. However, four poems written or recited by other poets, which were nevertheless left untitled by Gaznevî, can be identified through pseudonyms of the poets given in the last distich of the poems. Poems penned by Hâdî, 'İzzî, and Şerîf, are explicit examples of this type. In what follows, with reference to these poems written by other poets, I will focus on biographies of the poets and their specific poetic styles. Even though among the contributors to the miscellany are renowned poets such as 'İzzî and Nahîfî, I prefer to prioritize the poets from whom Gaznevî received more than one poem. Therefore, I will present the poets in the following orders: Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, Hâdî, Nahîfî, and 'İzzî.

IV. 1. 1. Şerîf

In addition to an ode entitled "Ġazel-i Şerîf" (The Ode of Şerîf), two other poems accompanied by the pseudonym "Şerîf" appear in Gaznevî's miscellany. Gaznevî seems to have favored Şerîf's work, because he included three of his poems in his collection; by contrast, only two poems each by Emnî and Şehdî can be found in the miscellany. For now, we shall leave the content of his poetry aside; instead, it is Şerîf's biography that is of interest.

When we consult the biographical dictionaries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, particularly Sâlim's *Tezkire*, we can see that there were, in fact, three

poets who wrote under the pseudonym of “Şerîf”. Despite this, the biographies of these three poets, all of whom were members of the *ulema* class, are not given in equal detail in the *Tezkire* of Sâlim. For instance, he states that the poet Abdullah who adopted “Şerîf” as his pseudonym was a character-wise (*sütüde-şifât*) and dexterous (*ehl-i ma’rifet*) person. He also states that this ‘Abdullah Şerîf became a candidate-professor (*mülâzım*) and protégé of Mirzâ-zâde Şeyh Mehmed Efendi (d. 1735) in 1120/1708-9.¹⁷² However, he does not give us ‘Abdullâh Şerîf’s birth year or birthplace. Rahmetullâh, another poet whose pseudonym was Şerîf, is also mentioned in Sâlim’s and Safâyî’s biographic dictionaries. As of Crimean origin, he took refuge in İstanbul at an early age, and after learning Arabic, the religious sciences, poetry, and prose from savants of his time, he joined the class of the qadis of Rumelia.¹⁷³ Since neither Sâlim nor Safâyî were able to give more details about the lives and careers of ‘Abdullâh and Rahmetullâh, we should hesitate to claim that it was one of them who composed couplets for Gaznevî’s miscellany. For this reason, I want to take the third poet into consideration.

The third poet who adopted “Şerîf” as his pseudonym was Müftî-zâde İsmâ’îl of Kula. According to Sâlim, he was born in Kula, where he superseded his father’s post. In 1110/1699 he travelled to Edirne, where he presented a quatrain (*kt’a*) for Nakîbüleşrâf Hoca-zâde Seyyid ‘Osmân Efendi (d. 1770).¹⁷⁴ Due to a bevy of complaints and slanders against him, he was dismissed from office, but when he offered a rubaie (*rubâ’î*) to Şeyhülislâm Paşmakçı-zâde ‘Alî Efendi (d. 1712) he was reappointed to the office.¹⁷⁵ While he was later dismissed from his post for a second time he was eventually forgiven after he presented a eulogy to chief admiral Kaymak Mustafâ Pasha (d. 1730), who had been appointed to this office in 1721. Sâlim describes Müftî-zâde İsmâ’îl as a fearless and reckless *alim* (*bî-bâk u bî-pervâ*) who is very talented in utterance (*suḥan-sâzî*) and

¹⁷² Sâlim, *Tezkire-i Sâlim*, 380. Mirzâ-zâde Şeyh Mehmed Efendi who was son-in-law of the deceased *şeyhülislam* Feyzullâh Efendi, held the office of *şeyhülislam* for almost 8 months (September 30, 1730 – May 17, 1731). For more details on his career see Mehmet İpşirli, “Mirzâ-zâde Şeyh Mehmed Efendi,” *TDVİA*, vol. 30 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2005): 170-171.

¹⁷³ Salim, *ibid*, 379; Mustafa Safâyî, *Tezkire-i Safâyî*, 319. Although Safvet included two distiches of Rahmetullâh or Şerîf-i Kırımı in his *Nuḥbetü’l-Âşâr* he did not give any details about his life and career. See Safvet, *Nuḥbetü’l-Âşâr*, fol. 57a.

¹⁷⁴ Hoca-zâde Seyyid ‘Osmân Efendi, the second son of Hoca-zâde ‘Abdullâh Efendi was born in İstanbul. When Bahâî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1654) was appointed as the chief mufti of Rumelia in 1646 Seyyid ‘Osmân was sent to learn the Islamic sciences from him. After fulfilling several duties for over half a century he was eventually assigned the role of *nakîbüleşrâf* in 1695 and in 1699. After retiring in September 1695, he emigrated to Medina where he died on October 30, 1700 (17 Cemâziyye’l-evvel 1112). For more details about his career see Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Veḳâyi’u’l-Fudalâ*, vol. 2-3, 173-174.

¹⁷⁵ For more information about Paşmakçı-zâde ‘Alî Efendi see Mehmet İpşirli, “Paşmakçı-zâde Ali Efendi,” *TDVİA*, vol. 34 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2007): 185-186.

in composing eulogies (*kaşīde-perdāzī*).¹⁷⁶ Considering the fact that Sâlim completed his *Tezkire* in 1722¹⁷⁷, one might readily conclude that Müftî-zâde İsmâ‘îl was dismissed from his office for the second time between the years 1720-1722, which is an explicit indication that he visited İstanbul once again during these years. Given the fact that, contrary to ‘Abdullâh Şerîf and Rahmetullâh Şerîf, Müftî-zâde İsmâ‘îl Şerîf is identified by Sâlim in details based on concrete dates and names, it seems likely that Müftî-zâde İsmâ‘îl was a well-reputed *alim* among Ottoman high-ranking officials and *ulema*. Therefore, even though Sâlim does not tell us whether Müftî-zâde İsmâ‘îl sojourned to İstanbul before 1685, the year Gaznevî completed his miscellany, it would hardly be surprising if he had not, in fact, been in the city before 1685, and had kept in touch with Gaznevî Mahmûd later on. Nevertheless, since we have no concrete evidence about the poet Şerîf, the other possibilities are also entirely plausible.¹⁷⁸

Among the poems received from Şerîf are two odes and a quatrain, each of which was written down on different folios in the miscellany. The number of distiches varies from poem to poem, and it is only the title of a particular ode, entitled “*Ġazel-i Şerîf*”, that tells us the name of the poet. After examining the poems produced by Şerîf, it becomes clear that he penned his poems after observing the nearly complete miscellany, for within these poems he praises both Gaznevî and the artistic depictions, decoration, and ornamentation found within the miscellany. The lofty expressions found within this short ode (the aforementioned *Ġazel-i Şerîf*) are remarkable in this regard. In this ode, Şerîf praises the miscellany by comparing it to a rose-garden (*gülistân, gülşen*) and an orchard (*bûsitân*). He also compares each fluent distich of the miscellany to a flowing river in a rose-garden (*Oldı gūyâ anda her beyt-i selîs / Vādî-i gülşende bir âb-ı revân*). Given the fact that the rose-garden represents paradise in the symbolic system of classical Ottoman poetry, the allusion that Şerîf makes, comparing Gaznevî’s miscellany to paradise, is obvious.¹⁷⁹ Şerîf continued to praise Gaznevî and his miscellany in another

¹⁷⁶ For Müftî-zâde İsmâ‘îl see Sâlim, *ibid*, 376-379.

¹⁷⁷ For more details about the life and works of Sâlim see Hüseyin Güfta, “Sâlim,” *TDVİA*, vol. 36 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2009): 46-47.

¹⁷⁸ In addition to the abovementioned poets, one should consider that Müstakîm-zâde stated that the following scholars adopted “Şerîf” as their pseudonyms: Seyyid Mehmed b. Şeyh Burhân Hamîdî, Mehmed b. Mehmed Şerîfî, Mehmed b. Seyfû‘l-kad (?), Mehmed b. ‘Abdullâh b. Şeyhülislâm Mahmûd Efendi, and Şeyhülislâm Mehmed Şerîf b. Şeyhülislâm Mehmed Es‘ad b. Şeyhülislâm İsmâ‘îl Efendi. See Müstakîm-zâde, *Mecelletü ‘n-nişâb*, fol. 274a.

¹⁷⁹ This ode, comprising of three distiches, is as follows:

Gazel-i Şerîf
Hâbbezâ mecmû‘a-i reşk-i gülistân

ode, this time consisting of twelve distiches, in which the figurative comparisons are again based on the traditional components of classical Ottoman poetry. In this same ode, for instance, he likens Gaznevî to Mani, the founder of Manicheism, who had acquired fame as a unique painter among Islamic artists, and he compares Gaznevî's miscellany to Mani's *Ārdhang* (Erjeng in Ottoman Turkish).¹⁸⁰ Indeed, in the first distich of the ode, he claims that a thousand *Ārdhangs* of Mani cannot be equal to a single leaf of Gaznevî's miscellany (*Zehî mecmû'a kim bir şafhasına / Naẓîr olmaz hezâr Erjeng-i Mânî*). In the following distiches of the ode, Şerîf describes Gaznevî's miscellany variously as the garden of dexterity (*bâğ-ı hüner*), the garden of wisdom (*bahāristān-ı 'irfān*), a paradise (*bâğ-ı Riḍvān*, *bâğ-ı irem*), a coquettish captivating woman (*dil-ber-i nāzende*), and the artistic collection of Khusrau (*muşanna' dīvān-ı Husrev*). In the tenth distich of the ode, Şerîf rather hyperbolically asserts that the eyes of universe have never seen a work of art marked by such passion (*Ki hergiz görmemişdir çeşm-i 'ālem / Dağı bir böyle naqş-ı dil-nişānı*). Finally, in the last distich, he writes that Gaznevî has become the arbiter of the chamber of the humanities (*Muḥaşşal Ġaznevî k'olmuş Şerîfâ / Ma'ārif bezminiñ şāhib-beyānı*) which is an indication that Şerîf appreciated Gaznevî not only for his miscellany's artistic decoration, but also for his poetry. It also indicates that Şerîf was not a stranger to the appreciation of the Islamic decorative arts.¹⁸¹ The third poem composed by Şerîf is a quatrain inscribed into the adorned *bordures* of folio 51b. In this poem, he makes a figurative comparison between roses and wine, as well as the ground color of *bordures* with the gold-colored bowl in terms of their hues.¹⁸² In brief, it seems as though Şerîf's main purpose is to praise Gaznevî and his miscellany through the usage of such figurative comparisons.

Olsa lâyıķ añā bülbül-i murğ-ı cān
 Oldı güyā anda her beyt-i selīs
 Vādî-i gülşende bir āb-ı revān
 Hāşılı bu tuḥfe-i nā-dīdeniñ
 Her varak bir naqş olunmuş būsitān [fol. 50a]

¹⁸⁰ For a more comprehensive introduction on Mani's biography see Werner Sundermann, "Mani," *Encyclopædia Iranica* online edition, 2009, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mani-founder-manicheism> (accessed on 11 May 2017).

¹⁸¹ See *Tuḥfe-i Ġaznevî*, fol. 45a-45b.

¹⁸² See *Tuḥfe-i Ġaznevî*, fol. 51b.

IV. 1. 2. Emnî

Emnî, from whom Gaznevî received two odes, is another poet who made a significant contribution to the miscellany. In contrast to Şerîf's poems, all of the odes received from Emnî, are marked by titles in the miscellany, and each title indicates the content and the main theme of the poem. Though the subject of one of the odes is confined to worldly love and beauties, the other one is composed as a panegyric description of the miscellany. Firstly, however, some biographical notes on Emnî's life are in order.

When we look at the second half of the seventeenth century, we find that, in almost all of the biographical dictionaries of the period, mention is made of two different distinguished poets who used "Emnî" as their pseudonyms while penning or uttering poems: Emnî Mehmed Agha of Amid / Diyarbekir, and Emnî Süleymân of İstanbul. Assuming that either one of them may have composed odes for Gaznevî's miscellany, the first step is to identify which one is the more plausible author. Consulting the entries related to Emnî Mehmed Agha, we learn that he may have been born around 1640 in Amid or Diyarbekir, an eastern province of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸³ After receiving a thorough education, he entered the service of the provincial governors' office and gradually advanced in rank. By 1690, it is clear that he had advanced to the position of steward (*kethüdâ*) to Salık Ahmed Pasha (d. 1692) in Tripoli (Trablusşam). When Ahmed Pasha was appointed as the governor of Baghdad in 1691, Emnî Mehmed Agha accompanied him. However, only a year later, Ahmed Pasha died in Baghdad in while preparing for a campaign against Māni', the leader of a Bedouin tribe in Basra.¹⁸⁴ Emnî Mehmed Agha continued to service in office, participating in the army of Halîl Agha, the newly-appointed governor of Baghdad and Ahmed Pasha's brother; however, this was not last, as Emnî Mehmed Agha was soon killed on the battlefield while fighting against Bedouin rebels in 1693.¹⁸⁵ Although there is no known literary work by Emnî which has

¹⁸³ Emnî Mehmed Agha's possible year of birth is only mentioned by Alî Emîrî (d. 1924) who prepared a comprehensive biographical dictionary of poets born in Amid. See Alî Emîrî, "Emnî," in *Tezkire-i Şu'arâ-yi Âmid*, vol. 1 (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Amedi, 1910): 39.

¹⁸⁴ Although Müstakîm-zâde states that Emnî was the steward of Kalaylı Ahmed Pasha (d. 1715), Alî Emîrî refers to another Ahmed Pasha by recording the fact that Kalaylı Ahmed Pasha became the governor of Baghdad in 1694. Nevertheless, Alî Emîrî cannot indicate the exact Ahmed Pasha in this manner. Considering the names and close dates mentioned in Alî Emîrî and Mehmed Süreyyâ's biographic dictionaries, I have decided that it might be Salık Ahmed Pasha who was the patron of Emnî Mehmed Agha in Tripoli and Baghdad. Therefore, despite Alî Emîrî's statement that Emnî Mehmed Agha was the steward of the governor of Damascus (Şam), I am convinced by Mehmed Süreyyâ that he was the steward of the governor of Tripoli (Trablusşam). See Müstakîm-zâde, *Mecelletü'n-nisâb*, fol. 117a; Alî Emîrî, *ibid*, 39-40; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. 1, 218.

¹⁸⁵ In contrast to the generally-accepted opinion, Safvet writes that Emnî was murdered in the battle in 1102/1691-92. See Safvet, *Nuḥbetü'l-Âşâr*, fol. 10b.

survived to the present day, Alî Emîrî writes that he knew of many works penned by him (*haft-ı destiyle muharrer birçok âsârı meşhûdumuz olmuştur*). Both Sâlim and Alî Emîrî agree that Emnî Mehmed had never been to İstanbul. According to Sâlim, there were many reasons behind Emnî's reluctance to visit İstanbul: among other things he possessed a certain degree of stupidity (*bir miqdâr müdemmag*), a sense of self-importance (*kendiye i'tibârı*), a feeling of self-conceit among witty people (*beyne'l-zurefâ zâtına iğtirârı*), and, furthermore, he was an arrogant (*pindârî*) person.¹⁸⁶ Alî Emîrî, on the other hand, harshly criticizes Sâlim's characterization of the poet, and instead writes that Sâlim's recriminations were due his own aristocratic affiliations, wealth, and his inexperience of poverty.¹⁸⁷ He also writes that Emnî Mehmed composed imitative poems (*nazire*) akin to those that previous and contemporary poets had composed, and was a very close friend of Nâbî (d. 1712), one of the most renowned poets of the second half of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. Among the celebrated poets who were imitated by Emnî Mehmed were Nâbî, Âgâh (d. 1728), Fehîm Kadîm (d. 1647), Vâlî-i Âmidî (d. 1738), Nedîm (d. 1730), and Râşid (d. 1735).¹⁸⁸ Though a competent and worldly poet, since it is explicitly written that Emnî Mehmed never lived in or travelled to İstanbul or Edirne, it seems improbable that Gaznevî Mahmûd would have been able to receive poems from him for inclusion into his miscellany. For this reason, it seems likely that it was the other Emnî, the İstanbulite Emnî Süleymân, who sent the odes to Gaznevî.

The second poet who adopted "Emnî" as a pseudonym in the second half of the seventeenth century was Selîm-zâde Süleymân (d. 1698). After receiving an education in poetry, prose, and calligraphy, he began to serve as the principal clerk (*dîvân efendisi*) in several vizierial households, and finally became attached to the household of the vizier Firârî Hasan Pasha, the governor of Egypt.¹⁸⁹ Although Sâlim states that Emnî Süleymân was an İstanbulite poet, which would seem to indicate that he was born and spent most

¹⁸⁶ Sâlim, *ibid*, 90.

¹⁸⁷ Alî Emîrî, *ibid*, 40. Alî Emîrî's criticism was as follows: "Sâlim Efendi Şeyhu'l-islâm-zâde olduğu için dünyâya geldiği günden i'tibâren zâdegânlık vazîfesiyle mu'anven olmuş ve büyüdükçe rütbe ve me'mûriyet de büyümüş ve zarûretîñ ne demek olduğunu görmemiş olduğundan tecrübesizlik sâ'îkasıyla söyleyebilir ise de..."

¹⁸⁸ Alî Emîrî, *ibid*, 40-45. The following primary sources include biographical information about Emnî Mehmed Agha's life and career: Alî Emîrî, *ibid*, 38-48; Sâlim, *ibid*, 89-90; Müstakîm-zâde, *ibid*, fol. 117a; Mehmed Süreyyâ, *ibid*, 218; Safvet, *ibid*, fol. 10b; Mustafâ Safâyî, *ibid*, 72; Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Veķâyî 'u'l-Fuđalâ*, vol. 2, 109; and Mehmed Nâilî, *Tuķfe-i Nâ'ilî*, vol. 1, prepared by Cemal Kurnaz and Mustafa Tatçı, (Ankara: Bizim Büro Yayınları, 2001): 60-61.

¹⁸⁹ Although Sâlim, Şeyhî Mehmed, and Safâyî states that Emnî Süleymân ultimately ended up in the service of Firârî Hüseyin Pasha, Müstakîm-zâde, Nâilî, and Mehmed Süreyyâ instead write that his patron's name was Firârî Hasan Pasha. For a short entry on Firârî Hasan Pasha, see Mehmed Süreyyâ, *ibid*, vol. 2, 638.

of his life in İstanbul, he in fact died in the Hejaz, in 1698, where he was eventually buried.¹⁹⁰ Emnî Süleymân's competence and perfection in poetry and calligraphy is emphasized in several biographical dictionaries. Sâlm, for instance, identifies him as a calligrapher (*hoş-nüvīs*), a dexterous individual (*mālik-i 'irfān*), and a distinguished learned (*güzīde-i dāniş-verān*) poet.¹⁹¹ Müstakīm-zāde likewise remarks that after receiving calligraphy lessons from his preceptor Seyyid Hâşimî, Emnî became a peerless talent in calligraphic styles such as *sülūs*, *nesih*, *tevkî'*, and *dīvânî*.¹⁹² Almost all the biographical dictionaries also point out Emnî Süleymân's adherence to the Qadiri order.¹⁹³ Moreover, Safâyî states that because he adhered to the Qadiriyya, his poetry was passionate and his words were plain (*Tarîk-i Kādiriyye'ye intisābı olmağla eş'arı 'aşıqāne ve güftarı şūfiyānedür*).¹⁹⁴ Considering the fact that Emnî Mehmed Agha had never been to İstanbul, while, in contrast Emnî Süleymân spent most of his life there, working as a principal clerk in vizierial households, it seems likely that it was from this Emnî Süleyman that Gaznevî Mahmûd received odes for his miscellany.

As already mentioned above, among the poems found in Gaznevî's miscellany were two odes composed by Emnî. The odes were marked with red-colored titles which indicate their content and forms. In this regard, the first ode is entitled "Ġazel-i Emnî," which indicates that a strong lyrical style dominates the content of the poem. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the poem, maintains the symbolic traditions of classical poetry, in that the poet Emnî narrates uphill conflicts arising between lover and beloved. This contrast, between lover and beloved, is reflected even in antonymous words in the first line of the opening distich (*matla*) of the ode: "Young beauties (beloved ladies) have started in old rigors". By using "old rigor" (*cevr-i kühen*) and "young beauties" (*tāze güzeller*) in the same line, the poet on the one hand reinforces the meaning of the distich, and on the other hand remarks upon the unmerciful face of the beloved. Since mercilessness is one of the characteristic attributes of the beloved in classical poetry, poets tended to refer to it in their odes. The second distich of the aforementioned poem is

¹⁹⁰ Nâilî, *ibid*, 61.

¹⁹¹ Sâlim, *ibid*, 89.

¹⁹² Müstakīm-zāde, *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭāfīn*, 213.

¹⁹³ The abovementioned notes on the life and career of Emnî Süleymân were taken from the following sources: Sâlim, *ibid*, 89; Safâyî, *ibid*, 72-73; Müstakīm-zāde, *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭāfīn*, 213; Nâilî, *ibid*, 61; Belîğ, *Nuhbetü'l-Âsâr*, 20, Mehmed Süreyyâ, *ibid*, 480.

¹⁹⁴ Safâyî, *ibid*, 72.

a good example in this regard: “To murder the brave lover, they (young beauties) have stuck the sword of a glance in [his] chest” (*Tiğ-i nigehi eylediler sîneye havâle / İhlâk için ‘âşık-ı ser-bâza güzeller*). In this distich, maintaining the tradition of classical poetry, Emnî describes the glance of the beloved as a kind of physical wound; yet, since such a glance is what the lover seeks for, he does not complain about the oppressions originating from his beloved.¹⁹⁵ Unlike the impassioned lyricism of this ode, Emnî’s second ode instead aims to praise Gaznevî and his miscellany, in a similar manner to that of Şerîf’s poems. The title of the ode also rather explicitly indicates the topic of the poem: “Emnî’s ode relating to the commendation of the miscellany” (*Ġazel-i Emnî der-vaşf-ı mecmû‘a*). Since Emnî uses the phrase “the miscellany of the sultan” (*mecmû‘a-i cihân-bânî*) in the first distich of the ode, it is likely that Emnî had already been informed by Gaznevî that the miscellany was being prepared for the sultan. In the same distich, by making a figurative comparison between the miscellany and an adorned bride, Emnî states that the miscellany is worthy of the sultan due to its excellent beauty (*‘Arûsa beñzerdi mecmû‘a-i cihân-bânî / Kemâl-i hüsnle oldı sezâ-yı sulţânî*). In the following distiches, Emnî continues to describe the miscellany’s effects, likening the odes (*ğazeller*) to a moaning nightingale (*‘andelîb-i nâlânî*) and the midst of the lines (*miyân-ı sûtûr*) to a flowing river (*âb-ı revân*) and writing that looking upon the miscellany exhilarates the heart (*dile neşât virür tâ o deñlü seyrânı*) and comforts the soul (*nigâhı pür-ferah eyler derûn-ı insânı*). Lastly, he compares Gaznevî and Mani, stating that if Mani had been able to see Gaznevî’s recent techniques (*tarh-ı tâze*) and decoration (*naķş*) he would have admired him (*Bu tarh-ı tâze ile Ġaznevî-i pür-hünerüñ / Göreydi naķşını Mânî olurdu hayrânı*). In light of this distich, it is clear that Emnî exalted Gaznevî, not only in terms of his innovative style, but also because of his originality in the decorative arts.¹⁹⁶

IV. 1. 3. Şehdî

In addition to Şerîf and Emnî, another remarkable figure who represented by more than one poem in Gaznevî’s miscellany is Şehdî. There are two poems explicitly attributed to the pseudonym “Şehdî” in the collection: an ode entitled “Ġazel-i Şehdî der-vaşf-ı mecmû‘a” (Şehdî’s ode relating to the praise of the miscellany), and an imitative poem entitled “Nazîre der-sitâyiş-i mecmû‘a” (An imitative poem relating to the praise

¹⁹⁵ For the entire content of the ode see *Tuħfe-i Ġaznevî*, fol. 22b.

¹⁹⁶ For the entire content of the ode see *Tuħfe-i Ġaznevî*, fol. 44b.

of the miscellany). As is clear from the titles of the poems, the main theme of both was the praise of the miscellany. For this reason, the identification of the poet is rather obligatory if we wish to more generally understand the relationship between the poet (Şehdî) and the composer of the miscellany (Gaznevî).

Using the miscellany's date of completion (1097/1685-86), together with dates contained within the biographical dictionaries of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, two different poets who bear the pseudonym "Şehdî" emerge as possibilities for the author of the aforementioned poems: the İstanbulite Mustafâ Çelebî (d. 1098/1686-87), and a resident of Antioch named Mustafâ Şehdî (d. 1140/1727-28). Although the entries on the latter within the biographical dictionaries are considerably more detailed, I am convinced that it was the İstanbulite Mustafâ Çelebi who composed these two poems for Gaznevî's miscellany. For comparison, however, I will first give some details on the life of the latter poet, the Antiochene Mustafâ Şehdî. Sâlim, who wrote the earliest entry on Mustafâ Şehdî's career, states in his *Tezkire* that Mustafâ Şehdî, who was born in *Antakiyye*, headed for İstanbul early in life for the purpose of completing his education. According to Müstakîm-zâde, he studied calligraphy under Karakız Hoca-zâde Mehmed Enverî and specialized particularly in *sülüis*, *nesih* and *ta'lik*. Afterwards, as detailed by Sâlim, he served as the principal clerk under the patronage of several viziers. Since he was able to compose odes and eulogies in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian, he formed friendships with literati and high-ranking officials of the time. He was prolific enough that, as described by Râmiz, when he died in 1727-28 he left a completed poetry collection (*dîvân*) behind.¹⁹⁷

The other poet who used "Şehdî" as his pseudonym was an İstanbulite, Mustafâ Çelebi. Even though his biography is not as detailed as that of Mustafâ Şehdî in primary sources, the most satisfactory pieces of information relating his career are supplied by Safâyî in his well-known *Tezkire*. In this work, Safâyî states that Mustafâ Çelebî was born in İstanbul and, after receiving calligraphy training, he participated in the class of clerks for the imperial council (*dîvân-ı hümayûn*). Lastly, he adds that Mustafâ Çelebi died in 1098/1686-87. The most significant piece of information, however, is given by Belîğ in *Nuhbetü'l-Âsâr*, in which he presents Mustafâ Çelebi as "Der-kenâr".¹⁹⁸ Given the fact

¹⁹⁷ For more details about the life and career of Mustafâ Şehdî see Sâlim, *ibid*, 390-393; Safâyî, *ibid*, 326-330; Müstakîm-zâde, *Tuhfe-i Haqqâfîn*, 551; Râmiz, *Adab-ı Zürefâ*, 175; Nâilî, *ibid*, 510; Mehmed Süreyyâ, *ibid*, vol. 5, 1571; and Mehmed Tevfik, *Mecmû'atü't-Terâcim*, İÜNEK-TY 192, fol. 83b.

¹⁹⁸ See Safâyî, *ibid*, 314; Belîğ, *ibid*, 187; Şeyhî Mehmed, *ibid*, 673; Nâilî, *ibid*, 510; and Mehmed Süreyyâ, *ibid*, vol. 5, 1571.

that Mustafâ Çelebi was known as “Şehdî” in his literary circle, one might infer that “Der-kenâr” was his nickname in the office. The third distich of Şehdî’s ode relating to the praise of the miscellany is an explicit clue in this regard; in this distich, Şehdî states that he wishes the miscellany will be accepted by the sultan and that he (Şehdî/Der-kenâr) himself will be accepted as the witness of the miscellany (*İsterüm bu tuhfesi maḳbûl-i şāhen-şeh ola / Şāhid-i maḳşûdı olsun der-kenâr Ğaznevî*). Considering Belîğ’s testimony on Şehdî’s nickname and Şehdî’s usage of “der-kenâr” in the second line of the aforementioned distich, we can conclude that it was Mustafâ Çelebi who composed two poems for Gaznevî’s miscellany.

As was already mentioned in the very beginning of this section, Şehdî is represented by two pieces of poetry in the miscellany. Contrary to Şerîf and Emnî, however, he does not restrict his poems’ main theme to the mere praise of Gaznevî and his miscellany. Instead, in order to encourage the sultan’s admiration for the miscellany and its composer, he takes advantage of his personal intimacy with the sultan to write to him directly. In his imitative poem (*nazire*), for instance, he addresses the sultan and asks for him to accept Gaznevî’s miscellany. As an example, in the fourth distich of his imitative poem, in which he makes figurative comparisons between both Gaznevî and a parrot (*tûḫî*), and between the miscellany and a garden of candy (*ḳandistān*), he requests that the sultan respond to Gaznevî by showing him the mirror of grace (*Tûḫî-i ṭab’a bu ḳandistān-ı şan’atda şahā / Gösterüp āyîne-i lutfi cevāb itmez misin*). In the fifth distich of the poem, however, he also requests that the sultan bestow favors on himself (*Şehdî-i maḳlaş du’ā-gūña idüp lutf-ı hezār / Hāṭırın āsūde tā rüz-ı ḳesāb itmez misin*).¹⁹⁹ Therefore, by exalting the miscellany, on one hand Şehdî is asking for the sultan’s benevolence in favor of Gaznevî; yet there is also an element of self-interest, for he also requests the same beneficence for himself. In addition, when we consider the repeated words (*itmez misin*), rhyme (*-āb*) and prosody (*Fā’ilātün fā’ilātün fā’ilātün fā’ilün*) of the poem, it is possible to see that Şehdî is, in fact, here imitating a poem of Gaznevî which was recorded on *fol. 4a* of the miscellany. We may also take this to indicate that Şehdî had already seen Gaznevî’s paintings, decorative paper works, and poems during their preparation process. Although Şehdî addresses the sultan in his imitative poem, he switches the addressee in another ode, in which “Ğaznevî” is utilized as the central rhyme. By referring to Gaznevî’s pseudonym several times, Şehdî perhaps aimed to emphasize

¹⁹⁹ For the fullest extent of the poem see *Tuḫfe-i Ğaznevî*, fol. 22a.

Gaznevî's innovative artistic style and, to create a favorable impression for the sultan. In the second distich of the ode, for instance, he states that, even though he has seen many miscellanies, the eyes of the heavenly sphere have never seen such an adorned and colored miscellany (*Gerçi çok mecmû 'a gördük görmedi çeşm-i felek / Böyle bir mecmû 'a her dem bahâr Ğaznevî*). After this praise of the miscellany, in the fifth distich, Şehdî attempts to present Gaznevî himself in the most favorable manner, in order to further instill a good impression upon the sultan. To this end, he claims that Gaznevî recalls sultan's name every day and night, and in doing so, dignifies his person (*Şehdîyâ ol şehriyâr-ı bahr u berrüñ dâ'imâ / Zîkr ü vasfıyla geçer leyl ü nehâr Ğaznevî*).²⁰⁰

IV. 1. 4. Hâdî

As was mentioned previously in the second chapter, Hâdî is another poet who produced work for Gaznevî's miscellany. Yet, contrary to Şerîf, Emnî, and Şehdî's poems, the only poem received from Hâdî in the collection is not given a specific title. Instead, the pseudonym "Hâdî" indicates its composer.

Most of the details concerning Hâdî's career were recorded for the first time by Sâlim in his *Tezkire*. According to this text, Hâdî was born into a celebrated *ulema* family in Bursa, where his father 'Abdülbâkî Efendi was the *şeyh* of Gâzî Hüdâvendigâr Mosque. After receiving his primary training in *sarf* (grammar), *nahiv* (syntax), poetry, and prose instruction from Nâzikî 'Abdullâh Efendi, he was initiated into *sufî* training under Ahmed Efendi, 'Uryânî Âlî Efendi, and Şeyh Ahmed 'İzzî Efendi. The latter also gave him an education in the hadith. After completing his education, he was appointed to several different madrasas in Bursa. Among these madrasas were the Kadriyye (1092/1682), Leysî-zâde (1102/1691), Hüseyin Paşa (1106/1695), Erzincânî (1110/1699), Şâhîn Lâlâ (1114/1703), 'İvâz Paşa (1116/1705).²⁰¹ After fulfilling his duties successfully in these madrasas, he was appointed as *qadi* to several successive locations, among which were Tire (1116/1705), Trablusşam (1119/1708), Kayseri (1122/1710), Âmid (1134/1722), and Üsküdar (1139/1727).²⁰² Since Hâdî's date of death is unknown, disputes about his

²⁰⁰ See *ibid*, fol. 44a.

²⁰¹ The aforementioned appointment dates are recorded by Sâlim in his *Tezkire*. Most of the dates given by Şeyhî Mehmed in his biographical dictionary confirm Sâlim's entries. However, the catalogue of the teaching staff of 'İvâz Paşa Medresesi indicates that Hâdî was appointed to the madrasa in 1109/1698 and carried out his duty until 1116/1705, the year he was assigned as the *qadi* of Tire. See Salih Pay, "Bursa İvaz Paşa Medresesi Müderrisleri," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1999): 251.

²⁰² The latter is mentioned by Râmiz in *Âdab-ı Zürefâ*. Hâdî was the *qadi* of Âmid while Sâlim was writing his *Tezkire*.

exact date of death arose among the biographers. Although Râmiz states that Hâdî died in Üsküdar in Cumâde'l-ülâ 1140 / December 1727-January 1728, Nâilî and Mehmed Süreyyâ record the years 1142/1730 and 1143/1731, respectively. Nâilî also claims that Hâdî was buried in Mecca.²⁰³ Considering this shortness of the entries on Hâdî's career, it is nevertheless interesting that, except for his last years in Üsküdar, there is no mention of his sojourn to İstanbul. Furthermore, as was mentioned in the third chapter, except for his intimacy with Ebû Sa'îd-zâde Feyzullâh Efendi (d. 1698) who appointed him to Leysî-zâde Medresesi in 1691, there is no clue as to the extent of his relations with high-ranking officials. Therefore, it is hard to say exactly how Gaznevî was able to receive a poem from Hâdî.

Sâlim highly praises Hâdî, who is represented by a single poem in the miscellany, in terms of his intelligence and knowledge, and for his talent in articulating and composing poetry. As with the poems of Şerîf, Emnî, and Şehdî, Hâdî's poem is also confined in terms of topic to the praise of the miscellany, and the glorification of Gaznevî's artistic preferences. In the first distich of the poem in which the miscellany is exalted due to its inclusive semantic repertory, it is claimed that no eyes have before observed such a miscellany (*Zehî mecmû'a-i kenzü'l-me'ânî / Cihânda görmemiş dâde ani*). In the second distich, he continues to extoll the pleasurable and artistic decoration of the miscellany, asserting that neither Mani nor his miscellany (*Ârdhang/Erjeng*) could have surpassed Gaznevî and his new collection (*Zehî nakş-ı feraḥ-zâ u muşanna' / Ne Erjeng itmege kâdir ne Mânî*). After recommending in the third distich that learned men (*erbâb-ı ma'ârif*) should scrutinize (*naẓar kılsunlar*) the miscellany for the purpose of observing the excellence of the universe (*kemâlât-ı cihân*), Hâdî states in the fourth distich that the miscellany is worthy of being presented to the sultan (*sezâdur olsa manzûr-ı şehinşâh*). Lastly, in the fifth distich, he rather grandiosely asserts that he is utterly incapable of panegyriizing such an unprecedented work (*Ne mümkün Hâdiyâ vaşfi ide ḥâme / Budur ḥaḳḳ kim bulunmaz ana sâñî*).²⁰⁴

²⁰³ For the entries on Hâdî's career see Sâlim, *ibid.*, 715-717; Râmiz, *ibid.*, 281; Safâyî, *ibid.*, 724; Belîğ, *ibid.*, 526-528; Nâilî, *ibid.*, 1190; and Mehmed Süreyyâ, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 109.

²⁰⁴ *Tuḥfe-i Ğaznevî*, fol. 58a.

IV. 1. 5. Nahîfî

Nahîfî is another poet with a poem presented in the miscellany. The poem, entitled “Güfte-i Nahîfî” (Nahîfî’s Lyrics/Words), is composed of three distiches in which the main theme, once again, is the praise of the miscellany. Before focusing on Nahîfî’s *güfte*, however, some biographical detail on Nahîfî is warranted.

Nahîfî Süleyman lived between the second half of the seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century, and was born into an *ulema* family in İstanbul. Mustafa Uzun, writing about Nahîfî’s relatively long career, states that Nahîfî might have been born in 1076/1665-66, because, in 1099/1688 he wrote down in his newly-completed book *Hilyetü’l-Envâr*²⁰⁵ that he was 24 years old. As the grandchild of a man named Sâlih, who was a clerk at a public office (*yeniçeri kalemi*), and the son of a preacher named Şeyh ‘Abdurrahmân Muhyî Efendi, he received a high-quality primary education. He also learned the art of calligraphy from the celebrated calligrapher Hâfîz ‘Osmân Efendi (d. 1699). After completing his primary education, he entered into the palace school, where he improved his abilities and gained experience in state affairs. After performing as a clerk at the office of the *Yeniçeri Kalemi* for a while, he was assigned to the Privy Chamber (*Has Oda*), where he was in the service of the sultan. In 1100/1689, he joined the suite of the ambassador Mehmed Pasha, and went to Persia where he met Persian *ulema* and *literati*. After his return, he became the head clerk for Şehîd ‘Alî Pasha (d. 1716). In 1131/1719, under Damad İbrâhîm Pasha (d. 1730), he participated in the peace talks in Vienna. He stayed in the service of Damad İbrâhîm Pasha until 1726, the year that he retired from state affairs. He died in 1151/1738 and was buried outside Topkapı in İstanbul. In addition to his advanced skills in state affairs, Nahîfî was also appreciated for his literary works and translations. Among his most esteemed poetic works were his poetry collection that included not only works written in Ottoman Turkish but also those in Arabic and Persian, and his poetic stories concerning the birth (*Mevlidü’n-Nebî*), the migration (*Hicretü’n-Nebî*), the description (*Hilyetü’n-Nebî*), and the ascension (*Mi’râcü’n-Nebî*) of the Prophet Muhammad. His complete translation of Mawlana Jalâl ad-Dîn Rûmî’s (d. 1273) *Mesnevî* into Turkish has also always been held

²⁰⁵ This is a poetic long story composed in the form of a *mesnevi* in which 2871 distiches were composed. Among the poems taking place in this *mesnevi* were many poems praising the Prophet Muhammad (*na’î*). See Mustafa Uzun, “Nahîfî,” *TDVİA*, vol. 32 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006): 298; Murat Ali Karavelioğlu, “Nahîfî Süleymân,” (14.05.2014), <http://www.turkedebiyatisimlersonzlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=2663> (07.06.2017).

in high esteem; since he was an adherent of the Mawlawiyya, he must have been motivated while translating it from Persian into Ottoman Turkish. As one of the most influential poets of his time, he tended towards philosophical and sagacious topics. In addition, as a result of his interest in music, he composed hymns and eulogistic poems, generally focused upon the praise of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁰⁶

The main theme of the *güfte* composed by Nahîfî is, again, the praise of the miscellany itself. In other words, Nahîfî followed a similar pattern to Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, and Hâdî, all of whom wrote glowing descriptions of the miscellany in their poetry. Nahîfî also extolled Gaznevî's decorative works and paintings, indicates that he closely followed the preparation process of the miscellany. His word choice reflects the celebratory purpose of his poetry; in the first distich of the poem, for instance, he reveals his admiration by using the exclamatory word “*zehî*” (how good! / how nice! / how beautiful!) at the very start of the line. In the same distich, he describes Gaznevî's paintings and pictures as peerless works instilling feelings of comfort and pleasantness (*nuķūş-ı leţāfet-nümā-yı müsteşnā*) and accompanied by a new, fresh style (*tarāvet*) giving a lot of joy and health (*rūh-efzā*). In the second distich, by pretending ignorance (*tecāhül-i ârif*), he exalts the miscellany in terms of its artistic style (*tarz-ı muşanna*), delightful composition (*tarh-ı laţif*), and its hearth-embellishing imagery (*resm-i dil-ārā*). In the last distich, by likening pleasurable qualities of the miscellany to both a rose-garden and the season of spring, he states that contemplating the miscellany extirpates the dust of sorrow from the heart (*Ķalur mı gerd-i keder seyr idince dillerde / Bu nev-bahār-ı şafā-baĶşı gülistān-āsā*).²⁰⁷

IV. 1. 6. ‘İzzî

Another poet from whom Gaznevî received a poem for his miscellany was ‘İzzî. Although it is hard to make a whole transliteration of his particular poem due to the erasure of much of the script and the fading of the ink, by shading the background of the folio, it becomes possible to discern a large portion of the poem. From this portion, it is clear that the poem was composed by ‘İzzî, since his pseudonym is clearly visible on the leaf.

²⁰⁶ For more details about the life, works, and literary style of Nahîfî see Mustafa Uzun, *ibid*, 297-299; Edith Gülçin Ambros, “Nahîfî,” *EI*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1993): 905.

²⁰⁷ See *Tuhfe-i Ķaznevî*, fol. 46a.

As was discussed previously, although there are in fact two unrelated poets identified under the pseudonym “‘İzzî” in the biographical dictionaries (‘İzzî Süleymân and ‘İzzî Mehmed), when we look the relatively more dazzling career of ‘İzzî Süleymân, and when we take his skill in composing chronographic poems for newly-built buildings into consideration, I am convinced that it was ‘İzzî Süleymân whose poem was included in the miscellany. His birth year is unknown.²⁰⁸ What we do know is that his father, Halîl Agha, was the chief halberdier (*baltacılar kethüdası*) of Hatîce Sultân (d. 1743), the daughter of the sultan Mehmed IV (d. 1693).²⁰⁹ Since his father was a learned man, ‘İzzî received his primary education from him. He also learned Arabic and Persian during this period. After this initial education, he began to study under a celebrated calligrapher of the time, Eğrikapılı Hoca Mehmed Râsim Efendi, under whom he practiced calligraphy, particularly *sülûs* and *nesih*. Due to his fine handwriting and his ability in composing poetry and prose, he joined the corps of the clerks of the imperial council. After performing several official duties within many years, ‘İzzî was appointed as official historiographer in 1745 and carried out this duty until 1753, the year he went to Hejaz for performing *hajj*. From 1753 to 1755, the year of his death, he fulfilled the duties of the chamberlain (*teşrifatçı*) in official ceremonies. His adherence to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order is remarkable, so much so that he translated *Enîsü’l-Ṭâlibîn*, the book on the virtues of Bahâ ad-dîn Naqshband, the founder and eponym of the Naqshbandiyya, into Ottoman Turkish. Indeed, when he died, he was buried in the yard of Murâd Bukhârî’s lodge in Eyüp. Though it is stated in the primary sources that he organized his poetry into a *divan*, this collection of his poetry remains lost.²¹⁰

Contrary to Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, Hâdî, and Nahîfî, all of whom composed poems to praise Gaznevî and his miscellany, ‘İzzî seems to have written his poem for its artistic

²⁰⁸ In *Mecmû’atü’t-Terâcim*, Mehmed Tevfik Efendi mistakenly records 1197/1782-83 as Süleymân ‘İzzî’s year of birth. However, he correctly indicates that ‘İzzî died in Cemâziyye’l-âhire 1168/ April 1755. Therefore, one might think that he intended to mark 1097/1685-86 as ‘İzzî’s birth year. If this is so, it becomes definite that it was ‘İzzî Mehmed (d. 1694) who composed a poem for Gaznevî’s miscellany. However, since Mehmed Tevfik Efendi (d. 1858) does not make any mention of his sources in this entry we must approach this entry with some caution. For Mehmed Tevfik’s entry on Süleymân ‘İzzî see Mehmed Tevfik, *Mecmû’atü’t-Terâcim*, fol. 106b. For a general perspective on *Mecmû’atü’t-Terâcim* and its importance among biographical dictionaries see Azmi Bilgin, “Mehmed Tevfik Efendi’nin *Mecmûatü’t-Terâcim*’inin Edebiyat Tarihimizdeki Önemi,” *İlmi Araştırmalar* 17 (2004/1): 83-88.

²⁰⁹ The function of the Corps of Halberdiers was “to carry wood into the male and female quarters of the third court, to clean the royal residence, and to serve the Council Hall... They were divided into two groups, one in the service of black eunuchs in the harem, the other in the service of the male quarters of the third court and of the council Hall.” See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: MIT Press, 1991): 73-74.

²¹⁰ For more information about ‘İzzî Süleymân’s life, career, and works see Feridun Emecen, “‘İzzî Süleymân Efendi,” *TDVİA*, vol. 23 (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2003): 565-566.

value; perhaps his intention, in this case, was more to display his talent in composing poetry rather than to exalt the miscellany and its collector. The form and content of the poem indicates that it was penned as an ode rather than a eulogy. As was already mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a fundamental ambiguity to ‘İzzî’s word choice, and one might claim that ‘İzzî, too, was writing to praise his master or the sultan. Nevertheless, given the fact that the word *maḥbūb* (beloved) might simultaneously denote a beloved lady, the sultan, and Allah, his poetic subject may have been more aesthetic than panegyric; in fact, it seems likely that ‘İzzî was addressing a more earthly beloved in his poem. He utilizes several classical Ottoman tropes of physical beauty in his poetry, such as likening the laugh of the beloved to a flower-bud (*ğonçe-āsā ḥande*), and the face as a shining moon (*meh-peyker*), or an angle (*melek-sīmā*); all of which seem to indicate that it was a lady to whom ‘İzzî was imploring. In another characteristics of Ottoman love poetry, he describes himself as a bonded slave before his beloved.²¹¹ Even so, we should bear in mind that these descriptions were also used in classical Ottoman poetry when the beloved was in fact the sultan or Allah. Since it is hard to determine who the “real” beloved is in ‘İzzî’s ode, one might also think that what motivated Gaznevî to receive an ode from ‘İzzî was a simple admiration for ‘İzzî’s poetry. If this is so, it is more understandable why ‘İzzî’s poem should be more aesthetically focused and less panegyric than the others.

IV. 1. 7. An unidentified poet

Apart from poems composed by Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, Hâdî, Nahîfî, and ‘İzzî, there is another poem composed by an unidentified poet which is recorded in the miscellany. The main subject of the poem is the description of Sarajevo with accompanying praise of the city’s beauties. Given the title of the poem (*Naẓîre*), repeated words (*-i sarāyuñ*), rhyme (*-ān*), and prosody (*Mef’ülü Mefā’lîlî Mefā’lîlî Fa’ülün*) it is clear that the poem was composed as an imitative work, in response to another earlier ode concerning the praise of Sarajevo. Since neither the title of the work the poem is in response to (*Der-sitāyiş-i Sarāy-Bosna*) nor the last distich of the response tells us the name of the poet, it is difficult to initially discuss its composer. However, a third poem in the miscellany, which is entitled “Cevāb-ı Naẓîre” (The response for the imitative poem) clearly indicates the pseudonym of the author: Gaznevî. Therefore, one might claim that there was a

²¹¹ For ‘İzzî’s ode see *Tuhfe-i Gaznevî*, fol. 42a.

reciprocal back-and-forth of poetic imitation between Gaznevî and this unidentified poet. This becomes more clear when we place all three poem in a sequence; in fact, the initial “*Der-sitâyiş-i Sarây-Bosna*” was also penned by Gaznevî. Subsequently, in response to this, the unidentified poet composed an imitative poem (*Naẓîre*). Finally, Gaznevî wrote another poem (*Cevâb-ı Naẓîre*) as a response to the previous poem. However, except for the prosody and the main theme of the poem, there is no imitation in terms of the repeated suffix (-dur) and rhyme (-ā) in the final poem. Nevertheless, all three poems were written for the same purpose: to praise Sarajevo and its beauties.²¹² Accordingly, it is possible Gaznevî included it in his miscellany in order to showcase a complete “set” of poems. One might also claim that he included it simply because of its artistic value.

Overall assessment and conclusion

By looking at all of the poets (Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, Hâdî, Nahîfî, and ‘İzzî) who contributed to Gaznevî’s miscellany by composing poems, we are able to form the following picture:

Pseudonym	Name	Home City	Family Background	Occupation around 1685	Religious Affiliation
Gaznevî	Mahmûd	İstanbul	Ulema?	Clerk (Mâliye)	Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi?
Şerîf	Müftî-zâde İsmâ‘îl	Kula	Ulema	Müftî?	?
Emnî	Selîm-zâde Süleymân	İstanbul	Bureaucrat?	Clerk (Vizierial Households)	Qadiri
Şehdî	Mustafâ	İstanbul	Bureaucrat?	Clerk (Dîvân-ı Humâyûn)	?
Hâdî	‘Abdülhâdî	Bursa	Ulema	Madrassa Professor	Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi
Nahîfî	Süleymân	İstanbul	Ulema	Clerk in the Palace	Mawlawi
‘İzzî	Süleymân	İstanbul	Janissary	Clerk?	Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi

Table 2: Basic information about the contributors to the miscellany

Taken the table into consideration, it is clear that most of the poets including Gaznevî himself, were members of either the *ulema* or were descended from bureaucrat families. It is known that in the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire, members of ulema,

²¹² For the aforementioned poems, see *Tuhfe-i Gaznevî* fol. 14b, 23a, 23b, 24a, and 24b. Because of the confusion in the composition of the miscellany, the subsequent part of the first poem is written down on fol. 23a rather than 15a.

bureaucrat, and janissary families were inclined to continue in the same line.²¹³ The exception to this were *çelebis*. Given that “*çelebi* was a handy designation for anyone who was prominent but whose career did not fall strictly within one of the recognized lines: religious, military, or bureaucratic.”²¹⁴ it is understood that they tended towards eclectic professions and interests.²¹⁵ As can be seen in the table, the aforementioned poets were mostly inclined towards carrying on their fathers’ occupation. Nahîfî and ‘Îzzî, however, did not pursue the path of their fathers. Therefore, we can possibly consider them to have been *çelebi*. Since Safâyî also gives us Şehdî as a *çelebi*, there is no doubt about his social status. It is also remarkable that three poets (Şerîf, Hâdî, and Nahîfî) were members of *ilmiyye* class. Taking together both the possibility that Gaznevî may have been born into an *ulema* family, and the family backgrounds of Şerîf, Hâdî, and Nahîfî, we might claim that the bonds between Gaznevî and *ulema* class were stronger than previously believed.

The second striking observation we can glean from the table is that four out of the six poets were engaged in clerkship, either in vizierial households or in the palace. We should remember that Gaznevî was also a clerk in the Financial Office. Taken together, it becomes clear that Gaznevî tended to associate with his counterparts who were assigned to high-ranking offices and households, and appealed to them to compose poems for his miscellany, which would eventually be presented as a gift to the sultan. In doing so, he was in fact perhaps attempting to overcome the bureaucratic obstacles preventing him from contact with the sultan and the palace. Thus, while the poems composed by the aforementioned poets undoubtedly carried artistic value, they were also intended to serve a more mundane purpose, acting as recommendation letters for Gaznevî. Remembering the fact that, except for ‘Îzzî’s and the unidentified poet’s poems, all of the poems were centered on the praise of the miscellany and Gaznevî, it is possible to see that by praising Gaznevî and his miscellany, the aforementioned poets were willing to utilize their rank and prestige to introduce Gaznevî to the sultan. When we look at the locations of most of these poets, we see that four out of six of them were residents of İstanbul, where Gaznevî

²¹³ Itzkowitz gives many examples in this regard. See Norman Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities,” *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 91-93.

²¹⁴ Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 115.

²¹⁵ In 17th century Ottoman Aleppo, for instance, those who dubbed as *çelebi* were prominent doctors, master builders, moneychangers, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters, and dealers in drugs, spices, coffee, paper, and butter. See Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989): 51.

also established his *waqf*; it is clear, then, that Gaznevî developed fairly strong connections within the city. Yet the presence of Hâdî and Şerîf, makes it clear that he did not restrict his friendship solely to the residents of İstanbul, but rather cultivated relationships in multiple parts of the Empire.

Furthermore, though I have argued in the third chapter that Gaznevî formed close friendships with Naqshi-Mujaddidi adherents, it should be obvious that he did not restrict his intimacy solely to Naqsbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya. As can be seen in the example of Emnî, Gaznevî also had connections with adherents of the Qadiri order. His friendship with Nahîfî indicates that he was also familiar with the Mawlawiyya. However, since there is relatively strong evidence concerning his Naqshi-Mujaddidi affiliation, it still seems quite likely that he was an adherent of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order and not member of these other groups.

Finally, the possible reasons behind the lack of information regarding Gaznevî's life and career deserves some attention. When we look at the biographical dictionaries of the time period in question, the biographer Sâlim is able to present us with the most information about the life and career of five renowned figures from whom Gaznevî received poems. With the exception of Şehdî, Sâlim was able to introduce Şerîf, Emnî, Hâdî, Nahîfî, and 'İzzî to later generations. Since it is clear that Sâlim was acquainted with most of the poets who were in touch with Gaznevî, it seems curious that Sâlim omitted to write about Gaznevî's career and poetry. It may be that it was Sâlim who first neglected Gaznevî and his artistic works. Another reasonable explanation is to assign responsibility to Müstakîm-zâde's preferences in this regard. Given the fact that Müstakîm-zâde presented the life stories of a large number of clerks in *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭâṭîn*, we might wonder about the reasons why he neglected to mention Gaznevî, who was also a clerk. Nevertheless, we should remember that, although Sâlim completed his *Tezkire* in 1722, Müstakîm-zâde was able to make a fair copy of *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭâṭîn* in 1770.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have tried to reconstruct a possible biography and career history for a virtually unknown Ottoman clerk, calligrapher, bookbinder, and dilettante poet named Gaznevî Mahmûd, who compiled his miscellany in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. He spent his life, and produced his art, in the search for an effective patron who could launch him into the realm of high officialdom; to this end, he cultivated a religious and literary network that would help him in the creation of his sole surviving artistic work, his miscellany. To study his life, this miscellany represents our primary source: consisting, as it does, of poems composed by Gaznevî Mahmûd and his contemporary poets; of decorative paper works, ornamentations, and paintings produced, again, by Gaznevî himself; and of several seals made by an engraver by the name of Sırrî. Besides the miscellany, however, sources are scarce; due to this paucity of information about Gaznevî Mahmûd's career in biographical dictionaries and other more well-utilized primary sources, I have here tended towards the use of archival documents preserved in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives. As a result of this effort, the following contributions, I hope, have been brought out into the field.

Since the paucity of information regarding the life and works of Gaznevî Mahmûd has always been a common issue in earlier studies of his work, one of the main purposes of this thesis has been to fill this gap, and to attempt to construct a plausible biography of Gaznevî himself. Having discovered and deciphered various archival records for this purpose, the following details concerning Gaznevî's career have come to light. Firstly, it has become increasingly clear that Gaznevî Mahmûd was an assistant clerk in the secretarial quarter of the Financial Office, sometime before May 1686. However, since he is regularly identified in several later archival records, relating to a *waqf* established in his name, the evidence would seem to suggest that he advanced in office after presenting the miscellany to the sultan, and that he was eventually appointed as the head of Accounting for Anatolia. Since he held this position for many years, it is likely that he built up quite a reputation as the Accountant of Anatolia. Furthermore, the archival

documents suggest that Gaznevî Mahmûd was able to visit the holy cities, since he was entitled *el-Hâc* in these documents. Due to a lack of evidence, however, this study remains incapable of explaining when, exactly, Gaznevî Mahmûd found an opportunity to perform his hajj. Nevertheless, we can speculate that he may have visited the Hejaz after retiring from his official duties. Thirdly, research conducted for this thesis has more conclusively shown that Gaznevî Mahmûd's origins lay in Central Asia, specifically in Ghazna, which was under the control of the Mughal Empire at that time and was very close to the two main westward caravan routes, by way of Kabul and Kandahar. Because a later calligrapher who taught calligraphy at Gaznevî's school became known as "Gaznevî Hoca", it is clear that society-at-large was aware of Gaznevî Mahmûd's homeland and origin. We cannot be sure how, or for what purpose, he or his father made their way to the Ottoman capital; nevertheless, from the archival documents examined here, we have become considerably more familiar with Gaznevî Mahmûd's personal life and family, including his wife, Hanîfe Hâtûn, and his son, both of whom passed away many years after Gaznevî's death. Finally, new research has made it clear that Gaznevî Mahmûd was able to establish a pious foundation in Tahtakale / Uzunçarşı, which was one of the more significant districts of İstanbul at the time, and the preferred location for high-ranking officials to build residences, commercial buildings, and establish religious foundations. Considering the fact that his own *waqf* consisted of a school, an inn, and a fountain, we can conclude that he had a relatively high source of income and that he did eventually reach the upper ranks of the bureaucracy.

The second major purpose of this thesis was to examine the reasons behind the composition of the miscellany. By focusing on the miscellany itself, four primary reasons stand out as clear possibilities, which may have encouraged Gaznevî to prepare a miscellany for the sultan. The first and most explicitly stated motivation was his intention to present the miscellany as a gift for the sultan. The words *tuhfe* (gift), *nev-tuhaf* (new oddity), and *ihdâ* (giving gift), all of which directly relate to this intention, appear frequently throughout the miscellany and give us some indication of Gaznevî's purpose. Secondly, this thesis has speculated that Gaznevî Mahmûd prepared his miscellany as a mark of his own artistic skill. The poems in which he extolled his skill in producing decorative paper works are clear indications in this regard. When we look at these poems, we can see that after comparing himself with Mani and Fahrî, famed artists in the techniques of painting and decorative cut-paper illustrations, he placed his miscellany as the inheritor and successor of their works. The poems contained within the miscellany,

including those written by several other poets, are also good examples in this regard, since their authors likewise praised Gaznevî's skill in *kat'ı* art. This thesis has also advanced the idea that Gaznevî Mahmûd compiled his miscellany as a means to advance his career. When we look at the miscellany, we can see a considerable number of poems in which the phrase '*arż-ı hâl* (submitting the situation, submission) has been used by Gaznevî. Although the author never deigned to explicitly utter such a mundane request to the sultan, it seems likely that by using this phrase he intended to offer something of a hint, although he left the final decision to the sultan. Lastly, this thesis has also suggested that one of the main reasons behind the compilation of the miscellany was Gaznevî's wish to give solace to the sultan, who had been demoralized after the catastrophic Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683. Though we cannot find a single piece of poetry or decorative paper work that explicitly evinces this intention, the Qur'anic verses and religious sayings engraved into the seals emplaced on several leaves of the collection may act as implicit evidence in this regard. When we focus on the meaning of the verses and sayings in question, it becomes clear that their thematic content is, almost exclusively, about trusting in the will of God. For this reason, we can speculate that these seals had been ordered made by Gaznevî as means to console the sultan following his loss.

The exploration of the literary and religious network that had formed around Gaznevî Mahmûd has been the last and most important focus of this thesis. For this purpose, I have attempted to reveal the extent of Gaznevî's relationship with the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order in the third chapter, and to uncover the breadth of his literary network in the fourth. The initial motivation for examining Gaznevî's connection with the adherents of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order were the remarkable details that I encountered in the archival sources pertaining to Gaznevî's *waqf*, as well as a few poems written down into the miscellany itself. After realizing that 'İzzî and Hâdî, two poets whose poems were included in the miscellany, might have been disciples of the Naqshbandiyya, I began to think about the close relationship between the order and Gaznevî's circle of literary contributors. As a result of my research, I have asserted in this thesis that Gaznevî was very close to the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. Among the indications for this conjecture, the poet 'İzzî, who had earned a reputation as a Naqshbandi, composed a chronogram for the fountain built by Gaznevî in Uzunçarşı, and had one of his poems recorded in the miscellany. Hâdî, another one of the miscellany's contributors, spent many years of his life in his hometown of Bursa, where a considerable number of Naqshbandis had been present since the 15th century. Though we have no

evidence as to whether Hâdî himself was a Naqshbandî, it is known that the most prominent Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi sheikh, Murâd Bukhârî, was in contact with Hâdî's son, Mehmed Efendi. In addition to these details concerning 'İzzî and Hâdî, the transfer of Gaznevî's *waqf* to disciples of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order following his death is yet another reason to propose a connection between Gaznevî and the order. When we consider that the *waqf* was eventually transferred to Mehmed Kâmil Efendi, the nephew of the *Şeyhülislâm* es-Seyyid Mustafâ Efendi, and that both of these figures were known Naqshbandis, I have asserted in this thesis that Gaznevî himself may have also been an adherent of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order.

Describing the literary network in which Gaznevî was centrally situated is the last objective of this thesis. Taking into consideration the poets Şerîf, Emnî, Şehdî, Hâdî, Nahîfî, and 'İzzî, all of whom contributed to the miscellany through the composition of poems, I have tried to reveal the extent and importance of the literary network in question. As a result of this study, however, it has become clear that this literary network was not defined, necessarily, by aesthetic or literary sensibility, but rather had a predominantly bureaucratic character, since most of the poets (Emnî, Şehdî, Nahîfî, and 'İzzî) were clerks either in imperial council or in vizierial households. When the thematic content of the poems composed by these poets is taken into consideration, the dominant topic was in fact the praise of Gaznevî himself, or the miscellany within which the poems were contained. With this in mind, this thesis has also claimed that the main reason behind Gaznevî's choice to solicit poems from these poets was his wish to benefit from their higher standing in the palace. In other words, it is clear that the inclusion of these poems taken from other poets in fact served a more mundane purpose, acting a recommendation letters for Gaznevî in his quest to attain higher office.

Of course, this thesis is unable to cover the entirety of the topic; it is my hope that the shortcomings of this study can be rectified through further research. First of all, it is clear that Gaznevî Mahmûd's biography requires more attention. Although I have utilized both biographical dictionaries and archival documents in this study, I have neglected other sources, including in particular the *qadi* registers. Careful research into the *qadi* registers may, in the future, provide us with more accurate information about Gaznevî Mahmûd's life and work. Secondly, as has been stated previously, the scope of this thesis is restricted solely to those poems written down in the miscellany. Even so, further studies on the thematic content of the poetry are needed for a full appreciation of Gaznevî's work. Furthermore, since the *kat'î* works have been excluded from this study, there remains a

great need for a comprehensive study on Gaznevî's decorative paper works, paintings, and ornamentations. Lastly, because this thesis has neglected to examine Gaznevî's miscellany together with other miscellanies compiled in the second half of the 17th century, the comparative study of Gaznevî's work against those of his contemporaries remains a fertile area for future research.



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APPENDIX A
THE TRANSCRIBED TEXT OF THE MISCELLANY²¹⁷

[1a]

I

Ez-luṭf-i Ḥudā-yi cān-perver
İsteşhabehū el-fakīr Zīver²¹⁸

[1b]

II

Mefā'ılün mefā'ılün mefā'ılün mefā'ılün
Bi-ḥamdi'llāh yine te'sīr-i feyz-i ḥükm-i Rabbānī
Ziyā-baḥş eyleyüp rü-yi zemīni kıldı nūrānī
Bi-ḥamdi'llāh yine te'yīd-i imdād-ı Ḥudā birle
Cihāna sāye şaldı fer ile ol zıll-ı Yezdānī
'Aceb-midür seḥāb-āsā dem-ā-dem dürr-feşān olsa
Olupdur dest-i cūdī vü sa'y aña Ḥaḳḳuñ iḥsānı
Neşātundan ḳabā-yı sebzi giydi cümleten eşcār
Şarıldı yāsemin dāmān-ı serve itdi cevlanı
Şabā bū-yı dil-āvīziyle esdikce gülistāna
Şafāsundan perīşān itdi zülfün bīd-i sulṭānı
Dağıldı ḥ'āb-ı nāzı 'andelībūñ şaḥn-ı gülşende
Açıldı gözleri nergislerüñ gül aldı meydānı

[2a]

Döşendi cā-be-cā bizüm bahāruñ tāze ezhārı
Şüküfiyle pür oldı bāğbānuñ ceyb ü dāmānı
Dizildi leşker-i ezhār şaf şaf şaḥn-ı bāğ içre
Dikildi tuğ-ı şāhī ḳurdılar gülşende dīvānı
Ḳarārı ḳalmayup ḳatmer ḳaranfil çıḳdı gülzāra
Mu'aṭṭar kıldı 'anber-bū seḥer vaktinde eyvānı
Benefşe şeb-külāhun kec-rev itdi girdi meydāna
Yine ḥatmi gelüp zerrīn ḳadeḥle sürdi devrini
Çıḳup lāle çemenzāra şarāb-ı ergüvān içdi
Görüp zülf-i nigārı oldı anuñ mest ü ḥayrānı
Bu gülşen ḥaḳ budur kim feyz-i Ḥaḳḳla perveriş bulmuş
Açılmış sū-be-sū sünbüller u sūsenle reyḥānı

[2b]

Gelüñ seyr ü temāşāya bu gülşen özge gülşendür
Degil gülşen bu bir mecmū'adur kim yokdur aḳrānı

²¹⁷ I have remained loyal to the original text and marks penned by Gaznevī Mahmūd.

²¹⁸ This chronogram is composed by Zīver Pasha.

Bunuñ her şafhası bir ravza-i Rıdvān'a dönmüşdür
Bunuñ mişlin ne tertib eylemiş Erjeng ne Mānī
Bu bir mecmū'a-i zībā-yı pür-naqş u hayāl olmuş
İdüp diqqat getürdüm resm ü nazma habbazā anı
Buña diqqat idüp im'ānla her kim nazār kılsa
Derūnunda gider ger var ise bī'l-cümle aḫzānı
Bu bir mecmū'a-i zībādurur pür-naqş u nev-peydā
Buni resm eyledi şāh-ı cihānuñ bir şenā-ḥ^vānı
Nice mümkün getürmek silk-i nazma cümle ezḥārın
Tutalım kilik-i ilhāmum ola esrār-ı sübhānī

[3a]

Meḥemmed Ḥān-ı Rābī' kim anuñ eyyām ü devrinde
Müheyā eyledüm irdi Ḥudā'nuñ bize iḥsānı
Sitāyiş eyledüñ ey Ğaznevī el aç du'ā ile
Ḥudā ālām-ı ğamdan ḥıfz ide ol şāh-ı devrānı
O sulṭān ibn-i sulṭān ibn-i sulṭān ibn-i sulṭāna
Sezādur ḥalk-ı 'ālem ger dise İskender-i Şānī
Fürüg-ı kevkeb iḳbāl u baḫtı ol şehinşāhuñ
Cihān durduḫca ola şems-i ḥāver gibi nūrānī
Ḥudāyā gülşen-i iḳbāl-i baḫtun sebzezār eyle
Ki bula imtidād ḳadr u rif'at-ı şevket ü şānı
Serīr-i salṭanatda ber-ḳarār u ber-devām olsun
Cihān durduḫca dursun görmesün rü-yı perīşānī

[3b]

III

Ve-lehū

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
İntisāb-ı dergeh-i devlet-me'āba mā'ilüz
Ḥazret-i ḥunkārımuñ her ḫizmetine ḳā'ilüz
Ḥaḳ bu kim şıdḳ-ı 'ubūdiyetdür ancak ḳarımız
Dergehüñden gerçi-kim çokdan ba'īd u zā'ilüz
Her kesüñ ḳadri ma'ārif ḫizmetiyle ḳollanur
Ḥaḳ isti'dādıyla ol pāyeye biz ḳā'ilüz
Sāye-i zıll-ı Ḥudā sulṭān-ı 'ālem şevketi
Gün-be-gün memdūd ola Bārī Ḥudā'ya sā'ilüz
İlticā-ı bāb-ı devlet iftiḫār-ı bendegān
Ḥamd li'llāh Ğaznevī ol sāyeye biz dāḫilüz

[4a]

Ve-lehū

IV

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Ḥazret-i sulṭāna ihdā bir kitāb itmez misin
Sāye-i devlet-penāhı iktisāb itmez misin
Ger iderseñ bārī ile görmemiş çeşm-i zamān
Eylesün 'ālem-pesend sen intiḫāb itmez misin

İhtirā'-ı ma'rifet zımnında maḫşūd-ı merām
Kıl 'ināyet pādişāhum kām-yāb itmez misin
İylesün rüzgār-ile bir nev-zuhūrı seyr için
La'l-i yāḫūta muḫābil sīm-yāb itmez misin
Dest açup eyle tazarru' devlet-i sulṭān-çün
Nazmı taṭvīl itmeden ḫavf u ḫicāb itmez misin
Bī-muḫābā 'arz idersin Ġaznevī icādiñı
İ'tizārı rūyuña bārī niḫāb itmez misin

[4b]

V

Ġazel der-vaşf-ı mecmū'a

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Al ele mecmū'a[yı] seyr ü temāşā bundadır
Ya'nī maḫşūd-ı dil-i 'ālem ser-ā-pā bundadır
Her varak tezyīn olup ezhār-ı 'adn-ārāyla
Zevḫ-i gül-geşt ü hezār nağme-efzā bundadır
Var mı taḫsīn itmeyüp inkār-ı bū iden tuḫfe
Lāle-i gülhā-yı revnaḫ-baḫş-ı dünyā bundadır
Böyle bir maḫbūb her dem tāzedir her şemsesi
Hep gören dir āfitāb-ı 'ālem-ārā bundadır
Āsitān-ı devletiñden bir dem ayrılmaz seniñ
Pādişāhim Ġaznevī-i cebhe-fersā bundadır

[5a]

VI

Ve-lehū

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Luṭfuyla kılsuñ naẓar ṭarz-ı muşanna' bundadır
Bir 'acib ḫālet virür rūḫ-ı muşaffā bundadır
Cān-fezā cānlar bağışlar eyleseñ bir bir naẓar
Dil-rubālar vaşfiyla seyr ü temāşā bundadır
Gāh mihriyle maḫabbet gāhī cevri añdırur
Mihr ü cevr-i dil-sitān ol şive-baḫşāndadır
Seng-i cevrüñle dilā şad pāre kılduñ göñlümi
İtmedüñ bir kez naẓar ol yāre āsā bundadır
Ġaznevī'ye 'arz-ı ruḫsār eyitgil ey ḡonce-fem
Nālesin ḡuş eyleseñ ol bülbul esā bundadır

[5b]

VII

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

İdüp ihdā-yı şāh-ı kām-kārı
Muşanna' naḫşla bu yādigārı
Ümüdüm diye ol Sulṭān-ı Ḥaḫḫ-gū
Zehī mecmū'a-i naḫş-ı nigārı

VIII

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

Sezâdur olsa dest-âvîz-i şâhî

Laţîf oldu bu mecmû'a kemâhî

N'ola ger baqsalar her şubḥ u her şâm

Ki ḥayrân itdi çeşm-i mihr ü mâhî²¹⁹

[6a]**IX**

Fā'ilâtün fā'ilâtün fā'ilâtün fe'ilün

Pâdişâhum luţf idüp mesrûr-ı şâd eyle beni

Bir nazâr kıll pâdişâhum ber-murâd eyle beni

Ḥâṭırumdan bir nefes gitmez du'â-yı devletiñ

Senden ey kân-ı kerem luţfuñla yâd eyle beni

[6b]**X**

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

Ḥicâbından kızarmış rû-yı kâğıd

Olunca manzar-ı erbâb-ı nigâha

Şararmış hem mürekkeb dehşetinden

İrince âsitân-ı pâdişâha

[7a]**XI**

Mef'ülü fā'ilâtü mefā'ilü fā'ilün

Çeşmüm devât-ı sürḥa dönüp ḥün-ı eşkle

Cismüm boyandı kana ser-â-pâ kalem gibi

Derdüm ḥesâba gelmedi kıldum muḥâsebe

Göz yaşı dâne dâne döküldi raqam gibi

Dilâna ğam-penâhuñ ola rûzgârda

Sultân Meḥmed ol şeh-i şâhib-kerem gibi

Âsib-i rûzgâr-ı Ḥudâdan emîn ola

Gülzâr-ı 'ömr ü devleti bâğ-ı İrem gibi

[7b]**XII**

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

İdüp âşüfte faşl-ı nev-bahârı

Şafâ kesb it bu bezm-i dil-küşâda

[8a]**XIII**

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

Görünce gözlerüm tâze güzeller

Hemîşe gözlerüm güzel güzeller

²¹⁹ This latter quatrain is written down into the top, bottom, and right of the folio.

Qarār itmez göñül ider maḥabbet
Ġidādur cānıma cānlar güzeller
Güzel vaşfın idüp resmin yazarsın
Güzel eglencedür güller güzeller
İdince vaşlını ṭab'ım temennī
Tebessüm eyleyüp güler güzeller
Ezeldendür maḥabbet hem sevimlik
Güzel bilür bunı güzel güzeller
Yazınca Ġaznevī tāze ğazeller
Nice meyl itmesün aña güzeller

XIV

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Dil virse eger dil-ber-i mümtāza güzeller

Gül gibi açar sırrını hem-rāza güzeller²²⁰

İşretde erbāb-ı hünerdür bu gülistān

Bu bezm-i şafāda gelür āġāza güzeller

Dem-beste iken bu silki başa çıkardı

Pek işve ile başladı şehnāza güzeller

Āhūbereveş seyr-i çemenzāra çıkınca

Destinde tutar naz-ile yelpāze güzeller

Gülgüne qabalar giyüben vaqt-i seherde

Mürġ-i seher-āsā gelür āġāza güzeller

Nigāh-ı luṭfunla ider nihānī

Maḥabbet vādīsin bilen güzeller

[8b]

XV

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Ġaznevī ḥüsn-i naẓar-baḥt ider in-şā'allāh

İşbu mecmū'a qabūle geçer in-şā'allāh

Āteş-i şermle gül gibi perişān olma

Naqş-ı ġam levḥ-i dilüñden gider in-şā'allāh

'Arz idüp ma'rifetüñ tuḥfe-i destüñ şun-kim

Dil ümīdini taḥsīn bezer in-şa'allāh

Qavş-ı dilden atılan tīr-i du'ā bu demde

İder āyīne-i çarḥı güzer in-şa'allāh

Çekme endūh-ı ġamı kesb-i neşāṭ ile hemān

İricek sem'-i hümāyūna niyāzuñ geçer in-şā'allāh

Sen hemān Ḥazret-i Allāh'a tevekkül ol-kim

Ber-i maqşūd u merāmuñ biter in-şa'allāh

[9a]

XVI

Qıṭ'a

²²⁰ This is the first distich of the red-ink poem on the folio.

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün
Cenāb-ı Şehriyāre vaşf-ı hālüm
İdince 'arz-ı hāl için müretteb
İdüp her kânımı mānend-i hāme
Sevād-ı dīdeden kıldım mürekkeb

[9b]

XVII

Қıт'а

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilün
Serīri gerçi bunuñ seyr ü temāşā yeridür
LİK bu naqşı bunuñ cümleden a'lā yeridür
Bunuñ gördükde hele budur ümīdüm ey dil
Diye ol kân-ı kerem işte bu zībā yeridür

[10a]

XVIII

Қıт'а

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün
Bu mecmū'a mişāl-i gülistāndur
Ki her naqşı bahār-ı dilsitāndur
'Aceb-mi cān-fezā olsa nazarda
Bunuñ her cedveli āb-ı revāndur

[10b]

XIX

Қıт'а

Fā'ilātün mefā'ilün fa'lün
Dāğlar şahn-ı sīnede güldür
Dūd-i āhum mişāl-i sünbüldür
Turfā gülzārdur bu cism-i nizār
Dil-i şūrīde anda bülbüldür

[11a]

XX

Қıт'а

Mef'ülü fā'ilātü fā'ilātü fā'ilün
Miqrāz-ı miḥnet ile eyā melce-i cihān
Evrāq-ı sīne dil ü cān pāre pāredür
Sen ol tıbeb-i mu'cize-demsün ki bir sözüñ
Āb-ı ḥayāt gibi niçe derde çāredür

[11b]

XXI

Қıт'а

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Seyr iden bu şafha'î mümkün mi bî-gam olmaya

Gire bāğ u gülşene hem yine hürrem olmaya

Ehl-i diller hāşılı gördükçe her bir şan'atım

Anlara 'ālemde hiç bir böyle 'ālem olmaya

[12a]

XXII

Kit'a

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Bād-ı firkatle eger hātır perişān olmasa

Ara yerde hāşılı bu deñlü hicrān olmasa

Böyle mi olurdu bu mecmū'anuñ cem'iyeti

Ġaznevī başında āh sevdā-yı cānān olmasa

[12b]

XXIII

Kit'a

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilün

Rūz u şeb Hāzret-i Haqq'dan dilerüz Ġazneviyā

'Ömürle devlet ile 'izzet ü rif'at bulalar

Pāyeñüz hem-ser-i nāhīd ide Mevlā giderek

Vāşıl-ı bezmüne şāhid-i maqşūd olalar

[13a]

XXIV

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Nev-bahār āşārını görmek dilersen seyre gel

'İbret ile kıl nażar bu gülşen ü gülzāra gel

[13b]

XXV

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün

Ne mümkün dāverā itmek saña 'arz-ı 'ubūdiyet

Benem yek bende-i kemter sen ol şāh-ı cihān-hānsun

Du'ā-yı devlete ġayrī nemüz var dilde ezkārum

Benem yek kaṭre sen baḥr-i muḥīṭ-i 'ilm-i fānsun

Olaldan rūzgāriyla ġubār-āsā derüñden dūr

Gören künc-i elemde dir baña hātır-ı perişānsun

Kime feryād idem bilmem felek dest-i tazallumdan

O dergehden beni mehcūr iden kec-i devrānsun

Vücūdın ġonçeveş bād-ı ḥazāndan ḥıfz idüp yā Rab

Gül-i maqşūdını ḥandān iden bir şāh-ı şāhansun

[14a]

XXVI

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Oldı bu mecmū'a gāyet de güzel
Her biri bakısuñ laṭif ü bī-bedel
Kim bakarsa ḥāṭırı mesrūr olur
Ḥāşılı dilde ḳomaz zerre kesel

[14b]

XXVII

Der-sitāyiş Sarāy-ı Bosna

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Kār itdi derūna ğam u hicrānı Sarāyuñ

Dāğ itdi sīnem firḳat-ı yārānı Sarāyuñ

Ḥalvetlere ḳor şeyḥ-şifat pīr ü cevānı

Bāridlik ider gerçi zemistānı Sarāyuñ

İrdükde velī mevsim-i nevrüz-ı bahārı

Firdevs'e döner şahı-ı gülistānı Sarāyuñ

Ol faşla ḥased kim çıka meydāna güzeller

Meclisler ile zeyn ola her yanı Sarāyuñ

Her kūşede gözden geçürüp naḳd-ı sirişkin

Feryād ide her bir 'āşık-ı nālānı Sarāyuñ

Bilmem nicedür ḥūr-ı cinān görmege mevḳūf

Dünyāda müselleme hele ḥübānı Sarāyuñ

Andan nice geḳsün göñül Allāh'ı severseñ

Reh-zenlük ider her gözi fettānı Sarāyuñ

Ki nāleler itseñ n'ola ki gül gibi gülsüñ

Ey dil bu durur resm-i ḳadīmānı Sarāyuñ

[15a]

XXVIII

Ḳıṭ'a

Fā'ilātün fe'ilātün fa'lün

Çendā ṭarḥ-ı laṭif ü dil-keş

Reşk ider resmini görse Yānı

Ġaznevī olsa bu mecmū'a sezā

Sebeb-i 'āṭifet-i sultānı

[15b]

XXIX

Ḳıṭ'a

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

İdüp izhār-ı şun'-ı ḥurde-kārı

Hümāyün bezmine itdüm miñşārı

Umarum ol şehinşeh diye Ḥaḳḳā

Bu Erjeng'e getürmüş neng ü 'ārı

[16b]

XXX

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Bezm-i firkatde benüm miqrâz-ı ğamdur hem-demüm
Hâşılı mecmû'adur 'âlemde her dem 'âlemüm

[17a]

XXXI

Қıт'а

Fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fe'ilün

Ben kimüm kim eyleyem 'arz-ı hüner

Şan'atum degmez iken zerre kadar

'Arz-ı hâl olmağ-çün itdüm hemân

Dilerüm olsun katında mu'teber

[17b]

XXXII

Fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün

'Aks-i rüyün gösterür 'uşşâka rû-yı âbda

Naḥl-қaddı sāyesin seyr itdürür mehtâbda

Lebleründen neşve-yâb olmağ ne mümkün teşnegân

Göz ucuyla gösterür şu çeşme-i nâ-yâbda

[18a]

XXXIII

Mef'ülü mefâ'ilü mefâ'ilü fa'ülün

Ben bunı hüner diyemem erbâb-ı kemâle

Maқşud hemân levḥ-i fenâda bir eşerdür

İ'lâ dimiş ancağ bunı ol maḥzen-i ḥikmet

Bir 'İsî kim sulṭân begine(?) münḥaşş hünerdür

[18b]

XXXIV

Қıт'а

Fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün

Destini yârüñ müyesser olmadı öpmek baña

Bārī ey mecmû'a var sen 'arz-ı hâl eyle aña

Evvelâ dest-i şerifin būs idüp böyle di-kim

Ġaznevî Maḥmūd Efendüm çok du'â itdi saña

[19a]

XXXV

Қıт'а

Mefâ'ilün mefâ'ilün fa'ülün

Şaқın ey Ġaznevî esrâr-ı 'aşkı

O şūḥa eyleme mestâ iḫhâr

Olursın şoñra vaz'ından peşimân

Muқaddem naқd-i eşkiñ ile ikrâr

[19b]

XXXVI

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'

Yâ Rabb bunı sehv-i cühelâdan şakla

Her şafhasını harf-i haţâdan şakla

Luţfuñla bu mecmü'anuñ ey Rabb-i Hafız

Evrâkıñı miqrâz-ı kazâdan şakla

[20a]

XXXVII

Kit'a

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Eyledi miqrâz-ı gam evrâk-ı sînem târumâr

Ya'nî bu mecmü'aya 'ayniyle döndi cism-i zâr

Dildeki dâgum eger bir kez göreydüñ dir idiñ

Belki artuqdur seniñ sîneñde yâriñ şad hezâr

[20b]

XXXVIII

Kit'a

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Olmasaydı himmetüñ miqrâz almazdum ele

Qanda qaldı-kim vücûda böyle bir şan'at gele

Ba'de-zâ luţfuñla ger taşsîn idersüñ ke'l-ezel

Gör ne şan'atler gazeller eyleyem ol-dem hele

[21b]

XXXIX

Fā'ilātü mefā'ilün fa'lun

Çonçe gülistâna hem-dem iken

N'ola bülbül iderse efgâñı

'Arz idince cemâl-i garrâsın

Daldan dala kondurur anı

[22a]

XXXX

Naẓire der-sitāyış-i mecmü'a

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Yâre ey dil 'arz-ı hâl içün şitâb itmez misin

İntisâb-ı şehriyâr kâm-yâb itmez misin

Vaşf-ı la'l-ı yâre bu mecmü'ada eyle nigâh

Seyr-i verd-i gülşen bezm-i şarâb itmez misin

Hürde-gîr-i ma'nîyim cân u dilüñ fahrı budur

Gevher-i ezhâr-ı behcet iktisâb itmez misin

Tûti-i tab'a bu qandistân-ı şan'atda şahâ

Gösterüp āyīne-i luṭfı cevāb itmez misin
Şehdī-i maḥlaş du‘ā-gūña idüp luṭf-ı hezār
Ḥāṭırın āsūde tā rüz-ı ḥesāb itmez misin²²¹

[22b]

XXXXI

Ġazel-i Emnī

Mef‘ülü mefā‘ilü mefā‘ilü fa‘ülün

Cevr-i kühene başladılar tāze güzeller

Bir ṭavr-ı ġarīb eylediler nāza güzeller

Tiġ-i nigehe eylediler sīneye ḥavāle

İhlāk için ‘āşık-ı ser-bāza güzeller

Bā-ğonce dehen-būselige kıldılar āġāz

‘Uşşāka gelüp başladı şehnāza güzeller

Tenhā seni āşüfte kıyāş eylemem ey dil

Hep ‘āşık olur dil-ber-i mümtāza güzeller

Emnī ider ‘uşşākına izhār-ı teġāful

Vākıf olıcağ dilde olan rāza güzeller²²²

[23a]

[cont. of XXVII. Poem]

Mef‘ülü mefā‘ilü mefā‘ilü fa‘ülün

Meh-rūları ki ḥurrem ider cān-ı ḥazīni

Dil-berleri ġāh ağladur insānı Sarāyuñ

Söz āḥire irişdi velī ḥāṭıra geldi

Def‘-i sitem emīr-i zarīfānı Sarāyuñ

Ma‘kül-şinās-ı ehl-i dili gerçi-ki bī-ḥad

Ammā bulunur ba‘zī kec-iz‘ānı²²³ Sarāyuñ

Ḥasūd-ı bed-endīşeden ketm iderüz anı

Bí‘llāhi ḥaḳıḳatde odur cānı Sarāyuñ

Ḥaḳḳ şaḳlaya āşār-ı kederden dil-i pākin

Tā şābit ola sūrı vü bünyānı Sarāyuñ

Ṭa‘n eyler ise ger reviş-i ehl-i dile

Bilmezlikle bir iki nā-dānı Sarāyuñ

Besdür bize taḥsīnle hem-pālik iderse

Ol kıble ki nādire sultānı Sarāyuñ

Naṣīre

XXXXII

Mef‘ülü mefā‘ilü mefā‘ilü fa‘ülün

Zār itdi bizi ġonçe-i hicrānı Sarāyuñ

Müşṭāklaruz görmege yārān-ı Sarāyuñ

²²¹ The last two distiches are perpendicularly written on the left of the folio.

²²² The last two distiches are perpendicularly written on the left of the folio.

²²³ This word is incorrectly written as *iz‘ān* rather than *iz‘ān* in the poem.

[23b]

Zeyn ola vü nuḳre-i eṣcārı bahārı
Sebz-pūṣla olur serv-i gülistānı Sarāyuñ
Hem nāzik ola dil-ber ola derd-keṣānuñ
Āyā nice olur 'iṣve-i mestānı Sarāyuñ
Ğilmān-ı behiṣt sem'iledir bildigim ammā
Seyr itdi gözüm dīde-i hūbān-ı Sarāyuñ
Evvel yedürür sükkerini zehr olur āḫir
Ey dil-i pūr-zār budurur ṣānı Sarāyuñ
Söz ṣimdi yeñi başladı āġāz ü nevāya
Jāj-hā-yı ġam-engīz-i zārīfān-ı Sarāyuñ
Dānā dil ü 'ārif çok imiṣ gerç-i-kim ammā
Bisyār bulunur daḫı kec-iz'ānı Sarāyuñ
Medḫ eylemezüz nükte-ṣinās olmayanı biz
Dursun orada añmayalum nā-dān-ı Sarāyuñ
Besdür bu ḳadar nazm daḫı ben niye ammā
Ser-mestlik idüp dil daḫı ḫayrān-ı Sarāyuñ

[24a]

Ğamm-ı bārid lem-zabṭ olunur müdde'ā ṣanma
Añdırma dile olmaya giryān-ı Sarāyuñ
Dest irdi baña ṣimdi hele feyz-i ma'ānī
Mümkin-mi ola medḫime pāyānı Sarāyuñ
Ḥatm it sözüñi āteṣ ile 'ālemi yakduñ
Raḫm eylemez aṣlā saña ol cānı Sarāyuñ
Eṣ'ār-ı ġamum baña yeter eglenürüm ġāh
Dervīṣ-i dilüm o ṣeh-sipāhān-ı Sarāyuñ

Cevāb-ı Naẓīre

XXXXIII

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Taḫrīr idelüm Ġaznevīyā ḫāl-i Sarāyı

Tā kim bilesiz medḫe daḫı nice sezādur

Siz bildigiñüz resm-i cefā ḳā'ide-i nāz

Ref' oldı hemān cümlesi erbāb-ı vefādur

Ṣimdi bu ṫaraf ḫūbları eylemez aṣlā

Dil-dādesine cevr ü cefā mihr ü vefādur

Dillerde keder ḳalmaz ise n'ola vefādan

Ṣundukları hep birbirine cām-ı ṣafādur

[24b]

Ġāhīce olur ḳaḫṫ-ı nigāh dā'imī olmaz

Hūbān arasında bu da bir özge edādur

Yoḳdur o ḳadar ḫūblaruñ 'āṣıḳa cevri

Birbirine hep ḳārları cümle ṣenādur

Hüsniyle menem ṣimdi yegāne dīn-āfet

Bir āyīne bir ṣāne ile iṣi ḫafādur

Tahkikî budur kimse niyâz eylemez oldı
Ol-deñlü yeter hūblara kâr şümâdur(?)
Ammâ yine âsûde degil fitneden eṭrâf
Eṭfâle kim mu'tâd-ı kâdîm neşv-nemâdur
Meydâna çıkup nâzla şalınsa o şūḥân
Her birisi bir nev-ṭarzla cilve-nümâdur
Her biri hemân fitne-i Ye'cûc kemînde
Def' eylemege çâre mi var tîr-i każâdur
Şad ḥayf aña kim baḥtı ğunûd olsa bu demde
Baḥta ne kadar lev m ide bî-çâre revâdur

[25a]

XXXXIV

Mefâ'ilün mefâ'ilün mefâ'ilün mefâ'ilün

'An cānib-i ma'şūḳ der-medḥ-i ḥod

Ġül-i şad-berg terden tâzeyüz bir ğül-'izâruz biz
Açılmış bâĝ-ı ḥüsn içre efendüm nev-bahâruz biz

'An cānib-i 'âşık der-medḥ-i ḥasb-i ḥâl-i ḥod

Ġarîbüz derdmendüz ḥâk-pâyüz ḥâk-sâruz biz
Ayaĝuñ ṭopraĝı pā-mâl-ı ğam kemter ğubâruz biz

'An cānib-i ma'şūḳ der-medḥ-i ḥod

Ġudâ'nuñ şun'iyüz 'uşşâḳ için bir ber-ĝüzâruz biz
Mehtâb u keh-keşân u mihr ü mehden tâbdâruz biz

'An cānib-i 'âşık der-medḥ-i ḥod

Zelîl ü nâ-tüvân u bî-nevâ-yı i'tibâruz biz
Bi-ḥamdi'llâh hele genc-i miḥende ber-ḳarâruz biz

[26a]

XXXXV

Mefâ'ilün fe'ilâtün mefâ'ilün fe'ilün

Bu bir ḥadîḳa-i zibâdurur ki mânendin
Ne gördi bânî-i bâĝ-ı İrem ne ḥod Mânî
Bu ravzanuñ leṭâfet ü ṭarâveti ḥaḳḳâ
Ayaĝına aḳıdur âbveş insânı
'Aceb-mi dem-be-dem eylerse bunda şâh-ı cihân
Ġuzûr-ı bal-ile 'îş u ṭarabuña seyrânî

[26b]

XXXXVI

Fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün

Sîm ü zerle çekmece olsa derûnı kām-yâb
Keşf olur maḳşûd-ı dil Ḥaḳḳ'dan irürse feth-i bâb

[27a]

XXXXVII

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü fa'ülün fa'lün

Yā Rāb beni bī-mihr ü sāmān itme

Ahṡāl-i cihān içre perīṡān itme

Luṡfuñdan 'aṡā kııl baña bī-minnet

Pā-māl-i kef-i dest-i lüyyemān itme

[27b]**XXXXVIII****Velehū**

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Ben seni mecmū'a biñ cānāna 'arz itsem gerek

Hāṡılı o server-i hūbāna 'arz itsem gerek

Açılıp mānend-i gül gül ṡādumān ol-kim seni

Luṡfı çok ol menba'-ı iṡsāna 'arz itsem gerek

[28a]**XXXXIX**

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilün

Yüzüme hıṡmla kııldı yine nezzāre meded

Meded öldürdi beni o mekkāre meded

Böyle pür-āteṡ olup 'arz-ı cemāl itmese baña

Beni yakma döyemem āteṡ-dīdāra meded

Çāre-sāzum deñiz altun dile bir çāre meded

ṡerbet-i la'l-i lebün ṡunsun o bī-māra meded

* * *

L

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

'ıyd gelmiş gelmemiş ṡād ile ğam yek-sān baña

Hasta cāna kim senüñle merḡabā mümkin degil

* * *

LI

Mef'ülü fā'ilātü mefā'ilü fā'ilün

ṡimṡır-i intizārla dil pāre pāredür

Hep pāreye ṡalan beni o māh-pāredür

[28b]**LII****Ḳıt'a**

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

'Arz-ı ḡāl itmek ne lāzım saña kııl ü kıalle

Hālimi herbir varaḡ söyler lisān-ı ḡalle

Hālini i'lām içün yine mi ṡimdi Ğaznevī

Bir zarāfet eyleyüp yazdı bu beyti el-ile

[29a]

LIII

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilün

Büse-i la'l-i leb-i yāre elüm irmişken

Bir tarafından çıkağeldi nideyin 'aşıklar

Bu silk hoşca maķāmıydı velikin 'Uşşāk

Gāhice Rāst gelür soñra Hüseyniye çıkar

[29b]

LIV

Kit'a

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Erzān-ı metā' fazl u hünere tā o deñlü kim

Biñ ma'rifet-i zamānede bir āferinedür

Ebnā-yı hüsne her hünere āferin virür

Yā Rābb bu āferin ne dükenez hazinedür

[30a]

LV

???

Seyr ü tarz-ı Fahr-i hoşkār

Ya'nī Maħmūd-ı Ġaznevī āşār

[30b]

LVI

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'lün

Du'ā-yı devletüñ evrād-ı şubh-ı şāmumdur

Zebāndur ger habābuñ ser-kelāmumdur

[31b]

LVII

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fa'lün

Beni luţfuñla şehā hürrem ü şādān eyle

Ġonçe-i hātırımı gül gibi handān eyle

[32a]

LVIII

Kit'a

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü fa'ülün fa'lün

Sevmek baña ser-māye-i cem'iyetdür

Evşāf-ı şerifüñ sebep-i rif'atdur

Ġādir degilüm medħiñe ben sultānum

Ancağ garazum 'arz-ı 'ubūdiyetdür

* * *

LIX

Mef'ülü mefā'ilün fa'ülün

Her yerde olup mū'īnūñ Allāh

Ber-kām olasin cihānda her ān

 Hıfz eyleye Haqq vücūd-ı pākuñ

 Dā'im olasin selīm u şādān

Ġaznevī bu dū'ā-yı hayr-pāki

Virdeinde ider hemīşe i'lān²²⁴

[32b]

LX

Kit'a

Mef'ülü fā'ilātü fā'ilātü fā'ilün

Evrāk-ı sīne-i dil ü cān pāre pāredür

Zahm-ı maḥabbet ile gönül pāre pāredür

 Bu Ġaznevī-i ḥaste-dile merhem-i şifā

 Şāhid-i maqşūda şarılmak çāre çāredür

[33a]

LXI

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün

Ḥaқиқat bāğınuñ servī-i bülendi

Mecāzısın görüp ider pesendi²²⁵

* * *

LXII

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Kim-ki bu қаşr-ı laṭifi seyr iderse lā-cerem

Ḥāṭırı mesrūr olur göñlinde қalmaz zerre ġam²²⁶

[33b]

LXIII

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün

Egerçi gülleri faşl u bahāruñ terdürür lākin

Tefāvüt bu bu gülzāruñ gül ü sünbülleri solmaz

 Nigāh-ı merḥametle ger nazar eylerse şāhenşāh

²²⁴ This quatrain is written down into the top, bottom, left, and right of the folio.

²²⁵ This distich is written down into the top of the decoration emplaced on the folio.

²²⁶ Each hemistich of this distich is written down into the right and left of the decoration.

Ümîdüm bu cihân turduķca evrâķı fenâ bulmaz

[34a]

LXIV

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Vaşlına gülşende el şundum nigār el virmedi

Serv çekdüm sīneye āķır çınār el virmedi

Gördüm ol yārı kenār-ı cūyda reftār ider

Ārzü itdüm vişālını kenār el virmedi

[34b]

LXV

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Reftāra gelüp nāz ile ey kāmēt-i bālā

'Arz eyle bize ħüsnüñi li'llāhi Te'alā

* * *

LXVI

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Allar giymiş benüm naħl-i revānum gül gibi

Alla āşüfte kılmış 'ālemi bülbül gibi

* * *

LXVII

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Allar giymiş ħirām eyler nihāl gül gibi

Günde 'uşşākuñ niyāzın öldürür bülbül gibi

* * *

LXVIII

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fa'ülün

Elemdür āteş-i hicrān elemdür

Şoñı vaşl olıcaķ ammā ne ğamdür²²⁷

[35a]

LXIX

Müstef'ilün müstef'ilün müstef'ilün müstef'ilün

Şan'atımla Fahriye faħr eyler yedimüz bī-kemān

Luţf-ile taħsīn idüp himmet ideydüñ sen hemān

[35b]

²²⁷ The first and second hemistichs of each distich are symmetrically written down into the folio.

LXX

Müstef'ilün müstef'ilün müstef'ilün müstef'ilün

Taht-ı çemende şāh-ı gül 'arz itdi dīvānın yine

Güş eyleyüñ bülbüllerüñ feryād u efgānuñ yine

Reşk-i behişt-i cāvidān olsa 'aceb-mi gülistān

Bir tarz u dil-keşle cihān gösterdi 'unvānun yine

[36a]**LXXI**

Mef'ülün mef'ülün fa'ülün

Bu mecmū'a 'aceb def'-i ğam eyler

Dil-i ğam-nākı şād u hürrem eyler

Olur reşk-āver-i bāğ-ı cinān bu

Ki seyrān iden ādem 'ālem eyler

[36b]**LXXII**

Mef'ülü mef'ülü mef'ülü fa'ülün

'Aqlum dağılur zülf-i siyeh-kāruña baqsam

Bağrum delinür la'l-i kehribāruña baqsam

Göñlüm talıyor āteş-i ruhsāruña baqsam

Cānum sevinür şive-i reftāruña baqsam

* * *

LXXIII

Mef'ülü mef'ülü mef'ülü fa'ülün

Nuḡkum tütulur lezzet-i güftāruñ işitsem

Şabrum gider evzā'uña eṭvāruña baqsam

Ṭoymaz gözüm olmaz yine göñlüm mütesellī

Ben her ne kadar şevkle dīdāruña baqsam²²⁸

[37a]**LXXIV**

Mef'ülün mef'ülün fa'ülün

Çeküp qadd pīş-i çeşm-i nāzır anda

Bu tarz-ı tāze bu naqş-ı dil-ārā

Huzūrunda o sultān-ı kerīmüñ

Durur ādābla çün naḡl-ı hürmā

[37b]**LXXV**

Müstef'ilün müstef'ilün müstef'ilün müstef'ilün

Yaḡdı çerāğın lāleler 'arz itdi gevher jāleler

Bülbül kılup hoş nāleler diñletdi elḡānın yine

²²⁸ These distiches are written down into the top, bottom, and right of the folio.

Nāz itmede gül bülbüle bülbül niyāz eyler güle
Seyr eyle 'ibretle hele şun'unı sübhānın yine
Durmaz eser bād-ı şimāl oldu cihān cennet-mişāl
Ol sākī-i ferhunde-ķāl eger mi peymānın yine
Pür-bāde olmuş cām-ı cem muṭrıblar itmekde naġam
Vaķt-i cününīdür bu dem 'uşşāk-ı nālānuñ yine
Nergis mey nāziyla mest sūsen ise ḡançer-i be-dest
Görür şimdi sevdā-perest ṡarzını devrānın yine²²⁹

[38b]

LXXVI

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün
Var ey mecmū'a būs it dest-i şāh-ı 'ālemi ammā
Benim aḡvālimi 'izz-i ḡuzūrunda 'ayān eyle
Baña itdükleri bī-dād zulmı söylegil birbir
Lisān-ı ḡāl-ile ḡāl-i perīşānım beyān eyle

[39a]

LXXVII

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Ey lebi ḡonçe yañaġı verd ḡandānım meded
Şacı sünbül yüzi gül tāze ḡülistānım meded
ḡaṡṡı 'anber çeşmi 'abher ḡülşen-i cānım meded
Serv-ķaddim lāle-ḡaddim beñli bostānım meded

ḡonçeveş hicr-i lebüñle baġrımı ḡan eyleme
Gül gibi ben bülbüli çāk-i giryān eyleme
Sünbül-şūrīdeveş 'aqlımı perīşān eyleme
Serv-ķaddim lāle-ḡaddim beñli bostānım meded

Lāleveş ḡāl-i ruḡuñ baġrımında yaķdı dāġlar
Eşkimi şimşād-ı ķaddiñ eyledi ırmaġlar
Ġāfil olma devr-i gül gibi geçer bu çaġlar
Serv-ķaddim lāle-ḡaddim beñli bostānım meded

Bāġ-ı ḡüsnuñ bu cemāliyle gül-i ḡandānīsın
Ol ruḡ u ol ḡāl-ile yā lāle-i nu'mānīsın
ḡonçe-leb ḡül-ruḡsın ammā 'ālemüñ fettānısın
Serv-ķaddim lāle-ḡaddim beñli bostānım meded²³⁰

[40b]

LXXVIII

Ḳıṡ'a

²²⁹ The last two distiches are perpendicularly written down into the left of the folio.

²³⁰ The last distich is perpendicularly written down on the left of the folio.

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün
Levh-i dile nefis ile hemān resm-i ma'ārif
Güftār-ı güle gāhīce def'-i teraḥ ile
Eş'ār-ı laṭīf ile olup şā'ir mümtāz
Var güfte-i şīrīn ile kesb-i feraḥ ile

[41b]

LXXIX

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Bāğ-ı ḥüsn içre nigār-ābā ki ḳaddüñ gül yeter
Ḥaṭṭ-ı reyḥānuñ benefşe saçlarıñ sünbül yeter
Bülbül-i gūyā gibi feryāda her dem rāzıyım
Ġonçe gibi tek açıl bir dem yüzüme gül yeter
Gülşen-i ḥüsnünde ḳaddüñ serv-ḥaddüñ tāze gül
Ġonçe-i nev-reste la'lüñ saçlarıñ sünbül yeter
Dem-be-dem bülbül gibi derd-i güle ben ḳan ağlasam
Ġam degil ey ḳonçe-leb tek gül gibi sen gül yeter²³¹

[42a]

LXXX

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün
Nigāhı āfet-i dīn ḡamzesi āşüb-ı dünyādur
Bu ḡüne şūḥa dil virmek 'acebdür özge sevdādur
Ki gül āşüfte yār ālüfte çeşm-i baḥt ise ḥufte
'Aceb 'āşık 'aceb dilber 'aceb olmaz temennādur
Dimek güc şaḳlamaḳ güc-i ḡamzdan ḥāl-i dil-zārı
Belā-yı ehl-i 'aşkı gör nedür ü ḥayret-efzādur²³²

* * *

LXXXI

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Bıraḳma ṭal'at güzel maḥbūbuñ ola bendesi
Büsbütün dünyā deger ol ḳonçe-āsā ḥandesi
Tāb-ı (...) ḡörünce böyle bir meh-peykerüñ
Bu el-'aceb-mi meh-liḳālar olsa ger efgendesi
Ḳarşusunda boynı baḳlu ḳul gibi el baḳlayup
Reh-güzārende ṭurur şad hezār üftādesi
Bir melek-sīmā güzeldür Ḥaḳḳ ḥaṭādan şaḳlasun
Var-ise ser-cümle ḥübānuñ budur beg-zādesi
İmtihān itsün o mehveş her ister(?) 'uşşāḳını
Var mıdur 'izzī gibi āşüfte bir dil-dādesi

[42b]

²³¹ The last distich is perpendicularly written down on the left of the folio.

²³² These distiches are written down on the four sides of the folio.

LXXXII

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Açılır ol yāre karşı 'arz-ı hāl eyler her ān

Pāre pāre eylerüm mecmū'a[y]ı bir gün hemān

[43a]**LXXXIII**

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün

Şehā bu merdüm çeşm-i güzellerde güzel gözler

Senüñ şehlā gözün gibi kimün vardur güzel gözler

Göricek naşş-ı hūbuñ ider naşşāşına taḥsīn

Nażar ehli olan kimse güzel görse güzel gözler

Eger ğayrı güzel gözlerse 'uşşāk eylesün taḥkīr

Ri'āyet eyleyüp her dem anı kim bir güzel gözler

Güzeller çokdurur cānā cihānda hūb-revānā

Şu şehlā gözleri gibi bulunmaz hiç güzel gözler²³³

[43b]**LXXXIV**

Fe'ilātün fe'ilātün fa'lün

Ne 'aceb tarz-ı dil-firīb oldı

Cümleden işte bu ğarīb oldı²³⁴

[44a]**LXXXV**

Ġazel-i Şehdī der-vaşf-ı mecmū'a

Fā'ilātü fā'ilātü fā'ilātü fā'ilün

İntisāb-ı dergehündür iftiḥār Ġaznevī

Medḥ-i pākdür hemīşe zikr ü kār Ġaznevī

Gerçi çok mecmū'a gördük görmedi çeşm-i felek

Böyle bir mecmū'a her dem bahār Ġaznevī

İsterüm bu tuḥfesi maḥbūl-i şāhen-şeh ola

Şāhid-i maḥşūdı olsun der-kenār Ġaznevī

Bülbüli eyyām-ı 'izz ü şevketünde itmez āh

Dāfi'-i derd ü kesel dūrūd-ı hezār Ġaznevī

Şehdīyā ol şehriyār-ı baḥr u berrün dā'imā

Zikr ü vaşfiyla geçer leyl ü nehār Ġaznevī²³⁵

[44b]**LXXXVI**

Ġazel-i Emnī der-vaşf-ı mecmū'a

²³³ The last two distiches are written down into the borders of the folio.

²³⁴ This distich is perpendicularly written down into the right of the folio.

²³⁵ The last two distiches are perpendicularly written down into the left of the folio.

Mefā'ilün fā'ilātün mefā'ilün fa'ülün
'Arūsa beñzerdi mecmū'a-i cihān-bānī
Kemāl-i hüsnele oldı sezā-yı sultānī
 'Aceb-mi dise nigāh eyleyen riyāz-ı hūbān
 Dile neşāṭ virür tā o deñlü seyrānı
Letāfetiyle miyān-ı sūtūrı āb-ı revān
Anuñ ğazelleridür 'andelīb-i nālānī
 Bu ṭarḥ-ı tāze ile Ğaznevī-i pür-hünerüñ
 Göreymi naqşını Mānī olurdı ḥayrānı
Ne mümkün eylemek Emnī letāfeti vaşfun
Nigāhı pür-ferah eyler derün-ı insānı²³⁶

[45a]

LXXXVII

Mef'ülü fā'ilātün
Ruhsārıñ üzre ol ḥāl
Ḥāl üzre ol siyeh mū
 Şan āteş üzre 'anber
 'Anberde dūd-ı hoş-bū²³⁷

* * *

LXXXVIII

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün
Zehī mecmū'a kim bir şafḥasına
Naẓır olmaz hezār Erjeng-i Mānī
 Zehī bāğ-ı hüner ki evvel nazarda
 İder āşüfte bülbül-i murğ-ı cānı
Bahāristān-ı 'irfāndur ki eyler
Gülistānıyla bahş u imtiḥānı
 Muşavver şāḥ-ı gülde verd-i ḥamrā
 Hezār bāğ-ı Rıdvān-ı āşiyānı
Gören şî'r dürer-bāruñ sūtūrun
Şanur iklīm-i Hürmüz kārbanı
 Yāḥūd bir dil-ber-i nāzendedir kim
 Gören meftūn olur elbette anı

[45b]

Yāḥūd dīvān-ı Ḥusrev'dir muşanna'
Ki her bir ḥarfi şad genc-i ma'ānī
 Kevākible müzeyyen ṭarḥ-ı ma'nā
 Kebūdī şafḥa-i pür-zer nişānı
Çemen-zār içre şan āb-ı revāndır
Yeşil kāğıdda sīmīn cedvelānı

²³⁶ The last two distiches are perpendicularly written down into the left of the folio.

²³⁷ These distiches are written down into the top, bottom, and left of the folio.

Ki hergiz görmemiştir çeşm-i 'âlem
Dağı bir böyle nakş-ı dil-nişanı
Bu bir mecmû'adır bâğ-ı İrem'den
Nişân virir ki her kim görse anı
Muhaşşal Ğaznevî k'olmuş Şerîfâ
Ma'ârif bezminiñ şâhib-beyanı

* * *

LXXXIX

Mef'ülü mefâ'ilü mefâ'ilü fa'ülün
Men' eyleme mir'ât-ı ruhuñ ehl-i nazardan
Bağsun baqabildikce kav(?) dîdâra çoyulmaz
Sağ eyledügin haste-dili la'liñ unutmam
Meşhür meşeldir begim iylik unutulmaz²³⁸

[46a]

XC

Güfte-i Nahîfi

Mefâ'ilün fe'ilâtün mefâ'ilün fa'lün
Zehî nuķuş-ı leţâfet-nümâ-yı müsteşnâ
Zehî tarâvet her dem bahâr-ı rûh-efzâ
Nedür bu tarz-ı muşanna' nedür bu tarz-ı laţîf
Nedür bu resm-i dil-ârâ bu vâdî-i ra'nâ
Kâlır mı gerd-i keder seyr idince dillerde
Bu nev-bahâr-ı şafâ-bahşı gülistân-âsâ

* * *

XCI

?

Hoş gülistân degil mi ki şolmaya gülleri
Hoş büstân degil-mi ser-â-ser kenâr-ı serv
Maķbûl-ı mu'ammer ide cihânda seni Hayyü lâ-yenâm
Hoş hurrem ola hemîşe zât-ı bahâr-ı serv²³⁹

[46b]

XCII

Mefâ'ilün fâ'ilâtü mefâ'ilün fa'ülün
Göreydi Faħrî bunuñ tarz-ı kemterîñ anıñ
Lisân-ı faħrıyla dirdi cihân cihân Haķķâ
Nuķuş-ı mühriyle oldu huzûr-ı pâdişehe
Çü 'arz-ı maħzar-ı 'irfân bu şafha-i zîbâ
Ümîd odur ide mühr-i kabûle şâyeste

²³⁸ These hemistiches are written down into the top, bottom, and left of the folio.

²³⁹ These hemistiches are written down on the top, bottom, and left of the folio.

İdüp o şāh-ı cihān dest-i luṭfiyle imzā

* * *

XCIII

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün

Zehī mecmū'a-i zībā vü dilkeş

Zehī güلزār-ı ezhār-ı maḳāle

N'ola Bihzād u Mānī itse taḥsīn

Bu naḳşıyla bu ṭarḥ-ı bī-mişāle

240

[Seals emplaced on folio 46b]

“Ve mā-tevfīki illa bi'llāhi, 'Abdu'llāh, 97 (Sırrī)”

“Allāhumme innī es'eluke fevā'ihī'l-ḥayr ve ḥavātime ve cevāmi'a, 'Abduhū Aḥmed, Yā 'Aliyy Yā Kebīr Yā Başīr Ya 'Azīm, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Ve mā-tevfīki illa bi'llāhi, 'Abduhū Muḥammed, 92”

“Raḥmetüñden İllāhī red eylesesin i'lāmuñdur senüñ kemter Muḥammed, 87”

“Ferdā ki cem' bāşed, Sensin ḥalk-i nev-mevcūd, Yā Rab şefī' sensin, 'an-ḥubbuh maḳāmum, Maḥmūd”

“Raḥmetüñden İllāhī red eylesesin i'lāmuñdur senüñ kemter Muḥammed, 87”

“Ḥasbiya'llāhi lā-ilāhe, sevvāhu naḳşı levḫi zamīr, 'Abdu'llāh, 96 (Sırrī)”

[47a]

XCIV

Mefā'ilün fe'ilātün mefā'ilün fā'ilün

Ḥidiv-i memleket-ārā-yı ḥıṭṭa-i İslām

Dilīr-i 'arşa-i şevket şeh-i cihān-ārā

Cenāb-ı ḥazret-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed Gāzī

O pādīşāh-ı kerem-küster ü o zıll-ı Ḥudā

Vücūd-ı pākini Mevlā ḥaṭādan idüp emīn

Bahār-ı 'ömrin ide feyz-yāb-ı cū-yı şafā

* * *

XCIV

Mefā'ilün fe'ilātün fa'ülün

Nigāh-ı iltifāta oldı elyaḳ

Olinca manzar-ı erbāb-ı kemāle

²⁴⁰ These distiches are written down on the top, bottom, and right of the folio.

Muḥaṣṣal işbu tarz-ı pür-füsünüñ
İrişdi her biri sihr-i ḥelāle²⁴¹

[Seals emplaced on folio 47a]

“Abdi Ḥudā Muṣṭafā, 92 (Sırrı)”

“Tevekkeltu ‘alā el-Ḥayyu’l-Bāḳī, 96, (Sırrı)”

[47b]

XCVI

Süleymān

Mefā’ilün fe’ilātün mefā’ilün fa’lün

Nedür ḥuzūr-ı Süleymān’da tuḥfesi mūruñ

Ki ide dergeh-i devlet-medārına ihdā

İderse luṭfiyle tevcīh-i nazra-i taḥsīn

Ne-ḥayfiyā o şehinşāh-ı salṭanat-pīrā

Ümīd odur ki ide Ġaznevī-i nā-şādı

Nigāh-ı raḥm ile mesrūr-ı maṭlab-ı Akşā

* * *

XCVII

Fā’ilātün mefā’ilün fa’lün

Āfitābā egerçi bu tuḥfe

Der-i ḳadrüñde zerreden kemdir

Ḥāk-sārān-ı miḥnete ammā

Nazaruñ kīmyādan a’zamdır²⁴²

[48a]

XCVIII

Fā’ilātün fe’ilātün fe’ilātün fa’lun

Şāhid-i işve gibi kendüyi izhār eyler

Naḳş-ı mühriyle bu ser-şafḥa çü ‘arz-ı maḥzar

* * *

XCIX

Mefā’ilün fe’ilātün mefā’ilün fa’lün

İdüp vesīle-i ḥayr-du’āyı bī-pāyān

Bu şerḥ-i dil-keşi bu resme eyledüm imlā²⁴³

[Seals emplaced on folio 48a]

²⁴¹ These distiches are written down on the top, bottom, and left of the folio.

²⁴² These distiches are written down on the top, bottom, and right of the folio.

²⁴³ These distiches are written down on the top, and bottom of the folio.

“Men kana‘a ḥabīlun ve men ṭama‘a ‘bdun”

“Himmet cūyed ez-kerem-i Ḥaḫḫ ‘Alī Rizā”

“Mā reāhu‘l-mu‘minūne ḥasanen fe-huve ‘inda‘llāhi ḥasen, 91”

“Ḥasbiya‘llāhu vaḥdehū ve kefā, ‘abduhū ‘Alī (Sırrī)”

“Bendehū Ḥalīl”

“Ola yā Rab mücellā Ḥasenā ḥüsn-i niyetle”

“‘Abdu‘l-ḳādir Muḥammed”

“Ni‘met-i Bārī ḥāmid-i Ḥamīd

“Maḥabbet-i dil-dāde āl-i ‘Abbās ‘Alī”

“Muḥammed”

“Muḥammed”

“Mā reāhu‘l-mu‘minūne ḥasanen fe-huve ‘inda‘llāhi ḥasen, 93, (Sırrī)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālīḳī, ‘abduhū Muḥammed”

“Naḥl-dil-i Ḥüseyin sīrāb-ı feyz-i Ḥaḫḫ şūde, 92”

“Allāhu‘l-Mu‘īn Aḫmed külli cīn, Yā Laṭīf Yā ‘Azīz, 95, (Sırrī)”

“‘Abduhū Kelime hüve Mūsā, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālīḳī, ‘abduhū Aḫmed”

“Ve mā-tevfīḳī illā bi‘llāhi, ‘Abdu‘llāh, 97, (Sırrī)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālīḳī, ‘abduhū Muḥammed”

[48b]

[Seals emplaced on folio 48b]

“Men kāne‘llāhu kāne‘llāhu lehu‘l-ḥusnā ve minhu, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālīḳī, ‘abduhū Muḥammed”

“Bād-ı tevfiḳ-i Ḥudā, neşr-i ‘Abdu’r-raḥmān, 90, (Sırrī)”

“Bād-ı ḥāşıl-ı himmet-i kām-ı dil, ‘Abdu’l-ḳādir, 92, (Sırrī)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālīḳī, ‘abduhū Muḥammed, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Ḥālīñde mi salınur ‘Alī, 97, (Sırrī)”

“Maḫhar-ı feyz-i İlāhī Muḫarrem, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Ve mā-tevfīḳī illā bi’İlāhi, ‘abduhū Muḥammed, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Müsemid-kerem Ḥazret-i Bārīst, ‘Ömer, 97, (Sırrī)”

“‘Aṭā ez-kerem-i Bārī Muştafā fermā-murād, 96”

“Şafā-yı sermedī ḥ^vāhid Muḥammed ez-derbārī, 96”

“Mine’l-ḥaḳḳi luṭfihi ve mine’l-ḥalyi fażlihi yercū li-ḥusni ḥātimetihī, ‘abduhū ‘Alī, 90, (Sırrī)”

“Muḫib-i ḥandān-ı āl-i Aḫmed’sin yā cān u dil, bendehū Muḥammed”

[Inscriptions engraved in tulips]

“Muḥammed, 53”

“Yā ilāhī bi-ḥaḳḳi zāti ḳadīm ‘afvinā himem günah..., (Sırrī)”

“Ḥasbiya’İlāhu vaḥdehū ve kefā, ‘abduhū Muştafā”

“Der-i raḫmet şüd yā Rab maḳāmem hemçü..., (Sırrī)”

“Yā Rab ḳıl müyesserini Aḫmed rızā ister, 59, (Meḫemmed)”

“Ve mā-tevfīḳī illā bi’İlāhi, ‘abduhū Yūsuf, 93”

[49a]

C

Fā’ilātün mefā’ilün fā’ilün

Mevlidümdür çü ab-ı rû-yi zemîn

Nefs-i nev-beste o ḥāḳ-ı pākterîn

* * *

CI

Fā'ilātü mefā'ilün fa'lün
Bu faķır ü gedā-yı bī-miķdār
Ya'nī Maħmūd-ı Ğaznevī eķvār

* * *

CII
Rabbi ec'alnī mes'ūden
Kemā-semmeytuhū Maħmūden

* * *

CIII
???
Bīd āba didi ki feyzüñden dem-be-dem ŗerbet-i zülāl iķerüz
Āb bīde didi ki biz de senüñ sāye-i devletüñde ĥoŗ geķerüz

* * *

CIV
Fā'ilātün fe'ilātün fe'ilün
Ola envār-ı hidāyetle tamām
Behcet-i neyyir ŗālī'-i bayrām

* * *

CV
Fā'ilātün mefā'ilün fa'lun
Çü gül-i bāĝ-ı sermedī dārī
Nām-ı mihr-i Muħammedī dārī

* * *

CVI
???
Eyler rızā-yı Ğaķķı
Ŧaleb dā'imā 'Alī

CVII
Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün
İlāhī varıcaķ dār-ı beķāya
Ŧefī' ola Muħammed Muŗtafā'ya

[Seals emplaced on folio 49a]

“Rabbi'c-'alnī mes'ūden kemā-semmeytuhū Maħmūden, 48, (Sırrī)”

“Ve mā-tevfikī ve i’tişāmī illā bi’llāhi, ‘abduhū Muḥammed, 93, (Rizāyī)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālikī, ‘abduhū ‘Oṣmān”

“Çü gül-i bāğ-ı sermedī dārī Nām-ı mihr-i Muḥammedī dārī, (Maḥmūd)”

“Yā Ḥafiyū’l-elṭāf neccinā mimmā neḥaf, bendehū ‘Abdu’llāh”

“Yūsuf, 92, (Sırrī)”

“Ve mā-tevfikī ve i’tişāmī illā bi’llāhi, ‘abduhū Aḥmed”

“Zeyn-i Rab bi’r-rizā fi-kulli ḥīn ḥatm men yed’ā bi-ressi’l-‘ābidīn”

“Rizā-yi tu cūyed illāhī Ḥüseyn”

“İlāhī varıcaḡ dār-ı beḡāya / Şefi’ ola Muḥammed Muştafā’ya, 92, (Sırrī)”

“Ḥasbiya’llāhu vaḥdehū ve kefā, ‘abduhū ‘Ömer, 75”

“Nāme-i men ru ez-ḡusr(?) ey Ḥudā mühr kon bā-müher-i Ḥatemü’l-Enbiyā, El-bevwāb-ı Sulṭānī Ḥızır bin Seyyid Ḥācī”

“Bülbül-i bāğ müsikī-i ‘Abdī”

“Devlet-i dārına mazḡār ola Ḥasan yā Rab”

“Mā’il-i elṭāf-ı Ḥudā Muştafā, 93, (Yaḡyā)”

“Şalli ‘alā Muḥammed”

“Ve men yetevkel ‘ala’llāhi fe-huve ḡasbuhū”

[49b]

CVIII

Fā’ilātün fe’ilātün fe’ilātün fa’lun

Emr-i ‘ālī yine dergāh-ı mu’allānuñdur

Südde-i devletüñdür yine bāḡī fermān

[Seals emplaced on folio 49b]

“... ... Ḥasbiya’llāhu vaḥdehū ve kefā, ‘abduhū Muştafā, 96, (Sırrī)”

“Ḥāḡ-i bend-i āl-i Muḥammed, Aḡmed bin Muḥammed, 90, (Sırrī)”**

“Ve mā-tevfikī ve i’tişāmī illā bi’llāhi, ‘abduhū Ḥüseyn, 97, (Sırrī)”

“Bi-ḥamdi’llāh ki şūd nāmım Muḥammed, 97, (Sırrı)”

“Tevekkülī ‘alā Ḥālīkī, ‘abduhū Ḥasan”

“Eyā şāḥib-i ‘aṭā-yı şun‘-ı taḳdīr ze-tu ḥ‘āhed baḥrem şūd seyr-i ‘Alī, 96, (Sırrı)”

“Maẓḥār-ı feyz-i İlāhī ola Muḥammed rā, 95, (Sırrı)”

“Allāhu’l-Müte‘āl Aḥmed külli ḥāl, 96, (Sırrı)”

“Yā Muḡnī bi-sırrı z... .. İbrāhim’e vir sa‘ādet-i dāreyn, 93, (Sırrı)”

“Cehre-i sāmī der-i Aḥmed mī-resed, 91, (Sırrı)”

“Ferḥunde bād nāz-ı hemvāre baḥt, Aḥmed, 92, (Sırrı)”

[50a]

CIX

Ġazel-i Şerīf

Fā’ilātün fā’ilātün fe’ilātün

Ḥabbezā mecmū‘a-i reşk-i gülistān

Olsa lāyık aña bülbül-i murġ-ı cān

Oldı güyā anda her beyt-i selīs

Vādī-i gülşende bir āb-ı revān

Ḥāşılı bu tuḥfe-i nā-dīdenüñ

Her varaḳ bir naḳş olunmuş būsitān

* * *

CX

Mef’ülü mefā’ilü mefā’ilü fa’lun

Bu şafḥa-i sebz üzre ki olmış peydā

Naḳş-ı semen ü sünbül verd-i ra’nā

Güyā ki çemenzār-ı maḥabbet içre

Eyler bir iki dil-ber-i nāzende şafā²⁴⁴

[50b]

CXI

Mefā’ilün mefā’ilün fa’ülün

Bu mīnā kāse çün nūzhet-fezādur

Hemān āyīne-i ḥālīm nümādur

* * *

CXII

²⁴⁴ These distiches are written down on the top, bottom, and left of the folio.

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Kāse-i nev-sāğar-ı zerrinden
Nüş iden erbāb-ı şun'-ı şāfiye
Dest-ber-sīne idüp ta'zīm için
Ehl-i meclis dir ki şıhhan 'āfiye²⁴⁵

[51a]

CXIII

Ġazel-i meşnevī

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün fa'ülün
Göreydi bir nefis bu naqşı Mānī
Giribān-çāk iderdi reşk-i cānı
Münaqqaş nev'-i ezhāriyla gūyā
Derūnı tāze bir gülzār-ı ma'nā
Ne gülşendür bu kim şayf u şitāda
Olur ezhāri anuñ dā'im küşāde
N'ola ehl-i dilüñ olsa hezārı
Bu bāguñ bülbül-i nev-nağme-kārı
Pesend ey Ġaznevī-i hoş teşānīf
Ki itdüñ böyle bir nev nüşha te'līf

* * *

CXIV

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Surh-ı şanemüñ seyr idüp bu şafhayı
Nev-şüküfte bir gül-i hamrā dūrür
Resm olunmuş anda her beyt-i laṭīf
Naqş-ı şavt-ı bülbül-i aşüftedür

[51b]

CXV

Ḳıṭ'a

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
Vaşf-ı hālüm nāmede surh-ile yazdım şanma kim
Gözden ağan ḥasret-i la'lüñle ḳanumdır benüm
Gülistān-ı ḥüsn içinde ol benüm çok sūd kim
Bir semen bir lāle-ḥad serv-i revānumdur benüm

* * *

CXVI

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü fa'ülün
Bu şafha-i zerd üzre Şerīfā
Zan itme münaqqaş gül-i terdir

²⁴⁵ These distiches are written down on the top, bottom, and right of the folio.

Dest-i ğam-ı erbāb-ı hünerde
Şahbā-yla pür-sāġar-ı zerdır

[52a]

CXVII

Ꞑıꞑ'a

Mefā'ılün fe'ilātün fa'ülün

Şehā bu kāġıd-ı al üzre ġüyā

Muşavver sünbül-i ra'nā vü reyḥān

O şūḥ-şive-cüdur kim dökülmüş

ġül-i ruḥsārına zülf-i perīşān

* * *

CXVIII

Mefā'ılün mefā'ılün mefā'ılün mefā'ılün

ġaraż def'-i melāletdür ruḥ-ı dil-dāra baġmaġdan

Ne deñlü olsa ġam zīrā gider ġülzāra baġmaġdan

Ne maḥbūblar temāşā eylemişdür bu ġöñül ammā

Diriġā toymadı gitdi o ḥoş-reftāra baġmaġdan

[52b]

ġazab-ālūd nigāhlarla behey ey ġamzesi cellād

Nedür ḳaşduñ nedür bilsem dil-i pür-zāra baġmaġdan

Çevirme vechiñi benden 'itāb u cevri terk eyle

Beni men' eyleme luṭf it n'olur dīdāra baġmaġdan

CXIX

Ꞑıꞑ'a

Mef'ülü mefā'ılü mefā'ılü fa'lün

Bu nüşḥa-i merġūbda degildür peydā

Taşvīr-i semen lāle vü verd-i ra'nā

Deryā-yı melāḥatde şināverlik ider

ġüyā bir iki tāze-ruḥ dil-i şeydā

[53a]

CXX

Der-maġām-ı Ḥüseynī

Mef'ülü mefā'ılü mefā'ılü fa'ülün

Cānānumla yek-dil idüp cānumı yā Rab

Yār ile dil ü cānıma cānānumı yā Rab

Luṭf eyle şifā-ḥāne-i feyz-i keremüñden

Bir ḥasta-dilüm derdüme dermānumı yā Rab

CXXI

Murabba'

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Rûz-ı şeb âh-ile eyyāmum siyeh-fām itdiler
Bu perī ruḥsāreler şubḥum benüm şām itdiler
Yār olmuş sāye-baḥş-ı ḥalka-i bezm-i raḳīb
Ol humā-yı ‘āḳıbet dām itdiler rām itdiler²⁴⁶

CXXII

Murabba‘

Mef‘ülü mefā‘ilü mefā‘ilü fa‘ülün

Var mı ḥaberüñ bād-ı şabā tāze gülümden
Bir neş‘e²⁴⁷ getürdüñ mi ola baña mülimden
Çekdüklerimi kûşe-i hicrānda duyduñ-mı
Virdüñ-mi ḥaber yāre ‘aceb sūz-ı dilümden²⁴⁸

[53b]

CXXIII

Fe‘ilātün fe‘ilātün fe‘ilātün fa‘lun

Bir dem olmadı gözüm kanlı yaşumdan ḥālī
Göremem yāri kime ağlayayum aḥvāli
Geh dilim ḥün gehī yaşumı ḥünīn eyler
Eksik olmaz baña ol rūḥları elüñ iyi

CXXIV

Murabba‘

Fe‘ilātün fe‘ilātün fe‘ilātün fa‘lun

Nev-bahār oldı yine bād-ı bahāri sūrın
Gözi āhūlar ile şayd-ı şikāri sūrın
Getürür bād-ı şabā bū-yı seri zülfüñde
Ol sebebden şanma naḳş-ı nigāri sūrın²⁴⁹

CXXV

Murabba‘

Fā‘ilātün fā‘ilātün fā‘ilātün fā‘ilün

Tāze dil-ber sevse ‘āşık eski derdin tāzeler
Tāzeler keyfiyetin erbāb-ı ‘āşkıñ tāzeler
Leblerüñ göñlüm alup düşürmek için el ider
Şeh-i levendüm geh bozar destārını geh tāzeler²⁵⁰

[54a]

CXXVI

Fā‘ilātün fā‘ilātün fā‘ilātün fā‘ilün

²⁴⁶ This *murabba‘* is written down on the left and right of the folio.

²⁴⁷ Without hamza in the text: *neşe*.

²⁴⁸ These *murabba‘* is written down on the bottom, and right of the folio.

²⁴⁹ These *murabba‘* is written down on the top, and left of the folio.

²⁵⁰ These *murabba‘* is written down on the bottom, and right of the folio.

Rāyic olmaz her zamān naqd-i temennā böyledür
Ağlama ey h^vāce kim ümmīd-i dünyā böyledür
Hem yaqar pervānesin hem sūz-ı dil izhār ider
Muqtezā-yı meşreb-i şem'-i şeb-ārā böyledür

CXXVII

Murabba'

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Ğamze-i dil-ber degüldür dilde hem-rāzum budur
Resm-i dāğı şanma qavilde şeh-bāzum budur
Nāle-i dilde nice her lahza memnün olmayam
Kūşe-i mişnet-fezā-yı ğamda dem-sāzum budur

CXXVIII

Murabba'

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Hem qadeh hem bāde hem bir şūh sāķidür göñül
Ehl-i 'aşkuñ hāşılı şāhib-mezāķidur göñül
Bir nefsi dīdār içün biñ cān fedā kılsaķ n'ola
Niçe yıllardur esiri iştiyāķidur göñül

[54b]

CXXIX

Mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün mefā'ilün

O meclis-kim sezā-yı vaşl-ı cānān olduĝum yerdür
Benüm cānānla ser-tā-ķadem cān olduĝum yerdür
N'ola şām-vişāl yarı yād itdükce āh itsem
O şeb pervāneveş şem'-i şebistān olduĝum yerdür

* * *

CXXX

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Naħl-i nev-resdür o şūhuñ bāĝbānun kim bilür
Tāze bir güldür açılmış gülistānuñ kim bilür
Ĥavf-i tiĝ-i ğamze māni'dür ricā-yı vaşlına
O tılsımī fitnenüñ genc-i nihānuñ kim bilür

[55a]

CXXXI

Mef'ülü fe'ilātü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Şem'-i ruħuña cismümi pervāne düşürdüm
Evrāķ-ı dili āteş-i sūzāna düşürdüm
Bir ķaķre iken kendimi 'ummāna düşürdüm
Ĥayfā yolımı vād-i hicrāna düşürdüm

* * *

CXXXII

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

Hicr âteşine yandı derūnum elemüm var

Mevlāyı seversen beni söyletme ğamum var

 Taqrīr idemem derd-i derūnum elemüm var

 Mevlāyı seversen beni söyletme ğamum var²⁵¹

* * *

CXXXIII

Mef'ülü mefā'ilü mefā'ilü fa'ülün

'Azm itdi sefer itdi ne ol ħusrev-i ħübān

Şaldı dil ü cān kişverine âteş-i sūzān

 Sākī-i belā-dīde vü aĥvāl-i perīşān

 Elden çıkıyor ağlamadan dīde-i giryān²⁵²

[56b-57a]²⁵³

[57b]

CXXXIV

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Ġaznevī mecmū'ası bāġ-ı cihāna beñzemiş

Āb-ı cedvel sebze ħaṭ şebnem nuḳaṭ(?) evrāk-ı gül

[58a]

CXXXV

Mefā'ilün fe'ilātün fa'ülün

Zehī mecmū'a-i kenzü'l-me'ānī

Cihānda görmemiş dīde anı

 Zehī naḳş-ı feraḥ-zā u muşanna'

 Ne Erjeng itmege ḳādir ne Mānī

Naẓar ḳılsunlar erbāb-ı ma'ārif

Ki görsünler kemālāt-ı cihānı

 Sezādur olsa manzūr-ı şehinşāh

 Mü'ellef eylesün şad imtinanı

Ne mümkin Hādiyā vaşfı ide ħāme

Budur ḳaḳḳ kim bulunmaz ana şānī

[58b]

CXXXVI

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün

Rūyini sürdükde ḳāk-i devlete

²⁵¹ The first distich is written down into left, and the second into the top of the folio.

²⁵² The first distich is written down into left, and the second into the top of the folio.

²⁵³ These folios are blank. The folios 56a and 56b, however, are lost.

Her varak gösterse reng-āmiz gül
Didiler itmāmınuñ tārīhini
Nev-tuḥaf cānā neṣāṭ-engīz gül [1097/1685]

[59a]

CXXXVII

Mef'ūlü mefā'īlü mefā'īlü fa'ūlün
Ma'kūl degil ḳaṭreyi 'ummāna iletmek
Ḥār u ḥas ṣaḥrāyı gülistāna iletmek
Ya'nī ki hüner diyü bu mecmū'ayı ṣimdi
Sen Ġaznevīyā ol ṣeh-i devrāna iletmek
Ancaḳ bu ezel 'ādet mūr oldı muḥaḳḳaḳ
Pā-yi melaḥi pīṣ-i Süleymān'a iletmek

[59b]

CXXXVIII

Fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilātün fā'ilün
İki ṣāhid zāyidiyle diyelüm tārīhini
Oldı bu mecmū'a-i zībā vü ra'nā nev-tuḥaf²⁵⁴
Ġaznevī lafzen didüm tārīhini mecmū'anuñ
Oldı biñ ṭoksan yedi sālinde bu tuḥfem tamām

[The hemistichs written down on the cover]

CXXXIX

Mefā'īlün mefā'īlün mefā'īlün mefā'īlün
Bunun eṭrāfına bir zincirüñ çekmiş zer-ender-zer
Örölmüş pīç pīç olmuş sanasın zülf-i leylādur

Bu cilde bir cilā virmüşdür üstādı ṣanā'atle
Naḳar ḳılsun nümāyiṣde hemān āyine-āsādur

Düşünmüş ṣemseler eṭrāfın almış berg ḥalkārī
Dizilmiş riṣte-i manzūme ṣoñ silk-i süreyyādur

Ne zībā gösterür eṭrāfını pīçide rū meyler(?)
Ne ḥoṣ dāriler(?) itmiş ḥaḳḳ bu kim cā-yı temāṣādur

Niyāz it Ġaznevī ṣāh-ı cihān-ārāya her demde
Naḳar ḳılsun bu cilde ṣan'atuñ görsün ne ra'nādur

Der-i luṭfi açılmış ol ṣehüñ erbāb-ı ḥācāta
Keff-i iḥsāni vü sa'y ḥaḳḳ bu kim mānend-i deryādur

²⁵⁴ These hemistichs are written down into the right of the folio.

APPENDIX B
THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO GAZNEVÎ'S *WAQF*

1- [BOA, AE. SAMD. III. 176/17085/1]

Müceb-i 'arz-ı āverde tevcih buyurulsun mercūdur ed-Dā'ī 'Abdu'llāh 'ufiye 'anhū

Der-i devlet-mekīne 'arz-ı dā'ī-i kemīne oldur ki semāhatli 'ināyetli ḥazret-i Şeyḥu'l-islām dāmet sa'ādetuhū ilā yevmi'l-kıyāme ḥazretlerinüñ nezāret-i 'aliyyelerinde olan evkāfdan İstanbul'da Tahta'l-Ḳal'a ḳurbunda Timurtaş Maḥallesi'nde vāḳi' merḥūm Ğaznevī Maḥmūd Efendi binā ve vaḳf eylediği mekteb-i şerīfūñ vaḳfiyesinde vaḳfa nemā ve fazla vāḳi' oldukça rūḥi içün ba'zī ḥayrāt ihdāsına vāḳıf-ı müşārün-ileyhden rāḥata* iznüñ şudūruna binā ve vaḳf-ı merḳūmuñ fazla ve nemāsından zikri mūrūr iden mektebūñ ḥudūdı dāḥilinde bir ders-ḥāne binā olunup yevmī beş aḳçe vazīfe ile haftada üç gün fıḳh-ı şerīf dersi ḳırā'atı olunmasınıñ nef'i 'āmm ve ḥāşşa rūḥ-ı vāḳıfa tekşir-i fezā'il ile ikrām olunmağa nev'an vaḳıfda si'a olmağın işbu bā'ış-i 'arz-ı 'ubūdet 'Alī Efendi her vecihle maḥall ve müsteḥaḳ dā'ileri olmağla meblağ-ı merḳūm yevmī beş aḳçe ile dersi'āmlık şadaḳa ve iḥsān buyurulması-çün işāret-i 'aliyyeleri ricāsına ol ki vāḳi'ü'l-ḥāldür der-i devlet-medāra 'arz olundu

Fī's-sādis 'aşere min şehir-i Şa'bānu'l-Mu'ażzam min sene ihdā ve şelāşin ve mi'ete ve elf
[July 4, 1719]

Ḥanīfe Ḥātūn el-mütevellīye ümmi veledi'l-vāḳıfu'l-merḥūm

2- [BOA, C. BLD. 116/5777/3]

Nişān-ı hümāyūn yazıla ki

İstanbul'da Tahta'l-Ḳal'a ḳurbunda Tīmūrtaş Maḥallesi'nde Ğaznevī Efendi demekle şehir Anaḫlı Muḥāsebecisi merḥūm el-ḥāc Maḥmūd Efendi mektebi ve ḥānı vaḳfından olmaḳ üzere yevmī beş aḳçe vazīfe ile ḥalīfe-i mekteb ve yevmī bir aḳçe vazīfe ile ḥāfız-ı kütüb ve yevmī üç aḳçe vazīfe ile bevḳāb ve ferrāş-ı mezbele ve āb-keş-i mekteb ve yevmī beş aḳçe vazīfe ile mekteb ḥalīfesine meşrūḫa Nihālī Ḥātūn rūḥı-çün Yāsīn-ḥ'ān ve İḥlāş-ḥ'ān olan Aḥmed Efendi bilā-veled fevt olup zikr olunan cihetler maḥlūl olmağla maḥlūlundan lede'l-istiḥḳāḳ Ḥāfız Aḥmed Ḥalīfe ibn İsmā'īl'e tevcih ve yedine berāt-ı şerīf-i 'ālī-şān iḥsān buyurulmaḳ bābında 'ināyet ricāsına vaḳf-ı mezbūr mütevellisi es-Seyyid Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi 'arz itmekle tevcih buyurulmaḳ üzere Nāzır-ı Vaḳf fażiletlü semāhatlü Şeyḥu'l-islām mevlānā Dürrī-zāde Muştafā Efendi ḥazretleri işāret itmelerin işāretleri mücebince tevcih olunmaḳ bābında Biñ Yüz Altmış Ṭoḳuz senesi Zī'l-ḳa'idesi'nüñ dördüncü günü **[July 31, 1756]** şadır olan reviş-i hümāyūn mücebince berāt-ı şerīf-i 'ālī-şān yazılmaḳ içün işbu tezkere virildi.

3- [BOA, C. MF. 14/683/1]

Qıdvetü'l-'ulemā'ı'l-muḥaqqıqın es-Seyyid Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi zıde 'ilmühü 'arz-ḥāl şunup vaqf-ı mezbūruñ yevmī beş aqçe vazıfe ile mütevelliyesi olan Ḥanīfe Ḥātūn zevce-i Maḥmūd Efendi el-vāqıf müteveffıye ve meşrūṭun-lehi münkâz ve maḥlūl olup tevliyet-i mezbūre her sene bir ādeme virildigi şūretde müddet-i ḳalilede ḥarāb olması bedihī ve bu mişillü vaqf tertib idenlerüñ murādı vaqfuñ devāmi olmağla vaqfiyelerinde meşrūṭun-lehi inḳırāzında vaqfinuñ umūrını re'y ... tefvīz ve tefvīz sebebiyle ... bu bābda re'y-i 'ayn şart-ı vāqıf ḥükmünde olmağla vaqf-ı mezbūr tebrir ve ta'birden maşūn ve devāmında sa'y ve ihtimām olunmağ şartıyla tevcih ḳayd-ı ḥayātla kendüye ve ba'de vefātihi şart-ı mezkūre üzre evlād-ı evlād-ı evlādına virilmek üzre re'y-i münirlerin cārī ve bu şürūṭla tevcih bābında işāret-i ber-şavābları ... vāqı' ... buyurulmağ üzre şürūṭ-ı mezkūreyi ḥāvī yedine berāt-ı şerif-i 'ālī-şān iḥsān buyurulmağ istid'ā ... mücebince re'y ... emr ile şürūṭ-ı mezkūre ile tevcih buyurulmağ üzre Nāzır-ı Vaqf faziletli semāhatli Şeyḥu'l-islām Mevlānā es-Seyyid Muştafā Efendi Ḥazretleri işāret itmeleriyle işāretleri mücebince tevcih olunmağ bābında biñ yüz elli bir senesi Şaferinüñ on sekizinci günü **[June 7, 1738]** şadır olan rü'ūs-ı humāyūn mücebince Ḥanīfe Ḥātūn zevce-i vāqıfuñ maḥlūlünden es-Seyyid Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi'ye tevcih olunup derūn-ı 'arz-ḥālde Emīne Ḥānım'a tevcih olundığı ḳayd olunmayup rü'ūs-ı hümāyūndan görölmege muḥtācdur. Emr u fermān devletlü sa'ādetlü Efendüm ḥazretlerinüñdür

* * *

Şerife 'Ayşe Ḥānım binti Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi ve Şerife Fāṭıma binti Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi ve Şerife Emīne binti Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi 'arz-ḥāl şunup İstanbul'da Taḥta'l-ḳal'a ḳurbunda Tımūrtaş Maḥallesi'nde vāqı' Ğaznevī Efendi dimekle şehir Anaṭolı Muḥāsebecisi merḥūm el-Ḥāc Maḥmūd Efendi mekteb ve ḥānı vaqfinuñ yevmī beş aqçe vazıfeli mütevellisi olan babaları es-Seyyid Meḥmed Kāmil Efendi fevt olup yeri ḥālī ḳalmağla tevliyet-i merḳūmenüñ muḳaddemā meşrūṭun-lehi mutaşarrıfı olduğına binā'en elli bir tāriḥin başlarında **[1738]** ... babaları müteveffā-yı mūmā-ileyh ḥayātde olduḳca kendüye ve ba'dehü şürūṭ-ı mezkūr üzre evlād-ı evlādına virilmek üzre tevcih olunmuş olmağla babaları maḥlūlünde naşb kendülere tevcih ve yedlerine berāt-ı 'ālī-şān iḥsān buyurulmağ bābında istid'ā-yı ḡayret itmeleri mücebince ... 'arz kerimelerine tevcih buyurulmağ üzre Nāzır-ı Vaqf faziletli semāhatli Şeyḥu'l-islām mevlānā 'Ömer Ḥulūşī Efendi ḥazretleri işāret itmeleriyle işāretleri mücebince ... 'arz kerimelerine tevcih olundu

Fī 17 M sene [1]216 **[May 30, 1801]** tāriḥinde ru'ūs-ı humāyūn

* * *

İşāretleri mücebince tevcih olundu Fī 24 L. sene 1216 **[February 27, 1802]**

Devletlü 'ināyetlü merḥāmetlü Efendüm Sultānum ḥazretleri devlet ü iḳbālle sağ olsun

'Arz-ḥāl-i dā'ileridür ki bundan muḳaddem işāret-i 'aliyyeleriyle mutaşarrıfe olduklarımız Ğaznevī Maḥmūd Efendi tevliyeti ḥişşe-dārī küçük hemşiremüz Emīne Ḥānım bilā-veled müteveffıye olmağla ḥişşe-i maḥlūlesi bu dā'iyelerine tevcih ve iḥsān ile peder-i merḥūm

hazretlerinüñ bugüne kadar vakf-ı mezbûrı himâyet ve şıyânetine hâlel gelmeyüp kemâfi'l-evvel âsûde ve muhammer buyurulmağ bâbında emr ü fermân devletlü 'inâyetlü merhametlü efendimüz hazretlerinüñdür

Dâ'ıye Şerîfe Faţıma binti Kâmil Efendi, Dâ'ıye Hıvâce Şerîfe 'Âyşe binti Kâmil Efendi

4- [BOA, C. MF. 105/5245/1]

Der-i devlet-mekîne 'arz-ı dâ'î-i kemîne budur ki

Nezâret-i hazret-i Şeyhu'l-islâmiyye olan evkâfdan mahmiyye-i İslâmbol'da Tahta'l-çal'a kurbunda vâkı' Gaznevî Maḥmūd Efendi vakfından olmağ üzre yevmî üç akçe ile vakf-ı mezbûruñ kâtibi ve meşğ hıvâcesi olan Muştafâ b. 'Abdu'llâh kendi ḥüsni rızasıyla bâ'ış-i 'arz-ı 'ubûdiyyet Hâfız Ahmed Efendi ibn İsmâ'îl dâ'îlerine ferâğat ve kaşr-ı yed itmegin ciheteyn-i mezbûreteyn vazîfesiyle merķūm dâ'îlerine bâ-işâret-i 'aliyye tevcîh buyurulmağ ricâsına pâye-i serîr-i a'lâya 'arz olundu bâkiyyü'-emr li-men lehu'l-emr ḥurrîre fî'l-yevmi's-şânî ve'l-işrîn min-Şevvâli'l-Mükerrem li-seneti şelâşe ve şemânîn ve mi'ete ve elf [February 18, 1770]

El-'abdu'd-dâ'î li'd-Devleti'l-'Aliyyetü'l-Mü'eyyide es-Seyyid Meḥmed Kâmil el-Mütevelli bi'l-vakfi'l-mezbûr

5- [BOA, C. MF. 113/5638/3]

Nişân-ı humâyün yazıla ki

İstanbul'da Tahta'l-çal'a kurbunda Tımürtaş Mâhallesi'nde vâkı' Gaznevî Efendi dimekle şehîr Muḥâsebe-i Anaṭolî merḥūm el-ḥâc Maḥmūd Efendi ḥânı ve mektebi vakfından olmağ üzre yevmî on akçe vazîfe ile kârî-i ḥatm-i şerîf olan Muştafâ b. İbrâhîm fevt olup cihet-i mezbûr maḥlûl olmağla erbâb-ı istiḥkâkdan Çelebi Kebîr oğlı İbrâhîm'e tevcîh ve yedine berât-ı şerîf-i 'âlî-şân virilmek bâbında 'inâyet ricâsına vakf-ı mezbûr mütevellisi es-Seyyid Meḥmed Kâmil Efendi 'arz itmekle tevcîh buyurulmağ üzre Nâzır-ı Vakf fazîletlü semâhatlü Şeyhu'l-islâm Mevlânâ Dürrî-zâde Muştafâ Efendi hazretleri işâret itmeleriyle işâretleri mücebince tevcîh olunmağ bâbında Biñ Yüz Yetmiş senesi Şafer'inüñ tokuzuncı günü [November 3, 1756] şâdir olarak revîş-i humâyün mücebince berât-ı şerîf-i 'âlî-şân yazılmağ için işbu tezkere virildi.

6- [BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/2/1]

Nezâret-i Ma'ârif-i 'Umümiyye Mekâtib-i İbtidâ'yye İdâresi

'Aded: 4525

Uzun Çarşübaşı'nda Yavaşca Şâhîn Maḥallesi'nde Tımürtaş kurbunda Anaṭolî Muḥâsebecisi Gaznevî Maḥmūd Efendi Mekteb-i İbtidâ'îsi vakfiyesine lüzüm görülmüş

olduğundan sicill-i maḥfūzdan iḥrācıyla irsāli ḥuṣūşunda Evkâf-ı Humāyūn Nezāret-i Celīlesi'ne izbārı ... irāde-i celīle-i dāver-ekremīleridir. Ol bābda emr u fermān ḥāzret-i men lehu'l-emriñdir.

Fi 10 Kānūn-ı Şānī sene [1]321 [January 23, 1906]

7- [BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/3/1]

Ma'ārif Nezāret-i Celīlesi'ne

Devletlü Efendim Ḥāzretleri

Uzun Çārşū-başı'nda Yavaşca Şāhīn Maḥallesi'nde Tīmūrtaş civārındaki Anaṭolı Muḥāsebecisi Ġaznevī Maḥmūd Efendi Mekteb-i İbtidā'isi Vaqfı'nıñ vaqfiyesi şūretiniñ irsāline dā'ir vārid olan 2 Şubāt sene 1321 tārīḥ ve dōrt yüz otuz ṭoḫuz numerolu tezkere-i 'aliyye-i Nezāret-penāhīleri cihān ḳalemine lede'l-ḥavāle mekteb-i mezkūr vaqfı muḳayyed ise de vaqfiyesine dā'ir ḳayd bulunamadığı ifāde olunmağın ol bābda emr u fermān ḥāzret-i men lehu'l-emriñdir.

Nāzır-ı Evkâf-ı Humāyūn

Fi 29 Muḥarrem sene 1324 ve fi 11 Mārt sene 1322 [March 25, 1906]

8- [BOA, MF. MKT. 911/48/3/2]

İbtidā'ıye İdāresi'ne

Ḥaremeyn-i Şerīfeyne mülḥāḳ evkâfdan İstanbul'da Uzunçārşū başında Yavaşca Şāhīn Maḥallesi'nde Tīmūrtaş civārında kā'in Anaṭolı Muḥāsebecisi demekle şehīr Ġaznevī el-Ḥāc Maḥmūd Efendi Mekteb-i İbtidā'isi vaqfiyesi şūretiniñ tisyārı ḥaḳḳında Evkâf-ı Hümāyūn Nezāret-i Celīlesi'ne (...) ḥidiv-efḥamīlerine vārid olan işbu cevābda mezkūr mekteb vaqfiyesine dā'ir ḳayda zafer-yāb olunamadığı izbār ḳılınmış ve ḥālbu ki mekteb-i mezbūr vaqfiyla Ḥānī Ḥātūn Vaqfı'ndan almak [üzere] yevmī on aḳçe mu'allimlik bir aḳçe ḥāfız-ı kütüblük üç aḳçe ābkeş [ve] bevvāb [ve] ferrāş ve iki aḳçe eczā-ḥ^vān-ı ḥuzūr ciheti on aḳçe ḳār-i ḥatm-i şerīf ve beş aḳçe daḫı Nihānī Ḥātūn rūḫı-çün mu'allim-i mektebe meşrūt Yāsīn ve İḥlāş-ḥ^vānlık cihetleri muḳayyed olduğı ve vaqfiyesiniñ daḫı (...) bulunduğı bi'l-müteḥāḳkık añlaşılmış olduğundan şart-ı vāḳıf ḥilāfına ḥareket edilmemek üzere bu bābdaki ma'lūmāt-ı kuyūdiyeniñ beyāniyla ber-ā-ber vaqfiyesi şūretiniñ irsāli ḥuṣūşunuñ Nezāret-i müşārūn-ileyhāya izbārı mütevaḳḳıf-ı irāde-i celīle-i ḥidiv-efḥamīleridür ol bābda emr u fermān ḥāzret-i men lehu'l-emriñdür *Fi 21 Mārt sene [1]322 [April 3, 1906]*

9- [BOA, Maliyyeden Müdevver Defter-3241, (1097/1686): 1]

Қуyūd-ı аһкām-ı Mālīyye'den zamān-ı iftiḥāru'l-emācid ve'l-ekārim 'Alī Efendi dāme mücdühū Қā'im-maқām-ı Defter-dār-ı Шıққ-ı Evvel der-Āsitāne-i Sa'adet ve der-zamān-ı қıdvetū'l-emācid ve'l-a'yān Maḥmūd Efendi eṣ-ṣehīr bi-Ġaznevī Қā'im-maқām-ı Tezkire-i Mālīyye Fī 10 Cumāde'l-āḥire sene 1097 [May 4, 1686]

Several Other Documents Pertaining to Gaznevī's Waqf

10- [BOA, BEO. 3622/271612/ 1/1]

Evkāf-ı Humāyūn Nezāret-i 'Aliyyesine

3 Ağustos sene [1]325 [August 16, 1909] tāriḥli ve 467 numerolu tezkere-i 'aliyyelerine cevābdır.

Üskūdār'da Süleymān Ağa Maḥallesi'nde kā'in olup Ḥazīne-i Ḥāṣṣa'ca tesviye edilen on biñ ğuruş muқābilinde Mīr-alay Seyyid Aḥmed Beg 'uhdesine tefvīz edilmiş olan ḥāneniñ bu kerre istirdād edilmesinden ṭolayı kendisine i'ādesi mūmā-ileyh tarafından ṭaleb olunan yüz lira ḥāneniñ mūmā-ileyhe tefvīzi için ḥazīne-i mūṣārūn-ileyhāca i'tā edildigine ve ḥāne istirdād olunduğı taқdīrde pāraniñ i'ādesine lāzım gelecegine nazaran meblağ-ı mezbūruñ Mīr-i mūmā-ileyhe te'diye ve tīfāsı mutaṣarrıf bulunduğı beyāniyla tezkere.

11- [BOA, BEO. 3622/271612/2/1]

Ḥuzūr-ı Sāmī-i Cenāb-ı Ṣadāret-penāhiye

Ma'rūz-ı çāker-i kemīneleridir ki
Ġaznevī Maḥmūd Efendi Vaқfı'ndan Üskūdār'da Süleymān Ağa Maḥallesi'nde Şeyḥ Cāmī'i zuқаğında otuz iki biñ ğuruş kıymet-i muḥammeneli bir bāb ḥāne mutaṣarrıfı olan Redīf biñbaşılardan 'İşmet Efendi'niñ vuқū'-ı vefātı üzerine maḥlūl olmasıyla mezkūr ḥāneniñ Ḥazīne-i Ḥāṣṣa-i Şāhāne'ca tesviye olunmak üzere on biñ ğuruş bedel ile Yāverāndan Biñbaşı Seyyid Aḥmed Beg'iñ 'uhdesine tefvīzi Mā-beyn-i Humāyūn Başıkitābeti'niñ 23 Teşrīn-i Şānī sene 1314 [December 5, 1898] tāriḥli tezkeresiyle tebliğ olunan irāde-i seniyye iktizāsından bulunmasına ve meblağ-ı mezkūr Ḥazīne-i Ḥāṣṣa'ca te'diye ve irsāl kılinmasına binā'en o vaқit mu'āmele-i lāzıme icrā kılinmışdı ancak bilā-bedel veyā ref'-i bedel ile tefvīz edilen 'aқārāt-ı vaқfiyeniñ istirdādı аһкām-ı şer'iyye icābından olmasına ve mezkūr ḥāne daḥı bu cümleden bulunmasına binā'en aḥīren istirdād edilmiş ise de mūmā-ileyh Seyyid Aḥmed Beg mūrāca'atla Ḥazīne-i Ḥāṣṣa'ca te'diye edilen on biñ ğuruşuñ kendisine i'ādesi ṭalebinde bulunmasına ve ḥālbuki meblağ-ı mezbūr Ḥazīne-i Ḥāṣṣa'ca mūmā-ileyhe hibe қабilinden olarak te'diye edilmiş olmasına göre istizān-ı keyfiyyete ibtidār kılinsa ol bābda emr u fermān ḥazret-i men lehu'l-emriñdir

Fî 29 Receb sene 1327 ve fî 3 Ağustos sene 1325 [August 16, 1909]
Nâzır-ı Evkâf-ı Humâyûn Halîl

12- [BOA, C. BLD. 116/5777/1]

Der-i devlet-mekîne ‘arz-ı dâ‘î-i kemîne budur ki

Nezâret-i Hazret-i Şeyhu’l-islâmîde âsûde olan evkâfdan İslâmbol’da Tahta’l-kal’a kırbunda Tîmûrtaş Maħallesi’nde Ğaznevî Efendi dimekle şehir Anaṭolî Muħâsebecisi merħûm el-hâc Maħmûd Efendi mektebi ve ħânı vaqfından olmağ üzere yevmî beş aqçe vazîfe ile ħalîfe-i mekteb ve yevmî bir aqçe vazîfe ile ħâfız-ı kütüb ve yevmî üç aqçe vazîfe ile bevvăb ve ferrâş-ı mezbele ve âb-keş-i mekteb ve yevmî beş aqçe vazîfe ile mekteb ħalîfesine meşrûta Nihâlî Hatûn rûhı-çün Yâsîn-ħ^vân ve İhlâş-ħ^vânlık cihetlerine mutaşarrıf olan Ĥâfız Aħmed Ĥalîfe ibn İsmâ‘îl ne-dîde olan tezkeresin virüp kendi ħüsn-i rızâsıyla mutaşarrıf olduğı cihât-ı mezbûreden yevmî beş aqçe ile mekteb ħalîfeligin ve yevmî beş aqçe ile ħalîfeye meşrûta Yâsîn-ħ^vân ve İhlâş-ħ^vânlık cihetlerini erbâb-ı istiħkâkdan Seyyid Ĥâfız Aħmed b. Aħmed’e ferâğat ve ħaşr-ber itmekle mezbûrın ħaşr-ı ne-dîdin merķûm kıllarına tevcîh ve iħsân ve merķûm Ĥâfız Aħmed Ĥalîfe b. İsmâ‘îl’ün üzerinde kalan yevmî bir aqçe ile ħâfız-ı kütüblük ve yevmî üç aqçe ile bevvăb ve ferrâş-ı mezbele ve âb-keşlik cihetleri içün merķûm kıllarına dağı berât-ı şerîf-i ‘âlî-şân iħsân buyurulmağ ricâsına pâye-i serîr-i a‘lâya ‘arz olundu

El-emru li-men lehu’l-emr ħurrîre fî ğurret Cumâde’l-ülâ li-seneti iħdâ ve şemânîn ve mi’ete ve elf [September 25, 1767]

El-‘abdu’dâ‘î es-Seyyid Meħmed Kâmil el-Mütevellî

13- [BOA, C. MF. 113/5638/1]

Der-i devlet-mekîne ‘arz-ı dâ‘î-i kemîne budur ki

Maħmiyye-i İstanbul’da Tahta’l-kal’a kırbunda vâķi’ nezâret-i Hazret-i Şeyhu’l-islâm sellemehü’l-mülkü’l-‘azîzü’l-‘allâmda âsûde olan evkâfdan bā-berât-ı ‘âlî-şân mütevellîsi olduğum merħûm Ğaznevî Maħmûd Efendi vaqfından olmağ üzere yevmî on aqçe vazîfe ile ķârî-i ħatm-i şerîf olan İbrâhîm b. Muştafâ cihet-i mezkûreyi ħüsn-i iħtiyâriyle erbâb-ı istiħkâkdan işbu bā’iş-i rif’at-i ‘ubûdiyyet Meħmed b. Ĥüseyin dâ‘îlerine ferâğat ve ħaşr-ı yed itmegin cihet-i mezbûr vazîfe-i mu‘ayyenesiyle mezbûr İbrâhîm ferağından mezbûr Meħmed’e tevcîh ve yedine berât-ı ‘âlî-şân şadaķa ve iħsân buyurulmağ ricâsına pâye-i serîr-i a‘lâya ‘arz olundu fîl-yevmî’l-ħâmis ve’l-‘işrîn min-Şaferu’l-Ĥayr li-seneti seb’in ve mi’ete ve elf [November 19, 1756]

El-‘abdu’d-dâ‘î es-Seyyid Meħmed Kâmil el-Mütevellî