



1516

THE YEAR THAT CHANGED
THE MIDDLE EAST

Edited by
Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn

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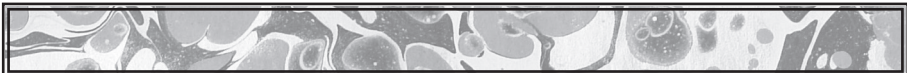
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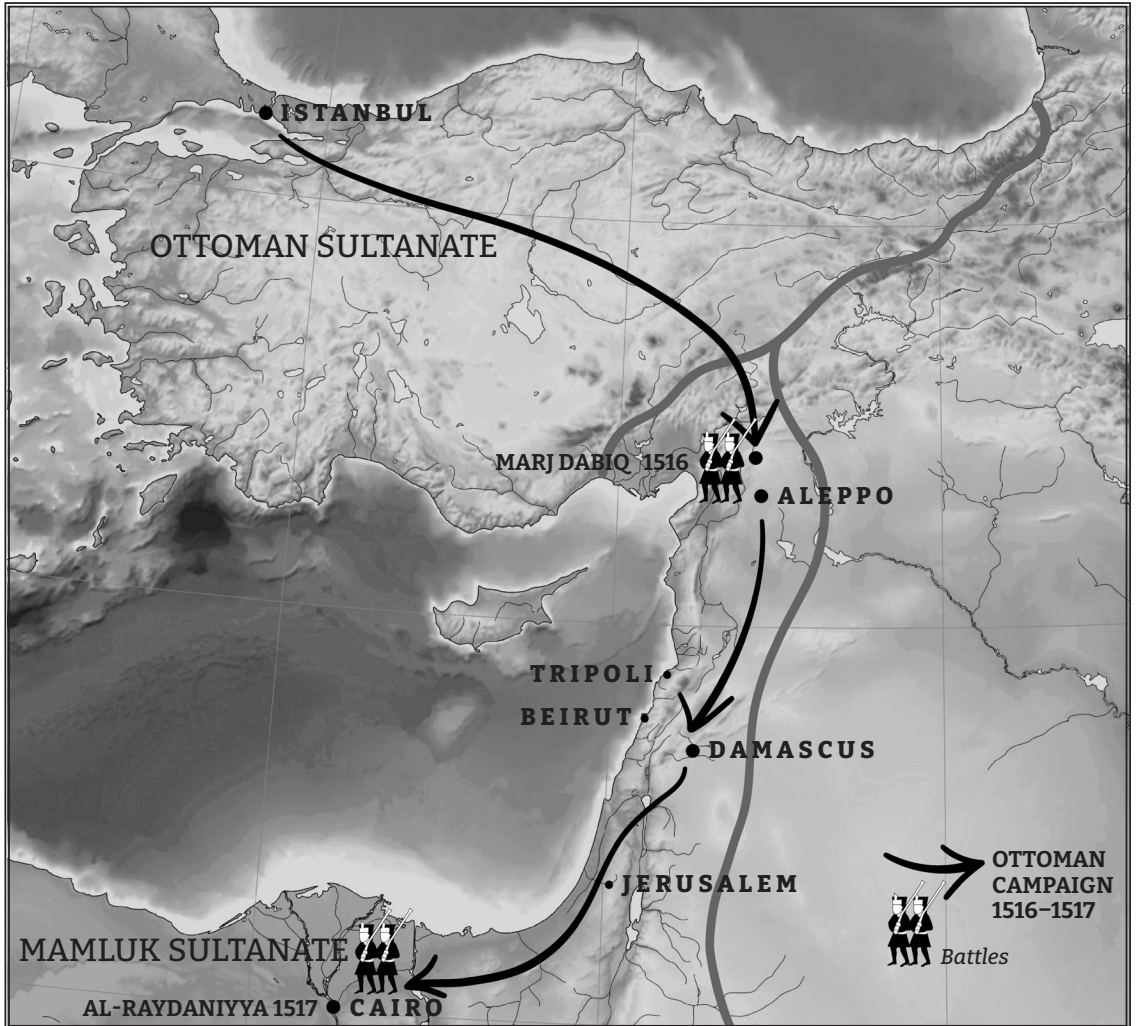
In the course of organizing the conference and subsequently preparing this volume for publication, many debts were incurred and it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge them. First and in terms of chronology, I would like to thank my friend and some-time colleague in the Department of History & Archaeology at AUB, Alexis Wick (currently of KOÇ University), who was the co-organizer of the conference from conception to realization. Equally instrumental were Mr. Cengiz Eroglu (then Director of the Beirut Yunus Emre Institute) and Dr. Mehmet Ali Neyzi (then doctoral student at AUB’s Department of History). Cengiz and Mehmet Ali secured significant funding and ensured the logistics that allowed for an efficient as well as pleasant proceedings. In this connection, I would like also to extend my thanks to Ms. Rita Bassil, program manager at the Center for Arts and Humanities at AUB for her role in the flawless preparation for and attention to the day-to-day tasks associated with the conference:

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Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn



MASTERS OF THE PEN: THE DIVANS OF SELIMI AND MUHIBBI

*Christiane Czygan**

Although the use of poetry as a means of communication is more commonly associated with Sultan Süleyman, Sultan Selim I also played a critical role in the Ottoman adoption of divan poetry, hitherto practiced mainly in Persia. As early as Sultan Murad II (r. 1404–1451), Ottoman sultans created poetry,¹ but Selim I was the first Ottoman ruler to put Ottoman divan poetry to practical use and to establish it as a political device. Thus paving the way for Süleyman's more substantial reliance on poetry as an important means of communication with his subjects.

While the two were father and son, their poetic styles differed in significant ways. Sultan Selim I, who composed his divan in Persian under the pen name Selimi, was a recognized master of rhetoric, rhyme, and meter, and is considered the most talented Ottoman ruler-poet.² In contrast, Süleyman, who used the pen name Muhibbi, composed his verses in relatively plain Turkish. The Hamburg manuscript of his poetry reveals a small number of defective verses.³ Nevertheless, Süleyman was perceived to be an accomplished poet and is beyond a doubt the most prolific of the Ottoman ruler-poets.

This paper is based on two poetry collections: the first is compiled

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1. Coşkun Ak even goes back to Osman I (r. 1258?–1326?). Coşkun Ak, *Şair Padişahlar* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 2001), 11. As there is no evidence for the transmission itself, and only one or two poems have been attributed to the first Ottoman sultan, it seems that Murad II created a recognisable number of poems under the pen name Muradi. Coşkun Ak, *Şair Padişahlar*, 49–52. Rüştü Şardağ, *Şair Sultanlar* (Ankara: Tisac Matbaası, 1982), 38–51.

2. Paul Horn, "Der Dichter Sultân Selim I," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), 97; E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 2. (London: Luzac and co., 1902), 261.

3. Christiane Czygan, "Was Sultan Süleymân Colour-Blind? Sensuality, Power and the Unpublished Poems in the Third Divan (1554) of Sultan Süleymân," in *An Iridescent Device: Premodern Ottoman Poetry*, eds. Christiane Czygan and Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2018), 201.

from the poetry manuscripts of Selim I (r. 1512–1520), while the second was penned by Süleyman the Lawgiver (r. 1520–1566).⁴ Both of these collections are to be found in Germany. Although the two collections under review here demonstrate the highly different styles and objectives of the two rulers, both provide us with ample evidence of the significance that each ruler attributed to poetry.

Approaches to the sixteenth century

The Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands, which profoundly transformed the Middle East, was the subject of a conference held at the American University of Beirut in December 2016, entitled “1516: The Year that Changed the Middle East and the World,” marking the 500th anniversary of the battle of Marj Dabiq. As has been suggested by two prominent German Ottomanists, Klaus Kreiser and Christoph Neumann, Sultan Selim I ushered in a new era with the victory over the Mamluks and the consequent territorial conquests of Bilad al-Sham, Egypt, and the Hejaz.⁵ These spectacular military successes and their concomitant territorial expansion continued unabated until the 1530s. Thereafter, the Ottoman military machine, facing insurmountable logistical problems on the eastern and western fronts, slowed down, and then came to an almost complete standstill. Behind the glitter of the court and the façade of unlimited power that the Ottoman Empire and Sultan Süleyman projected, the sixteenth century, from the late 1530s onwards, presented the empire with compounded difficulties. At the court, dynastic fratricide (e.g., the strangulation of *shehzade* Mustafa in 1553) led to a disgruntled janissary and ruling elite in the 1550s.⁶ However, the fragility of Ottoman society could be observed even earlier, during the time when military success overshadowed internal dissension. The *Shahkulu* rebellion in 1511, for example, heralded the Safavid–Ottoman conflict and indicated the

4. Divân-i Selimî, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library; Divân-i Muhibbi, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg).

5. Klaus Kreiser and Christoph K. Neumann, *Kleine Geschichte der Türkei*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2008), 107.

6. Halil İnalçık, “Selim I,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (*EI2*) (Leiden: Brill), accessed online at <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/>, accessed 14 June 2017; Christiane Czygan, “A Device of Communication: The Third Divan of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566) and Its Political Context,” *Islamic Perspective* 15 (2016): 80.

extent of support that Shah Ismail enjoyed in central Anatolia.⁷ Later in 1519, the *Celālî* rebellions, which spanned the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries, made clear that Shah Ismail's influence could very well threaten Ottoman sovereignty.⁸ These upheavals were not restricted to Anatolia, as has been illustrated by Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn, who has studied the waves of Druze rebellions during much of the sixteenth century, and by Metin Kunt, who has studied the unrest in Iraq among the Marsh Arabs in the 1560s.⁹ Some of these rebellions were prompted by the Safavids and hence posed an ideological challenge in addition to an immediate security threat. The Ottoman Safavid conflicts culminated in a series of wars (1514–1515, 1535–36, 1548–50, and 1553–55) which were very taxing to the state financially and militarily, and very unsettling for the population of Eastern Anatolia. The combination of external wars, internal rebellion, and the religious appeal of the Safavid movement to the population of Eastern Anatolia sent a strong signal to the ruler with regard to the need to communicate with his subjects.¹⁰ Additionally, there was a proliferation of apocalyptic ideologies and movements in the first half of the sixteenth century during which expectations of the perfect ruler/man/imam/Mahdi, corresponding to the “Messiah of the Last Age,” abounded.¹¹ From a ruler's standpoint, the widespread fear of the apocalypse signalled an urgent call for political action and perhaps a change of course. In fact, the 1550s represented a turning point in terms of ideology for it was only after 1545 that a stricter Sunnitization was realized.

The preceding section briefly illustrates the rather turbulent

7. Erdem H. Çıpa, *The Making of Selim. Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2017), 43–48.

8. İnalçık, “Selim I,” 7.

9. Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn, *Rebellion, Myth Making and Nation Building. Lebanon from an Ottoman Mountain Iltizam to a Nation State*, *Studia Culturae Islamicae* 97, (Tokyo: Word Top Co., Ltd., 2009), 8–14; I. Metin Kunt, “An Ottoman Imperial Campaign: Suppressing the Marsh Arabs, Central Power and Peripheral Rebellion in the 1560s,” *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 43 (2014): 1–18.

10. Ebru Boyar, “Ottoman Expansion in the East,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire as World Power, 1453–1603*, eds. Suraiya N. Faroqhi and Kate Fleet, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013), 102, 114; Ahmed Yaşar Ocak, “Idéologie officielle et réaction populaire: un aperçu général sur les mouvements et les courants socio-religieux à l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique,” in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps. Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais 7–10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Documentation Française, 1992), 185–192.

11. Barbara Flemming, “Public Opinion under Sultan Süleyman,” *Süleymân the Second and his Time*, eds. Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993), 50; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*, Princeton Studies on the Near East (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 164.

relations between the Ottoman Empire and its eastern neighbour and enemy, the Safavid state.¹² Of interest here is the fact that the opposing rulers used poetry as an instrument of propaganda. It is generally agreed that poetry played an important role in the Safavid–Ottoman conflict, which spanned the reigns of the two Ottoman sultans, Selim I and his successor Süleyman, and that the Safavid Shah Ismail composed numerous poems in plain Turkish with the intention of disseminating his message among the Anatolian dervishes and nomads through poetry.¹³ In contrast, Sultan Selim I composed his poetry in Persian. It is noteworthy that Selim I brought thousands of Persian artists and scholars to Istanbul in the wake of capturing the Safavid capital Tabriz during the Iran campaign of 1514.¹⁴ This action illustrates the importance Selim attributed to the Persian language and culture, and his choice of writing poetry in Persian attests to his admiration of Persian lyricists. Ambitious as he was, with this choice, he demonstrated his lyrical prowess and sophistication. Unlike Ismail, whose poetry was meant to appeal to the simple masses of Turkoman nomads and dervishes, Selim’s poetry reflected the ruler’s achievements in the cultural sphere. Whilst Shah Ismail resorted to social interference as a strategy in his struggle with the Ottomans, Selim I disdained it. In a sense, Selim’s actions served to teach the Shah a lesson in proper manners, to reprimand him and show contempt for his for stooping as low as the common Turkoman nomad, unbecoming the dignity of a ruler. In stark contrast to Ismail, Sultan Selim aimed to promote an image of himself as an ideal ruler, one who had mastered the sword as well as the pen.¹⁵ By depicting himself in these terms, Selim placed himself on a pedestal, figuratively speaking, not only in the sphere of politics, but also in the realm of cultural production.

12. On the Safavid threat outside Eastern Anatolia, see Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn, “The Shiites in Lebanon and the Ottomans in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” *Convegno sul Tema La Shi’a Nell’Impero Ottomano. Roma, 15 Aprile 1991*, (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1993), 108–119.

13. Benedek, Péri, “From *Istāmbōl’s throne a mighty host to Irān guided I:/ Sunken deep in blood of shame I made the Golden Heads to lie*,” unpublished paper presented at the CIEPO conference in Budapest in 7–11 October 2014.

14. Kreiser and Neumann, *Kleine Geschichte der Türkei*, 111; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolijisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1948), 15.

15. Péri, “From *Istāmbōl’s throne a mighty host to Irān guided I.*”

Selimi and Muhibbi' s Divans

The poetry collection of Selim I was collated from a number of manuscripts into a single volume in 1904. It was intended as a gift from the German Emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918) to his “friend” Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). And although the process of compiling and printing the collection came up against a number of formidable hurdles, a copy of the collection, prefaced with a dedication to the sultan, printed on parchment paper and bound in a gilded cover was ultimately presented to Abdülhamid by the Imperial Chargé d’Affaires, Freiherr v. Bodmann, on June 9, 1905.¹⁶ The volume is basically a critical edition of a selection of poems from seven of Selim I’s divan manuscripts,¹⁷ printed in *ta’liq*-ductus in 100 copies.¹⁸ The task of producing this volume, which contains a total of 305 of Selim I’s poems, was undertaken by the German Orientalist, Paul Horn.¹⁹

Sultan Kanuni Süleyman’s poem collection, which came to be known as the Hamburg manuscript, was produced in 1554 and hence is one of the oldest known dated divans of Sultan Süleyman. It was produced in the famous palace atelier by the calligrapher Kara Memî and contains 613 poems; of these, 212 have yet to be published.²⁰

Although the composition of the poems of Selim I and Süleyman was chronologically separated by a mere generation, the production of the two final products discussed in this paper—the printed volume, in the case of Selim I, and a manuscript, in the case of Süleyman—are separated by centuries. As Sultan Selim I’s poems are almost identical to those in the manuscripts, the comparison between the original manuscript and its printed versions presents no obstacle in terms of lyrical content. Nevertheless, the changes made in the introduction and ending of the nineteenth-century print reveal how different agencies, including German Orientalists and policymakers instrumentalised Selim I’s poetry. To

16. Klaus Kreiser, “A Divan for the Sultan. Between the Production of an Oriental Text and the German Art of Printing,” *Turkish Language, Literature and History. Travelers’ Tales, Sultans and Scholars since the Eighth Century*, ed. by Bill Hickman and Gary Leiser, Routledge Studies in the History of Iran and Turkey (London: Routledge, 2015), 223–236.

17. The manuscripts in use were from the Berlin University Library (Diez A. 8o. 80), the As’ad Efendi Mosque and Library in Istanbul, the Hamidiye Mosque and Library in Istanbul, the Mehmed Fatih Mosque and Library in Istanbul and the British Library.

18. Kreiser, “A Divan for the Sultan,” 234; Divân-i Selîmî, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library.

19. Divân-i Selîmî, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library. Horn, “Der Dichter Sultân Selîm I,” 99.

20. Czygan, “Was Sultan Süleymân Colour-Blind?” 187–190.

illustrate this, let us have a look at the incipits of both collections, or divans. In the incipit folios of Sultan Süleyman's divan, one notices its austerity in that it focuses on the most essential pieces of information: the title of the manuscript, the author, and his many titles. It concludes with a final reference to God as the source of all power.²¹ On the introductory page of Selim's divan, the ruler who commissioned the compilation (Wilhelm II) is emphasized; his name occurs first. Along with this, there is an unequivocal recognition of the editor, whose name and affiliation occupy just a little less space and are printed in the same size, font, and style as those of the ruler. The poet, Sultan Selim I, in contrast, is mentioned almost in passing. This juxtaposition indicates a less exclusive focus on the ruler and a concern with acknowledging the scholarly agency responsible for the actual production of the divan.²²

The introduction to Selim's divan occupies two pages and appears to have been written by an unidentified Ottoman. The style conforms to that of late nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectuals, whose writing is usually characterized by wordiness. The name of Sultan Abdülhamid II, for whom the divan was compiled, is given prominence in the text by being written in highlighted bold script.²³

While the colophons of the two collections are of the assertive type, each is concerned with different information. The colophon of Süleyman's divan gives us the names of those who produced it and the date of production, while that of Selim's divan provides a numerical list of all the poems and their appearance in the different manuscripts, as well as a critical apparatus.²⁴

21. Incipit: Divân-i Muhibbî, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 2b_a.

"*Hâdâ ad divân aṭ-ṭâliḥ min-ḳalâm sulṭân salâṭin az-zamân al-Ġâzi Sulṭân Suleymân Ḥân hullidat salṭanatahu ilâ yevm ed-dîn.*" ["This is the Third Divan penned by the sultan of sultans of the time, Gazi Sultan Süleyman Han. May his rule last until Judgement Day."]

22. Divân-i Selimî, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library. 2. Klaus Kreiser transcribes and translates it as follows:

"*bar-i ḥasb-i amr-i Wilhelm-i ṭâni İmparâṭür-i Âlmân wa-Pâdişâh-i Prüs in nuşḥa-i nafisa-i divân-i balâgat-i unwân-i sulṭân-i Salim-ḥân-i awwal ba-ihtimâm-i banda-i ḳaişari-i Pâwul Hürn-i mu'allim-elsine-i şarkîyya dar Dâr al-Funûn-i İstrâsbürġ muntaḥab az haft nusḥ-i muḥṭalifa dar maṭba'a-i dawlati dar şahr-i Barlin-i pâytaḥt-i Âlmân ba-zîwar-i ṭab'ârâsta garâid sana-i 1904.*" ["By order of His Excellency Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, this copy of the exquisite collection of poetry by Sultan Selim I, compiled from seven manuscripts, has been published and adorned by the Imperial Press under the direction of the Emperor's servant Paul Horn, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Strasbourg, in the city of Berlin, the capital of Germany, in the year 1904."]

23. Divân-i Selimî, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library, 2.

24. Divân-i Muhibbî, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 213a.

"Ḥâccî Muḥammad al-musṭaġalu bi-du'â' al-faḥi wa'z-zaḳari 'alâ'd-davâm fi awâḥir şahri

As an enterprising Orientalist, Paul Horn must have favoured a critical edition; he may have considered this approach the only appropriate way to compile a divan from the different manuscripts. Although Horn's commission to produce Selim's divan came at a time when German intellectual interest in the lyrical production of Ottoman sultans was on the rise and German Orientalists were publishing small collections of poetry by Mehmed II and Süleyman the Lawgiver,²⁵ the idea of producing such an unusual gift for Sultan Abdülhamid had little to do with this scholarly engagement; on the contrary, it was largely motivated by German foreign-policy interests. As is well known, Emperor Wilhelm II courted Abdülhamid's friendship and visited him in 1898. By presenting the Ottoman Sultan with a divan expressly made for him, containing poems selected from one of his most illustrious ancestors, the German emperor was showing respect not only for the military prowess of the Ottomans, but for their cultural achievements as well. Moreover, given that Germany was in the midst of importing countless archaeological artefacts from Ottoman lands, this collection of poems may have been a way of paying back the Ottomans in similar cultural currency. Horn's selection of Selim I's poems seems to have been his personal choice. We are not told by Horn of the reasons underlying his choice, but it is conceivable that it has something to do with the contemporary Ottoman emphasis on the leadership of the Islamic world (Pan Islamism), championed then by Sultan Abdülhamid II, and the need to emphasize his status as a caliph. The Ottoman claim and assumption of universal Muslim leadership goes back to Selim I's presumed and widely acknowledged association with the transfer of the caliphate from the Abbasids to the Ottomans in 1517, which followed as a direct consequence of the conquest of Bilad al-Sham and Egypt and the demise of the rival Sunnite power. Regardless of whether an actual formal transfer of the caliphate from the Abbasids to the Ottomans took place, the tremendous religious prestige and moral authority that Selim I brought to

rabî' ath-tâni sanata ihdâ wa sittin wa [tis'a mi'a].” [“Hâccı Meĥammed has finished it whilst praying whole-heartedly for lasting conquests and victories at the end of the month Rabî' ath-thani in the year 961/1554.”]

Translated by the author. *Divân-i Selimî*, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library, 131–132.

25. Georg, Jacob, *Divân-i 'Avnî. Ya'ni Abû'l-feth Sultân Meĥammed Hân sâni ĥazretlerinin ĥazeliyyâtidir* (Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1904); Georg, Jacob, *Sultan Soliman des Grossen Divan in einer Auswahl mit sachlichen und grammatischen Einleitungen und Erläuterungen* (Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1903).

the Ottoman Empire through the conquest of the Arab lands—including Islam’s holiest cities, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem)—would certainly have assured the Ottomans the uncontested leadership of the Islamic world. Abdülhamid was at pains at the time to assert this very idea, and Paul Horn must have learned that much during his stay in Istanbul in 1899.²⁶

In the preceding section, I have argued that Imperial German foreign policy played a leading role in the decision to commission this spectacular collection of Selim I’s poetry. For its practical realisation, the intercession of Prince Hermann zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg (1832–1918) was also decisive. Horn, himself, speaks of the prince’s role in enabling him to bring the matter to the attention of the Emperor Wilhelm II in 1899.²⁷ Wilhelm II must have been receptive to the idea, given his foreign-policy interests and his well-established reputation as a patron of the arts and sciences.

As yet, we cannot ascertain the degree to which the royal emperor was involved in setting the parameters for the work or in following the specific issues involved in its production. However, one can make an informed guess to the effect that once the emperor had adopted the project, it was left entirely in Horn’s hands. Two points support this interpretation: first, the German royals did not know the Ottoman language; and second, the critical apparatus would mean absolutely nothing to them, while it would have been absolutely indispensable to Horn the scholar. The reception of some translated poems launched to the German press made it clear that Horn was unable to convey the art of Selim’s lyricism to the German public. Comments in the German press ranged from scepticism to outright ridicule.²⁸

Love poems

Both Selimi and Muhibbi favoured ghazals, or love poems, as their primary lyrical genre. While Selimi’s poetry appears to be strongly influenced by the famous Persian poet Cami (1414–1492),²⁹ Muhibbi’s poems display mixed influences deriving from Ottoman poets like Ahmed Paşa (?–1496), as well

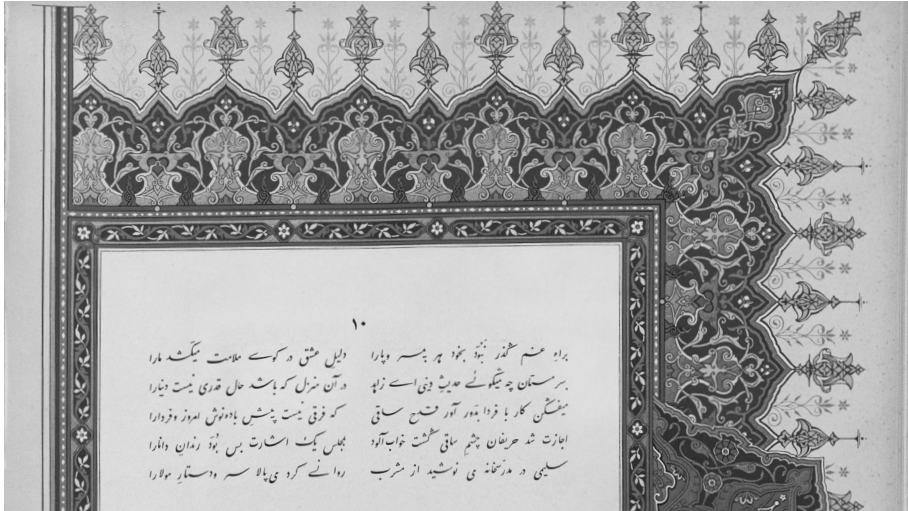
26. Kreiser, “A Divan for the Sultan,” 223, 228.

27. Horn, “Der Dichter Sultân Selim I,” 98.

28. Kreiser, “A Divan for the Sultan,” 237.

29. Horn, “Der Dichter Sultân Selim I,” 104.

as Persian models like Cami and Hafiz (1315–1390).³⁰ Indeed, the following poem by Sultan Selim is a good example of the masterly use of a well-known imagery that revolves around mystical experiences evoked through wine and its intoxicating effects:



Courtesy of the Ludwig-Maximillan University Library in Munich

[Hezeç: . - - - / . - - - / . - - - / . - - -]

Ba-râh-i ğam guzar nabvad ba-ħud har bî-sar u pâ-ra /
 Dalîl-i 'işğ dar kūy-i malâmat maykaşad mâ-ra.
 Ba-sarmastân çî maygû'î ħadîṭ-i dinî ay zâhid /
 Dar ân manzil ki bâşad ħâl ħadrî nist dunyâ-ra.
 Mi-afgan kâr bâ fardâ ba-daur âvar ħadaḥ sâķî /
 Ki farķi nist piş-i bâde-nuş imrûz u fardâ-ra.
 İcâzat şud ħarifân çâşm-i sâķî gaşt ħ'âb-âlûd /
 Ba-maclis yak işârat bas buvad rindân-i dâna-ra.
 Salimî dar mudaris-ħâne may nûşid az maşrab /
 Ravâni kard may-pâlâ sar u dastâr-i maulâ-ra.³¹

Not every miserable person can go to the road of affliction on his own /
 A sign of love draws us to the street of scorn.

30. Czygan, "Power and Poetry," 106–107.

31. Divân-i Selimî, 1904, A.or:289, Munich LMU Library, 12, no. 10.

Ascetic, why are you trying to talk about religious tradition with the
intoxicated ones /

When they have reached a spiritual station governed by ecstasy,
people do not care for worldly matters.

Do not worry about tomorrow! Sâkî, pass the cups around! /

For a drunkard there is no difference between today and tomorrow.

The cupbearer's eye meets those affected by sleepiness, the
companions are allowed to retire /

To the gathering of the highly intoxicated, a single sign suffices.

In the residence of the teacher, Salîmî drinks wine from the butt /

Onto Molla's head and turban, let [the wine] from the wine-filter
flow.³²

This poem fits perfectly into the mystical lyrical tradition, elegantly realised with the use of rhetorical devices of tropes (*kapalı isti'are*), in the first lines and the last distich, as well as the harmony of common images (*tenasüp*) in the same places, and questioning (*istifham*) in the third line. The poem is nicely balanced with the speaker's advice in the centre of the poem. Selim's privileged position is indicated by the fact that he remains at the place while all others are sent away. He doesn't constrain himself to the usual item for drinking, the cup, but serves himself directly from the much larger butt, or large cask, a trope for the source of intoxication. Thus, he shows that his intoxication is not bound by the usual limits, but extends much further. In this way, he conveys his superiority in the realm of religious ardour and religious inebriation.

Like Selimi, Muhibbi also wrote numerous mystical poems which allude to intoxication. The following poem from the unpublished poetry of Muhibbi's Third Divan associates the erotic with mystical intoxication:

[Remel: - . - . / - . - . / - . - . / - . - .]

İstemem cām-ı feraḥ-baḥşı yeter la'luñ baña /³³

Misk u 'amber neylerim zülfiñ gerek ḥāluñ baña.

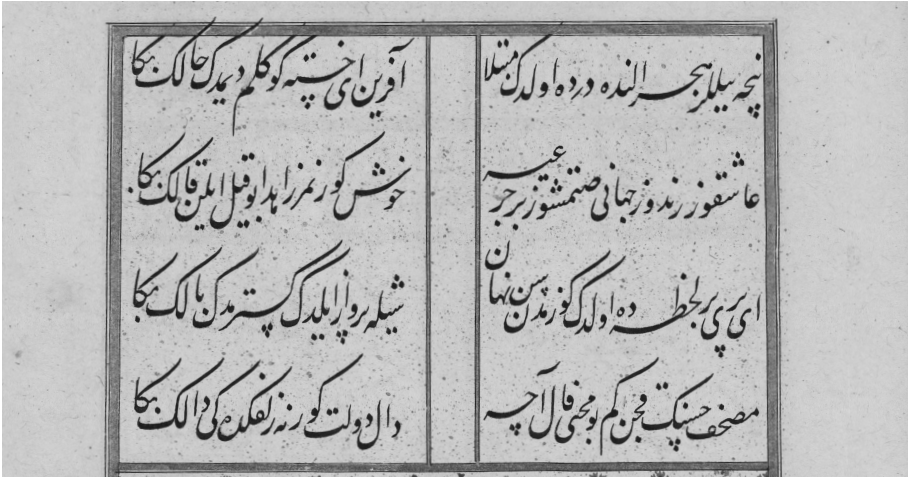
Nice yıllar hicr elünde derde olduñ mübtelâ /

Âferin ey ḥasta gönlüm demedüñ ḥālun baña.

32. Translated by Claus Peter Haase, Benedek Péri and the author. Benedek Péri, "Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512–1520) and His Techniques of Poetic Imitation. The Case of Two Hâfiz Ghazals," unpublished paper, 10–12.

33. Divân-i Muhibbi, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 4b_a.

'Âşıkuz rindüz cihânı şatmışuz bir cur'aya /
 Hôş görünmez zâhidâ' bu kıl ilen kâluñ baña.
 Ey perî bir lahzada olduñ gözümdeñ sen nihân /
 Şöyle pervâz eyledüñ göstermedüñ bâluñ baña.
 Muşhaf-ı hüsnuñ kaçan kim bu Muhibbi fâl açâ /
 Dâl-ı devlet görüne zülfünde ki dâluñ baña.



Courtesy of the Museum of Art and Manufacture, Hamburg

Not the share of the goblet of cheerfulness do I want; your ruby lips suffice me /

Musk and amber what for? Your lock of hair, your beauty mark I need.

Addicted, many years you suffered from the grip of separation /

Thank you, my wounded heart, you did not complain of your state to me.

We are in love, we are intoxicated, we sold the world for a single draught /

The ascetic does not tolerate your gossip with me.

Oh, fairy, you were hidden from my eyes in an instance /

Such is the way you soared—the wing you did not show to me.

When this Muhibbi consults the Holy Book (Quran) of your beauty to reveal his fortune /

Your hair curl in the shape of the [letter] *dāl* appears to me like the “*dāl*” of state [*dāl*, the first letter of *devlet*].

As a stereotype, the beloved remains unattainable, and this perpetuates longing. As much as the *maḳṭaʿ* (two first lines) evokes eroticism, it speaks about restraint, and this restraint sets the tone. The intoxication seems more erotic than mystical, especially since the beloved is addressed directly: “Oh, fairy.” According to Ottoman Turkish practise, the Quran is also an instrument of fortune-telling, and Muhibbi is referring to this practise. The Quran informs Muhibbi of the limitation of his worldly power as the beloved leads him. The ambiguity as well as the eloquence lie in the fact that the Prophet Muhammad is both the transmitter of the Quran and the beloved in much of Sufi poetry. Thus, the fair one can be interpreted as Muhibbi’s guide as well as the object of his love.

Selim’s poems are sometimes described as intellectual.³⁴ Indeed, in his work, the representation of the beloved remains relatively abstract. The poet must have delighted in the exquisite beauty of the imagery evoked in the following couplet:

When at night, the moon practises the watchman’s post in your street /
Then show him your cheek, and the watchman will be ashamed.³⁵

It is the twofold imagery that gives additional beauty and enhances pleasure: the moon provides light similar to the watchman’s lamp during the night, and simultaneously the moon serves as a symbol for perfect beauty. In contrast, Muhibbi’s beloved is not meant to illustrate lyrical beauty, but to edify the poet himself:

O peri, when with your love, I enter this weak dominion /
The sorrow and affliction for you become my fare.³⁶

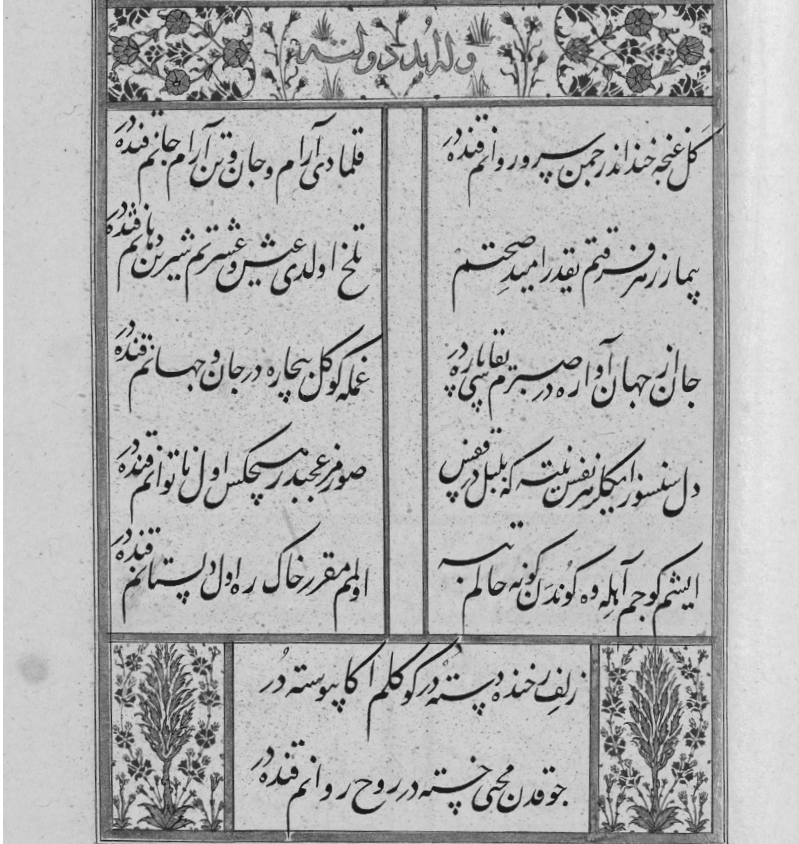
We can assume that Muhibbi had a concrete beloved in mind when creating

34. Péri, unpublished CIEPO paper.

35. Translated by Paul Horn. Horn, “Der Dichter Sultān Selīm I,” 108.

36. Divān-i Muḳibbi, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 5b.

these verses; probably Hurrem, his wife and consort. Sultan Süleyman exclusively called her “Hurrem,” the smiling. At court, she was only called Hurrem Sultan. In the Third Divan, a poem is dedicated to this smile:



Courtesy of the Museum of Kunst Gewerbe, Hamburg

[Recez [- - - / - - - / - - - / - - -]

Gül gönca hanedāndur çemen serv-i revānum kandedür ^{/37}

Çalmadı ārām u cān u ten ārām-ı cānum kandedür?

Bimār-ı zehr-i furkatum yokdur ümid-i şihhatum /

Talḥ oldu ‘iş u ‘işretüm şîrîn dehānum kandedür?

Cān ez-cihān avāredür şabrum yaqası pāredür /

Ġamla gönül bi-çāredür cān u cihānum kandedür?

Dil sensüz inler her nefes nitki bülbüldür kafes /

37. Divān-i Muḥibbî, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, folio 64b.

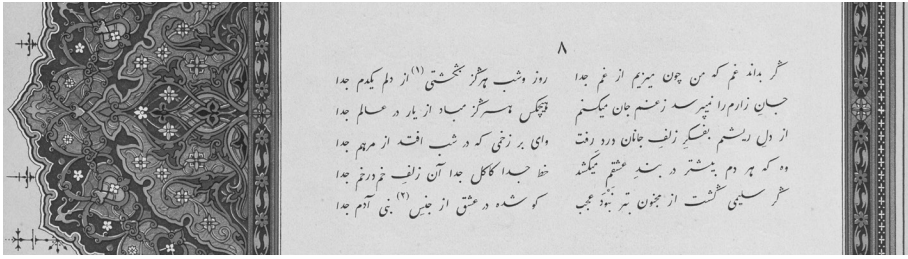
Şormaz ‘acebdür hîç-kes ol nâ-tuvānum ҡandedür?
 İşüm gücüm āh ile vāh günden güne hālum teba[h] /
 Olmam muḳarrer hāk-ı rāh ol dil-sitānum ҡandedür?
 Zülf-i ruḫında destedür gönjüm aḳa peyvestedür /
 Çokdan Muḫibbî ḫastedür rûḫ-ı revānum ҡandedür?

My smiling rosebud, where in the meadow is my pliant cypress? /
 My repose, soul, appearance—thither, where do I find her?
 Whilst the poison of separation is effectual, there is no hope for
 healing /
 Feasting and festivity are bitter to me. Where is my sweet mouth?
 The world made my soul wretched, my patience has been split
 asunder /
 My soul, helpless through gloom. Where do I find my life, my world?
 Without you, my heart moans constantly, and eventually becomes a
 cage for the nightingale /
 Does nobody wonder from where comes this disheartenment?
 Alas, my affairs, my verve, are constantly marred by pain /
 The earthen path I do not find, where is the one who captivated my
 heart?
 The lock of hair on your cheek, my soul seeks to reach out to /
 For a long time Muḫibbî has been suffering—where is my pliant soul?

In this poem, the lightness of the rhyme “*ҡandedür*” contradicts the gravity of suffering from separation and transforms the suffering into a charming longing. As a rule, in ghazal poetry, the union with the beloved is an illusion as the beloved always remains distant. The poem links the love for a woman to the burden of worldly power, an allusion that is characteristic of Muḫibbî, who often associates the vast territory of the empire with his beloved.³⁸

In contrast to Muḫibbî’s self-referential attitude, Selimi also appeals to the audience in wishing love for everybody. He thus shows a generosity toward the listeners not to be found in Muḫibbî’s poems.

38. Divān-i Muḫibbî, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 82b; 130b, 138b_139a; 155b.



Courtesy of the Ludwig-Maximillan University Library in Munich

[Remel: . - - - / . - - - / . - - - / . - - -]

Ger bedānad ġam ki man çün mīziyim az ġam cudā /
 Rūz u şab herkez nagaştī az dilam yekdam cudā.
 Cān-i zāram rā-nemī pursad ze-ġam cān mīkanam /
 Hiçkes hergez mebād az yār dar ‘ālem cudā.
 Az dil-i rişam be-fikr-i zūlf-i cānān dard raft /
 Vay bar zaḡmī ki dar şab uftad az marham cudā.
 Vah ki her dam bişter dar band-i ‘işkam mīkaşad /
 Hat[t] cudā kākul cudā ān zūlf-i ḡam dar-ḡam cudā.
 Ger Salimī geşt az Macnūn batar nabvad ‘aceb /
 Kū şude dar- ‘işq az cins-i banī ādam cudā.³⁹

If grief only knew how separate I am from him /
 Day and night, he would not have left my heart, not even a moment.
 Never ask for my forlorn soul because my soul is fainting from grief /
 God forbid, may no one in the world be separated from his beloved.
 When my thoughts went to the lock of my beloved, grief left my heart /
 Alas, a wound separated from the salve in the night.
 Oh, that he tightens with each breath the bond of love faster /
 Through the down [of the cheek] alone, the forelock alone, his curled
 lock alone.
 Is it no wonder that Salimi feels worse than Macnun /
 As in love he has left human form.⁴⁰

In this homoerotic poem, Selim expresses the pain of love for the absent beloved in a rather conventional setting. What is quite unusual,

39. Divān-i Selimī, 1904, A.or.289, Munich LMU Library, 11, no. 8.

40. Translated by Nemat Rahmati and the author.

however, is that the lyrical persona turns its perspective from the personal to the wider public sphere in expressing a wish for all others. The impossible wish to be united with the beloved forms the core of ghazal poetry. Again, Selim singles himself out: while all others may indulge in the presence of their beloveds, his state is marked by separation. Thus, his grief is transformed into an exclusive one, and he becomes the ultimate lover, as alluded to in the last distich, the *matla'*.

In contrast to his father, most of Muhibbi's poetry was created in Ottoman Turkish. His rich verbal constructions make his lines vivid and emotionally powerful. His early poems, which did not have the benefit of the highly gifted poet Baği's editorial skill, provide us with an image of a devoted lover who, according to the stereotype, suffered and composed poetry that was far from perfect. His ambition does not seem to have been for poetic perfection, but rather for venting his feelings. Love of a woman, of the Ottoman lands, of God, and of the Prophet Muhammad serve as the recurrent themes of his poems in the Hamburg manuscript. These are laced with references that indicate a rich cultural background including, for example, ample references to Layla and Macnun. The image of the *insān-ı kāmīl*, the deeply pious man, is not particularly developed at this stage.

The lyrical world

Although the lyrical world created by each poet was inspired by Persian lyrical models, the way they fashioned it varied. The following might be characterized as the world of the Third Divan:

Human anatomy face,⁴¹ eye,⁴² eyebrow,⁴³ forelock,⁴⁴ hair,⁴⁵ blood,⁴⁶
chest,⁴⁷ hands⁴⁸

41. Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 2b.

42. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 123b.

43. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 2b_a.

44. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 47b.

45. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 76b_a.

46. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 7b.

47. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 3b.

48. E.g., Divān-i Muhibbī, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 3b.

Regions	Hejaz, ⁴⁹ Iraq, ⁵⁰ Arab lands, ⁵¹ Egypt, ⁵² Anatolia ⁵³
Rivers	Aras, ⁵⁴ Nile ⁵⁵
Nature	mountain, ⁵⁶ desert, ⁵⁷ sea, ⁵⁸ wind, ⁵⁹ cloud, ⁶⁰ moon, ⁶¹ sun, ⁶²
Seasons	spring ⁶³
Flora	flowers (hyacinth, rose), ⁶⁴ trees (cypress), ⁶⁵ garden ⁶⁶
Fauna	birds (nightingale), ⁶⁷ moth, ⁶⁸ snake ⁶⁹
Wine	wine, ⁷⁰ tavern, ⁷¹ cup-bearer ⁷²
Precious stones	ruby, ⁷³ jewels ⁷⁴
Fragrances	musk and amber ⁷⁵

49. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 77b.

50. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 72b.

51. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 96a.

52. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 96a.

53. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 138a_139a.

54. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 76a.

55. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 106b.

56. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 6a.

57. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 3b_a.

58. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 120b_a.

59. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 3b_a.

60. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 5b.

61. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 6a.

62. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 8a.

63. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 68b.

64. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 109a.

65. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 119b_a.

66. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 109a.

67. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 101a_102b.

68. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 7a_8b.

69. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 76b_a.

70. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 137b.

71. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 126a.

72. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 137b.

73. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 125a.

74. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 133b_a.

75. E.g., *Divān-i Muḥibbī*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 4b.

Sounds	reed-flute, ⁷⁶ sighs, ⁷⁷ crying ⁷⁸
Weapons	sword, ⁷⁹ bow and arrow ⁸⁰
Sport	polo ⁸¹
Times of the day	night, ⁸² morning ⁸³
Elements	fire, ⁸⁴ water ⁸⁵
Fabulous creatures	fairy, ⁸⁶ houri, ⁸⁷ dragon, ⁸⁸ 'anḳā ⁸⁹
Epic protagonists	Macnun, ⁹⁰ Layla, ⁹¹ Ferhad, ⁹² Şhirin, ⁹³
Social relations	friend, ⁹⁴ enemy, ⁹⁵ schoolmate, ⁹⁶ rival, ⁹⁷ community ⁹⁸
Social hierarchy	Sultan, ⁹⁹ Şah, beggar, ¹⁰⁰ bey ¹⁰¹
Religious symbols	Kaaba, ¹⁰² Kevşer, ¹⁰³

76. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 131a_132b.

77. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 109a.

78. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 109a.

79. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 5a.

80. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 5a.

81. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 7b.

82. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 6b.

83. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 109a.

84. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 4b.

85. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 9b_a.

86. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 70a_71b.

87. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 70a_71b.

88. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 74a.

89. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 84a.

90. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 78a.

91. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 78b.

92. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 79b.

93. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 79b.

94. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 90b_a.

95. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 9b.

96. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 3b_a.

97. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 4b.

98. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 3b.

99. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 81b_a.

100. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 79b_a.

101. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 5a.

102. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 79a.

103. E.g., *Divân-i Muḥibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 8b.

Prophets

Moses,¹⁰⁴ Joseph,¹⁰⁵ Jesus,¹⁰⁶ Mohammed¹⁰⁷God¹⁰⁸

It is striking that images such as the palace, the family, urban life, and military feats are totally absent in the Third Divan. Muhibbi's images are much more related to the cosmos than those of his contemporary urban poet peers.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, there are images, such as the narcissus and other kinds of flowers and fruits, which do not belong to the imagery of Muhibbi's Third Divan.

While there are numerous points of convergence between Muhibbi's poetry and that of his father, Selimi's poems abound with logistical details, such as those that appear around the topos "road," which make no appearance in Muhibbi's work. Moreover, Selimi refers to urban symbols of order and disorder in the shape of the nightwatchmen and dogs. It is noteworthy and may be of significant relevance to observe that dogs serve as a coded reference to the janissaries, who were instrumental in securing the throne for Selim, despite fierce resistance.¹¹⁰ Although we do not know precisely when Selim composed his poems, the janissaries were of strategical importance even before his takeover. Thus the allusions to dogs point to a political connotation within his poems.

Conclusion

In the sixteenth century, rebellions against the Ottoman order arose due to the Safavid–Ottoman conflict as well as a host of other issues of internal import. In the midst of rebellions and campaigns, Selim I gathered poets around himself and celebrated his penchant for poetry. To what extent he might have been intentionally echoing his eminent rival, Shah Ismail, is a question that remains to be explored. However, it is abundantly clear that,

104. E.g., *Divân-i Muhibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 4b.

105. E.g., *Divân-i Muhibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 106b.

106. E.g., *Divân-i Muhibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 73b_a.

107. E.g., *Divân-i Muhibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 102a.

108. E.g., *Divân-i Muhibbî*, 1554, 1886.168, MKG (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg), folio 12a.

109. Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in the Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (London: Duke University Press, 2005). 33, 40f, 44f. 65, 72, 81, 97.

110. Çıpa, *The Making of Selim*, 52.

in addition to taking delight in lyrical beauty, Selim underscored his own power through the allusions embedded in his poems. In other words, his poems were more than mere lyrical productions. They served as a means of connecting power and beauty.¹¹¹

Selim's predilection for poetry was transmitted to his son, Sultan Süleyman, who was, perhaps, less masterful, but certainly more prolific. While composing more than four thousand poems, Sultan Süleyman established poetry as a popular mode of communication, recited by and for subjects of different strata and gender.¹¹²

The role that Sultan Selim played in the transformation of divan poetry into a popular form of communication in the sixteenth century is less obvious, but nonetheless significant. By introducing Persian poetry into Ottoman culture and adapting it to his own purposes, Selim challenged the Persian claim for lyrical hegemony. Moreover, he advocated poetry as a craft and encouraged Ottomans to follow his model. In the conflict with Shah Ismail, Sultan Selim projected a clear understanding of how a perfect ruler should be. Selimi's poetry reflects a ruler who is not merciless, but who minds the well-being of his subjects. In this regard, his poetry served as a means to express positive emotions in the face of harsher realities. By contrast, Muhibbi included personal views and predilections in his poems and thereby evoked a wider range of emotions. Both poets were popular, and their poems have been referenced over time.¹¹³ The wider contemporary reception of Sultan Süleyman's poetry in private households in the city attests to this popularity and raises questions for further discussion, especially with regard to its propagandistic relevance.

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111. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 262.

112. Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, "Gazels and the World. Some Notes on the 'Occasionalness' of the Ottoman Gazel," in *Ghazal as World Literature: From a Literary Genre to a Great Tradition: The Ottoman Gazel in Context*, eds. Angelika Neuwirth et al. (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2006), 160.

113. Horn, "Der Dichter Sultān Selīm I," 97. Concerning *Muhibbi*, there were also divan manuscripts to be found in private households, as Hedda Reindl-Kiel kindly informed me with reference to the *Istanbul Kadı Sicilleri* vol. 15, 93. See <http://www.kadısicilleri.org/yayin.php>, accessed 17 June 2017.

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