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## A Hitherto Unknown Ghazal by Muhibbi and Şemsî's Takhmis to This Ghazal

### *Muhibbî'nin Bilinmeyen Bir Gazeli ve Şemsî'nin Bu Gazele Tahmisi*

**Abstract:** In Ottoman literature, the poets' *divans* do not include all of the poems written by the poets for various reasons. Miscellanies represent a significant repository of poems that are not included in the *divan*, as well as providing insights into poets who do not have a *divan*. It is possible to find unknown poems or poets in some archival documents, in addition to miscellanies. One of the aforementioned archival materials is registered in number TS.MA.e 324/27 at Ottoman Archives Topkapı Palace Museum, the Directorate of State Archives. The document includes 41 *ghazals*, 1 *takhmis*, 4 *kit'as* and 1 couplet written by 8 poets. This document, containing 18 *ghazals* of Muhibbî and *nazires* written after his poems, has some parallels with the *nazire* miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzî probably in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There exist 13 *nazires* written by Bākî (d. 1600) to Muhibbî's (d. 1566) poems in the document authenticating the miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzî and including unknown poems of the poets such as Dā'î (d. ?), Halîl (d. ?), and Şemsî (d. 1580). The document also includes a *nazire* competition reported by Gubārî (d. 1566). What makes the document relevant to this study is that it includes a poem not included in the *Divan* of Muhibbî (Suleiman the Magnificent) published by both Ak and, Yavuz and Yavuz, and a *takhmis* written on his poem by a poet under the pen name Şemsî. This paper examines whether the poem in question is by Muhibbî or not, and then elaborates on which Şemsî this *takhmis* might belong to. This paper, consequently, reveals that the poem is by Muhibbî and the one who wrote a *takhmis* on Muhibbî's poem is the 16<sup>th</sup> century poet İsfendiyarzâde Ahmed Şemsî Pasha.

**Key Words:** Archival documents, Suleiman the Magnificent, Muhibbî, *Divan*, Şemsî, *nazire*, *takhmis*

**Öz:** Osmanlı edebiyatında çeşitli sebeplerle şairlerin divanlarına girmeyen şiirler vardır. Mecmualar bu şiirlere ve divan sahibi olmayan şairlere dair önemli bir kaynaktır. Mecmuaların yanı sıra bazı arşiv belgelerinde de bilinmeyen şiirlere veya şairlere ulaşmak mümkündür. Söz konusu arşiv belgelerinden biri Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde TS.MA.e 324/27 numarada kayıtlıdır. Belgede 8 şaire ait toplam 41 gazel, 1 tahmis, 4 kıta, 1 beyit yer almaktadır. Muhibbî'nin (Sultan Süleyman) 18 gazelini ve şiirlerine yazılan nazireleri içeren bu belge, Mehmed İzzî tarafından muhtemelen 16. yüzyılda tertip edilen nazire mecmuasıyla bazı paralellikler içermektedir. Mehmed İzzî'nin tertip ettiği mecmuayı doğrulayan ve Dā'î (öl. ?), Halîl (öl. ?), Şemsî (öl. 1580) gibi şairlerin bilinmeyen şiirlerini içeren belgede Bākî'nin (öl. 1600) Muhibbî'ye (öl. 1566) yazdığı 13 naziresi mevcuttur. Belge Gubārî'nin (öl. 1566) bildirdiği bir nazire müsabakasını da içermektedir. Belgeyi bu çalışmanın konusu yapan ise Muhibbî'nin hem Ak hem de Yavuz ve Yavuz tarafından yayımlanmış *Divan*'ında yer almayan bir şiirini ve bu şiire Şemsî mahlaslı bir şair tarafından yazılmış tahmisi içermesidir. Bu çalışma söz konusu şiirin Muhibbî'ye ait olup olmadığını incelemekte, ardından bu tahminin hangi Şemsî'ye ait olabileceği üzerinde durmaktadır. Bu makale sonucunda şiirin Muhibbî'ye ait olduğu ve bu şiire tahmis yazan kişinin 16. yüzyıl şairlerinden İsfendiyarzâde Ahmed Şemsî Paşa olduğu ortaya konmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Arşiv belgeleri, Kanunî Sultan Süleyman, Muhibbî, *Divan*, Şemsî, *nazire*, tahmis

### Introduction

Biographies of poets (*tezkire*) and annexes of the *Şakā'iku'n-nu'māniyye* are the main sources of reference regarding a poet's life and works in Ottoman literature studies. In addition to them, archival documents can also be considered among the main reference sources because they contain some important information for every period of the Ottoman literature.

The archival material is an important source for the literary history of the 16<sup>th</sup> century - largely based on the anecdotes in the collection of biographies of poets (*şu'arâ tezkiireleri* in Ottoman language). A review of the limited number of notebooks and documents belonging to this century could greatly enrich the information obtained so far, as well as correct the erroneous outcomes reached because of the insufficient sources.<sup>1</sup>

The archival document consisting of 23 pages with file no 324 and folder no 27 registered in the fund of the Ottoman Archives-Topkapı Palace Museum TS.MA.e, Directorate of State Archive is significant for containing the *nazire* poems belonging to Sultan Süleyman who wrote under the pen name Muhibbî. The document includes a total of 41 *ghazals*, 1 *takhmis*<sup>2</sup>, 4 *kit'as*<sup>3</sup> and 1 couplet written by 8 poets. The document has the characteristics of a *nazire*<sup>4</sup> miscellany. In the 21 pages, firstly the *ghazal* of Muhibbî is inserted and then the *nazire* poem given under the model poem. The document includes 18 *ghazals* by Muhibbî. Muhibbî's *ghazal* ending with the *radif* "aynna" is repeated on pages 3, 5 and 22; *radif* "ister" on pages 4 and 19.

Muhibbî's *ghazals* are introduced through some expressions sounding like both pray and praise such as "ğazel-i pâdişâh-ı 'âlem-penâh (p.1)" [The *ghazal* of the Sultan, where everyone can safely seek refuge], "halleda'llâhu hilâfete hü kâ'ilihi (p.2, p.14)" [May God make the caliphate of the one who said this eternal], "hullidet hilâfete hü kâ'ilihi (p.4)" [May God make the caliphate of the one who said this eternal], "ğazel-i pâdişâh-ı 'âlem-penâh sellemehu'llâh (p.5)" [The *ghazal* of the Sultan, where everyone can safely seek refuge. May God grant him peace], "muğatta'ât-ı hazret-i Sultân Süleymân Hân sellemehu'llâh (p.9)" [Hazrat Sultan Süleyman's *kit'as*. May God grant him peace], "medde'allâhu subhâne ve te'âlî zille kâ'ilihi (p.20)" [May almighty God prolong the shadow/life of the one who said that].<sup>5</sup> As for other poets, in some cases, only the name of the poet was mentioned, while in others, the name was accompanied by additional expressions. In the first page, Halîl's (d. ?) poem was presented only under the title of "*nazire*" while, in the second one, under the title of "*nazire-i Hall*" [Halîl's *nazire*]. Dâ'î's (d. ?) *nazire* poem on Muhibbî's is entitled under the title of "ed-dâ'î'l-ğakîr" [poor Dâ'î] on page 4. Şâhî's *ghazal* was presented under the title of "Şâhî mağlaşlı şehzâde Bâyezîd" [*Şehzade/Prince Bâyezîd* under the pen name Şâhî] on page 8. However, Bâkî's *nazire* to Muhibbî's was introduced only under the title Bâkî instead of mentioning Muhibbî. In addition, there are poems written without titles. On pages 3 and 7, Muhibbî's poems and a *nazire* by Nevâlî (d. ?) were given without titles. In a total of eight pages, no introductory titles were used for Muhibbî's poems and Bâkî's *nazires*.

Various explanations as well as introductory titles have been used for some poems in the document. On page 6, firstly the statement "şübhem var diyü buyurduğunuz ğazel budur ki kuluñuza meger sultânüm 'inâyet itmişsiz yazıcı şöyle der ikisi bile dîvânunuzda meştürdür sultânüm a'lemdür" [My Sultan, this is the *ghazal* you said you had doubts about, and you have been kind to your servant. The scribe says that both *ghazals* are in your *Divan*, but my Sultan knows best] was explained and then Muhibbî's *ghazal* was given:

Hem-demüñ dünyâda bir gül yüzlü cānān oldı tüt  
Mağremüñ tün gün meh ü ħurşîd-i rağşān oldı tüt

<sup>1</sup> İsmail Erünsal, *The Archival Sources of Turkish Literary History*, ed. Cemal Kafadar and Gönül Alpay Tekin, (Harvard: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures Harvard University, 2008), 38.

<sup>2</sup> A poetic composition of five stanzas, or in stanzas of five distichs or hemistichs.

<sup>3</sup> A fragmentary piece of poetry of two or more distichs.

<sup>4</sup> *Nazire* is a similar poem written by a poet, generally in the same prosody, rhyme and *radif* as another poet's poem. A similar, parallel or imitative poem.

<sup>5</sup> On the first page, an approach suitable for the servant-sultan relationship was displayed while presenting Halîl's *nazire*. Although the poet's name was not mentioned, it was emphasized by using the title "*nazire*" that the poem is a *nazire* on Muhibbî. Page 4 clearly shows the relationship between the sultan and the servant. While presenting Sultan Süleyman's poem, the expression of pray "hullidet hilâfete hü kâ'ilihi" [May God make the caliphate of the one who said this eternal] was used. Presentation of Dâ'î -who wrote a *nazire* to a poem of Sultan Süleyman- as "ed-dâ'î'l-ğakîr" [poor Dâ'î] shows this sensitivity.

On page 9, there are three poems with two couplets written in Persian under the title “muḳaṭṭa‘āt-ı ḥazret-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḥān sellemeḥu’llāh” [Hazrat Sultan Süleyman’s *kit‘as*. May God grant him peace].<sup>6</sup> The edited version of Turkish *Divan* does not include any of these poems. Only one of them is included in Muhibbī’s Persian *Divan*, edited by Coşkun Ak:<sup>7</sup>

باز درین شب تا سحر آه و فغان آورده ام  
عالم کون و مکان را دل بجان آورده ام  
من که دامن لطف تو افزون تر است از جرم من  
از کنه شرمنده رو بر آستان آورده ام

Bāz der-īn şeb-tā-seher āh o figān āverdeem  
‘Ālem-i kevn o mekānrā dil be-cān āverdeem

Men ki dānem lotf-i to efzūnter est ez-corm-i men  
Ez-goneh şermende-rū ber-āsītān āverdeem (p.9)

One of the poems, different in wording but similar in meaning, was recorded among the *ruba‘is* in Ak’s and Kasım Gelen’s editions:<sup>8</sup>

اگر مجرم رحمت تو مرا کم مکن  
درین جهان چو کس بی خطایی نیست  
اگر بخشی و اگر عتاب کنی  
بغیر درگاه تو مرا پناهی نیست

Eger mucrimem raḥmet-i to merā kem mekon  
Der-īn cihān çü kes-i bī-ḥaṭāyī nīst

Eger baḥşī ve eger ‘itāb konī  
Be-ğayr-i dergāh-ı to merā penāhī nīst (p.9)

اگر مجرم رحمتت کم مکن  
که در دهر نبود کسی بی گناه  
کرم بخشی و کر نمایی عتاب  
بجز آستانت ندارم پناه

Eger mucrimem raḥmetet kem mekün  
Ki der dehr nebūd kesī bī-günāh

Kerem baḥşī vü ger nümāyī ‘itāb  
Be cüz āsītānet nedārem penāh (*Ruba‘i* 5)

The poem below is not included in Ak’s edition, but it is included in Gelen’s master thesis.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Sultan Süleyman (Muhibbī) composed the majority of his poetry in Turkish. But he also wrote Persian poems. Muhibbī’s Persian poems were first edited by Kasım Gelen, based on four manuscripts, in his master thesis. Kasım Gelen, “Kânûnî Sultan Süleyman’ın Farsça Dîvanı” (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi), 25-30. The latter edition was published by Coşkun Ak using two manuscripts of Muhibbī’s Persian *Divan*. Coşkun Ak, Muhibbī Farsça Divan Metin Çeviri (Ankara: Nobel Yayıncılık, 2006). Benedek Péri informs us about a new manuscript of Muhibbī: “An unnoticed manuscript of Muhibbī’s *divan* has been discovered in Israel, which besides containing the Sultan’s Turkish poems includes some of his Persian pieces as well. The volume is preserved in the Yahuda Collection of the National Library of Israel (Yahuda Ar. Ms. 1065).” Benedek Péri. “The Persian Imitation Gazels (Nazires) of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman “Muhibbi” (1520–1566) as They are Preserved in a Hitherto Unnoticed Early Copy of his *Divan*” *Amasya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi ASOBİD* 5 (2019): 98.

<sup>7</sup> Ak, Muhibbī Farsça Divan, 56.

<sup>8</sup> Ak, Muhibbī Farsça Divan, 52; Gelen, Kânûnî Sultan Süleyman’ın, 56.

<sup>9</sup> Gelen, Kânûnî Sultan Süleyman’ın, 59.

جرم بی حد و عظیمست کنه  
نومید نباشی که کریمست اله  
حاشا که زرحمت تو محروم شوم  
که گفته ام بصدق لا اله الا الله

Corm bī-ḥadd o ‘azīmet gonāh  
Nevmīd nebāšī ki kerīmet ilāh

Hāṣā ki zi-rahmet-i to maḥrūm şevem  
Ki gofteem be-şıdḳ lā ilāhe illa ‘llāh (p.9)

The following explanation was given under the poems: “Sa‘ādetlü sultānum bu rubā‘iyyāt ehl-i ‘irfān mābeyninde bir mertebe maḳbūldur ki vird yirine oḳurlar.” [My prosperous Sultan, these *rubā‘is* are so esteemed among the people of wisdom that they recite them as a daily practice.]

On page 15, the text of the *ghazal* beginning with “Gülşen-i kūyī baña bāğ-ı irem gibi gelür / Haḳ naşīb eyler-ise aña irem gibi gelür” and Bākī’s *nazire* on this *ghazal* are included. After the ending of Bākī’s poem, the following couplet was written in a different script from the calligraphies of the poems: “Dirler Muhibbī şī‘rini kuş diline beñzer hemān / Fehm eylemez ma‘nāsını her kim Süleymān olmadı”. This couplet is the *makta*<sup>10</sup> couplet of the *ghazal* number 3318 in the *Divan* edited by Kemal Yavuz and Orhan Yavuz.<sup>11</sup>

In the document, only a poem of Muhibbī is not included on page 6. Under the title of “Şehzade/Prince Bāyezīd under the pen name Şāhī”, there is a *ghazal* with *radif* “eylesün”, which is also included in Filiz Kılıç’s edition of Şāhī’s *Divan*.<sup>12</sup>

Ehl-i ‘ışḳa eydüñüz gelsün tazallüm eylesün  
Ol şehüñ dīvānı var ḫālin tekellüm eylesün

While presenting the poems in the document, Muhibbī’s poem was first given as a model poem, and a *nazire* was placed under the poem. Muhibbī’s *ghazal* beginning with “Delü dīvānedür göñlüm anı şanmañ ki pend ister / Görelden zülf-i zencirin taḳup boynuma bend ister” (G 550) is included on both pages 4 and 19. This *ghazal* was described as a *nazire* by both Bākī and Dā‘ī. Likewise, Muhibbī’s *ghazal* beginning with “Beñzeyelden gözlerüm yaşı şarābuñ ‘aynına / Yandı miñnetle ciger döndi kebābuñ ‘aynına” also appears on three different pages. Bākī, Gubārī and Nevālī wrote *nazires* on this *ghazal*. The *matla*<sup>13</sup> couplets of the model poems and their *nazires* are as follows:

	Model Poem	Nazire Poem
1	<b>Muhibbī, p.1, Divan G 2984</b> .-.-./.-.-./.-.- Görüp zülfünde ḫālūñ düşdüm aḡa Ṭutulır murḡ dāneyle duzāḡa	<b>Halil, p.1</b> .-.-./.-.-./.-.- İrişdi büy-ı zülfeynüñ dimāḡa Nesīm-i sünbülūñ mi esdi bāḡa
	<b>Muhibbī, p.2, Divan G 697</b> .-.-./.-.-./.-.- Od bıraḳdı cānuma bir gül yüzi gül-nār nār Bende çekdi göñlümi bir zülf-i ‘anber-bār bār	<b>Halil, p.2</b> .-.-./.-.-./.-.- Göñlüme ‘ışḳuñ şalaldan ey ruḫı gül-nār nār Yandı cismüm küllī oldı ma‘den-i envār-vār
3	<b>Muhibbī, p.3, p.5, p.22, Divan G 3148</b> .-.-./.-.-./.-.- Beñzeyelden gözlerüm yaşı şarābun ‘aynına Yandı miñnetle ciger döndi kebābun ‘aynına	<b>Nevālī, p.3</b> .-.-./.-.-./.-.- La‘l-i nābuñ kim şehā beñzer şarābuñ ‘aynına Gözlerüm aña nazar döndi ḫabābuñ ‘aynına
		<b>Bākī, p.22, Divan G 472</b>

<sup>10</sup> The last couplet of a *ghazal*.

<sup>11</sup> Kemal Yavuz ve Orhan Yavuz, Muhibbī Divanı Bütün Şiirleri (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2016).

<sup>12</sup> Filiz Kılıç, Şehzade Bayezid Şāhī Hayatı ve Divanı (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2000).

<sup>13</sup> The first couplet of a *ghazal*.

		-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Var ise geldi şarâb-ı la'l-i nâbuñ 'aynına Kim görünmez bâde-i gülgün habâbuñ 'aynına <b>Gubârî, p.5</b> -. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Bağmağa pîr-i muğân her dem şarâbuñ 'aynına Câmdan 'aynek ider gördüm habâbuñ 'aynına
	<b>Muhibbî, p.4, p.19, Divan G 550</b>	<b>Dâ'î, p.4</b>
4	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Delü dîvânedür gönüm anı şanmañ ki pend ister Görelen zülfi zencîrin taçup boynına bend ister	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Şaçı 'ışkıyla şanmañ dil-i dîvâne pend ister Gam-ı hecri geçüp cânâ aşılmğa kemend ister <b>Bâkî, p.19, Divan G 143</b> -. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Gönül bir rind-i 'âlem-süz şüh-ı şeh-levend ister Ki 'aşk odına yakmağa dil ü cândan sipend ister
	<b>Muhibbî, p.7, Divan G 1184</b>	<b>Nevâlî, p.7</b>
5	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Âhumuñ her dem hevâsı küyuñ içre esmedür Lîk çeşmün hışm idüp aydur ki baña esme dir	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Zâl-i çarha mâh-ı nev şanma ki zerrîn vesmedür Hâncer almış yanına kârî 'öm(ü)rler kesmedür
	<b>Muhibbî, p.11, Divan G 1166</b>	<b>Fevrî<sup>14</sup>, p.11</b>
6	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Derün-ı sînede bağrum ser-â-ser pâralanmışdur Anuñçün gözlerüm yaşı kızıl kana boyanmışdur	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Gözüm dünyâyı görmez dil firâk odına yanmışdur Bunuñ âhı göge anuñ yaşı kana boyanmışdur
	<b>Muhibbî, p.12, Divan G 3263</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.12, Divan G 519</b>
7	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - Dögünüp def çağırur her nefes nây Nedür dünyâ için bu hü u bu hây	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - Kömaz serkeşlîgin bu nefes-i hod-rây Müdârâ eylesen vay itmesen vay <b>Bâkî, p.12, Divan G 516</b> -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Görinmez dâğdan cismüm ser-â-pây Beni yakmağa cânâ kalmadı cây
	<b>Muhibbî, p.13, Divan G 1389</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.13, Divan G 211</b>
8	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Niçe demler inleyüp nâ gibi kıldum ben nefes Hamdu lillâh kim vişâl-i yâre buldum dest-res	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Pür-hevâdur ney gibi 'ışkuñla tab'-ı pür-heves Derd-i dilden bâ-haber 'âlemdede yok bir hem- nefes
	<b>Muhibbî, p.14, Divan G 1178</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.14, Divan G 136</b>
9	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Şorma 'ışkuñ hâletin Mecnûna bir dîvânedür Açma 'ışkuñ sırrını Ferhâda kim bigânedür	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Hün-ı dil mey kâse-i ser anda bir peymânedür 'İşret-âbâd-ı mağabbet bir 'aceb meyhânedür
	<b>Muhibbî, p.15, Divan G 1136</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.15, Divan G 146</b>
10	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Gülşen-i küyî baña bâğ-ı irem gibi gelür Hağ naşib eyler-ise aña irem gibi gelür	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Yârdan cevr ü cefâ luğf u kerem gibi gelür Gayrdan mihr ü vefâ derd ü elem gibi gelür
	<b>Muhibbî, p.16, Divan G 1175</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.16, Divan G 148</b>
11	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - Baña dildârun cefâsı hoş gelür Nitekim ğayra vefâsı hoş gelür	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - İllere mihr ü vefâsı hoş gelür Bendeye cevr ü cefâsı hoş gelür
	<b>Muhibbî, p.17, Divan G 2766</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.17, Divan G 398</b>
12	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - Perî misin ya âdem ey melek-hû Seni görmege muhtâc halk kamu	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - Kıyâm itdi çemende yâre karşı Çenâr u 'ar'ar u şimşâd kamu
	<b>Muhibbî, p.18, Divan G 3139</b>	<b>Bâkî, p.18, Divan G 438</b>
13	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Sebze-i hağtun gören dir la'l-i cânân üstine	-. - - / -. - - / -. - - / -. - - Düşse zülfinden 'arağ ruhsâr-ı cânân üstine

<sup>14</sup> The poem is included in Hasan Yılmaz's doctoral thesis, which has not been defended yet, titled "Fevrî, A 16<sup>th</sup> Century Poet, and his Divan (Review-Text)". Manisa Celal Bayar University, Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ramazan Ekinci.

	Hzırdur san sāye şalmış āb-ı hayvān üstine	Güyyā şebnem düşer gül-berg-i handān üstine
14	<b>Muhibbī, p.20, Divan G 930</b> ----/----/--- Olur bu dīde dīdāruñla pūr-nūr Olur bu sīne esrāruñla mesrūr	<b>Bākī, p.20, Divan G 132</b> ----/----/--- Cemālūñ āfītābından alup nūr Meh-i tābāna döndi cām-ı billūr
	<b>Muhibbī, p.21, Divan G 699</b> ---/---/---/---/--- Dil la‘l-i lebbūñ yādına hūnīñ ciger geçer Göster yüzüñi dīdede şāhib-nazar geçer	<b>Bākī, p.21, Divan G 134</b> ---/---/---/---/--- Cüy-ı fenāyī halk birer ikişer geçer Bah-ı belādan ehl-i tecerrüd yüzer geçer
16	<b>Muhibbī, p.23, Divan G 734</b> ---/---/---/---/--- Göñlümi alan ol yüzi gül çeşmi aladur Cānumı diler ki gāmzesi baña havāledür	<b>Bākī, p.23, Divan G 84</b> ---/---/---/---/--- Gülgün kabāsı ol şanemün şanki lāledür Cism-i laṭifī lāle-i hamrāda jāledür

As the table indicates, 16<sup>th</sup> century poets such as Bākī, Dā‘ī, Fevrī, Gubarī, Halīl, and Nevālī imitated Muhibbī’s *ghazals*. While Dā‘ī, Fevrī, Gubarī each wrote one *nazire* in response to Muhibbī, Halīl and Nevālī wrote two *nazires* each. The highest number of *nazires* belongs to Bākī with 13 *nazires* on 12 different *ghazals* of Muhibbī. A miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzī also includes the *nazires* written in response to Muhibbī.<sup>15</sup> The miscellany consisting of eleven pages and registered in Izmir National Library 952, authenticates the document numbered TS.MA.e 324/27 in terms of the *nazires*. In the miscellany, there exist *nazires* to Muhibbī by poets such as Cenābī, Me‘ābī, Sehābī, Sıdkī in addition to Bākī, Dā‘ī, Fevrī, Halīl, Nevālī and Şemsi. One *nazire* for each by Dā‘ī and Fevrī, two *nazires* by Halīl and Nevālī, and six *nazires* by Bākī in the miscellany are also mentioned in the aforementioned archival document. However, poems of Gubarī, the competition of *nazire*, 7 *ghazals* belonging to Bākī - *nazire* to Muhibbī- are not found in the miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzī.

All of the *nazire* poems in the document have the same *radif* as the model poems have. As regards prosody, only Bākī’s *nazire* on *ghazal* 734<sup>th</sup> of Muhibbī is in a different prosody from the model poem. While the model poem is in the prosody “mef‘ülü mefā‘ilü mefā‘ilü fe‘ülün”, the *nazire* is in the prosody “mef‘ülü fā‘ilātü mefā‘ilü fā‘ilün”.

Muhibbī’s *ghazal* beginning with “Delü dīvānedür göñlüm anı şanmañ ki pend ister / Görelden zülfi zencirin taqup boynına bend ister” was written by both Dā‘ī and Bākī. Muhibbī’s most popular *ghazal* was his poem streting with “Beñzeyelden gözlerüm yaşı şarābuñ ‘aynına / Yandı miñnetle ciger döndi kebābuñ ‘aynına”. Bākī, Gubarī, and Nevālī each wrote a *nazire* on this poem. What makes these *nazires* interesting is that all three poems are based on a competition of *nazire*. On page 5, Muhibbī’s *ghazal* was given under the title “ğazel-i pādişāh-ı ‘ālem-penāh sellemeñu’llāh” [The *ghazal* of the Sultan, where everyone can safely seek refuge. May God grant him peace], and then the *kit‘a* in which Gubarī invited poets to the competition of *nazire* was included.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cemal Bayak, “Mehmed İzzī’nin Muhibbī’nin Şiirlerine Yazılan Nazireler Mecmuası” Turkish Studies International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic 11/4 (2016), 207-242.

<sup>16</sup> In the aforementioned document, Gubarī’s *kit‘a* was given under the title “Kıṭ‘a-i da‘vā-yı Ğubarī budur” [This is Ğubarī’s *kit‘a* on the competition]:

Ey Ğubarī pādişāh-ı ‘ālemün bu şi‘rine  
Dimesün kimse nazire diyüp aña irelüm  
Biz çalışduk kâdir olmaduk haḳıḳat tek hemān  
Pey-rev olup hürmen-i şi‘rinde hüşe direlüm  
Pādişāhun her ki bu şi‘rine söylerse nazir  
Pādişāh elli filori virdi aña virelüm

Kaplan examines the relationships of the poets participating in the competition with each other and with Sultan Süleyman. He gives informations about the competition and evaluates the poems written at the competition of *nazire*, taking into account the functions of the *nazire*. Hasan Kaplan, “Bir Yarışma Olarak Nazire: 16. Yüzyılda Ödüllü Bir Nazire Müsabakası” KÜLTÜR Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi 5 (2022): 35-60.

Bākī wrote 13 *nazires* on 12 different *ghazals* of Muhibbī. The poet wrote two *nazires* on Muhibbī's *ghazal* beginning with "Dögünüp def çağırur her nefes nāy / Nedür dünyā için bu hüy u bu hāy".<sup>17</sup>

In the document, there is a poem not included in the *Divan* of Muhibbī, which was published by Ak in 2006, and Yavuz and Yavuz in 2016, and a *takhmis* based upon this poem.<sup>18</sup> In this paper, I discuss the authenticity of the poem attributed to Muhibbī and publish the *takhmis* on that poem by Isfendiyyarzāde Ahmed Şemsi Pasha.

### 1. The Poem of Muhibbī and Its Relationship with Other Poems

The poem registered in the name of Muhibbī in the archival document is as follows. Şemsi has made *takhmis* on the poem of Muhibbī.

‘Ālemi geşt eyledüm cev̄r ü cefāsız yār yok  
Māh-rūlar çok velī mihr [ü] vefāsı var yok

Āh kim seng-i cefādan oldı dil mülki hārāb  
‘Āşıkūñ gönli şınkđur yapmağa mi‘mār yok

Bāğ-ı hūsne çeşm [ü] ebrūsı ne yüzden girdi kim  
Cennet içre kad hamīde didiler bir mār yok

Gözlerin nāz uyhusından açmağa yokđur mecāl  
Şimdi bildüm ‘āşıkā hīç devlet-i bī-dār yok

Lebleri dār-ı şifāsından buyurmazsa cevāb  
Ölürüm bu derd-ile derdā aña tīmār yok

İstedi bir çāre bu bī-çāre vaşla bulmadı  
Dünyede fikr eyledüm benden beter nā-çār yok

<sup>17</sup> In a letter by Bākī, addressed to Sultan Süleyman and kept in the Topkapı Palace Treasury Archive with the number E.6687, Bākī refers to his *nazires* on a poem of the Sultan. This document is crucial in terms of revealing the imitative interactions between Bākī and Sultan Süleyman. In the letter, after declaring his respect for the Sultan, Bākī states that he wrote two *nazires* on one of the Sultan's *ghazals*. The poet explained the reason for this situation on the page margin as follows: "Yenilen oyuna doymaz" [The defeated cannot get enough of the game]. Considered in the context of the tradition of *nazire*, this statement is not intended to surpass the model poetry of Bākī's attitude in poetry, but to present his insufficiency against literary competence in poetry. The main goal of Bākī is to gain the Sultan's approval by flattering his poetic aspect. By writing a *nazire* to the poem of Muhibbī, Bākī has tried to glorify the poetic aspect of the Sultan and also to show his own poetic power. Hasan Kaplan, "Bākī-İktidar Münasebeti ve Bu Münasebete Çok Yönlü Bir Bakış" Es-seyf ve'l-kalem: Şiir ve Kültürel İktidar içinde, ed. M. Esat Harmancı-Muhammet Kuzubaş-Mehmet Özdemir ve Gülçin Tanrıbuyurdu (Ankara: İKSAD Global Yayıncılık, 2021), 47-96. It is seen that Bākī continued this attitude with the two *nazires* included in the document and written on Muhibbī's *ghazal* beginning with "Dögünüp def çağırur her nefes nāy / Nedür dünyā için bu hüy u bu hāy".

<sup>18</sup> According to Ak's and Yavuz and Yavuz's editions, Muhibbī composed around 3122 or 4118 poems. Unexplored manuscripts of Muhibbī's *Divan* may contain additional poems. The quantity of Muhibbī's poems may increase with the exploration of further divans, manuscripts, collections and archival documents. For Muhibbī's unnoticed poems, see Beyhan Kesik, Zehra Pehlivan ve Emre Şengül, "Bir Şiir Mecmuasından Hareketle Muhibbī'nin Yayınlanmamış Şiirleri" International Journal of Language Academy 3/1 (2015): 361-373; Kamil Ali Gıynaş, "Üç Nazire Mecmuasından Hareketle Muhibbī'nin Dīvānında Bulunmayan Şiirleri" Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi 7/29 (2014): 399-440. For some observations and notes regarding the manuscripts of Muhibbī's *Divan*, see Christiane Czygan, "Masters of The Pen: The Divans of Selimi and Muhibbi". In *1516 The Year That Changed the Middle East* (Beirut: AUB University Press, 2021), 111-133; Christiane Czygan, "The Ottoman Ruler Poet Sultan Süleyman I, His Third Divan, and His Reception beyond the Palace Walls". In *Rulers as Authors in the Islamic World. Knowledge, Authority and Legitimacy* (Leiden: Brill, 2024), 547-560. "A significant number of unexplored poem collections remain only in Turkey. Moreover, recent investigations of mecmu'as (magazines) brought further poems by Muhibbī to light. Therefore, it seems that we are only beginning the process of discovering Muhibbī's unpublished poems, and there is a high probability that further findings will transform our current understanding of his poetry." Christiane Czygan, "Was Sultan Süleyman Colour-Blind? Sensuality, Power and the Unpublished Poems in the Third Dīvān (1554) of Sultan Süleyman I", In *An Iridescent Device: Premodern Ottoman Poetry* (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2018), 197.

Gülşen-i hüsnünde ço kılsun Muhibbî nâleler  
Gülşen içre dime kim bülbül tek âh u zâr yok

Muhibbî's poem consists of seven couplets. The poem is written in aruz prosody "fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün". In the *ghazal*, "yok" is *radif*, and "-âr" is a rhyme. It is seen that *radif* makes sense as one of the form characteristics of poetry for Muhibbî's *Divan*. Namely, the number of poems written with this *radif* -in the section "harfü'l-kaf" of the *ghazals* in the *Divan*- is 22. There are two *ghazals* in Muhibbî's *Divan* having the same prosody, rhyme and *radif* as this *ghazal*:

Zülf-i şeb-rengün gibi 'âlemde bir tarrâr yok  
Çeşm-i mestüñe müşâbih dünyede sehâr yok (G 1582/1)

'Âlem içre kıl nazar iy dil cihânda yâr yok  
Aña beñzer kim cihânda bir gül-i bî-hâr yok (G 1585/1)

The number of the common words (var / yâ) forming the rhyme between the first *ghazal* and the *ghazal* not included in the *Divan* number is two. In the second *ghazal*, the number of common words (var / yâr / tîmâr / mâr) forming rhyme is four.

Some expressions in this *ghazal*, bearing similarities to proportional phrases and dreams in his other poems, provide important information suggesting that the *ghazal* may belong to Muhibbî.

'Âlemi geşt eyledüm cev̄ ü cefâsız yâr yok  
Mâh-rûlar çok velî mihr [ü] vefâsı var yok

With the expression "geşt eyledüm" [I travelled] in the first couplet, Muhibbî states that he had travelled throughout the world but could not find a lover without much effort. This expression was mentioned 7 times in the *Divan*. In three of them, as in the relevant poem, it was prioritised in the form of "Âlemi geşt eyledüm" [I travelled the world] at the beginning of the *misra* ' "Âlemi geşt eyledüm bir yâr-i şâdık görmedüm (G 3000/4)". The statement "mâh-rûlar çok velî" [There are many moon-faced lovers but] in the second *misra* ' of the poem is also included in another *ghazal* (G 863/5) of the poet.

Muhibbî repeats the meaning of this couplet in another poem. In the aforementioned couplet, the poet says that he has travelled throughout the world, but there was no lover having torture and cruelty; although there were many moon-faced beauties, there was no lover having love and friendship. The following couplet of the poet has the same meaning. The poet did not see love and friendship; but suffered torment and oppression. Saying that the lover has love and friendship is just a word:

Görmedüm mihr ü vefâ çekdüm velî cev̄ ü cefâ  
Var diyen mihr ü vefâsı dilberün bir söz imiş (G 1462/4)

In the second couplet of the *ghazal*, the poet says that the property (country) of the heart was devastated by the torment stone of the lover; there was no architect who could mend the wounded heart of the lover:

Âh kim seng-i cefâdan oldu dil mülki harâb  
'Âşıkun gönli şınıkdur yapmağa mi 'mâr yok

In the couplet, "seng-i cefâ" [punishment stone] is explained as the cause/perpetrator of the devastation of the heart. This phrase has been mentioned 43 times in the poet's *Divan*. "Seng-i cefâ" has destroyed the property of the heart. The "dil mülki" [heart land] and the "dil mülkinin harap olması" [the ruin of the land of heart] also appear in other poems of Muhibbî. The poet has used the expression "dil mülki harâb" [the land of heart is ruined] 7 times (G 144/1, 193/1, 213/1, 669/2, 1045/2, 2208/2, 3485/3). In the *Divan*, the statement "şınık gönül" [wounded heart] occurs in a couplet (G 267/4).



In the fourth couplet of the *ghazal*, a lover who cannot open their eyes from a deep sleep is depicted. Because of the lover who is exhausted, the admirer has realized that there is neither happiness for him nor good luck.

Gözlerin nâz uyhusından açmağa yoğdur mecâl  
Şimdi bildüm 'âşıka hiç devlet-i bî-dâr yoğ

Three expressions in this couplet are also found in other poems of Muhibbî. The poet defines "naz uyhusı" [sleep of coyness/sleep taken from luxury and indolence, deep sleep], which he includes in the couplet, as an act of the lover 7 times in his *Divan*. Muhibbî explains the truth he realized in the statement "şimdi bildüm" [now, I realized], which he prioritises at the beginning of the second *misra*'. The poet uses this expression at the beginning of the *misra*' in 13 couplets in his other poems. In one of his couplets, Muhibbî tells about a lover whose eyes were bleary from deep sleep: "Gözleri nâz uyhusından şöyle mağmûr oldu kim (G 3400/3)". In the related *misra*' (Gözlerin nâz uyhusından açmağa yoğdur mecâl), Muhibbî, who ascribes not having to open his eyes from his deep sleep to the beloved, has also attributed the action to the narcissus in another *misra*' in the same syntax: "Gözlerini açmağa yoğdur mecâli nergisüñ (G 1078/3)" [The narcissus has no strength to open his eyes].

The fifth couplet of the poem bears similarities with many of the other poems in Muhibbî's *Divan*, not only in words, but also in terms of meaning, imagination and fiction.

Lebleri dâr-ı şifâsından buyurmazsa cevâb  
Ölürüm bu derd-ile derdâ aña tîmâr yoğ

The poet saw the lover's lips as a *şifahane*/healing place. If the lover does not respond to the admirer from these lips/does not meet needs of the lover, the admirer will die from this disease, and unfortunately the lover will be no cure for his problem. Muhibbî repeats this meaning through the same phrase in the following couplet:

Leblerüñ dâru's-şifâsından dil-i bîmâruma  
İy tabîb-i cân neden göndermedüñ bir kez cevâb (G 158/4)

The lover, who is the doctor of the soul, has not sent a response/healing from the healing place of her lips to the sick heart of the admirer. In the following couplet, it is emphasised that the soul and heart of the admirer are sick, the lover is told to heal the admirer from the lips, which is the place of healing, and the lips are a medicine for the admirer:

Dil ü cân hasta olmuşdur lebüñ dâru's-şifâsından  
Buyur şâfi cevâb olsun aña çün leblerüñ emdür (G 773/2)

The following couplets existing in Muhibbî's *Divan* are also related to the couplet in respect of words and meaning:

Leblerüñ dâru's-şifâsından cevâb ister gönül  
İy tabîb-i dil olursa olmasun tîmârsuz (G 1263/3)

Leblerüñ dâr-ı şifâsında yatur hasta gönül  
Bir cevâb eyle benüm derdüme gel dermân ol (G 1981/5)

Çeşm-i mestidür bugün bîmâr iden 'âşıqları  
Hasretâ derdâ dirîgâ derdümüñ tîmârı yoğ (G 1584/2)

Two expressions from the sixth couplet of the *ghazal* are in relation with other poems of Muhibbî. The poet has used the expression "fîkr eyle-" [think] in this poem 3 times and the expression "benden beter" [worse than me] 4 times in his other poems.

İstedî bir çâre bu bî-çâre vaşla bulmadı  
Dünyede fîkr eyledüm benden beter nâ-çâr yoğ

In the last couplet of the *ghazal*, “gülşen-i hüsn” [beauty’s rose garden] draws attention as a place, while the groans of the poet are highlighted as an action in this place; the lover was asked not to say that only the nightingale was groaning and screaming in the rose garden. In the couplet, it is seen that the poet matches himself with the nightingale:

Gülşen-i hüsnünde ko kılsun Muhibbî nâleler  
Gülşen içre dime kim bülbül tek âh u zâr yok

This couplet like the fifth couplet of the *ghazal* shows similarities with other couplets in the poet’s *Divan* with regard to words, meaning and imagination. The first *misra’* (Gülşen-i hüsnünde ko kılsun Muhibbî nâleler) [Let Muhibbî moan in the rose garden of her beauty] of the poem is repeated exactly in the following couplet. In the related *misra’*, it is seen that the poet pairs himself with the nightingale:

Gülşen-i hüsnünde ko kılsun Muhibbî nâleler  
Böyle bir bülbül gerekdür sen gül-i ra’nâ-y-ıçun (G 2434/5)

The following couplets in the Muhibbî’s *Divan* are also related to the sixth couplet of the *ghazal* as regards wording and meaning.

Ağlasam âh eylesem bülbülleyin olmaz ‘aceb  
Gülşen-i hüsn içre gül tek verd-i handānuñ görüp (G 182/1)

Muhibbî gülşen-i hüsnüne karşı  
Ko olsun dem-be-dem bülbül gibi zâr (G 593/5)

Gülşen-i hüsnine karşı iy dil artur nâleni  
Dimesünler bülbül-i şüridenüñ feryadı yok (G 1635/4)

Gülşen-i hüsninde yârün gıceler tâ şubha dek  
Bülbül-i şüride gibi âh u zâr itsem gerek (G 1818/4)

Gülşen-i hüsnine karşı giceler bülbül gibi  
Tâ seher nālân oluban âh u zâr itsem gerek (G 1806/7)

Gülşen-i hüsnine karşı nâle feryād eyleyüp  
Bülbül-i güzârı iy dil cümle hāmūş eylegil (G 1997/3)

İy Muhibbî gülşen-i hüsnine karşı nâleler  
İñleyüp tâ şubha dek bülbül gibi feryāda gel (G 2026/5)

It is clear that Muhibbî’s *ghazal* existed in the document in relation to other poems in his *Divan* in respect of language and expression, wording and meaning. The poem belongs to Muhibbî.

## 2. Takhmis by Şemsi

A poet using the pen name Şemsi wrote a *takhmis* on Muhibbî’s *ghazal* in question, which is not included in the published version of Muhibbî’s *Divan*. Biographical sources, such as TEİS (Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü) [The Dictionary of Names in Turkish Literature], inform us that there were seven poets who used Şemsi as pen name in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The poems of five of them can only be found in the poets’ *tezkires* or in miscellanies. We have the *Divans* of Şemseddin Sivasî and Isfendiyarzāde Şemsi Pasha both living in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and using the same pen name Şemsi. Şemseddin Sivasî is the founder of the Şemsiyye branch of Halvetî order in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This poet has mostly religious-sufistic/mystical monuments. In this respect, there is a possibility that Şemsi who made a *takhmis* on the *ghazal* of Muhibbî is Isfendiyarzāde Ahmed Şemsi Pasha. Şerife Ördök, who wrote his biography in TEİS, gives the following information:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed biography see <http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/madde-detay/semsi-isfendiyarzade-semsi-ahmed> (18.09.2024)

He was born in Bolu. The poet, whose real name is Ahmed, used the pen name Şemsî. He was a member of Isfendiyarids (Isfendiyar dynasty) -one of the Anatolian principalities- and was the grandson of Isfendiyarids Kızıl Ahmed Bey and the son of Mirza Mehmed Pasha. Ahmed Şemsî grew up in Enderun<sup>20</sup> together with his older brother Mustafa. Ahmed Şemsî, a skilled hunter like the other members of his family, and joined the close circle of Süleyman the magnificent, who was very interested in hunting, while he was still in Enderun. After serving as a *müteferrik*/miscellaneous palace officer, he started to work as a *rikâb agha*/overseer. In 1548, he was promoted to the cavalryman *agha* mission. During this position, he participated in the expedition against the Safavids in company with the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha. He served in the entourage of Sultan Süleyman during the Nakhjivan campaign. After returning from the expedition, he was appointed to *Beglerbeg*/Grand Seigneur of Damascus in 1555. Later, he became the Beglerbeg of Anatolia and Rumelia. Ahmed Şemsî Pasha, who participated in the Sigetvar expedition of Sultan Süleyman as Rumelia Beglerbeg, was sent ahead by the sultan to besiege Sigetvar. After the death of the Sultan and the conquest of the castle, he was charged with the conquest of Babocsa.

As soon as Selim II acceded to the throne, he appointed Ahmed Şemsî Pasha as a *musahib*/companion. Ahmed Pasha, with the title of vizier, served as a *musahib* until the end of the reign of Selim II. He continued to serve as companion in the period of Murad III. He accompanied the sultan during his huntings and day-trips. Ahmed Şemsî Pasha died on March 5, 1580.

Ahmed Şemsî Pasha, who wrote poems in Turkish and Persian, has a *Divan* written in Turkish. His *Divan* was edited in a dissertation by Mehmet Akkaya.<sup>21</sup> According to this thesis, there exists in the *Divan*, which consists of 4 *kasides*, 482 *ghazals*, 2 *mathnavies*, 6 *nazms*, 12 *mukhammases*, 15 *murabba's*, 8 *kit'as*, 6 *ebced*/gematria and a poem entitled "Baharname" which includes 15 *ghazals*.

Sultan Süleyman has an important place in the formation of the literary personality of Şemsî. Şemsî, who was in the inner circles of the sovereign, imitated many poems of the Sultan, who wrote poems under the pen name Muhibbî. The poet's *Divan* clearly illustrates this situation. Akkaya, who edited poet's *Divan*, evaluated the following poems as a *nazire* between Muhibbî and Şemsî.<sup>22</sup>

‘Işık ara cânın revân itmekdür ‘âşık pîşesi  
Bundan özge ‘âlem içre yok durur endîşesi (Muhibbî, G 3227/1)

Çeşmümün her sâde-rû görse göz itme pîşesi  
Kâkül-i yâre tolaşmak gönlümüñ endîşesi (Şemsî, G 463/1)

Nişân-ı kavş-i Rüstemden beter ol dilberün kaşı  
Hâdeng-i gamzesin atsa gelür bir yirlere başı (Muhibbî, G 3469/1)

N’ola akşa Kızılbaşuñ gözinden kan-ile yaşı  
Çıkardı nîzemüz havf-ile bağrında Kızılbaş (Şemsî, G 405/1)

‘Işık âteşiyle dil eridüp bağı yağını  
Gam tekyesinüñ eyledi rüşen çerâgını (Muhibbî, G 3441/1)

Her kim ki gördi ol güzelün gül yañağını  
‘Işık odı ile yakdı hemân dil çerâgını (Şemsî, G 419/1)

Yâre dil gönder nihânî anı cânuñ tuymasun  
Hâlünü takrîr eyle kim zebânüñ tuymasun (Muhibbî, G 2604/1)

Yolına cân virdüğün setr eyle cânân tuymasun  
Şöyle cân vir kim yolında n’eydügin cân tuymasun (Şemsî, G 289/1)

<sup>20</sup> A special school within the Ottoman Palace.

<sup>21</sup> Mehmet Akkaya, "Şemsî Paşa Divânı" (Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1992).

<sup>22</sup> Akkaya, Şemsî Paşa Divânı, 62-63.

Leylî-i zülfün dil-i Mecnûmî şeydâ eyledi  
‘İşk zencirin taķup boynuma rüsvâ eyledi (Muhibbî, G 3475/1)

Nâvek-i ğamzeñ tenümde dîde peydâ eyledi  
Hüsnuñi bî-çâre dil andan temâşâ eyledi (Şemsî, G 428/1)

Şemsî also demonstrated his affection for the Sultan Süleyman by writing a *musammat ghazal* (or *murabba‘*) with the *radif* “Süleymānum”:

İy Yūsuf-ı Ken‘ānum yoluna fedâ cānum  
‘Ālemleri sultānum seyr eyle Süleymānum (G 241/1)

There are three *ghazals* of Şemsî and the *nazire* on Muhibbî’s poems in the *nazire* miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzî.<sup>23</sup> Two of them exist in the poet’s published *Divan*. Mehmed İzzî recorded that one of these *ghazals* was a *nazire* to which poem of Muhibbî:

Baña dermān iderseñ kıl demidür  
Beni rüsvâ iden ‘ışkuñ ğamıdur (Muhibbî, G 1176/1)

Hilāl iden beni hecrüñ ğamıdur  
Gözüm yaşına rahm eyle demidür (Şemsî, G 62/1)

Even though they were placed in the miscellany, the other two *ghazals*, though not specified as a *nazire* to which of Muhibbî’s poem, must be a *nazire* to Muhibbî. The examination of the *Divan* of Muhibbî in this light reveals that there are *ghazals* in the same prosody, rhyme and *radif* as the two poems of Şemsî:

Yine aldandı gönül bir güzelün pâresine  
Rahm idüp urmadı merhem dil ü cān yarasına (Muhibbî, G 3021/1)

Nazar itmezse n’ola yār o bî-çâresine  
Derd ile ağlamadan ğayrı anuñ çâresi ne (Şemsî, G 384)

There are seven *ghazals* in the *Divan* of Muhibbî having the same prosody, rhyme and *radif* as well as the *ghazal* included in the *nazire* miscellany of Mehmed İzzî but not in the *Divan* of Şemsî. The couplet “Cebhesin mâha yüzün hürşide teşbîh eyleme / Gice gündüz Şemsiyâ anlar zevâl üstindedür” [O Şemsî! Do not compare the beloved’s forehead to the moon, nor their face to the sun. The moon and the sun are forever destined to disappear night and day] in Şemsî’s *ghazal* evokes the couplet “Yüzüne kimdür ki teşbîh eyleye mihr ü mehi / Zîra bunlar gice vü gündüz zevâl üstindedür (G 957/3)” [Who can compare the moon and the sun to your face? For the moon and the sun are destined to leave their places during night and day and disappear] of Muhibbî in terms of wording and meaning. In this respect, this *ghazal* can also be evaluated as a *nazire* to Muhibbî:

Çeşm-i ‘ayyārun dem-â-dem mekr ü âl üstindedür  
Mest olup hançer dutup elde cidāl üstindedür (Muhibbî, G 957/1)

Cımdür ey ğonce-fem zülfün cemāl üstindedür  
Râ kaşuñ şol medde beñzer kim hilāl üstindedür (Şemsî)

The poems above show the literary relationship between Şemsî and Muhibbî. Şemsî’s *nazire* on some poems of Muhibbî, the sources which manifest specifically the closeness between the Sultan and the poet, and the *takhmis* in the document suggest that the poems could be written by this Şemsî. Evidence leading us to this conclusion is the *nazire* miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzî, which includes three *ghazals* of Şemsî written as a *nazire* to Muhibbî because this miscellany contains the *nazires* to Sultan Süleyman and includes some of the *nazire* poems to Muhibbî in the document in question. Indeed, there is no objection to

<sup>23</sup> Bayak, “Mehmed İzzî’nin”, 216.

accepting this *takhmis* quoted below as the poem of Ahmed Şemsi Pasha. This *takhmis* is not included in Şemsi's *Divan* edited by Akkaya.

- . - - / - . - - / - . - - / - . - -

*Bir benüm gibi çemende 'andelîb-i zâr yok  
Gülşeni gezdüm seniñ gibi gül-i bî-hâr yok  
'Aşık-ı dil-hasteye rahm idici dildâr yok  
'Âlemi geşt eyledüm cevri ü cefâsız yâr yok  
Mâh-rûlar çok velî mihr [ü] vefâsı var yok*

*Tâze bir maḥbûba meyl itdi gönül ḥâlüm ḥarâb  
Ruḥları ḥurşîd-i 'âlemdür cebîni mâh-tâb  
Kimse aḥvâlüm bilür yok yâr ise 'âlî-cenâb  
Âh kim seng-i cefâdan oldı dil mülki ḥarâb  
'Aşıkun gönli şınıkdur yapmağa mi'mâr yok*

*Müdde'î kûy-ı dil-ârâya ne yoldan vardı kim  
Ḥâk-i pâyma ne vech-ile yüzini sürdi kim  
Ol perî ruḥsâr dildârı görenler dirdi kim  
Bâğ-ı ḥüsne çeşm [ü] ebrûsı ne yüzden girdi kim  
Cennet içre kad ḥamîde didiler bir mâr yok*

*Bir güneş yüzli firâkımdan hilâl oldum hilâl  
Yoğ-imiş 'âlemde bildüm hergiz imkân-ı vişâl  
Ḥüsine maḡrûr olup ol dilber-i şâhib-cemâl  
Gözlerin nâz uyḥusından açmağa yokdur mecâl  
Şimdi bildüm 'aşıkâ hîç devlet-i bî-dâr yok*

*Var ṭabîbüm virme luṭf it cânı şîrîne 'azâb  
Okudum ben derd-i 'uşşâka devâ yazmaz kitâb  
Bî-mecâlüm 'illet-i hicrân-ile ḥâlüm ḥarâb  
Lebleri dâr-ı şifâsından buyurmazsa cevâb  
Ölürüm bu derd-ile derdâ aña tîmâr yok*

*Gül mi kaldı gülşen-i dehr içre âḥır şolmadı  
Bülbül-i 'aşık mı kaldı baḡrına kan ṭolmadı  
Dâmen-i cânâna yüz sürmek müyesser olmadı  
İstedi bir çâre bu bî-çâre vaşla bulmadı  
Dünyede fikr eyledüm benden beter nâ-çâr yok*

*Kimse koçmuş yokdur ol mâhı meḡer kim hâleler  
Dişlemiştir la'l-i lebin yokdur meḡer tebhâleler  
Şemsiyi men' iddiler çün zâhid-i şad-sâleler  
Gülşen-i ḥüsniñde ko kılsun Muḥibbî nâleler  
Gülşen içre dime kim bülbül tek âh u zâr yok<sup>24</sup>*

### Conclusion

Archival documents are important sources of information for every period of Ottoman literature. This paper introduced an archival document, kept in Topkapı Palace Museum, including a number of *nazires* modelled on Muhibbî's poems.

There are several aspects that distinguish this archival document as valuable. The document authenticates the miscellany compiled by Mehmed İzzî and contains the poems written to Muhibbî as a *nazire* when evaluated together with this miscellany. With reference to

<sup>24</sup> BOA, TS.MA.e. 324/27, p.10

the document, 13 additional poems of Bākī are included in his published *Divan* as *nazires* on Muhibbī's (Süleyman's) poems, in addition to the *kasides* that Bākī presented to Sultan Süleyman and the *ghazals* he wrote for the Sultan. The document contains information on the competition of *nazire* and three poems by different poets, which were produced as a result of the competition. On page 10 of the document, the *takhmis* which is attributed to a poet known by the pen name Şemsî, was written to a *ghazal* of Muhibbī, which was not included in Muhibbī's printed *Divans*. The *ghazal* by Muhibbī was subject to a comparative analysis with other *ghazals* in his *Divan* in terms of form, vocabulary, meaning and imaginative aspects. Consequently, it was determined that the *ghazal* belonged to Muhibbī.

There are seven poets having the pen name Şemsî, a contemporary of Muhibbī, in Ottoman literature. The important indicators we have, about which Şemsî wrote the aforementioned *takhmis*, are the *Divan* by Isfendiyarzâde Ahmed Pasha under the pen name Şemsî and the miscellany of Mehmed İzzî containing the address to Sultan Süleyman. When both indicators are evaluated, it is clear that the *takhmis* was written by Ahmed Şemsî Pasha. As a result, through a thorough analysis of an archival document, this paper revealed hitherto unpublished and unknown poems of Muhibbī and Şemsî, thereby demonstrating the significance of archival sources for the history of literary studies.

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