NEFSÜ'L-EMR LITERATURE

AND ITS MEANING FOR

THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a contextual study of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, a group of humorous texts that inventory and curse a wide variety of infringers of social, moral, and religious norms and hierarchies in the early modern Ottoman Empire. Written between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the eleven manuscripts analyzed in this thesis, ridicule anonymous groups of people for their ill-manners and impudent behaviors, freezing them in their most humiliating moments. For their derisions, all versions and copies use different literary tactics, such as maledictions or a petition form, and the authors appropriate the style and content of the genre to their different social realities and agendas.

Focusing on religious matters and the city as two distinct yet interrelated categories, this thesis aims to contextualize the genre of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s within the transformations, movements, and dynamics that shaped Ottoman society from the sixteenth century on. Increasing urban population, changing modes of urban life, and new regimes of visuality are offered as phenomena that challenge the existing hierarchies in the early modern city, forming the backbone of *nefsü'l-emr* criticisms directed at city-dwellers. Likewise, sixteenth and seventeenth-century trends in religion, e.g. Kadızadeli movement and the popularization of Sufism, play a central role in the *nefsü'l-emr* approach to religious matters and groups.

ÖZET

Bu tez erken modern Osmanlı edebiyatında *nefsü'l-emrnâme* olarak adlandırılan bir grup mizahi, toplumsal hiciv metnini odağına almaktadır. Bu tez içinde incelenen en erken onaltıncı ve en geç ondokuzuncu yüzyılda yazılmış on bir el yazması geniş ve anonim bir şehirli kitleyi edepsizlikleri ve ahlaksız davranışları dolayısıyla alaya alır, onları en utanç verici anlarında dondurur. Tüm nüshalar alay ve hiciv için beddua ve fetva formu gibi farklı edebi sanatlar ve değişik formlar uygular, yazarlar janr içeriğini ve tarzını kendi toplumsal gerçekliklerine ve gündemlerine tahsis ederler.

Dini meselelere ve kente farklı ama bağımsız olmayan iki kategori olarak odaklanan bu tez *nefsü'l-emrnâme* janrını erken modern Osmanlı toplumuna onaltıncı yüzyıl itibariyle şekil vermiş olan dönüşüm, hareket ve dinamikler içinde doğru bağlama oturtmayı hedefler. Artan kentli nüfus, dönüşen kentli hayat biçimleri ve yeni görsellik rejimleri var olan norm ve hiyerarşilere muhalefet eden toplumsal fenomenler olarak ele alınır ve *nefsü'l-emrnâme* metinlerinin kentli nüfusa getirdikleri eleştirinin temelinde yattıkları iddia edilir. Keza, Kadızadeli hareketi ve tasavvufun popülerleşmesi gibi onaltıncı ve onyedinci yüzyılda ön planda olan dini-toplumsal akımlar *nefsü'l-emr* janrının dini meselelere ve gruplara yaklaşımında önemli bir rol oynar.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Derin Terzioğlu for having accepted me to her highly advanced and very "historian" graduate courses, and for not letting my unhistorical voice go unheard in the crowd of the classroom. I also thank her for having introduced *Risâle-i Garîbe* to me back in 2018. Without her interest in my findings, assiduous encouragement, and constructive feedback, neither this thesis would be possible nor would I feel confident on the path to becoming a historian during this pandemic, where things feel as though they irrevocably fall apart.

Secondly, I would like to thank Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for having provided me with various readings on early modern urban life, which contributed much to my thesis, adding new and interesting dimensions.

And lastly, I would like to thank Cemal Kafadar and İpek Hüner-Cora for accepting to be my jury members, and for their interest in what I have got to say.

To my grandfather, Ulvi Yerebakan,

the greatest raconteur,

whom I lost whilst writing this thesis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the Fall term of 2018/19, Derin Terzioğlu pointed me, among some other early modern Ottoman texts, to a hilarious source for the term paper of her graduate course on religion, power, and authority in the early modern Ottoman Empire. The text was a long satirical inventory of maledictions and curses from which no one in the city was spared. I burst out laughing in the middle of the university library and knew at that moment that I wanted to write my paper on it. The book was called *Risâle-i Garîbe* and was published by Hayati Develi, who transcribed an untitled and anonymous manuscript he found in the Nuruosmaniye Manuscript Library into modern Turkish.[1]

When I read Cemal Kafadar's article on leisure and pleasure in the early modern Ottoman capital, I found out that the genre of the text popularly known as *Risâle-i Garîbe* was in fact, called *nefsü'l-emrnâme*, which Kafadar called a "nano-genre."[2] As soon as I discovered the name of the genre, I began with the archival research, and more *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s with different authors and styles started to pour in, and in total, I identified fifteen *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s spread across different libraries from around the world.

[1] Hayati Develi, *XVIII.yy İstanbul'a Dair Risale-i Garibe* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1998), 15-45.
[2] Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean,* ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 264.

As these sources have been studied in a very limited manner, it is difficult to define what they are. As mentioned above, Kafadar describes them fittingly as a nano-genre, as only four authors and authorial versions have been identified and no connection to a direct counterpart in other literary traditions could be established, including Persian and Arabic literature.

*Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s count impudence after impudence and wish the worst for the performers, who get ridiculed in a familiar and humorous language. Cemal Kafadar claims a resemblance between *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s and *galât* manuals (*galât defterleri*), written by two leading jurist-scholars (sheikhulislam) of the classical age, Kemalpaşazâde (b. 1469 – d. 1534) and Ebussuûd Efendi (b. 1490 – d. 1574), to warn against new and incorrect lexical and orthographical usages that were spreading in the era of vernacularization.[3] Kafadar observes that while *galât* manuals capture the "ill-said," not without a facetious undertone and secret pleasure, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s capture the "ill-done" in a highly tongue-in-cheek manner.[4]

Saygın Salgırlı, on the other hand, refers to the works as "book of curses" (*beddua albümleri*) in his MA thesis on early modern manners and gentleman identity.[5] *Beddua* or malediction, however, captures only one portion of the genre, as at least one version of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s does not make use of maledictions, displaying a different literary structure to ridicule its targeted ill-doers. I suggest that one should first discuss what the term *nefsü'l-emr* means, compare the works, and analyze their contents in order to offer a meaningful definition of the genre. Thus, I will attempt at my own definition in the conclusion of this thesis.

[3] Ibid, 248.
[4] Ibid, 264.
[5] Saygın Salgırlı, "Manners and Identity in Late Seventeenth Century Istanbul," (MA Thesis, Sabancı University, 2003), 1-88.

Before, introducing my sources, I find it necessary to discuss humor and humorous sources in Ottoman historiography.

1.1 Humor and invective in Ottoman historiography

In her article on gendered humor in early modern Ottoman literature, Didem Havlioğlu makes a distinction between humor and mockery, deriving from Franz Rosenthal's work on humor in early Islamic literature.[6] While humor and the ability to make others laugh are praised in Islam, mockery and derision are condemned by hadiths.[7] Sarcasm and mockery are defined as ugly excesses. However, we occasionally see that humor is just as equally criticized and is considered a dangerous endeavor that can easily cross into the domain of derision. Thus the line between humor and sarcasm, or humor and derision is not well defined.

Agâh Sırrı Levend (b. 1894 - d. 1978), as one of the most prominent historians of Ottoman literature, dispraises various Ottoman authors of humor and invective in one of his articles and claims that, aside from a few valuable works, Ottoman humor is nothing but vulgar satire.[8] He expresses discomfiture with the fact that respected literary and political figures of the Empire wrote such works overstepping the boundaries of humorous criticism, and using a language "even a pumpman (*tulumbacı*) would be ashamed of." He concludes that the limitation of women to the private sphere allowed Ottoman men to speak and write obscenities

[6] Didem Havlıoğlu, "The Magic of a Joke: Humor and Gender in Islamicate Ottoman Aesthetics," *Laughter, Humor, and the (Un)Making of Gender: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Anna Foka and Jonas Liliequist, (London: Palgrave, 2015), 105-6.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Agâh Sırrı Levend, "Divan Edebiyatında Gülmece ve Yergi (hezl ve hecv)," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten* 18, (1971): 40-1.

freely with no boundaries.[9] While Levend's gendered explanation might be at the right spot in the matter of readership, as the intended readers of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s were most probably male subjects of the Empire, it does not suffice in explaining the literary tradition in general.

Levend's discomfiture reflects the common sentiment towards humor and invective works in Ottoman historiography. When I went to the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library to collect *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts for my studies, the librarian who provided me with the sources asked me what the works were about. I ingenuously told him that the authors facetiously cursed almost every group of people in the city. In response, he said, "You mean, they (the authors) are empty and worthless men."[10] Ali Emre Özyıldırım argues that humor and invective have often been denounced as time-consuming nonsense (*türrehât*) and sinful entertainment (*lehviyât*), and gives Nâbî's *Hayriyye* as an example, where Nâbî warns against "the harmfulness of invective and humor (*der beyân-ı zarâr-ı hezl ü mizah*) and late Ottoman humorist Ziyâ Paşa's (b. 1829 – d. 1880) criticisms to Nedîm (b. 1681 – d. 1730) as a poet who occasionally "overstepped into the domain of humor (*mizah*)."[11]

These more than negative definitions and approaches to humor and/or invective in Ottoman historiography explain why *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s have been studied so little, despite being works that shed light on many areas of Ottoman history.

[9] Ibid, 40.
[10] "*Yani boş beleş adamlar*."
[11] Ali Emre Özyıldırım, "Mertebe-i Mizaha Yetmek," *Hicve Revâ, Mizaha Mâyil: Güldürücü Metinleri Anlamak*, ed. Hatice Aynur, Müjgan Çakır, Hanife Koncu, and Ali Emre Özyıldırım, (Istanbul: Klasik, 2018), 15-6.

1.1.1 Recent studies on humor and invective

While the earlier sentiments such as those of Ziyâ Paşa or Levend were prone to denounce invective and humor in Ottoman literature as excesses, there have also been several studies that took sources of humor and invective, and "reprehensible words" (*menfûr garâbet*)[12] in Ottoman verse and prose into the center, trying to situate them in their deserved places.

One of the prominent figures was Tunca Kortantamer, with his works on Nev'îzâde Atâ'î and his extensive book on Ottoman humor *Temmuzda Kar Satmak* (Selling Snow in July) published in 1997, which are still fundamental works.[13]

In a recent study, Ali Emre Özyıldırım writes on the transformations in the "Ottoman classical literature" (*Dîvân edebiyatı*) from the second half of the fifteenth century on, which opened the way for humorous, uncouth, obscene, and grotesque aspects and elements of the vernacular language to be used in verse by Ottoman poets.[14]

In his doctoral dissertation, Hikmet Feridun Güven writes on the historical development of invective in Ottoman literature, claiming that Ottoman invective saw a proliferation in the sixteenth century, peaking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[15] He also has an article on varying reasons and forms of writing invectives,

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[12] Edith Gülçin Ambros, "Osmanlı gazelinin değişimi: gazelde kaba dil, müstehcen ima ve açık cinsellik ifadesiyle mizah ve alaycı yergi," *Hicve Revâ, Mizaha Mâyil: Güldürücü Metinleri Anlamak*, ed. Hatice Aynur, Müjgan Çakır, Hanife Koncu, and Ali Emre Özyıldırım, (Istanbul: Klasik, 2018), 55.

[13] Tunca Kortantamer, *Temmuzda Kar Satmak: Örnekleriyle Geçmişten Günümüze Türk Mizahı*, ed. Fatih Ülken, Şerife Yalçınkaya, (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları, 2007).

[14] Ali Emre Özyıldırım, *Mâşî-zâde Fikrî Çelebi ve Ebkâr-ı Efkâr'ı: On Altıncı Yüzyıldan Sıradışı Bir Aşk Hikâyesi*, (Istanbul: Dergâh, 2017), 264-5.

[15] Hikmet Feridun Güven, "Klâsik Türk Şiirinde Hiciv," (PhD Dissertation, Gazi University, 1997).

where he focuses on rivalries for positions and patronage, emphasizing the danger of lampooning with examples of incidents where certain poets and authors were eventually exiled or executed.[16]

Edit Gülçin Ambros in a recent article, focuses on the introduction of "reprehensible words" (*menfûr garâbet*) into the Ottoman ghazal from the late fifteenth century on, with words like "bowels" (*bağırsak*) or "vomit" (*kusmuk*) starting to appear, or with open implications of sexuality in search of humor. She focuses on six different poets, including Sâbit, whose *Hikâyet-i Hâce Fesâd* will be discussed in Chapter 4, Zâtî, Bâkî, etc.[17] Ambros also has a whole chapter dedicated to "laughter" in her book *Life, Love and Laughter: In Search of the Ottomans' Lost Poetic Language*, where she analyzes works of *Letâif* (Pleasantries), invectives, and satire.[18]

One of the most extensive studies on the area is Michael D. Sheridan's doctoral dissertation on Nef'î's (b. 1572 – d. 1635) *Sihâm-ı Kazâ* (Shafts of Doom). In his dissertation, Sheridan deals with the ways in which Nef'î lampooned important figures of the seventeenth century Ottoman Empire, trying to situate him and his poems in the larger frame of Ottoman and Islamic invective tradition.

For this study, I find Sheridan's distinction between the western genres of satire and invective useful. He defines invective through authors' vituperative *ad*

[16] Hikmet Feridun Güven, "Hiciv söyleme amaçları ve bu amacın hiciv dili ve söyleme tarzını belirlemedeki rolü," *Hicve Revâ, Mizaha Mâyil: Güldürücü Metinleri Anlamak*, ed. Hatice Aynur, Müjgan Çakır, Hanife Koncu, and Ali Emre Özyıldırım, (Istanbul: Klasik, 2018), 25-51.
[17] Ambros, "Osmanlı gazelinin değişimi," 56-62.
[18] Edith Gülçin Ambros, *Life, Love and Laughter: In Search of Ottomans' Lost Poetic Language*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2015).

hominem attacks.[19] An author or poet of invectives lampoons a certain person for various reasons with only one goal as to humiliate the opponent. Sheridan clarifies what he understands as Islamicate invective: "attacks of an explicitly personal nature, though frequently with much broader implications in the way of social criticism."[20] Satire, on the other hand, is milder in its language and intends to have eventual positive outcomes in the society or the person which it derides, making satire a didactic genre.[21] Sheridan lays out the historiographical framework in which the analysts of Ottoman literature favored "satire" over "invective," in an effort to reorient Ottoman *hiciv* more towards the Western-style satire. Instead, he offers the word "invective" as an equivalent of the genre of Ottoman *hiciv*.

Under this scheme offered by Sheridan, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s as works that never attack persons and that ask people to avoid certain ill-actions in conclusion, seem likely to be classified as satires. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, satirical didacticism is not present in every *nefsü'l-emr* manuscript, i.e. Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi's copy and the Nuruosmaniye manuscript. Even when the wish for positive change in behaviors is explicit in conclusions, humiliation and derision weigh heavier than the positive impact allegedly expected by the authors in each and every *nefsü'l-emr*. Thus, it becomes less meaningful to search for a "didactic message" in today's sense in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

Therefore, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s perhaps carve a niche for themselves in Sheridan's definition of Ottoman invective. I suggest, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are "social

[19] Michael D. Sheridan, "I curse no one without cause: Identity, Power, Rivalry, and Invective in the Early 17th-Century Ottoman Court," (PhD Dissertation, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2018), 87.
[20] Ibid, 90.
[21] Ibid.

invectives," and aim at generic groups of people rather than known figures. While I reject neither the quality of these works as satires nor their satirical aspects, social invective seems a rather more suitable designation, as *nefsü'l-emr* authors revile society, social groups, and practices in such a manner that recalls the same grotesque, obscene, and humorous language and methods applied by the poets or authors of more *ad hominem* invective.

1.1.2 *Nefsü'l-Emrnâme*s in historiography

Studies that directly focus on *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are quite a few. The most popular one, and the one through which I got acquainted with the genre, is Hayati Develi's *Risâle-i Garîbe*, in which he transcribed and linguistically analyzed the untitled *nefsü'l-emrnâme* example found in the Nuruosmaniye Manuscript Library.

Other than Develi's transcription and analysis, Hasan Ali Esir transcribed the copy attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi in 2001.[22] In addition to Esir's short work, Fikret Turan carries out a similar introduction to Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi and his *nefsü'l-emr* version, analyzing select passages in terms of linguistic value.[23] Lastly, Saygın Salgırlı's MA thesis comprises the most in-depth study on the genre. In this study, he compares two versions of the *nefsü'l-emr* literature, *Risâle-i Garîbe* and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr*[24] with Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âlî's (b. 1541 – d.

[22] Hasan Ali Esir, "*Lâmi'î Çelebi'ye İsnat Edilen Bir Eser: Risâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmi'î*," *İlmî Araştırmalar* 12 (2001), 111-20.
[23] Fikret Turan, "Onaltıncı Yüzyıl Osmanlıcasında Argo: Niksarizade ve Entelektüel Hayatın Eleştirisi, 'Nefsü'l-Emr-Nâme' İsimli Eseri," in *IV. Uluslararası Türk Dili Kurultayı Bildirileri* (Ankara: Türk Dili Kurumları Yayınları, 2007), 1825-7.
[24] Salgırlı names Hacı Ahmed's manuscript as "*Makâle-i Garîbe*," whereas its title reads "*Makâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr*."

1600) *Table of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings* (*Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis*).[25] These works focus on individual *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s and they are mostly introductory studies. Thus, this thesis will be the first cumulative study on the genre of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, bringing together as many examples as the archival research allowed, to make sense of the genre as a whole.

1.2 The *nefsü'l-emr* authors and manuscript sources

For my thesis, I use eleven *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts from four different authorial attributions, which are represented in detail in Table 1. Authorial attributions are mostly found in the titles of the works and there are no other references to the authors within the texts. Titles indicate by whom the *nefsü'l-emr*s were written. The manuscript abbreviations used to facilitate footnote navigation can be found in Appendix A. Manuscript page references in footnotes correspond to the first folios of the manuscript as listed in Table 1. As an example, folio 97b of Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* corresponds to page 1 in the footnotes.

Seven manuscripts out of the eleven I use for this thesis, are attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi in the title, whose authorship will be questioned further below. Two *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are attributed to Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi, a seventeenth-century Ottoman bureaucrat. One manuscript belongs to a certain seventeenth-century Hacı Ahmed from Ioannina. The last one, found in the Nuruosmaniye Manuscript Library, is an anonymous manuscript that dates back to 1720.

[25] Salgırlı, "Manners and Identity," 1-88.

Table 1. Manuscript Sources

Authorial Attribution	Title	Library	Collection & ID Number	Pages	Date	Copyist
Lâmiî Çelebi	*Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi*	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Mihrişah Sultan 439	147b - 149a	-	-
Lâmiî Çelebi	*Hazâ Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi Rahmetullahi 'aleyhi*	İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı	Muallim Cevdet K.144	80b – 81b	-	Seyyid Derviş Feyzullah ibn Ali
Lâmiî Çelebi	*Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi Rahmetullahi 'aleyhi*	Milli Kütüphane	Yazmalar Koleksiyonu A.264/3	15b – 16a	18th century	-
Lâmiî Çelebi	*Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi Rahmetullahi 'aleyhi*	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yazma Bağışlar 6692	43b – 45a	1709	-
Lâmiî Çelebi	*Rahmetullahi 'aleyhi Nefsü'l-emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi*	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2167	2b – 7b	1709	Kadızâde Seyyid Mehemmed Sâid
Lamiî Çelebi	*Hazâ Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi re mim*	Milli Kütüphane	Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi 3757/2	7a – 9b	1746	-
Lâmiî Çelebi	*Risâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî*	İ.Ü. Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi	TY.3182	17b – 20b	1882	-
Hacı Ahmed	*Makâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr*	Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi	Bağdad 404	97b -99b	1646/7	-
Niksârîzâde	*Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi Merhûmun Nefsü'l-Emrnâme-i Latîfîdir*	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Hafız Ahmed Paşa 362	72a – 75b	-	-
Niksârîzâde	*Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi Merhûmun Nefsü'l-emrnâme*	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Hamidiye 390	-	19th century	Alî bın Ebî Tâlib
Anonymous	Untitled	Nuruosmaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi	4925	48a – 76b	1720	-

As also mentioned above, the anonymous and untitled Nuruosmaniye manuscript was published in modern Turkish transcription by Hayati Develi in 1997. Thus, except Develi's published work titled *Risâle-i Garîbe,* the manuscript transcriptions used for this thesis are my own, with much-appreciated checks from my thesis advisor, Derin Terzioğlu. The transcriptions of the unpublished manuscripts can be found in Appendix B. The facsimiles of the manuscript sources can be found in Appendix C. Translated references of the long quotes appear in Appendix D.

In addition to the texts used for this thesis, I identified other manuscripts from different libraries, including a copy of Niksârîzâde's version in the National Library of Hungary, and two more copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi found in the collections of Konya Mevlana Museum Library and Erzurum Atatürk University Library. However, those manuscripts were not available to me and thus, were not analyzed for this thesis.

Furthermore, Fikret Turan, in his article on Niksârîzâde's *nefsü'l-emr*, claims that he detected two *nefsü'l-emr* copies that belonged to Niksârîzâde, respectively in the Hamidiye and the Fatih collections of the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library and that he based his article on the latter copy.[26] However, I could not detect a *nefsü'l-emrnâme* in the Fatih collection. Instead, there is a short jocular letter Niksârîzâde wrote to Kapu Ağası Dursûnzâde, and an adjoined letter written by Ganî Çelebizâde in response to Niksârîzâde's letter. While these two letters seem to be jocular ripostes exchanged between these learned men, they are not *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s whatsoever.

[26] Fikret Turan, "Niksarizade," 1826.

1.2.1 The question of Lâmiî Çelebi's authorship

Lâmiî Çelebi was born in Bursa. In his work *Şerefü'l-İnsân* written in 933 AH (1526 AD), he mentions that he is 55 years old. This means he was born in 878 AH (1472 AD).[27] The poet, who lived all his life in Bursa, died in 1532.[28]

While Lâmiî Çelebi is identified as the author of over ten *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts, he cannot have penned the *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts studied in this thesis. All of the manuscripts that are attributed to him deal with issues that are post-1532. In each copy attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, except the one found in the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* compilation, coffeehouses and coffeehouse clientele are derided, which will be exemplified in Chapters 3 and 4. The earliest mention of coffee in the Ottoman capital dates back to 1539, in the endowment deed of the grand admiral Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha (d. 1546).[29] The earliest record of a coffeehouse in Istanbul is given by the historian Peçevî as 1554-5.[30] What this means is that coffee and coffeehouse culture flourished in the decades following Lâmiî Çelebi's death in 1532, and presumably first in Istanbul rather than Bursa. He cannot have witnessed the coffeehouse culture that is unanimously mocked in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s that are attributed to him in the title, with only one exception, that is the copy found in *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid*. Moreover, even in the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* copy, the author mocks *Birgivî*s (*Birgivîler*),[31] the predecessors of the Kadızadeli movement of the seventeenth-century, who followed the theologian Birgivî Mehmed Efendi's (b. 1523

[27] Nuran Tezcan, "Bursalı Lâmiî Çelebi," *Türkoloji Dergisi* 7, (1979): 305.
[28] Ibid, 306.
[29] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 247.
[30] Ibid, 249.
[31] "…ve meclisde lakırdı itmede kimseye nevbet değirmeyen Birgivîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 4.

– d. 1573) writings, including his widely popular *Tarîkat-ı Muhammediye*. Therefore, *Birgivî*s are another issue that cannot have been witnessed and hence, problematized by Lâmiî Çelebi who died in 1532.

Furthermore, while Lâmiî Çelebi was a long-time resident of Bursa and devoted several texts to this city, none of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s attributed to him make any reference to Bursa. Instead, one passage found in three copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi derides "the imbeciles who borrow money to go to view the [Rumelian?] Castle (*hisâr*) with five rowboats."[32]

Bearing in mind Lâmiî Çelebi's fame as a witty poet, and his authorship of humorous works like *Letâifnâme*, it is possible that *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s were popularly associated with his jocular personality. These works might have been evaluated as "Lâmiî-like" by their audiences. Here, in the case of *nefsü'l-emr* authorship, it is perhaps advisable to think more in terms of Lâmiî Çelebi's distinguished witty character that could have led to the attribution of the works to him in the title. As Nuran Tezcan reports, Lâmiî Çelebi was known to be a witty poet, with his famous ripostes to pretentious Semercizâde Seydî Hayâtî and his jokes in *Letâifnâme*.[33] Furthermore, in his biography of poets (*tezkire*), Latîfî recounts how one day Lâmiî Çelebi railed a conceited man with facetious and spontaneous verses at a gathering.[34] The fact that he wrote a *şehrengîz* on Bursa, and allegedly, a book of jokes, along with his reported witticisms enables us to distinguish his sociable and jocular demeanor, as an appreciated raconteur of Bursa.

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[32] "…karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 6; "…karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 5; "…karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 3.
[33] Ibid, 311.
[34] Ibid.

However, even though there are concrete proofs that refute his *nefsü'l-emr* authorship, at least for the manuscripts studied in this thesis, there is no other possible suggestion for the authorship of these seven manuscripts attributed to him. As they unanimously allude to Lâmiî Çelebi in the title, these seven manuscripts will be referred to as "Lâmiî Çelebi" manuscripts or copies throughout this thesis, including the footnotes and references for the sake of identification.

Among these copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, the earliest extant *nefsü'l-emr*s that we know the date of, are the two Süleymaniye Manuscript Library copies, found consecutively in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi collection no.2167 and Yazma Bağışlar collection no.6692. They both date from Muharram of 1121 AH (1709AD) and are quite similar in every aspect. A later copy, found in TY.3182 in the Istanbul University Rare Books Library, dates from Rajab of 1299 AH (1882 AD), and is almost the same as the aforementioned Süleymaniye manuscripts, except for some nuances.

Another Lâmiî Çelebi copy that I use for this thesis is found in A/264 of the manuscripts collection of the National Library of Turkey, and its title reads as *Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmi'î Çelebi Rahmetullahi 'Aleyhi*. The manuscript, dating from the eighteenth century as the library noted, is found in a compilation titled *Mecmû'a-i Fevâ'id-i Eş'âr ü Ed'iye* (Useful Miscellanea of Poems and Prayers).[35] Another manuscript from the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library is recorded in the Mihrişah Sultan collection no.439, and its title reads as *Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmi'î Çelebi*. The final lines of the manuscript are indecipherably damaged, thus its date is not known. This copy displays several similarities to the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâ'id* copy.

[35] This manuscript is almost identical to Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*.

Another copy, found in the Adnan Ötüken Public Library collection no.3757 of the National Library of Turkey, is titled *Hazâ Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmi'î Çelebi re mim*, and dates from 1160 AH (1746-7 AD). This work and the manuscript found in the Muallim Cevdet collection K.144 of the Taksim Atatürk Library, are the shortest two *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, as the former comprises of four folios, while the latter has only three. The Muallim Cevdet manuscript is titled as *Hazâ Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmi'î Çelebi Rahmetullahi 'Aleyhi*, and is undated.

In addition to these seven Lâmiî Çelebi copies studied for this thesis, there are other Lâmiî Çelebi copies in libraries around the world. One copy titled *Risâle-i Nefs-i Emr* is found in Talat 39/2684 of the National Library of Egypt. Another one is found in the Agah Sırrı Levend Manuscripts collection of the Atatürk University Library, and another one is cataloged as no.2453 in the Konya Mevlana Museum Library. Lastly, there is a Lâmiî Çelebi copy found in the Ali Emiri Efendi collection no.665. in Istanbul Millet Library. These works were not analyzed for this research and therefore, might yield interesting results for a further study on the genre of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

Furthermore, Tezcan claims that *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi were alternatively titled as *Münâzara-i Nefs ü Rûh* or *Münâzara-i İns ü Cân*.[36] However, my search in manuscript libraries for these alternative titles yielded no result.

1.2.2 Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi

[36] Tezcan, "Bursalı Lâmiî Çelebi," 335.

Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi (b. 1538 – d. 1616) was a scholar-bureaucrat of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who worked as a professor (*müderris*), mufti, qadi, and, provincial governor (*vali*) in various centers including Istanbul, Edirne, Silistra, Veria (*Karaferye*), Shumen (*Şumnu*), Thessaloniki, and Larissa (*Yenişehir*).[37] According to Fikret Turan, his frequent appointments to different positions in different parts of the Empire made Niksârîzâde witness competitions, favoritisms, and corrupt behaviors that were prevalent in the Ottoman bureaucracy of the time, leading him to write his version of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, almost exclusively reserved for the upper echelons of the society, like professors, and qadis.

The two copies used for this thesis and attributed to Niksârîzâde, are both found in the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, and the Hamidiye and Hafız Ahmed Paşa collections. As mentioned earlier, no *nefsü'l-emrnâme* was found in the Fatih collection, contrary to what Turan suggests.

1.2.3 Hacı Ahmed and the anonymous Nuruosmaniye manuscript

The other two *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are more than mysterious. While the copy, found in the Bağdad 404 collection of the Topkapı Palace Library, is titled as *Makâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr*, we do not know anything about its author Hacı Ahmed. The manuscript dates from 1084 AH (1673-74 AD) and is a copy of the original which was allegedly written in Ioannina in 1056 AH (1646-7 AD). At the end of the manuscript, the anonymous copyist notes; "And God is the most knowing. Hacı Ahmed wrote it in the city of Yanya in the year 1056 and I copied it from the original in the year

[37] Turan, "Niksarizade," 1825.

1084."[38] This copy is almost identical to the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* manuscript that is attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi and also has similarities with the Mihrişah Sultan manuscript, that is also attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi.

The Nuruosmaniye manuscript is a bigger mystery, as neither the title nor the author is known. The manuscript is found in a compilation owned by Osman II (r.1618-22), as marked on the first folio of the compilation.[39] At the end of the manuscript, however, it is noted that the text was written in 1720, which means that the text was added later into the compilation. On folio 48a, another note reads "The owner of the book is Derviş İsmâil."[40] Hayati Develi, through analyses of orthographical preferences in the text, like writing *engeç* instead of *yengeç* (crab), concludes that the author or the copyist of the work must have been from Western Anatolia.[41]

1.2.4 The setting of the works

The physical setting in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is mostly urban. While some comings and goings of people from and to the surrounding villages, fields, castles, or market towns are ridiculed, the setting never strays too far from urban centers. The texts mainly focus on daily immoralities in the streets, markets, and elite households of an urban setting.

[38] "Vallahu a'lem bi's-savab zeberahu Hacı Ahmed fî medineti Yanya fî sene 1056 ve harrartühu min aslihi fî sene 1084." Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5. I thank my friend Arif Erbil and my thesis advisor Derin Terzioğlu for helping me decipher this note in Arabic.
[39] Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 11.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

The degree to which the urban setting is specified varies from manuscript to manuscript. The Nuruosmaniye manuscript, written in 1720, is the one with the most concrete references, as it associates an immoral behavior with almost every neighborhood in and around Istanbul, from Çukurhamam to Eyüp.[42] Some other place names are also found like the Sinan Paşa Mansion at the Topkapı Palace.[43] Thus, the setting in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is certainly Istanbul.

Unlike the multiplicity of Istanbulite toponyms in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, Niksârîzâde's version gives fewer clues as to where the setting is. However, in one passage, Niksârîzâde mentions Istanbul and the neighborhoods Eyüp and Tophane, enabling one to identify its setting as Istanbul.[44]

The other manuscripts are not as explicit as the ones mentioned above. The manuscripts attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* mostly take place in a more generic urban setting. In the three Lâmiî Çelebi copies from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as exemplified earlier, Bosphoran castle-viewing gets ridiculed, which implies Istanbul as the setting. The other manuscripts do not give any clues as to where the city could be.

In Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, the author humorously mocks "those who call Preverdi Castle *pire var oldı*."[45] This is the only instance in which a toponym is

[42] "…ve düğün etmeğe kalkup iptidâ okuyuculığa 'Avrat Bâzârı'n, Çukur Hammâm'ın ve Hazret-i Eyyûb'un çenârın dört kerre dolanup "Düğüne okuram, seyre ne kadar âdem gelür gider benim de düğünüme ol kadar âdem gelsün!" deyen şeytân masharası, sokak sipürgesi, zıbukçıların okuyucısı…" Ibid, 44.
[43] "Ahor Kapusında kayığına binüp Sinân Paşa Köşküni geçmeden duhân içenler…" Ibid, 23.
[44] "…ve bayrâm seyrinde evvelki gün İstanbul'un ve ikinci gün Tobhâne'nin ve üçüncü gün Eyyûbündür deyü şiddet-i şitâda ve yâhûd şiddet-i harrda, ol mevâzi'in esvâk-ı müntinesinden kendü gibi erâzil ile muhkem itişüb gezen gezendelerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 5; "…ve bayrâm seyrinde evvelki gün İstanbul'un ve ikinci gün Tobhâne'nin ve üçüncü gün Eyyûbündür deyü şiddet-i şitâda ve yâhûd şiddet-i harrda, ol mevâzi'in esvâk-ı müntinesinden kendü gibi erâzil ile muhkem itişüb gez de gezendilerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 6.
[45] "…ve Preverdi kal'âsına 'pire var oldı' diyenlere," Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5.

mentioned in his version. However, I could not identify any such castle in the Empire, including the surroundings of Ioannina. It might not be extant. Nevertheless, as the author indicates that the manuscript was written in Ioannina, it is safe to assume that the setting was Ioannina.

The earliest dated manuscript is Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr* and it dates from 1673/4 AD. The latest, on the other hand, is the Istanbul University manuscript attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi copied in 1882. However, that manuscript is almost an exact copy of the Yazma Bağışlar and Hacı Mahmud Efendi manuscripts that date from 1709. Therefore, excluding the 1882 copy, *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts mostly fall between the 1670s and 1720. Considering the issues like Kadızadelis, Birgivîs, and coffeehouses that are discussed above, and keeping in mind that the geographical setting mainly points at Istanbul, one can claim that *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are works that deal with the social realities of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Istanbul and its denizens.

1.3 The concept of *nefsü'l-emr*

Having introduced the texts that are used for this thesis, it is necessary to discuss the possible meanings of the compound word *nefsü'l-emr*. There is a whole other literature on the term in Islamic theology, which might or might not be related to the works at hand.

In Arabic, "*nafs al-amr*" literally means "essence of the matter." Recep Duran offers "*işin aslı*," or "*işin özü*" (the crux of the matter) as potential Turkish

translations of the term.[46] Abdurrahman Ali Mihirig asserts that in the discipline of Islamic theology (*kalam*), *nafs al-amr* denotes "the thing itself," or "the objective world," signifying the existence of the objects outside the perceiving mind.[47] Theological *nefsü'l-emr*s, also known as *nefsü'l-emr risâleleri* or "treatises of nafs al-amr," distinct from the invectives studied for this thesis, deal with God's ontological existence and independence from the minds that envision Him.[48]

For our *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, the picture is a bit more complex. The term *nefsü'l-emr* brings to mind *nefs-i emmâre*, the inciting self, which represented the lowest level of the self in the Sufi conception.[49] Since the works in question ridicule immoral, or improper acts of men and women, it is possible that in choosing the title of *nefsü'l-emrnâme* the authors intended to evoke in the mind of their readers also this notion of the inciting self.

Niksârîzâde's version is the only work that gives some glimpse to the intended meaning of *nefsü'l-emr*. He calls a distinct group of elite "the friends of *nefsü'l-emr*" (*nefsü'l-emr yârânı*), and designates a certain way of acting as "demeanors of *nefsü'l-emr*" (*evzâ'-ı nefsü'l-emr*), questioning the suitability of the bad manners that he lists, to the *nefsü'l-emr* identity.[50] Turan suggests that Niksârîzâde distinguishes a self-proclaimed coterie of the elite by the term *nefsü'l-emr*.[51] In the copies of Lâmiî Çelebi, while *nefsü'l-emr* is limited to the title, the counter identity to the riff-raff in the works is designated either as "men of grace"

[46] Recep Duran, "Nefsü'l-Emr Risaleleri," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Felsefe Bölümü Dergisi* 14, (1992): 97.
[47] Abdurrahman Ali Mihirig, "Typologies of Scepticism in the Philosophical Tradition of Kalam," *Theoria* (2020): 14-6.
[48] Duran, "Nefsü'l-Emr Risaleleri," 97.
[49] Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı, *100 Soruda Tasavvuf* (Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1985), 43.
[50] Turan, "Niksarizade," 1826.
[51] Ibid.

(*erbâb-ı zarâfet*) or as "men of elegance" (*ashâb-ı letâfet*). "*Nefsü'l-emr yârânı*" assumes a similar role in Niksârîzâde's version. In consideration of the meaning of the compound, *nefsü'l-emr* potentially designates an elite-intellectual identity, genuine and sincere in their acts, unlike the pretentious masses who get reviled in the texts.

As the only manuscripts that use the term *nefsü'l-emr* in-text are Niksârîzâde's two copies, *nefsü'l-emr* need not have meant the same for the other authors. It seems plausible that *nefsü'l-emr*, in the sense of "fact," or "crux of matter," might have alluded to two different things. It can either be "the real face" of the pretentious groups ridiculed in the texts, or the "genuine and sincere" genteel who are bothered by the undeserving masses infiltrating the upper echelons of society.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is comprised of five chapters, including the Introduction and Conclusion. In Chapter 2, I compare the different versions of the nano-genre, emphasizing different branches that stand out as unique. Then I provide a content analysis of specific sections of the texts, including the sections on the reasons for writing and the malediction, that are common to most *nefsü'l-emr*s. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss Niksârîzâde's unique style and content that greatly diverge from the other versions.

Chapter 3 begins with a discussion on the impact of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century religious trends on the *nefsü'l-emr* approach to religious matters

and groups. I continue with a discussion of the would-be Sufis who are insulted in almost every manuscript. I continue with the *Kızılbaş*, an insult category that is too useful and generic, and not without political-historical connotations. Lastly, in Chapter 3, I compare *nefsü'l-emr*'s call for orthopraxy with Kadızadeli fundamentalism, trying to emphasize how and where they converge and differ.

In Chapter 4, I focus on urban representation. First, I provide a discussion on the concepts of representation and object-world, as coined for European history, and will question their usefulness for the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. Second, I discuss the dichotomy of public and private, as challenged by recent Ottoman historiography. Then, I analyze the city as represented in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, beginning at the street level and gradually arriving at the elite household.

Lastly, in Chapter 5, I question the possible meaning(s) of *nefsü'l-emr* as an identity category and offer a possible translation of the title of the genre, *nefsü'l-emrnâme* in English.

CHAPTER 2

COMPARISON OF SOURCES AND TEXTUAL STRUCTURE

As stated in the introduction, I have identified four different authorial versions of *nefsü'l-emrnâme* based on the authorial attributions in the titles of the works. Certain repeated motifs, canonized structural elements, and almost identical passages span across each manuscript, carving out a small cluster for these works within Ottoman invective literature, gathering them in a "nano-genre" of their own.[52]

Yet, there are significant differences and divergences between the works that mostly stem from authorial subjectivity, distinct social registers of the manuscripts, and the intended readership. Every author applied different literary tactics to engage the reader, using different similes in their jokes and anecdotes, deriding different groups of people for their varying ill-actions, and expecting different effects on their readers as an outcome.

The sources studied in this research make up a small family of documents whose members have lived lives of their own. Here, I find it apposite to use familial terms to describe the networks and distances between the versions and copies of such a small-scale genre. The authorial versions of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are like cousins who have preserved the family resemblance, whereas the copies of a version attributed to the same author can be described as siblings, or even as even twins, with minor marks of history left by the different courses taken in their lifetime.

[52] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 264.

One must understand the different directions members of such a small genre took in order to make an inclusive study that is not reductionist and which does not overlook important details that can give a glimpse of authorial mentalities. This section of my study will try to establish meaningful rubrics to think along, emphasizing both similarities and variations in search of origin.

Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi's unique style and focus necessitate a structural division between the versions. Keeping Niksârîzâde's two *nefsü'l-emr* copies aside, I bring together all the other *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s studied for this thesis under one roof. The manuscripts attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, Hacı Ahmed, and the anonymous Nuruosmaniye manuscript come together in the same branch as they share structural elements and textual sections that are highly different from Niksârîzâde's copies which will be discussed further below.

I choose to call this "main branch" of the genre *the Lâmiî Corpus*. Because Lâmiî Çelebi's is the most recurrent name in *nefsü'l-emr* titles, even though he cannot be a *nefsü'l-emr* author. This means that the designation I choose has nothing to do with the authorship, but is an allusion to a repeated motif in the *nefsü'l-emr* titles.

2.1 Defining the Lâmiî Corpus and structure

The Lâmiî Corpus comprises all the stylistic and content-wise features that define the *nefsü'l-emrnâme* genre. A reader would recognize, for instance, that the untitled Nuruosmaniye manuscript is a *nefsü'l-emr* example even without it being titled as such because it employs all the basic *nefsü'l-emrnâme* templates found in the Lâmiî

Corpus. Each *nefsü'l-emr* within the Lâmiî Corpus is reminiscent of each other with common stylistic elements and passages abounding. However, what defines the borders of the Lâmiî Corpus within the larger genre is not the conventions followed by the authors and copyists with the corpus but Niksârîzâde and his discrete rendition of the genre.

Following his agenda, Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi experimented with a different form and a different set of target groups that earns him his solitary branch[53] within this nano-genre. To analyze what he did differently within the genre, one must first analyze the main branch that I call the Lâmiî Corpus.

The manuscripts that form the Lâmiî Corpus have the same chapters that introduce, develop and conclude the texts. These respectively include the reasons for writing, distinctive malediction, list of ill-doers to receive the malediction, and conclusion.

2.1.1 Praise to God

Only in the three copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, a praise to God precedes the reasons for writing. These copies are the manuscripts titled as *Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi Rahmetullahi 'Aleyhi* found in the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid-i Eş'âr ü Ed'iye* compilation of the National Library of Turkey (Milli Kütüphane), *Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî Çelebi* found in the Mihrişah Sultan collection of the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library, and *Risâle-i Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmiî* found in the Sadrazam Ali Paşa collection of the Istanbul University Rare Books Library (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler

[53] It is so individual that one can call this a twig, rather than a branch.

Kütüphanesi). The initial section of these three *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is the praise to God. The authors express their gratefulness to the almighty and ever-present God, as was the convention in the Islamic literary traditions. However, the symbolisms applied in the three copies to praise God are formulated in such a way that they are directly reminiscent of the Ottoman Sultan: "Glory and thanks to the matchless Emperor (*Pâdişâh*) and the Shah of shahs (*şehinşâh*), next to whose exalted court the rebellious bullies appear lower and viler than dogs."[54] The intention was to cross-reference the Sultan himself, exalting his titles and the locus of his power (palace) to the divine position. While this act of creating ambiguity on divine praise could have been read as sinful polytheism (*şirk*), an early modern reader would know that thankfulness (*şükr*) would only be to God, no matter which symbolisms were applied. However, one sees that the double meaning conveyed in the formulation serves other purposes that are better aligned with the intentions of the text.

Diffused within the formulation of the praise are the statements about the rebellious and immoral bullies (*gerdânkeş olan cebâbire*), claiming that they are lower than dogs. Through the double praise, the author denigrates rebelliousness against the realms of both God and the Sultan. These two categories intersect, and contumacy against God becomes contumacy against the Sultan himself, and vice versa. The preface in the form of praise adds a serious coating that alters the rest of the texts, elevating them to a politically loaded level in a more explicit manner. The

[54] "Şükr ü sipâs ol pâdişâh-ı bî-hemtâya ve şehinşâh-ı zu'l-'izz ve'l-kibriyayâdır ki dergâh-ı 'âli ve penâh-ı müte'aliden gerdankeş olan cebâbire kilâbdan hor ve hakîrdir.*"* Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 1; "Sezâvâr-ı hamd ü sena ol pâdişâh-ı bî-hemtâya ve şehinşâh-ı zû'l-'izz ve'l-kibriyâyadır ki dergâh-ı 'âli ve bârgâh-ı müte'âlîsinden gerdânkeş ve cabbârlar kelbden hor ve hakîr yürür." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 1; "Sezâvâr-ı hamd ü sena ol pâdişâhân-ı bî-hemtâya ve şâhinşâh-ı zû'l-'izz ve'l-kibriyâyadır ki dergâh-ı 'âli ve bârgâh-ı müte'âlîsinden gerdankeş ve cabbarlar kelbden hor ve hakîrlerdir." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MF), 1.

praise serves as a cautionary overture, which turns these acts into disobedience against God and the state. The immoral acts to be derided in the following lines, therefore, should be taken seriously by the readers.

The fact that only three *nefsü'l-emrnâme* copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi have the initial praise raises the question of possible omission or interpolation. The other *nefsü'l-emrnâme* versions, namely Hacı Ahmed, Niksârîzâde, and the Nuruosmaniye manuscripts, do not apply the praise section to their texts. They instead begin right away with the reasons for writing. Out of seven Lâmiî Çelebi copies transcribed and analyzed for this research, only three aforementioned manuscripts exhibit the praise.

2.1.2 Hadiths

The praise, if there is any, is always followed by one or two popular hadiths about greed and modesty. The first hadith, cited in all *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s except one is, "the world is a carrion and those who want it are dogs" (*ed-dünyâ cîfetün ve tâlibuha kilâbun*), a hadith also cited in *Keşfü'l-Hafâ*, Muhammed el-Aclûnî's (b. 1676 - d. 1749) work about popular sayings widely taken to be hadiths.[55] This saying does not come up in any of the canonical literature on hadith, including the six hadith compilations known as the Kutub al-Sittah (*Kütüb-i Sitte*).

Not only the message of condemning worldly greed but also its scornful tone must have been found apposite by the authors, as it opens the way for the use of strong language in the rest of the text. Everything in the repertoire is easily justified

[55] Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 19.

and buttressed by the prophetic saying and the authors project the same scornful tone throughout their *nefsü'l-emr*s, with similes that resemble the one in the hadith. Dog (*kelb* or *it*) is a recurring insult in the works, as is the donkey (*har, eşek,* or *merkeb*). Both of these animals were popular choices to denigrate and satirize others in Ottoman literature.[56]

The second saying, only cited in the anonymous Nuruosmaniye manuscript is, "*el-îmânu mine'l-hayâ*" or "faith issues from modesty" in English, presented in the following passage: "As guidance to the right path, it has been said about the seekers of this world, '*the world is a carrion and those who want it are dogs*,' and about the impudent; "*faith issues from modesty*."[57] The original saying is "*el-hayâu mine'l-îmân*", or "modesty issues from faith," which is also a popular saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. This hadith is reported in numerous canonical hadith compilations including *Sahih Muslim, Sahih al-Bukhari, Sunan Ibn Majah, Sunan Abu Dawood, Jami at-Tirmidhi, Bulugh al-Maram, Sunan an-Nasa'i, Al-Adab al-Mufrad,* and more. It comes out in multiple reports. In *Sunan Ibn Majah,* compiled by Ibn Majah of Qazwin (b. 824 -d. 887), the aforementioned hadith is reported via Abu Bakr's narration as "Modesty is part of faith, and faith is in Heaven. Foul language is part of coarseness and coarseness is in Hell."[58] In *Sahih Muslim* it is reported as such: "Salim reported on the authority of his father that the Prophet (may peace and blessings be upon him) heard a man censuring his brother regarding modesty. Upon this, the Prophet remarked: Modesty is part of faith."[59] The

[56] Donkey is an especially popular symbol in Ottoman humor, for which Şeyhî's (b. 1370s – d. 1429?) satirical fable in verse, *Harnâme* is an important example.
[57] "Delâlet-i tarîk-i hidâyet içün dünyâ tâlibleri (hakkında) 'ed-dünyâ cîfetün ve tâlibühâ kilâbun' ve bî-edebler hakkında 'el-îmânu mine'l-hayâ' (buyurulmıştır)." Hayati Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 19.
[58] Yazīd Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Majah,* Book 37, Hadith 85.
[59] Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, *Sahih Muslim,* Book 1, Hadith 61.

possibility that the author of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript confounded the place of the components of the hadith is less likely, as the priority of modesty, or bashfulness, aligns better with the message conveyed in the work which advocates for modest behaviors, bashing shamelessness.

2.1.3 The reasons for writing in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s

After reciting the hadiths, the authors proceed to the reasons for writing (*sebeb-i te'lif*), to clarify the motivation behind their writing of such a work. The authors explain that they were moved to write this work after thinking of all the immoral deeds and the people who practiced them in the world. Seeing how bothered and disturbed every true gentleman was by these ugly acts, they bluntly started cursing (*şetm-i azîm*) those who bothered them:

> Now, the reason for writing this strange treatise (*risâle-i 'acîbe*) and odd essay (*makâle-i garîbe*) is that; looking at the debauchery of the people, hearing their meaningless words, *thinking of the violent anguish (they cause)*, evaluating all by their faults, and seeing as they torment the men of grace, I started to curse at them recklessly with severe and inappropriate words.[60]

The formulation of reasons for writing is almost identical in every *nefsü'l-emrnâme* within the Lâmiî Corpus. The authors exclaim that it was sudden bewilderment that overtook their hearts, which made them write the gruesome maledictions and reckless curses for the groups of people who incited anguish (*elem*).

In the section on the reasons for writing, one also finds the first instance in which the authors more deliberately give a glimpse of the identity to counter all the alleged "riff-raff" and "immoral scoundrels" that are ridiculed in the texts. It is the

[60] See Appendix D, 1.

"men of grace" and "genteel people" (*erbâb-ı zerâfet* and *ashâb-ı letâfet*) who were perturbed by the immoral acts prevailing in society. Without doubt, the authors felt they were speaking for a self-nominated coterie of the select few, who shared a disdain for the ill-acting mob. The authors never delineate the acts that are to be done and the moral codes that are to be followed, thus one can claim that they wrote a reverse etiquette book that did not tell what to do but what not to do in a humorous style. Throughout the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s one rarely gets direct references as to the people who were bothered by these immoral acts, and with whom the authors identified. The matter of identity becomes much more pronounced in Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi's version, who is focused mostly on the elite and intellectual milieux of early modern Istanbul.

The section on the reasons for writing in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is quite loaded and the most intriguing part of the section, which requires a discussion of its own, is the characterization of the texts as *garîb*[61] and '*acîb* by their authors. These two adjectives need further analysis as they have multiple significations for the interpretation of the texts.

The two words of Arabic origin had their distinct history in Ottoman literature and the Turkish language. While the words would approximately mean strange or odd in English, Ali Emre Özyıldırım's article on the use of *garîb* and *'acîb* in Ottoman literature and especially in poetry and biographies of poets (*tezkire-i şu'arâ*) offers a new perspective to the words. According to Özyıldırım, the two words, which were used conjunctively to describe poets and their poems in

[61] Hayati Develi took these two denominators and made the title for his transciption of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript. I find the title *Risâle-i Garîbe* quite apposite for the genre.

anthologies, could have both negative and positive connotations depending on the context.[62] When used in the negative sense, the words would have a closer meaning to their meaning in Modern Turkish; strange, odd, or freakish. Derivatives of the Arabic root *ḡ-r-b* and *ʿ-j-b* in Turkish, like *garabet* and *ucube*, reflect this negativity.[63]

However, as Özyıldırım suggests and as the Arabic etymology indicates, the words also have a more positive meaning closer to wondrous, rare, unusual, and original.[64] It is suggested in Özyıldırım's article that biographers like 'Âşık Çelebi used the words to designate a poet's use of novel forms and similes as original and creative rather than off-putting and strange. Therefore, the words convey a positive message of literary originality and creativity in certain contexts.

It would rather be strange for the authors to call their works strange and odd in a negative manner. The second meaning analyzed by Özyıldırım within the Ottoman literary context is more appropriate for the text and it better aligns with the authors' conscious perspective about their works as possible novelties in Ottoman literature. As discussed in Chapter One and at the beginning of this chapter, the genre of *nefsü'l-emrnâme* was seemingly novel and *very Rumi*, with no direct counterparts having been detected in other literary traditions of the Islamicate world. The authors might have used the reasons for writing as an opportunity to emphasize the originality of their work.

[62] Ali Emre Özyıldırım, "Garîb Ma'nâlar, Acîb Hayâller: Latîfî ve Âşık Çelebi Tezkirelerinden Hareketle Belagat Terimi Olarak 'Garîb' Sıfatı," *Âşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar*, ed. Hatice Aynur and Aslı Niyazioğlu, (Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 150-2.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, 155.

However, I suggest that these two words embody different meanings, also analyzed shortly by Özyıldırım, that better suit their exact position in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s and the authorial agenda. It is suggested in Özyıldırım's text that *garîb* and *'acîb* represent *sihr* (spell or magic) in poetry, implying an utmost level of originality reached by poets. In the Islamic tradition, the act of creation is exclusive to Allah. And creativity in literature partakes in that divine creativity.[65] When an author or a poet applies a new poetic formula it can be regarded as magical, therefore originality implies magic. Özyıldırım briefly analyzes this idea of magical originality in terms of literary commentary and critique.

However, I suggest that, here in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, the meaning of magic in *garîb* and *'acîb* is valid purely through its use as "strange" without necessarily pertaining to originality. The authors might have employed these words to imply inexplicability, mystery, and ominous disposition, which would warn the readers of the following malediction (*beddu'â*) to befall the ill-doers.

2.1.4 The malediction

The malediction or curse does not comprise the main body of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s within the Lâmiî Corpus, however, it is the densest section, where the authors sought the greatest literary and humorous effect. After the reasons for writing comes the section of malediction full of grotesque images of cruel punishment. The content of the malediction remains the same in every *nefsü'l-emr,* while the length and details of the mishaps wished for the ill-doers vary.

[65] Ibid, 161-2.

While the shortest of maledictions is found in the three-folio long Lâmiî Çelebi manuscript of the Adnan Ötüken Public Library collection, titled as *Hazâ Nefsü'l-Emr-i Lâmi'î Çelebi re mim*, it is once again the Nuruosmaniye manuscript that engages with the most material for its malediction. As the two manuscripts represent the two poles of the genre and the Lâmiî Corpus, in terms of length and detail, I will use both maledictions to exemplify the range in which the authors played with the humorous curse. The shortest malediction goes like this:

> Firstly, it is my wish from the munificent God and eternal Sovereign that ignoramuses, who violate the norms and who will not be brought in line through instruction, fall into the latrine hole (when they go to relieve themselves); that they suffer from extreme cold and get covered in mud in the winter days; that they get carbuncles in their groins; that they find forty snakes in their beds; that they get kicked by mules; that they drop their turbans while riding a horse in the market; that they pass gas a thousand times at a grand gathering; that they suffer from a thousand different humiliations, getting ashamed in front of the whole world.[66]

The Adnan Ötüken manuscript is *useful* as it contains every basic component of the malediction that the other *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts preserved, diversified, and expanded on. The most colorful one is the malediction of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript:

> My wish from the everlasting Sovereign is that ignoramuses, who violate the norms, who know neither measure nor decorum, who are not brought in line through instruction and training, slip and fall into the latrine hole headfirst; that they suffer from constipation on hot days and from diarrhea on cold days; that they contract malaria in the summer and get twinges in the winter; that a rabid dog attacks them on a deadend street, biting and tearing their robes and getting its teeth deep into their calves; that they are kicked by donkeys, camels and oxen on a narrow street; that they drop their turban down from their head as their horse slips during rain in a crowded market; that their arms touch tar, ruining their precious clothes; that they have bloody carbuncles as large as goose eggs in their groins and around their testicles; that they are infested with snakes, centipedes, scorpions, and lice along with bedbugs and mosquitoes while sleeping under the eaves of a mosque; that they become like pigs, getting scabs under their beards when young; and that they turn into

[66] See Appendix D, 2.

> passive sodomites when old; and that they fart uncontrollably a thousand times at a gathering and are humiliated in front of everyone, and do not dare to return to that gathering ever again.[67]

While the Adnan Ötüken copy is the plainest example, the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is the most detailed, and one can claim that every other malediction falls somewhere between the passages found in these two manuscripts. The repertoire is always the same, with the amount of detail and pleasure taken in humorous cruelty varying. The malediction (*beddu'â*) that follows the delineation of the texts as strange and ominous, must have made the readers "think while laughing" at the humorous imagery, as these troubles would and could be called upon them if they did not behave.

The malediction applies corporeal and scatological humor, turning the body into the target of humiliation and pain, with insects and feral animals assaulting it, or diseases taking over and carbuncles popping out. Corporeal pain is treated as a means to humorous fun, raising the question of the relationship between cruelty and humor. The imagination of inflicting pain turns into pleasure that manifests itself as humor in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

The loss of corporeal control is another matter to consider. The body is a domain to be kept in control. Humiliation is caused by the lack or even a momentary lapse in one's control over their body. This gets exemplified by slipping down into the latrines or by uncontrollable flatulence. Continence is treated as the utmost distinction of man from beast.

As the human's most intimate possession, the body either through external infliction of pain or through loss of internal control is situated at the nucleus of

[67] See Appendix D, 3.

humor in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. The matter of privacy and body will be dealt with in Chapter 4, analyzed along with gender and manners.

2.1.5 The list of ill-doers

The malediction is followed by a long list of ill-doers who are to receive gruesome misfortunes. The list comprises the main body of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s and is the only section that is common to all versions including Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi's. Therefore, it can be argued that the list of ill-doers is the most essential and defining element of the *nefsü'l-emr* genre.

The authors proceed by indicating whom the malediction should befall with a transitional sentence, which differs from version to version.[68] Niksârîzâde's version lacks the malediction, therefore he has a distinctive way to introduce the ill-doers and it will be discussed further below. Thereafter, the reader is presented with a long list of groups of different ethnic, religious, professional, and sexual identifications. The identities, as had been discussed, are collective, depersonalized, and anonymous. One cannot find even one insult directed towards a known persona with a name, and no insult is formulated in a way to allude to a certain individual in the society. Society and the social elements that comprise it, with which the authors were in conflict, are the main objects of derision in the case of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. It can therefore be suggested that the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s were critiques of the early modern Ottoman society in general. An analysis of the criticized groups will yield interesting insights

[68] "Zikr olunan bed-du'âlar bu zikr olunacak gürûh üzerine vâki' ola." Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 1; "Mezbûrlar zikr olunur:" Hayati Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 20; "İmdi da'vât-ı sâlifât ü muhâlifât kimlere 'âid ü râci' ola?" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 1.

as to what some members of the intellectual milieux felt towards social dynamics, transformations, and trends like upward mobility.

One cannot rule out that personal issues also impacted the texts on some level. However, it is impossible to carry out an investigation into this dimension in the absence of textual clues. Surely, every author drew from their personal experience and individual agenda, which gave the copies their varying colors and volume.

While certain social groups are ridiculed as general categories with little to no additional detail to qualify the derision, like simply "Albanians (*Arnavudlar*),"[69] some other categories are qualified with peculiar details up to the brim, like "the donkeys who, though incapable of vulgar words in Turkish and untalented at humor, act like womanizers making ugly jokes to women in the streets saying 'Oh Lord, protect my *morlu*![70] My lady, where do you pee from?"[71] As one can see, the authors delineated their target groups in varying degrees of detail and color. One might be intrigued to think that the specificity in various passages, like the one mentioned above, indicates direct personal experience, meaning the authors narrated what they saw, heard, and deemed worthy of satire. The authors might have drawn these colorful details in the description from their personal experiences and social encounters. However, I suggest that the specific details given in certain passages do

[69] "…Arnavudlar…" Hayati Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 41.
[70] I have scanned various slang dictionaries for *morlu* (مورلو) and could not find any direct mention of the word. However, *morlu*, as purple one in Turkish, must have meant penis in this passage.
[71] *"…*ve kaba türkî kelâma kâdir ve zerâfetde mâhir değil iken yollarda musâdif olduğı havânîne zen-dostlık 'arz idüb 'rabbim sen sakla benim morlumı, kadınım nereden işersin' deyü pohlu pohlu zerâfetler iden eşeklere*…"* Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 7; "…ve kaba türkî kelâma kâdir ve zerâfetde mâhir değil iken yollarda musâdif olduğı havânîne zen-dostlık 'arz idüb *'*rabbim sen sakla benim morlumı, kadınım nereden işersin?' deyü pohlu pohlu zerâfetler iden eşeklere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 3; "…ve kaba türk kelâma kâdir ve zerâfete mâhir değil yollarda musâdif olduğı havânîne zen-dostlık 'arz idüb "rabbim sen sakla benim morlımı? , kadınım nereden işersin?' deyü pohlu pohlu zerâfetler iden …" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 5.

not represent direct encounters of the authors. While the social universe, within which the authors were found, was the source that fed the long list, the detailed examples from the texts do not link to lived moments of the authors, but rather link to stereotypes known to the authors, that would best set the humorous scene for the reader. The abundance of rich details certainly helped create a scene that the readers could better imagine, facilitating the association with the humor conveyed in the texts.

In the example of the womanizers who made ugly jokes to women, it is not necessarily reporting of a moment witnessed by the author(s), but of a possible scene in the streets of early modern Istanbul, or other urban centers. Whether or not it was a lived moment transferred into the written works does not matter for the reader at the moment. This study is not concerned with the reality of the described moments, just as the *nefsü'l-emr*s themselves were not concerned. The authors permuted their reality that would better represent Constantinopolitan society and things about it that both bothered and amused them at the same time. Here, reality is suspended, just like the implausible malediction which must have amused the authors and the readers alike through exaggeration. The authors of humor are not reporters a historian interested in the day-to-day realities would consult, as the raconteur's report is always distorted via many emotions and authorial considerations at work. It might be no less and no more than any other reporter of the past, however, humorists must have been especially interested in distorting the realities as a shortcut to their reality, perceived and deemed worthy of report.

Therefore, humor necessitates literary creativity, as day-to-day encounters are not always funny enough to evoke humorous appreciation in readers. The author must have diligently worked to turn the target material into a joke.

To understand the social register in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s within the Lâmiî Corpus, distinct from Niksârîzâde's register, I find it necessary to discuss Sheridan's distinction between vertical and horizontal invective. According to this scheme, invective works are divided into two categories. In the vertical invective, an author derides or lampoons a person, or in the case of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, a group of people deemed above or below the author. In the horizontal invective, the author derides or lampoons a person or, again, a group of people that can be considered equal to the author.[72] However, Sheridan asserts that for the author of invective, the targets are never equal to or above the author himself.[73] Therefore, this scheme does not pertain to the author's views but the social reality.

Drawing from this distinction, the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s within the Lâmiî Corpus, can be claimed to be vertical invectives. While we do not know the identities of the authors, the presentation of the elite identity of the "men of grace" (*erbâb-ı zarâfet*) or "men of elegance" (*ashâb-ı letâfet*) as a counter identity with which the authors could identify, and the multiplicity of descriptions of elite gatherings in each work suggest that the authors were members of the elite and identified as gentlemen. The groups ridiculed within their works are deemed to be commoners who are lower than the authors, and most *nefsü'l-emr* derision in the works pertains to the city folk who overturn the social hierarchies.

[72] Sheridan, *PhD Thesis*, 32-8.
[73] Ibid.

In the later Lâmiî Çelebi copies, the list is concluded in a way to link to the conclusion. The authors "finally" insult "the miserable who say 'he (the author) mocked everyone but me!'[74] and those who do not discontinue their immoral acts, despite having read the *nefsü'l-emr* and learned their faults."[75] These last entries imply a will on the author's side to have a behavioral impact on the readers, expecting them to comprehend the moral of the invective. The authorial expectation is different in every *nefsü'l-emr,* and this good-willed expectation of impact at the end will not recur in the same way in other *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s as will be discussed in the next subchapter.

The colorful content of the lists will be analyzed in detail in the following chapters focusing on different areas, including religion, urbanity, and gender.

2.1.6 The conclusion in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s within the Lâmiî Corpus

The authors within the Lâmiî Corpus concluded their works with beneficent wishes, hoping those immoral people, after reading their *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, would be cut off from their ill-actions. Once again, Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi employed another tactic to conclude his version, and his conclusion is to be analyzed in the following subchapter.

In the *nefsü'l-emr*s that are attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, one finds different endings among copies. As stated above, the last folios of the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* copy

[74] Alternatively the miserable say "He only mocked me!" in the later Istanbul University manuscript.
[75] "Muhassılü'l-kelâm 'nefsü'l-emrde ancak bana dokunmamış' diyen süfehâya ve nefsü'l-emr içinde 'aybını bilübde ol 'aybdan kesilmeyen sığırlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 5; "Muhassılü'l-kelâm "nefsü'l-emrde ancak bana dokunmuş" diyen süfehâya ve nefsü'l-emr içinde 'aybını bilübde ol 'aybdan kesilmeyen sığırlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 7.

are missing, therefore, one cannot know how that peculiar copy was concluded by its copyist.

The shortest and most immediate conclusion can be found in the Lâmiî Çelebi copies of Mihrişah Sultan, Muallim Cevdet, and Adnan Ötüken Public Library collections. These three copies simply end the list with a final remark that reiterates the malediction; "May the calamities counted at the beginning of this treatise befall the foulest who do not intend to abstain from all the acts written in this *nefsü'l-emr*, amen. Treatise complete."[76] The author and/or the copyists simply resonated the malediction and the reasons for writing section in their conclusion, ending with an "*amen*" as after an act of religious worship or prayer.

Hacı Ahmed's version and the three Lâmiî Çelebi copies of Istanbul University, Hacı Mahmud Efendi, and Yazma Bağışlar collections present rather peculiar endings. In *Makâle*, Hacı Ahmed claims "if he could find them, he would feed the aforementioned groups to eighty wild dogs, hang a bag of sulfur on their necks, and torture them after the curse cited in the beginning."[77] This ending that visualizes a torturous violent scene is present also in the three Lâmiî Çelebi copies listed above, two of which, however, end with a twist. In the Istanbul University copy, dating from 1882, the copyist similarly reports that he "would feed those who did not pay regard to his words of censure and who continued to indulge in shameful

[76] "Bu nefsü'l-emrde yazılan fi'l-cümle perhîz kasd itmeyen ebterde her kim olursa bu risâle ibtidâsında zikr olan vartalara uğraya, âmîn. Temme er-risâle." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC), 3; "Bu nefsü'l-emrde yazılan fi'l-cümle perhîz olmak üzre kasd itmeyen ebterlerden her kim olursa bu risâle dîbâcesinde olan vartalara ve 'akîdlere… (missing)" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 6; "Bu nefsü'l-emrde yazılan fi'l-cümle perhîz kasd itmeyen ebterden her kim olursabu risâle dibâcesinde olan vartalara uğraya, âmîn." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ), 4.

[77] "…ve bi'l-cümle tavâîf-i mezbûreyi seksen dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım ve boğazlarına kükürt torbasın asardım, ibtidâ-i bâlâda mezkûr şetmdensoğra işkence iderdim." Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5.

acts to ninety wild dogs."[78] While the number of dogs increases by ten, the bag of sulfur found in the *Makâle* just gets erased.

The level of bodily cruelty at the end might have posed a problem for other authors and copyists of *nefsü'l-emr*, as it either did not get reproduced or was reformulated in a new way that changed the context. For instance, in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi and Yazma Bağışlar copies, the copyists stretch the list in a way to subsume the torture in the conclusion, applying the malediction also to "the fools who say they would feed those who did not pay regard to their words of censure and who continued to indulge in shameful acts, to ninety wild dogs."[79] As one can see, the copyists conflict with the ending they copied and did not perhaps find it appropriate to conclude in such a manner that did not make peace with the readers at the end, turning the statement of torture into just one of those immoral acts criticized in the texts. The conclusion is also the section in which the authors would make peace with readers, asking "the friends of purity and brothers of fidelity, who made an effort, to not forget benedictions for him/them."[80]

In the malediction, which plays with even more cruel yet facetious imagery, the authors appeal to God to punish the offenders accordingly. The authors did not claim they would carry out those misfortunes, thus, the first-person subject is not present in the malediction. However, when the author claimed "he" would do the

[78] "Bi'l-cümle bunları gözetmeyüb ve bu 'uyûbla muttasıf olanı bulsam toksan dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-Emr* (İÜ), 7.
[79] "bi'l-cümle 'bunları gözetmeyüb ve bu 'uyûb ile muttasıf olanı bulsam toksan dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım' diyen 'aklsızlara." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 5; "bi'l-cümle 'bunları gözetmeyüb ve bu 'uyûb ile muttasıf olanı bulsam toksan dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım' diyen 'aklsızlara." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 11.
[80] "'Amel iden yârân-ı safâ ve ihvân-ı pür-vefâ bizi hayr du'âdan ferâmuş itmeyeler." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 5; "'Amel iden yârân-ı safâ ve ihvân-ı pür-vefâ bizi hayr du'âdan ferâmuş itmeyeler." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 7; "'Amel iden yârân-ı safâ ve ihvân-ı pür-vefâ bizi hayr du'âdan ferâmuş itmeyeler." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 11.

torture if he could find them, it became a problematic statement for other authors and copyists to reproduce. Direct subjectivity in such outright insulting literary forms might perhaps be something to be avoided, taking up God's right and duty to punish.

After the torturous scene presented in two varying ways in different copies, the authors wrote about necessities of continence and abstinence from such acts, calling for a behavioral diet, writing:

> In conclusion, it is of utmost necessity and significance, that people, on account of their dignity as human beings, abstain from these aforementioned faults as much as they can. This pleasant text was written so as to make plain the code of conduct for the creation and its fine points as much as possible.[81]

As one can see, the concluding remarks resonate with the discourse of etiquette. The authors explain why they wrote this treatise. It is indeed a reverse book of etiquette, one which does not count the codes of behavior among the members of a certain milieu, but rather the uncouth, inappropriate ones that need to be avoided. However, given that the emphasis on etiquette is strong, especially in these copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi and Hacı Ahmed, it rather remains a matter of wonder why the peculiar reverse form was chosen to replace the book of etiquette form. Nowhere in the texts can one encounter a proposition of proper conduct or righteous behavior. One could perhaps expect a contrast built by the authors, that emphasized the disparity between the immoral riff-raff and the gentlemen. Contrarily, the *nefsü'l-emr*s, even though at the end, they claimed they were aimed at the manifestation of proper conduct, did not do that directly in any part. Therefore, the authorial agenda must have been further beyond the discussion of conduct, and thus, more interested in humiliation and derision, as has been discussed earlier.

[81] See Appendix D, 4.

This study is not directly concerned with the etiquette genre in Ottoman literature, however, it would be safe to assume that, in fact, all examples of etiquette literature, be it reverse or humorous, is in one way or another, interested in permeating a discourse of exclusion through propriety and inclusion. What is to be included and validated builds the boundaries that will exclude certain others. Thus, one can benefit from studying examples of etiquette literature from this perspective of exclusion. Therefore, the *nefsü'l-emr*s, with their peculiar agenda, strong language, and humorous employments cannot be invalid as etiquette books, or rather manuals. They certainly can be counted as witty examples of the etiquette genre, that roughly played with the myths of uncouth men and women, who most probably were a topic of mockery at gatherings of the elite, acquainted with matters of etiquette.

The author of the untitled Nuruosmaniye manuscript is the one who engaged with the most characteristic ending within the Lâmiî Corpus. In *Risâle-i Garîbe*, the author does not cut the humor of the list with concluding remarks. The list continues until the end, subsuming the conclusion within the insulting humor:

> Those who do not repent of their sins and misdemeanors and become purified (after reading this text); those who say "He mocked us all!" but do not heed its (the text's) truth, and those who compile, write, read, listen to all this (in this text), but who do not live following (its underlying lessons); and those who feel hurt and recant (after reading this), becoming indebted to me. Completed in 1132.[82]

The list extends right until the end. In contrast to the other copies, the humor is sustained also in the conclusion, where the author mocks the readers who get the message as becoming indebted to him. The list form applied the malediction also to those who felt affected by the *nefsü'l-emr*, understanding the moral behind the work.

[82] See Appendix D, 5.

The conclusion in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is as facetious as the rest of the text. There is no mention of etiquette and the necessity of its manifestation. Neither did the author intend to make peace by suggesting a way out through abstinence or asking for benedictions. On the contrary, he incorporated readers into the joke of his work. I suggest, through this almost offensive twist in humor, the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is the *nefsü'l-emr* example that was the most interested in humor.

2.1.7 Differences between the manuscripts within the Lâmiî Corpus

As emphasized in the previous subsections, manuscripts attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, and the anonymous Nuruosmaniye manuscript have commonalities in sections that form the genre, albeit with minor or major differences.

The differences do not end in small variations in the sections. As discussed earlier, the settings of the texts are different. While the Nuruosmaniye manuscript makes sure the setting is Istanbul, the Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts present a rather more generic city. This turns the Nuruosmaniye manuscript into the most divergent and unique text within the Lâmiî Corpus. Contrarily, Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* converges with the Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts, and especially with the *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* and Mihrişah Sultan copies.

In the Lâmiî Çelebi and Hacı Ahmed manuscripts, many passages are common. Nevertheless, Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* and *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* copy can be claimed to have a stronger language than the rest of the Lâmiî Çelebi copies, when it comes to derision. These two copies, for instance, are the only copies that deride "the

black-faced who fuck donkeys and calves,"[83] or "the shameless who expose their dicks through their pants."[84]

An interesting difference found in the Lâmiî Çelebi copies and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle,* is the treatment of animals. There are no such passages that insult people who treat animals badly in other *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. For instance, five Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* revile "those who whistle while animals (especially a carthorse) drink water."[85] Similarly, three Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts mock "the cruel who sit and chat on the back of a horse."[86] Similar examples abound in these texts, and one cannot find any such mention of the animals in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript and Niksârîzâde's version.

Aside from the issue of animal treatment, one can claim that the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is an extended and detailed version of the Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, as the Nuruosmaniye manuscript subsumes many issues derided in those manuscripts.

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[83] "…eşek ve kısrak siken dînsiz yüzi karalara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 3; "…eşek ve dana sikenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 3.

[84] "…çahşır içinde gönleğiyle edebden hâric sikin kald(ır)ub gösteren siki kuruyacaklara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 3; "…ve çakşır içinde gömleğin edibde sikin düzen siki kurıyacaklara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 3.

[85] "…ve katır eğerine pâlden takanlara, ve bargîr su içerken sıklık virenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 2; "…bârgir su içerken sıklık virenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 2; "…hayvanât su içerken sıklık viren sığırlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 2; "…, ve hayvanât su içerken sıklık viren sığırlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 2; "…hayvanât su içerken sıklık uran sığırlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 4; "…ve bârgîr su içerken ıslık virenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü'l-emr (MC), 1; "…ve bârgîr su içerken sıklık viren humekâya…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 2.

[86] "…ve bârgîr üzerinde oturub musâhebet iden bî-rahmlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 2; "… ve bârgîr üzerinde oturub musâhebet iden bî-rahmlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 6; "…ve bârgîr üzerinde oturub musâhebet iden bî-rahmlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 9.

2.2 Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi and his version

Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi is the maverick within the nano-genre of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. The two copies that were attributed to him are titled as *Niksârîzâde Efendi Merhûmun Nefsü'l-Emrnâme-i Latîfidir* and *Niksârîzâde Efendi Merhûmun Nefsü'l-Emrenâme Deyü Yazdıkları Sûret-i Mes'eledir*. The former can be found in the Hafız Ahmed Paşa collection, while the latter is in the Hamidiye collection, both of which are part of the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library. A third *nefsü'l-emrnâme* that is attributed to Niksârîzâde belongs to the collections of the National Library of Hungary. Since I was not able to examine this copy, it can offer new insights into the genre.

Niksârîzâde had a unique take on the genre compared to the other *nefsü'l-emr* authors. His distinct rendering is what makes it possible for the historian to call it a genre in the first place, as perhaps one needs some variation and individuality within to categorize a certain cluster of texts as a genre in itself. Niksârîzâde's version opens up the possibility for more, and when one considers the issue of anonymity, alternative titles, and different styles, it becomes more likely that there are other takes on the *nefsü'l-emr* genre, that might have played with different ideas as Niksârîzâde did.

One such contender would be Bahâî-i Küfrî's *Takvîmü'l-Kavîm*, also known as *Ahkâm-ı Külliye*, written in the form of a calendar, which according to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, was influenced by the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s of Lâmiî Çelebi and Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi.[87] If one is to consider *Takvîmü'l-Kavîm* within the

[87] Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *XVII. Asır Saz Şairlerinden Kayıkçı Kul Mustafa ve Genç Osman Hikâyesi*, (İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1930), 7.

genre of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*, there appears a certain pattern in which the authors played with the genre. Niksârîzâde, as reported by Nev'îzâde Atâ'i in his *Hadâikü'l-Hakâik ve fî Tekmileti'ş-Şakâik*, worked as a professor (*müderris*), mufti, and qadi in various parts of the Empire during the seventeenth century, hence he was highly familiar with the written juridical forms.[88] He applied, therefore, the petition form to his version. On the other hand, Bahâî-i Küfrî, who worked as a chief astrologer (*müneccimbaşı*) in the seventeenth century, prepared his social invective that is highly reminiscent of *nefsü'l-emr*s in calendar form. This might suggest that authorial rank and profession were central in determining both the form and content of the *nefsü'l-emr*s or more general, social invectives. Küfrî's work will not be dealt with in this research, as it does not call itself a *nefsü'l-emr* and is totally in another literary form. However, it can be proposed as a must-read for the historian interested in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, as a text that got highly influenced by the genre.

2.2.1 Form and language in Niksârîzâde's *Nefsü'l-Emrnâme*

Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi's version, skipping the sections on reasons for writing, and malediction, begins by demanding an answer from the Hanefi Imams (*e'imme-i Hanefî*), saying "what would be the answer of the Hanefi Imams to this?"[89] His request then is followed by the basic *nefsü'l-emr* list of ill-doers. After *declaring* all the immoral actions and their lowly performers consecutively, he spells out the question, for which he had demanded an answer, in the conclusion:

[88] Turan, "Niksarizade," 1825.
[89] "Bu mes'ele beyânında e'imme-i Hanefîden cevâb ne vechiledir ki:" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 1; "Bu mes'ele beyânında e'imme-i Hanefîden cevâb ne vechiledir ki:" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 1.

> Finally, what needs to be done according to the Islamic law about the debauchee (*rind*),[90] who says "I will divorce my wife with triple-divorce (*talâk-ı selâse*)[91] if the aforementioned bad behaviors and ill actions are deemed suitable for the demeanors of *nefsü'l-emr*?"[92]

The form imitates that of a fatwa, which is a ruling issued by a qualified jurist on a matter of Islamic jurisprudence often in response to a question posed by another person. In the case of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*, humor is implied through the question that depicts a man of cynical and sardonic composure, *rind*. However, Niksârîzâde did not write a mock answer from the Hanefi Imams, to whom the request was directed.

According to Fikret Turan, Niksârîzâde applied the specific form of fatwa to direct criticism towards the legal establishment, which allegedly served to legitimize corrupt and unacceptable acts and behaviors of the bureaucrats via fabricated decrees at the time.[93] It is without question that Niksârîzâde used the petition form as a means of mockery, however, nowhere in the text did he openly criticize legal procedures or the petitionary institution. While what Turan suggested cannot be denied, it is also not supported by the present criticisms in the text. Seeing as Niksârîzâde did not hesitate to mock upper echelons and establishments, one finds no reason why he would not include such actors, who, as Turan suggested, would use decrees to legitimize their corrupt acts, in his long list of the ignorant and pretentious

[90] A unique identity in Islamicate cultures, *rind* might have both positive and negative connotations. When negative, it depicts a muslim, deviated from the path, living in debauchery. *Rind* in literature on the other hand, would depict a man whose guise and actions would belie his affectionate devotion/attachment to the divine, which would trascend orthodox conventions.
[91] *Talâk-ı selâse,* which I roughly translated here as triple-divorce, is the way a muslim man would divorce his wife. He would need to say "divorce" (*boş ol*) three times. There are still discussions on the nature of *talâk-ı selâse*, as to how the divorce is carried out, whether a man who said without meaning, as if facetiously, would still need to divorce or not. These discussions are not part of this study. Nevertheless, *talâk-ı selâse* and its precarity in the muslim man's mind have clearly been mocked here by the author. There are several jokes present in every *nefsü'l-emr* about people saying or doing things, when drunk or high, regretting it the next day, like selling something without meaning it. *Talâk-ı selâse* might have aligned with these *nefsü'l-emr* moments when people made fools of themselves.
[92] See Appendix D, 6.
[93] Turan, "Niksarizade," 1826.

mob. I rather suggest that Niksârîzâde would have criticized the petitionary institution more deliberately if it were in his agenda.

Another aspect that highly distinguishes Niksârîzâde's version from the rest of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is the style of his language. For instance, right after his initial mock-up demand from the Imams, Niksârîzâde takes three couplets in Persian from the fourth chapter of Saadi's (b. 1210 – d. 1291-2) *Bustan*: *Concerning Humility* (*Bâb-ı Çehârom der Tevâzu'*) to begin with the first entry of his list of ill-doers.[94] The selected section titled as *the Story of the Madrasa Student* (*Hikâyet-i Dânişmend*) in the fourth chapter of *Bustan* tells the story of a dervish and a ghazi in verse. At the court of a ghazi, a learned yet poorly clad dervish sits at the front row. The ghazi, annoyed by his act, tells the dervish to either sit at the back or to leave the court saying:

> Not everyone is worthy of the chief seat,
> honor is proportionate to rank and rank to merit.
> Be not so bold as to occupy the seat of the great,
> if you are humble, pose not as a lion.[95]

The dervish, who stands up and takes a seat at the back gains the respect of the guests by his sagacious responses to the discussions at the gathering. The ghazi, regretting how he underestimated the true worth of the dervish, offers him his turban. The dervish turns down the offer saying:

> A man is not better than his fellows by reason of his wealth,
> for a donkey, though covered with a satin cloth, is still a donkey.[96]

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[94] "*نه هر کس سزاوار باشد به صدر*
کرامت به جاه است و منزل به قدر" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr (HAP)*, 1; "*نه هر کس سزاوار باشد به صدر*
کرامت به جاه است و منزل به قد" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr (H)*, 1.

[95] Sheikh Mosleh al-Din Saadi Shirazi, *The Bostan of Saadi*, 30. Accessed April 20, 2021. https://www.iranchamber.com/literature/saadi/books/bostan_saadi.pdf

[96] Saadi, *The Bostan*, 31.

These passages in verse, that dealt with the concepts of humility and pride, are cited consecutively in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*, without referring to the backstory and context behind them. Thus, Saadi's narrative is not present in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*. However, what is interesting is that Niksârîzâde adds his line in between the lines of response by the dervish, turning it into the following:

> A man is not better than his fellows by reason of his wealth.
> *No ignoramus is superior to another person,*
> for a donkey, though covered with a satin cloth, is still a donkey.[97]

The line about ignorance is not present in the original *Bustan* and might be an addition by Niksârîzâde himself. Alterations on widely known bodies of literature are common in Islamic traditions. *The Story of the Danishmend* in *Bustan* is comprised of 102 lines. Instead of replicating the whole, Niksârîzâde added his commentary, reflecting and summarizing what he took as a moral from the story. The addition also reflects the content and message conveyed by Niksârîzâde throughout his *nefsü'l-emrnâme*. Via alteration of lines from an authoritative figure such as Saadi, the rest of the manuscript is better supported. The lines that he selected from *Bustan* do not openly discuss ignorance, however, the story in *Bustan* indeed is about ignorance and delusiveness of appearance in that regard: themes which constitute the backbone of Niksârîzâde's version. Alternatively, he might have come across a copy of *Bustan* that had this passage.

Throughout his version, Niksârîzâde uses other excerpts from Persian poems of, for instance, Hafez and Saadi. In his rather long and peculiar discussion on the

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[97] نه منعم به مال از کسی بهتر است"
نه جاهل بجاه از کسی برتر است
خر از جل اطلس بپوشد خر است" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 1; "نه منعم به مال از کسی بهتر است
نه جاهل بجاه از کسی برتر است
خر از جل اطلس بپوشد خر است" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 1.

Sufi concept of the unity of being (*vahdet-i vücûd*) within his *nefsü'l-emrnâme*, Niksârîzâde cites this passage from Hafez's 144th gazel:[98]

> Thou that goest not forth from the house of nature,
> How passage to the street of Tarikat, thou canst make.[99]

And from the prologue of Saadi's Bustan, he cites these lines:[100]

> Think not, O Saadi, that one can walk in the road of purity
> except in the footsteps of Muhammad.[101]

These examples show what kind of sources Ottoman authors based themselves on to buttress their literary claims. Religious sources or excerpts from widely acknowledged poets worked as points of reference and refuge for an author who wanted to assert his vituperative claims. Playing with original lines, even when it would be risky in Islamic sayings, was not a matter of hesitation in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, and it served as an adjustment that located the support at even more useful coordinates for the author.

The inclusion of Persian poetry is also telling of the intended readership on part of Niksârîzâde. The authors of the Lâmiî Corpus wrote in a simple language. With Niksârîzâde, the language becomes more complex, and crude insults and swear words are much rarer compared to the other *nefsü'l-emr*s. Niksârîzâde intended his work for a more exclusive or refined readership, who could understand Persian, recognize canonical poetry, and be able to follow criticisms and commentaries on matters like the *unity of being*. This owes it once again to the authorial agenda. In

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[98] "*تو کز سرای طبیعت نمی‌روی بیرون*
گجا به کوی طریقت گذر توانی کرد" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 2; "*تو کز سرای طبیعت نمی‌روی بیرون*
گجا به کوی طریقت گذر توانی کرد" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 2.

[99] Hafez, *The Divan of Hafiz: Edition of Complete Poetry*, ed. Hamid Eslamian, trans. H.W. Clarke (Dallas: Persian Learning Center, 2020), 141.

[100] "مپندار سعدی که راه صفا
توان رفت جز بر پی مصطفی"

[101] Saadi, *The Bostan*, 3.

Niksârîzâde's case, the level was deliberately lifted to higher strata, as he both criticized and wanted to be read by other elites. Hence, both the content and language in his version differ from other examples of the nano-genre.

Another indication of the excerpts from Persian poetry and Niksârîzâde's addition to Saadi's lines would concern authorial identity. Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi, by adding his line between those of Saadi, lifts himself to the level of the authoritative Persian masters. His lines become worthy of the "front row." Indeed the matter of identity will be dealt with in the following chapters, with special focus given to Niksârîzâde, as his work is the only one that openly attempts to define what *nefsü'l-emr* could be. He offers the term as a possible identity, composed of the friends of *nefsü'l-emr* (*nefsü'l-emr yârânı*) whose traits would be defined as *evzâ'-ı nefsü'l-emr*.

2.2.2 The list in Niksârîzâde's *Nefsü'l-Emrnâme*

The list in Niksârîzâde's version is the main body of the text. In fact, since the other sections that appear in other *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, like malediction and conclusion, are absent from this text, the narrative of Niksârîzâde's version depends and builds itself almost solely on the list.

Similar to the Lâmiî Corpus, Niksârîzâde too ceaselessly counts immorality after immorality, picturing the offending types in their most shameful moments. However, the groups chosen to be railed by his pen are highly specific. While every *nefsü'l-emrnâme* problematizes pretentious people who do not deserve to be accepted into the elite circles, Niksârîzâde's version is a manifesto almost

exclusively written against those who, though they are ignorant, make their way into the learned circles. These mostly include pretentious professors, wannabe poets, greedy qadis, etc.

His treatment of the subjects of his criticisms is also different from the Lâmiî Corpus. Niksârîzâde aims more at the intellectual deficiencies of his targets, mostly avoiding bodily, and occasionally eroticized humor. He humiliates his subjects mainly by highlighting the contrast between their ignorance and their lofty pretensions. Their intellect is mocked and their pride is bashed, instead of imagining them in physical conditions that would humiliate their bodily being. In this regard, Niksârîzâde's work draws a contrast most with the Nuruosmaniye manuscript. As the latter seeks to extract humor from the bodies of its target groups, imagining them occupying latrines for hours;[102] trembling malariously with anger;[103] spitting behind fine cushions and on the wall after smoking tobacco;[104] disturbing mosque-goers by walking fast and carelessly towards the front row in the mosque,[105] etc. Contrarily, in Niksârîzâde's version, these moments of physical contact or corporeal humor seldom occur. For instance, he mocks the supposedly famous poets whose pennames are widely known but whose poems are not known to a soul;[106] and the foolish *çelebi*s who think they can complete their education (only) by studying *Hidâye*,[107] without

[102] *"...*ve iki sa'at helâda oturanlar*..."* Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 38.
[103] "…ve ehl-i tehevvür olup cüz'î şeyden ökelenüp gözin âb-hâne câmı gibi şişirüp elin ayağın cühûd sıtması tutmış gibi ditreden mel'ûnlar…" Ibid, 43.
[104] "…ve fâhir döşeli oda içinde nâzik kumâş yasdıklar ardına ve divâra duhan içip de tüküren ağzı kuruyaçaklar*..."* Ibid, 26.
[105] "…ve câmi' şerifte ilerü giderken usûl ile geçmeyüp oturan müsülmânları eteğiyle çarpup lodos kumı gibi geçen zevâ'idler…" Ibid, 32.
[106] "…ve mahlası meşhûr olub şi'irini kimesne bilmez şâ'ir efendilerin…"Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 3.
[107] *Al-Hidayah* or *Hidâye* is a legal compendium on Hanefi jurisprudence compiled by Al-Marghinani (d. 1197) in the twelfth century.

studying logic, *kalam*,[108] and dialectics;[109] or "the asses who, even though they are exceedingly dull, dare to imitate the Persian masters and speak Persian."[110]

Remembering Sheridan's distinction between vertical and horizontal invective, I suggest that Niksârîzâde's *nefsü'l-emrnâme* can be considered a horizontal invective contrary to the manuscripts within the Lâmiî Corpus, which I suggested, are vertical invective examples. This does not mean that Niksârîzâde considered his target groups equal to him. Contrarily, his derision works hard to prove how lowly the groups are, no matter how hard they pretend. However, Niksârîzâde's version almost exclusively targets people who shared the same social circles as he did. This turns his version into a social invective that ridiculed the elite circles, or at least, the pretenders in the elite circles. Unlike the other *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s whose target groups consist of all the people acting and behaving ill in the city, Niksârîzâde's version is fixed to the milieux that he belonged.

[108] *Kalam* or *'Ilm al-Kalam* is the Islamic theology, that aims to discuss, analyze, and explain basic concepts and doctrines in Islam.
[109] "…ve tahsîl-i 'ilmde mantık ü kelâm ü âdâb-i bahs lâzım iken 'ilm-i Hidâyeden tahsîl eylemek isteyen ma'tûh çelebilerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 2; "…ve tahsîl-i 'ilmde mantık ü kelâm ü âdâb-i bahs lâzım iken 'ilm-i Hidâyeden tahsîl eylemek isteyen ma'tûh çelebilerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 1.
[110] "…ve fevku'l-hadd gûl iken yârân-ı 'aceme taklîd idüb tekellüm-ü farsî eyleyen harların…" Ibid, 3.

CHAPTER 3

PIOUS GROUPS AND RELIGIOUS MATTERS

Religious groups and practices are the first, if not the most, criticized categories in every *nefsü'l-emrnâme*. The *nefsü'l-emr* approach to moral and religious matters, and to specific pious groups, e.g. Kadızadelis, Birgivîs, Mevlevis, are directly related to the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ottoman social realities, like the Sunni revivalism and popularization of Sufism.

However, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s do not have a unanimous stance that makes it possible for the readers to espouse the texts with a specific side in the debates of the time. A rigid dichotomy of orthodoxy and heterodoxy does not apply well to this specific group of texts. While the texts reflect the contemporaneous trend of Sunnitization, dealing with matters like innovation (*bid'at*) and time management on seemingly shared grounds with fundamentalist Kadızadelis, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s also simultaneously deride such fundamentalist groups.

Likewise, while there are strong criticisms towards specific Sufi groups or certain Sufi practices, *nefsü'l-emr* derisions never target the Sufi path itself. Contrarily, by reviling those who misunderstand and who, therefore, divert the Sufi path, the texts imply an indirect fondness for an orthoprax Sufism, that abides the boundaries of the Sunnah.

Thus, the most debated religious groups of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Birgivîs, highly anti-Sufi Kadızadelis, Sufis, etc. get their share from the

nefsü'l-emr criticisms. This situates the *nefsü'l-emr* authors and their views on the religious trends of the time on a rather middle-way approach.

This chapter aims to uncover the seventeenth and eighteenth-century trends and dynamics in the religio-moral domain that affected the *nefsü'l-emr* approach to the specific groups and practices. In the conclusion of this chapter, after discussing the groups that are criticized in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, Münirî-i Belgrâdî, a seventeenth-century Ottoman Halveti sheikh (b. 1551 - d. 1617), will be offered as a figure whose stance in regard to the debates of the time is similar to *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

3.1 Sufism and dervishes in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s

According to Fikret Turan, who reports from Nev'îzâde Atâ'î's (b. 1583 – d. 1635) biographical work *Hadâiku'l-Hakâik fî Tekmileti'ş-Şakâ'ik* written as an addendum (*zeyl*) to Taşköprizâde's *Şakâ'ik*, Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi adhered to the Mevlevi order.[111] We do not know the affiliations of Hacı Ahmed and the anonymous authors of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript and the manuscript attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi. However, given that their criticisms towards Sufis are almost unanimous, it would not be wrong to assume that they had similar sentiments and stances concerning the Sufi path. Thus, when dealing with the Sufis in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, who get criticized no less than other groups, one must be careful at distinguishing what wrongdoings of which type of Sufis the authorial mockery is directed. As one delves deeper into the texts, one realizes that *nefsü'l-emr* criticisms

[111] Turan, "Niksarizade," 1825.

are not independent of the social and intellectual history of Sufism. The texts reflect both the centuries-long social transformation of the institution of Sufism and some central concepts of Sufi thought.

However, as mentioned earlier, the authors write their derisions in a mental universe specific to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Sunni revivalism in the Ottoman Empire was not exclusively specific to Birgivîs and, later, Kadızadelis. Many Sufi thinkers and tariqas were also vying for a Sunnah-abiding, orthoprax Sufism.[112] The Sufi-critical passages in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s reflect such a disapprobation for people and practices that marginalize Sufism.

The manuscripts, except Niksârîzâde's, begin their lists of ill-doers with the Sufis. In the shorter Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts, the target group is defined as "the Sufi pretenders who don the dervish cloak and claim to know [divine] reality (*hakîkat*)."[113] In the other four Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts, including *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* copy, the target group is defined slightly differently as "the Sufi pretenders who make a mockery of the Sufi path with their claims to know [divine] reality, and who attack the men of refinement and delicacy."[114] In Hacı Ahmed's version and the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, the formulation is very similar to Lâmiî Çelebi copies. Hacı Ahmed targets "the pretenders who are dressed as Sufis (*mukallak Sûfîler*)[115]

[112] Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Hsitoriographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2013): 319.
[113] "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsın iden ehl-i kisvet sûfîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ), 1; "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsın iden ehl-i kisvet sûfîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC), 1; "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsı iden ehl-i kisvet sûfîlere…" *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 1.
[114] "Hakîkat da'vasın rîş-hand ehl-i kisvet sûfilere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 1; "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsıyla rîş-hand olub ehl-i zerâfeti ve erbâb-ı letâfeti kesüb biçen sûfîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 2; "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsıyla rîş-hand olub ehl-i zerâfeti ve erbâb-ı letâfeti kesüb biçen sûfîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 1; "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsıyla rîş-hand olub ehl-i zerâfeti ve erbâb-ı letâfeti kesüb biçen sûfîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 1.
[115] Hacı Ahmed used the word *mukallak,* which was derived from the Turkish word *kılık* (guise), using the Arabic adjective measure. Saygın Salgırlı interpreted his use of the Arabic *ism-i mef'ûl* form as an indication of the learned background of Hacı Ahmed, assuming he applied the form on the root.

and who falsely claim to know divine reality."[116] The Nuruosmaniye manuscript specifies its targets as "the Sufi pretenders who put on the dervish cloak six months ago (*altı aylık*), and who [already] claim to know [divine] reality."[117] As one can see, the problem in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is neither Sufism nor the totality of the Sufis. The authors problematized a certain type of Sufi, new and immature as implied by their recent entry to the path without navigating the necessary stations (*maqamat*) of the Sufi path, through which the seekers would gradually be elevated by the master,[118] think they perfected themselves.

Similar entries problematizing people who were Sufis only in appearance can be found in other parts. In *Risâle-i Garîbe*, they are criticized a second time for "being 'image thieves' (*sûret uğrıları*) who go to dervish lodges and learned gatherings, posing as dervishes only to impress (impressionable) young men."[119] "Image thief" was an insult frequently directed to Sufis. In one of the fatwas of Kemalpaşazâde (b. 1468 - d. 1536) he is asked what should be done to a person who calls a Halvetî dervish "*sûret uğrısı*." Kemalpaşazâde answers, "Nothing, if that Sufi is not a person of honor."[120] Similarly, in his version, Niksârîzâde insults "the disdainful, graceless, and destitute dervishes who pretend to have been freed from worldly desires, while [in fact] being greedy and morally reprehensible."[121]

[116] "Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsın iden ehl-i sâhib-i kisvet mukallak sûfîlere…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 1.
[117] "Evvela, hakîkat da'vâsın eden ehl-i kisvet altı aylık Sûfîler…" Hayati Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 20.
[118] Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf*, 34.
[119] "…tâze oğlan hâtırı içün tekyelerde 'ulemâ meclisinde varup ehl-i tarîk şekline giren sûret uğrıları…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 20.
[120] "Mes'ele: Halvetî Sûfîlerin birisine âhirden bir kimesne sûret uğrısı dise ne lâzım olur? El-Cevâb: Nesne lâzım olmaz ehl-i 'ırz değilse ol Sûfî. Kemâl Paşa*."* Lâli Seyyid Ahmed, *Mecmâu'l-Mesâili'ş-Şer'iyye fi'l-'Ulûmi'd-Dîniyye,* Millet Kütüphanesi, AEsry497, 5v. I thank my friend Arif Erbil for pointing me to this fatwa, which he came across in his own study.
[121] "…ve tamâm ahlâk-ı zemîme ve hırs ile muttasıf olub târik-i dünya geçinen müstağni-şekl olan dervîş-i bî-endâm bî-nevâların…"

In certain Sufi *tariqa*s, and especially in the later antinomian dervish modes of piety, one is expected to don certain paraphernalia that symbolizes the wearer's will to seclusion from the world and worldly desire, abstaining from luxury.[122] The paraphernalia would not only distinguish the followers of a *tariqa* from other paths but would also make an outward statement about the wearer's superior religiosity. According to Bernd Radtke, in the early years of Islam, the ascetic sought to set himself apart and above the ordinary Muslim, who increased in number as a result of the rapid expansion and conversions.[123] In the following centuries, not only Sufi exegesis, metaphysics, or gnoseology but also practices and appearance have always been geared up to maintain the Sufi identity above all other identities available to Muslims and as exclusive as possible.[124] Outward appearance was seen as one of the primary marks of the Sufi identity by the Sufis themselves throughout centuries and as one of the constituents of Sufism that distinguished it.[125] Later in the aftermath of the Mongolian Invasions in the thirteenth century and throughout the Late Middle Ages, a new current (re)emerged from within Sufism, which took the ascetic principles once again to the center of one's piety.[126] Of utmost importance to the orders and brotherhoods in this current, called the new renunciation by Ahmet T.

[122] This tradition was illustrated by İbrâhim Hâs (d. 1762) in his hagiography (*menâkıbnâme*) of the Halvetî sheikh Hasan Ünsî (b. 1645 - d. 1723). Hâs narrated how he got scolded by his sheikh for having worn a fur[122] scarf on his shoulders. Ünsî warned him, as Hâs reported, saying "a Sufi does not need precious clothings." Fur was a prominent symbol of power and official authority in the Ottoman realms, as also implied in a famous Nasreddin Hoca anecdote: one day, Nasreddin Hoca attended a feast in his casual clothes. Seeing that nobody came to serve him, he went home to grab his most lavish fur coat. This time, being welcomed in the best possible way at the gathering, he started to feed his fur coat at the table, saying "*Eat, my fur, eat!*" implying how it was the fur and not his own worth that got the attention and respect. İbrâhim Hâs, *Menâkıbnâme-i Hasan Ünsî*, ed. Mustafa Tatçı (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları: 2002), 204-6.
[123] Knysh, Sufism, 29.
[124] Ibid, 222.
[125] Ibid, 43.
[126] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 2-3.

Karamustafa,[127] was the highly distinguishable paraphernalia worn by the ascetic seekers, such as ankle bones, clubs, rings pierced into the body, etc. accompanied by the distinctive ways of shaving one's beard and hair.[128] The new ascetic appearance and behaviors sought to shock the society against which they protested, while at the same time serving as distinctive marks of the *tariqa* to which one belonged.[129]

However, there were Sufi masters, whose hagiographies depict as having preferred not to wear distinctive paraphernalia. Instead, they wore ordinary or unobjectionable garments. Nimatullah Wali was one such example, as he preferred to wear simple clothes and turban in the tradition of Muhammad.[130] The only thing that signified his Sufi identity was a belt around his waist, and he abstained from wearing paraphernalia that signified pious distinction.[131] In fact, throughout centuries, many Sufi tariqas produced literature against excessive asceticism and encouraged their followers to meditate and train their thoughts not just in isolation but among the crowd and within the society.[132] Many Sufi thinkers were striving to build or keep Sufism as a community-based mode of piety, not in contradiction with and opposition to the Sunni perception of Islam as the religion of *ummah*.[133] Problematization of ablutions and purity in the above-mentioned passage is reminiscent of this kind of concern for Sunnah-abiding Sufi institution. Thus, appearance is a subject of criticism in the *nefsü'l-emr*s not only for concealing the insincerity of the new dervishes but also for being a religious statement about

[127] Ibid, 4.
[128] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 52, 66-86.
[129] Ibid, 90-2.
[130] Bashir, Sufi Bodies, 81.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Knysh, *Sufism*, 180-1.
[133] Ibid, 16-8, 180-1.

society, from which the antinomian dervish cuts himself apart both in practice and visually. Contemporary with what Karamustafa defined as the new renunciation, or occasionally as deviant renunciation, *nefsü'l-emr* authors directed their criticisms towards such society-rejecting antinomian dervish groups who had risen in number and become foci of public veneration. At the time, growing numbers of ascetic renouncers, as historical evidence shows, were also recruited from among the learned.[134] This led to further disdain from certain Sufis whose exclusivist and lofty niche in the society was being challenged and usurped by the "riff-raff." The emphasis on how the pretenders attack (*kesüb biçen*) the men of refinement and delicacy in the four Lâmiî Çelebi copies, is evocative of the growing dislike between the antinomian dervish groups and the Sufis, from within which the new renunciation had risen as a counter-reaction and protest.[135]

*Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s reflect this socioreligious conflict peculiar to Late Middle Ages also in other passages that problematize ascetic-antinomian practices, which, in their eyes, trivialized and debased the Sufi path. For instance, in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, the author directly ridicules "the wandering abdals, whose hashish is aplenty,"[136] referring to the use of intoxicants by some itinerant dervish groups.[137] Moreover, in every manuscript except Niksârîzâde's version, one of the earlier insults to practices blame "those who abandon the ritual prayers (*salavat*), and sit in front of the dervish lodges with a candle before them to seclude themselves from the world."[138] In some versions, this passage is followed by "the lunatics who sit by the

[134] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends,* 10.
[135] Ibid, 91-2.
[136] "…esrârı çok yayak abdâllar…" Develi, Risâle-i Garîbe, 22.
[137] Karamustafa, God's Unruly Friends, 71.
[138] "…tekyegâhlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önlerine çerâğ koyub târik-i salavat olan(lara)…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 1; "…ve tekyegâhlar önünde celb-i dünyâ içün önine çerâğ koyub oturanlara…"

roads and play in the heaps, and the brutes who call them friends of God (*evliyâ'*)."[139]

These three passages blatantly criticize the itinerant ascetics who roamed Anatolia in the Late Middle Ages from town to town, like Qalandars, Haydaris, and Abdals of Rum, who were described and reported in detail and disdain by different European travelers and Ottomans like Vâhidî and Evliya Çelebi.[140] Antinomian and itinerant behaviors are ridiculed as lunacy in the passages, which also criticize the public tendency to venerate mentally ill persons, which has been denounced as public ignorance just as equally by Gölpınarlı in his *Tasavvuf,* who claim that public often confounded Sufi idea of divine attraction (*cezbe*) with actual mental illnesses.[141] The emphasis on their "playing" in the heaps is reminiscent of the practice of seclusion in cemeteries performed by dervishes such as Qalandari sheikh Jamal al-Din Savi (d. 1232-3),[142] and interestingly of the *chöd* tradition, performed by Tibetan Buddhist and Bön monks, who voluntarily bring themselves to the brink of trepidation, staying in charnel houses or sky burial grounds.[143]

Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 2; "…tekyegâhlarda celb-i dünyâ içün önine çerâğ koyub oturanlara..." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ), 2; "… tekye-gâhlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önlerine çerâğ koyub oturanlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 1; "…tekye-gâhlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önine çerâğ koyub oturanlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 3; "… tekyegâhlarda celb-i dünyâ içün önüne çerâğ koyub oturanlara ve evliyâdır diyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 2; "…tekye-gâhlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önine çerâğ koyub oturanlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 1; "…ve tekyegâhlarda celb-i dünyâ içün önünde çırâk koyub okuyanlara ve ana evliyâdır deyü sû' idenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC), 1; "…ve celb-i mâl-ı dünyâ [içün] önüne çerâğ koyup oturanlar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 42.

[139] "…yollarda oturub mezbelede oynar dîvâneler ki anlara evliyâdır diyen hayvânlara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 2; "…ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere evliyâdır diyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 2; "…ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere evliyâdır diyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 1; "… ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere ve evliyâdır diyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 3; "…ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere evliyâdır diyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 2.

[140] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 5-8.

[141] Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf*, 82.

[142] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 15, 21, 28, 44.

[143] Jerôme Edou, *Machig Ladbrön and the Foundations of Chöd*, (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1996), 43.

In some versions, the dervish groups are more direct and even further specified with the only ever mention of a known historical figure in the works, Şücâ'üddîn Velî of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Anatolia. In between the two insults mentioned above, some versions also ridicule the dervishes "who are crowned by Velî Şücâ'," or sometimes alternatively as "Şücâ' the lunatic (*deli* Şücâ')."[144] Şücâ'eddin Velî, also known as Sultan Şücâ' or Sücâ', was a prominent Abdal, who traveled naked and shaved in the fashion of *chahar-zarb*, the four-fold shave applied by the antinomian dervishes, shaving all facial hair.[145] Throughout his lifetime he caught the eye of power figures, including Murad II (r. 1421 – 51), who had a mosque built in his name in Edirne.[146] According to Karamustafa, Şücâ'eddîn Velî, along with other figures like Kaygusuz Abdal and Barak Baba, helped form the distinguishable marks of the identity of Abdals of Rum (*Abdalân-ı Rûm*).[147] This passage found in four *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is the most outspoken and direct discomfort expressed against the current of deviant renunciation of the period in which the authors were writing. The description of the prominent dervish alternatively either as God's friend (*velî*) or as lunatic (*deli*), reflects the discomfort for the ever blurrier line between the two states, and is not, I suggest, just a coincidental copyist error.

A distinction made by Jami in *Nefahât* can be quite revelatory for how Sufis and dervishes are criticized in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. According to Gölpınarlı, in Sufism there are three categories defined by the Sufis themselves: the Sufi,

[144] "…ve Velî Şücâ'dan tâc giyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 1; "…ve Veli Sücâ'dan tâc giyenler…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 3; "…deli Şücâ*h*dan tâc *ur* giyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 2; "…ve deli Şücâ'dan tâc giyenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 2.
[145] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 19, 39, 63.
[146] Ibid, 64.
[147] Ibid, 62.

mutasavvıf,[148] and *mustasvıf*.[149] Jami, who distinguishes between the Sufi and *mutasavvıf*, describes the latter as a person who has entered the path, counting himself as an accomplished Sufi while not yet mature.[150] Even though there is no mention of the *mutasavvıf* as a lower identity category alternative and/or counter to the "Sufi" in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, the Sufi-critical passages in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s possibly recall such a distinction, expecting the reader to infer the discrepancy between the real and the fake Sufi. A lengthy diatribe against the immature Sufis in Niksârîzâde's version is quite revelatory for the matter at hand:

> The imitators of heresy who, without paying respect to the exalted law, talk about the unity of being (*vahdet-i vücûd*), while still in the state of the inciting self (*nefs-i emmâre*), although the *'ulema* have collectively verified that the matter of unity of being cannot be comprehended by the faculty of reason…and some mendacious pseudo-dervishes who confirm them.[151]

Niksârîzâde in this lengthy passage addresses his readers to two basic concepts of Sufism; unity of being and states of the self (*nafs*).

Unity of being, discussed and developed by Ibn 'Arabi, has always been confounded with the unity of the existent [beings] (*vahdet-i mevcûd*) according to Gölpınarlı, who asserts that the latter prioritizes nature and existence over God, resulting in atheism and/or pantheism.[152]

The seven, or sometimes three states and/or stations of the self, represent the levels a seeker of the path would have to navigate in the guidance of a master.[153] The inciting self (*nefs-i emmâre*), the lowest of all the stations of the self, deceitfully

[148] *Mutasavvıf* can be translated as "one who becomes a Sufi."
[149] Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf*, 15.
[150] Ibid.
[151] See Appendix D, 7.
[152] Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf*, 43.
[153] Ibid, 34-5.

commands one to do evil for selfish ends.[154] Niksârîzâde, with excerpts from Jurjani (b. 1339 – d. 1414), Hafez, and Saadi, criticizes the recent seekers of the path, still being commanded by selfish benefits, who undeservingly deem themselves at a level where they can speak about the profound and demanding issue of unity of being, which can easily cross into the domain of atheism and/or pantheism.

In conclusion, I suggest that Sufi-critical passages in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s problematize two interchangeable categories to which the Sufi identity could be dragged. First is the antinomian dervish who both recruited from among the learned and challenged the society's view on Sufism by reprehensible actions, and second is the *mutasavvıf*, the new recruit to the path who thinks he's perfected himself without the necessary challenges and guidance, stuck in the state of the inciting self.

Both identities owe to the popularization of Sufism in the Late Middle Ages. When the authors were writing n*efsü'l-emrnâme*s, Sufism had long turned into sets of socioreligious networks with numerous *tariqa*s with endless pedigrees (*silsile*). There were indeed groups who, in the eyes of the authors, offered easier ways to salvation, turning undeserving riff-raff into unlaboured friends of God. One last passage from the Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* is a good example for the situation, as they criticize "the credulous and irresponsible men, who enter the Sufi path because of a trouble [that befell them] and wander like minstrels (*'âşık-meşreb*)."[155] The passage skillfully problematizes the facilitation of entrance for and availability of the Sufi path to men from lower backgrounds, while ridiculing

[154] Ibid; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 41.

[155] "…ve bir dûd-ı âhdan tekye külâhı urunmış 'âşık meşreb sâfî-dil levendlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 1; "…bir dûd-ı âhdan tekye külâhı urunmış 'âşık meşreb sâfî dil levendlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 1; "…bir dûd-ı âhdan tekye külâhını urunmış 'âşık meşreb sâfî dil olan zükûr ü levendlere…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 1.

the culmination of itinerant, antinomian dervish piety, like Qalandars, Haydaris, etc. in Ottoman lands under the Alevi-Bektashis, as *'aşık*s.[156]

Regarding the inseparability of the overall etiquette from normative religious practice, the Sufi *adab* literature can be proposed as a potential venture point for the authors of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. Etiquette was an essential part of the Sufi path, the ascetic-mystical current within Islam, to the degree that famous Sufi hagiographer al-Sulami (b. 937 - d. 1021) wrote "All of Sufism is [nothing but] *adab*" in his *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Sufiyya*.[157] Stretching over two sides, *adab* would rule both the external (*zâhir*) and the internal (*bâtın*) world of the Sufi, the former of which would allow one to enjoy piously the benefits of earthly existence, whereas the latter would secure the hereafter.[158] As Shahzad Bashir discusses in his book *Sufi Bodies,* the institution of Sufism was a corporeal relationship between the master, disciple, and the other disciples more than anything else.[159] Hagiographies and *adab* literature served as guides to good conduct, proper behavior, and corporeal control for the seekers of the path, teaching them how to behave in this bodily co-existence through depictions of the exemplary sheikh as the absolute master of his body.[160] As Bashir reports, the hagiographies pictured the Sufi sheikh in full control of his body almost in a Socratic sense. For instance, the Persian Sufi master Nimatullah Wali (b. 1330 – d. 1431), was described in his hagiography as having never been seen doing uncouth things like

[156] Bayram Durbilmez, "Aşık Edebiyatının Oluşumu ve Gelişiminde Alevi-Bektaşi Zümrelerin Yeri ve Önemi," *Alevilik Araştırmaları Dergisi* 13 (2017): 62.
[157] Al-Sulami, *Kitab al-tabaqat al-sufiyya*, ed. Johannes Pedersen (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 110; Alexander Knysh, *Sufism: A New History of Islamic Mysticism* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), 139.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 78-82.
[160] Ibid, 85.

spitting, touching his limbs, or sleeping.[161] Likewise, the Khwajagan-Naqshbandi shaykh Ubaydullah Ahrar (b. 1404 – d. 1490), as accounted by two disciples, was never seen yawning, coughing, expelling phlegm, or blowing his nose in a company.[162] His body was "incapable" of producing such an unpleasant impression on the onlookers.[163] The founder of the Naqshbandi order Baha' ad-Din Naqshband (b. 1318 – d. 1389) is said to have defined the friend of God (*wali/awliya*) as "one from whose bodily organs no wrong deed would ever come."[164]

3.2 *Kızılbaş* and the non-Muslim in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s

While the *nefsü'l-emr* genre is not exclusively written against or for the Muslim population and/or the mispractitioner, it is only interested in Islam at the religious level, except for some minor instances that are only present in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, which does not spare such non-Muslim groups as Muscovites[165] or Yezidis,[166] blaming them for infidelity. Here, however, a paradox is presented. While the "objective" reader is ready to distinguish Muslim from non-Muslim, for the *nefsü'l-emr* authors, the definition of non-Muslim would be much wider. Many Muslims are railed for being in a clash with the authors' understanding of Islam. The historian should not fail to acknowledge the authors' rejection when analyzing groups that he/she readily know to be within Islam, as some were nowhere near being a Muslim in the eyes of the authors. One such example would be from the

[161] Ibid, 80.
[162] Ibid, 81.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid, 80.
[165] "…ve Moskovın nûrsızı…" Hayati Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 41.
[166] "…ve soğanı yumruğile kırmayan Yezîdî Kürdler…" Ibid.

Nuruosmaniye manuscript, which insulted the *Kızılbaş* in a paragraph reserved for non-Muslim groups, such as "the bastards of Austria (*Nemçe*)"[167] or "the Jewish tricksters."[168] It shows that the *nefsü'l-emr* authors' category of non-Muslim would subsume such groups as *Kızılbaş* that one would be ready to analyze within Islam, heterodox or not.

It is once again important to bear in mind that what the authors took to be categorically religious could be different from what one expects. As Stefan Winter discusses in his article on the Syrian Kızılbaş, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Ottoman State used categorical insults such as *Kızılbaş* or *Revafiz* for the Shiite populations of coastal highlands of Syria, increasingly beyond their capacity to designate heresy or political ambitions in support of the Safavid State.[169] Such pejorative terms became more and more general and meaningless, serving and justifying the Ottoman State's political and economic agenda in the region shortly and efficiently.[170] While it is surely difficult to compare humorous *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s with the registers of imperial decrees (*mühimme defterleri*), the insulting language applied within *nefsü'l-emr*s displays a similar efficiency sought out from the largeness of the terms like *dînsiz* and *bî-dîn*, if not of Kızılbaş or *Revâfiz*. Thus, the historian should be diligent in distinguishing equivocal blame from the problematization of socioreligious realities. It is rather difficult to determine where *kızılbaş* as an insult starts and ends in Ottoman realms. Insults that aim to defame on religious grounds tend to go beyond their literal meanings, transcend their context,

[167] "...Nemçe'nin harâmzâdesi…" Ibid.
[168] "…Cühûd'un hîlebâzı…" Ibid.
[169] Stefan Winter, "The Kızılbaş of Syria and Ottoman Shiism," *The Ottoman World* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 172.
[170] Ibid, 178.

and subsume large groups, knowing no bounds. No period of time and no land are exempt from these categories of insult that states and societies consult as practical, hasty, and efficient resorts that justify legal penalization. *Kızılbaş*, is one such resort for the Ottomans, as suggested by Stefan Winter. And indeed, though *nefsü'l-emr*s were not official documents written for the consumption of the state, they were also not independent from the vituperative language it generated. Moreover, in the tongue-in-cheek style of *the nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, which makes it difficult to understand where the joke ends, *kızılbaş* has both been a vituperative insult and the insulted target group itself, especially in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript.

With the founding of the Safaviyya Order in Western Iran in the thirteenth century by the Sheikh Safi al-Din Ardabili (b. 1252), Shii-sympathizing groups started to emerge also in Ottoman territories.[171] As Sheikh Junayd (r. 1447-1460) politicized and militarized the Order in the fifteenth century, Safaviyya started to be seen as a threat from the East by the Ottoman State.[172] *Kızılbaş*, referring to a twelve-gored crimson taj worn by the followers to signify their adherence to the Twelve Imams,[173] became an insult that denigrated both Safavids and the Ottoman subjects with Alid and pro-Safavid tendencies, including Shiitizing dervishes. While the insult always maintained its core that targeted the Safavids, even when the diplomatic relations were better off with the Safavids or when they finally ceased to

[171] Ayle Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, "The Formation of Kızılbaş Communities in Anatolia and Ottoman Responses, 1450s-1630s," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 20 (2014): 29-31; Ayşe Baltacıoğlu-Brammer, "Neither Victim Nor Accomplice: The Kızılbaş as Borderland Actors in the Early Modern Ottoman Realm," *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2020), 423.
[172] Brammer, "Formation," 25.
[173] Brammer, "Formation," 28; Brammer, "Borderland Actors," 423.

be a major threat for the Ottomans in the seventeenth century,[174] *kızılbaş* remained as the insult to-go, retaining a meaning large enough and closer to heretic and infidel.

The fact that, in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, *kızılbaş* only pop out in sections that also railed non-muslim and even extraimperial populations is telling of its intended target in the *nefsü'l-emr*s. For instance, in one such passage, the author accuses "the pimps who send their sick spouses to random doctors, no matter if infidel, Jew, *Kızılbaş*, or Frank, letting them squeeze their arms."[175] *Kızılbaş* is pinned between the non-muslim others of the Empire and beyond. In another passage, *Kızılbaş* is packed along with the non-Muslim infidels and enemies of the Empire:

> Fire-worshipping Hindus; Bosnians who say 'I know it's a windmill, but where does its water come from?'; Tatars who don't behead Cossacks and bring them instead to *İslambol*; Kalmyks of canine origins; Rus who do not become Muslim; the traitors of Moldavia; Wallachian thieves; Polish Jews; unlikeable Muscovites; bastards of Austria; stubborn Hungarians; mad gardeners (*bakçuvân*) of the Abkhaz; [*ve*]*sikalu*(?) Circassians; Georgians who don't know how to row; Jewish tricksters; the unfaithful who eats shit instead of bread when not doing tricks; and the accursed Shiite (*revâfîz*) *Kızılbaş*, who are donkeys to the Jews, cursing the four distinguished friends of the Prophet (*cihar yâr-ı güzîn*) –may God be pleased with them all.[176]

This passage from the Nuruosmaniye manuscript[177] situated *Kızılbaş* among the extraneous non-muslim populations outside the imperial realm, such as Hindus, Austrians, etc. This leads to the conclusion that *Kızılbaş* in this context rather targets the Safavids *per se*, as also evidenced by the emphasis on the ritual cursing of the

[174] Brammer, "Formation," 33-4.
[175] "…ve 'ehlim 'ayâlim hastadur!' deyüp, tabîbdür deyü ne kadar kâfir ve cühûd ve kızılbaş ve Firenk var ise göndürüp kolunı sıkdıran püzevenkler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 28.
[176] See Appendix D, 8.
[177] This passage is not followed by relevant target groups, but rather by topics like mendicancy etc. Thus, that paragraph forms a cluster in itself, that exclusively mocked extraneous groups.

"four"[178] caliphs. Evliya Çelebi too reports how he resisted the temptation, even though he was at liberty to kill up to four Kızılbaş indulging in the ritual cursing, when in the Safavid territories as an envoy.[179]

Furthermore, in the same passage, the author of the manuscript makes another reference to a popular myth about Jews and *Kızılbaş*, which too is reported by Evliya Çelebi. As Evliya narrates, one day, the Safavid Shah Tahmasb (r. 1524 - 76) sends coins and jewelry with an ambassador during the construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque to prove superior to Suleiman:

> Süleymân Khan, burning with rage after reading the letter, distributed a thousand pouchfuls of riches to the Jews of *İslâmbol* until nothing was left. He said to the ambassador: "On doom's day, Shiites will be donkeys under the Jews. Jews will surely be your cavalrymen. Your goods should be handed to your masters now so that on doom's day they don't spur and whip you. Why would peoples like you, after all, who abandoned the ritual prayers, be even concerned with a pious mosque?"[180]

The author of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is familiar with the lore and reproduces a corporeal hierarchy, situating *Kızılbaş* even lower than the Jews, who, as Karateke shows were considered at the lowest [181] Zoomorphic imagery is often used to

[178] Ritual cursing includes three caliphs, namely Abu Bakr, Omar, and Uthman. However, the formulation in the manuscript as "*cihar yâr-ı güzîn*" (the four distinguished friends of God) blame the *kızılbaş* also for cursing Ali himself as a fourth.
[179] Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), 58.
[180] See Appendix D, 9.
[181] Hakan T. Karateke, "Evliyâ Çelebi's Perception of Jews," *Disliking Others: Loathing Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, ed. Hakan Karateke, H. Erdem Çıpa, Helga Anetshofer, (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 137-8.

denigrate a given identity.[182] As evidenced by works like *Harnâme*,[183] in Ottoman literature, donkey represents physical submission, which is symbolized via the imagery of being ridden, whipped, and spurred in this passage from *Seyahatname* and the Nuruosmaniye manuscript. While not overt, there is also the implication of sexual submission in the image of a donkey, which some Lâmiî Çelebi copies and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* make use, ridiculing the "irreligious who fuck donkeys and cattle."[184]

Libelous juxtaposition and even amalgamation of different identities or political groups have always been part of the language of enmity and still are phenomena that one witnesses in today's politics. Two groups, no matter if related, get merged in the language, being turned into practical keywords that evoke each other. Thus, the act of defamation efficiently targets multiple groups, smearing them with each other. This is the haunting, almost phantasmagorical nature of the insults that categorize politically and evoke history. *Kızılbaş* becomes an insult for the Jews, just as *Cühûd*, a derogatory word for Jew, becomes an insult for the *Kızılbaş*, as a result of this narrative marriage made in hell. This adds to the argument of the practicality of insulting discourse at the political level, made by Winter, in the Ottoman realms. Furthermore, for the discussion at hand, this amalgamation of the

[182] As Bilha Moor shows in her article on al-Qazwini's (b. 1203 – d. 1283) cosmographical encyclopaedia *Acâ'ibü'l-Mahlûkât ve Garâ'ibü'l-Mevcûdât*, which was quite popular among the Ottoman readers too, the "*Jewish shaykh"* is a wondrous hybrid amphibian creature, with the head of an elderly Jew and the body of a giant frog. In medieval and early modern European literature, frog is often associated with the Jew, who, "as the usurer, is swollen with greed." Bilha Moor, "The Jew, the Orthodox Christian, and the European in Ottoman Eyes, ca. 1550-1700," *Disliking Others: Loathing Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, ed. Hakan Karateke, H. Erdem Çıpa, Helga Anetshofer, (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 79-82.

[183] *Harnâme* is an allegorical, humorous poem by Şeyhî (d. 1431) that tells the story of an emaciated donkey.

[184] "…eşek ve kısrak siken dînsiz yüzi karalara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 3; "…eşek ve dana sikenlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr*, 3.

two also means that, while the target is determined and accurate as Safavids in this case, the authors do not hesitate in evoking possible collateral meanings, are conscious about them, and do mean to touch upon them. Thus, while *Kızılbaş* pertains to the Safavids in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, it also does not necessarily condone the Alid and Shiitizing populations within. This argument can be supported by Evliya Çelebi's use of the aforementioned lore a second time for the Crimean Jews, the Karaites. He describes Karaites as the *kızılbaş* of the Jews, carving a niche for them within Judaism as the heretics of that religion.[185] He exemplifies the distant social reality that he observes with a familiar category for his audience, making a resemblance to an identity group the Ottoman reader would easily recognize. However, as he mentions that "these *Kızılbaş*" of the Jews won't be riding the[actual] *Kızılbaş* on Doom's Day, it becomes self-evident that "*kızılbaş*" signifies both the heretic and the Safavid, without necessarily canceling each other out.

In the other manuscripts, there is only one instance in which the *Kızılbaş* "coiffure" is ridiculed. Hacı Ahmed and two Lâmiî Çelebi copies blame "those who pluck the white hair off their beards, turning it into *Kızılbaş* moustache" of being *Kızılbaş* and creedless (*mezhebsiz*).[186] Once again, in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, the same passage emphasizes rejectionism, calling them Rafidi.[187] Beard coiffure has always been a very outward statement about piety and creed in Islamdom. The antinomian dervishes of the Late Middle Ages adopted the *chahar zarb* which

[185] Karateke, "Evliya Çelebi on Jews," 137.
[186] "…ve sakalının ağın yolubda bıyığını kızılbaş bıyığına döndüren kızılbaş gidilere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 3; "…ve sakalının ağını yolubda ya'nî kızıl baş bıyığına döndüren kızıl başlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 3: "…ve sakalının ağın yolub da bıyığını kızılbaş bıyığına döndüren mezhebsizlere…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle,* 3.
[187] "…ve sakalın dişile akın yolup kızıl baş buyuğına benzeden Râfızîler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 35.

included the shaving of hair, beard, eyebrows, and eyelashes,[188] which was a clear divergence from the *sunnah*, which enjoins one to wear beard and mustache.[189] The fourteenth-century jurist scholar Ibn Taymiyya condemns Qalandars as "unbelievers who shave their beards."[190] This antinomian coiffure was becoming so popular that in Syria and Egypt, Qalandar dervishes were forbidden to shave in the "Iranian" style.[191] Thus, shaving one's beard was reportedly seen as Iranian, as also evidenced by Evliya Çelebi, who occasionally ridicules the *Kızılbaş* as *sertiraş*, shaven-heads in his *Seyâhatnâme*.[192] Unlike other dervish groups, however, Haydaris, who shaved their beards, let their mustache grow after the example of 'Ali, who, according to Haydaris, never shaved his mustache.[193] The *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s cumulatively ridicule Alids and Safavids through their coiffure that serves as Shii and antinomian identity marks. This passage and its problematization of the coiffure once again shows the largeness of the term *Kızılbaş*, in its capacity to insult target groups both in and outside the Empire.

3.3 Kadızadelis and innovation (*bid'at*) in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s

In the scholarship, the Kadızadeli movement is usually analyzed as consisting of three waves under three leading figures. Kadızâde Mehmed (b. 1582 – d. 1635), the fervent anti-Sufi preacher of the Ayasofya Mosque, was the first to translate the prominent sixteenth-century theologian Birgivî Mehmed's fundamentalist ideas into

[188] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friend*s, 19, 52.
[189] Ibid, 19.
[190] Ibid, 54.
[191] Ibid, 55.
[192] Dankoff, *Ottoman Mentality*, 63.
[193] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 68-9.

social activism.[194] Under Üstüvanî Mehmed (b. 1608 – d. 1661) and later Vanî Efendi (d. 1685), the movement saw its second and third waves with fluctuations marked by political conflicts and struggles that involved various actors like regents, viziers, janissaries, city-folk, and more.[195]

Under the influence of Birgivî's writings, followers of the movement expressed a highly strong distaste for the Sufi brotherhoods, especially the Halvetis, and advocated for a return to the "Prophetic" foundations, getting rid of all the innovations (*bid'at*) that prevailed in the society like consumption of tobacco and drugs, or revoking new taxes, especially ones imposed on tradesmen.[196] While the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are Sufi-critical, and yet not as anti-Sufi as the Kadızadeli movement was, the texts abound with entries against such innovations as tobacco, drugs, and coffeehouses. Moreover, some allegedly profit-oriented ideals of the Kadızadeli movement, deemed worthy of comparison by some with Protestant ethic, can also be traced in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, especially in the latest known work, the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, which dates back from the early eighteenth century.

Tobacco consumption is one of the "innovations" that frequently gets criticized in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. For instance, in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, the author criticizes "those who break their fast by smoking tobacco in the holy month of Ramadan, and who, [therefore] will be fed the poisonous leaves of *Zaqqum* [in the hell]."[197] This passage is the harshest, as it defames smoking as a sinful act

[194] Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadelis as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?," *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2012), 263-4.
[195] Ibid, 265, 271-8.
[196] Ibid, 263.
[197] "…ve Ramazân-ı Şerîfte iftârı duhân ile eden zehir zakkum yudaçaklar…" Develi, Risâle-i Garîbe, 33.

that directly violates ritual obligations, not without an argument against its unhealthy or poisonous content, resembling the *Zaqqum*. Other instances problematize how tobacco smokers disturb others at gatherings with their dirt, emphasizing the lack of etiquette: "the donkeys who light their pipes with candles and spoil them with tobacco,"[198] or "those whose mouths will desiccate spitting behind elegant cushions or on the walls of a beautifully furnished room, after smoking tobacco."[199] Another passage from, once again, the Nuruosmaniye manuscript gives insight into the urban space perceived by the denizens of early modern Istanbul. The anonymous author curses "those who, after embarking on a boat from Ahor Kapusı, start smoking tobacco before leaving past the Sinan Paşa Mansion,"[200] one of the seaside mansions of Topkapı Palace, no longer extant. This passage informs the historian on the symbolic reach and range of the imperial authority that emanated from the Palace, as Sinan Paşa Mansion was considered a reference point that would determine the appropriateness of certain actions—like smoking tobacco or eating sweets—at a certain proximity to the Palace.[201]

Another *nefsü'l-emr* criticism that aligns with Kadızadeli ideals pertains to the assessment of one's time and the issue of idleness. As Marinos Sariyannis discusses in his article, comparably similar with Protestant work ethic,[202] Kadızadeli

[198] "…ve ocakta yâ mangalda âteş var iken mûmda lüle yakup mûmun üzerine tütün döken hımârlar…" Ibid, 26.
[199] "…ve fâhir döşeli oda içinde nâzik kumaş yasdıklar ardına ve dîvâra duhân içip de tüküren ağzı kuruyaçaklar…" Ibid; "… ve bir kibâr meclisine varub kendüye duhân getürdüklerinde nûş iderken nefîs, nazîf yasdıkların ardına tüküren eşeklere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 10; "…ve bir kibâr meclisine varub kendüye duhân getürdüklerinde nûş iderken nefîs nazîf yasdıkların ardına tüküren eşeklere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 5; "…ve bir kibâr meclisine varub kendüye duhân getürdüklerinde nûş iderken nefîs, nazîf yasdıklar dibine tüküren eşek ve ebterlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 7.
[200] "Ahor Kapusında kayığına binüp Sinân Paşa Köşküni geçmeden duhân içenler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 23.
[201] Ibid, 83.
[202] Sariyannis, "Kadızadelis," 283.

ideals were presumably appealing to the profit-minded merchant groups, who were the active base of the movement in the city.[203] He suggests that aspiring merchants who were bothered by the traditional concept of time and the narrow gain perspective of the guilds would be appealed by the rigid and austere lifestyle proposed by the Kadızadelis that required one to denounce pleasures like coffeehouse culture and public entertainment for financial and religious pursuits. While this remains speculation, there are passages from *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s that berate idle behaviors, if not for the sake of mercantile pursuits:

> The donkeys who ignore ritual ablutions and instead wrestle naked in the cold; and the boors who intend to play jereed (*cirid*), while they can't even practice archery; and the accursed who play backgammon, chess, and mancala, instead of reading; and the liars who read Shahnameh (*Şâhnâme*) and Hamzanama (*Hamzanâme*), instead of Quran, *Risâle*, or Tarikh al-Tabari (*Tevârih-i Taberî*), and the bards who spend their days with questions and answers that are of no use to their lives here and hereafter; and those who play with knuckle bones on streets and in front of mosques; and the Franks who gamble in arsenals (*tophânelerde*).[204]

Here, the aforementioned *Risâle* must be Birgivî Mehmed's popular *'ilm-i hâl* work *Vasiyetnâme*, also known as *Risâle-i Birgivî*. This passage sheds light on the anonymous author's literary preferences and brings him closer to an ideological line shared by Kadızadelis. However, the author's reference to Birgivî's work, while expresses the ideological and religious influence that can shed light on many passages within his *nefsü'l-emr*, does not necessarily make him a Kadızadeli. As discussed earlier, orthodox Sunni ideals were not exclusive to the Kadızadelis, and Birgivî was quite the popular read at the time.[205]

[203] Ibid, 286-8.
[204] See Appendix D, 10.
[205] Sariyannis, "Kadızadelis," 285; Terzioğlu, "Sunnitization," 319.

In a similar passage that problematizes indolence through poetry, Niksârîzâde mocks "the vermin who spend their precious time on poetry instead of religious knowledge (*'ilm*)."[206] Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle* is another work that ridicules the idle and it specifically problematizes the coffeehouse, which was as the locus of the lazy: "the shameless who visit those who pass their time killing lice (*kehle cellâdı*) and sleep in coffeehouses."[207] Coffeehouses, denounced by many for keeping people away from work, and as seditionary loci, were closed in the mid-seventeenth century, partly prompted by Kadızâde Mehmed.[208]

In the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, another issue that gets its share from the insults and mockery with religious right conduct in mind is wine consumption. However, most passages in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s problematize not directly the wine itself but its consumption at occasions that require more solemnity and religious respect, and the drinker who lacks the necessary manners for that. For instance, in the four Lâmiî Çelebi copies, Niksârîzâde's version, and in the *Makâle* of Hacı Ahmed, "the hypocrites" are criticized for "wanting to pray after a wine gathering, despite the stench of wine still emanating from their mouths."[209] In the Nuruosmaniye manuscript too wine is problematized: "the confused who dress up and go to drink

[206] "…ve evkât-ı şerîfesin 'ilme sarf itmeyüb şi'ir böceği olan haşarâtın…" Niksârziâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 3; "…ve evkât-ı şerîfesin 'ilme sarf itmeyüb şi'ir böceği olan haşarâtın…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 2.
[207] "…ve kahvehânede uyuyan kehle cellâdına ziyârete varan utanmazlara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5.
[208] Sariyannis, "Kadızadelis," 286.
[209] "…ve henûz ağzında âsâr-ı hamr var iken meclis-i şarâbdan kalkub namâz kılmak ister mürâyîlerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 7; "…ve henûz ağzında hamr var iken meclis-i şarâbdan kalkub namâz kılmak isteyen mürâyîlerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 6; "…ve henûz ağzında hamr râyihâsı var iken namâz kılmak isteyen mel'ûnlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 4; "…ve henûz ağzının hamr râyihâsı var iken namâz kılmak isteyen mürâyîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 4; "… henûz ağzında hamr râyihası var iken namâz kılmak isteyen mürâyîlere…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 4.

wine at the taverns on holidays in imitation of the infidels."[210] In a different passage, Lâmiî Çelebi copies deride "the infidel unbelievers who say 'Your flesh is my flesh' (*lahmüke lahmî*)[211] while drinking wine with their sons."[212]

Another example from the Lâmiî Çelebi manuscripts, in which juxtaposition of wine and Sufism is problematized, derides "the donkeys who converse about Sufism and religious knowledge (*'ilm*) while drinking wine at a gathering."[213] In these examples, despite the symbolic importance of wine in Sufi literature, the problem is the juxtaposition of the actual drink with religious discussion, which perhaps would be turned into blather by the drunk.

These examples are in line with other sections that mock improper conduct at gatherings of wine (*bâde sofrası*). For example, the Lâmiî Çelebi copies mock "the pricks who give away their belongings at a wine gathering, regretting it the next day when they sober up."[214] It is apparent that the wine gathering is not the problem for the author in this passage, but the type of guest who does not know his bounds, drinking until he humiliates himself, becoming a subject of laughter for the author and the other guests, presumably. Another instance, this time in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, ridicules "the accursed who vomit like dogs after drinking wine, unable to digest,"[215] once again bothered by the drinker rather than the drink. As Shahab Ahmed discusses in his book *What is Islam?*, in Islamic culture, wine-drinking was

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[210] "…ve bayrâm güni geyinüp kuşanup mîhâneye varup şarâb içen ve kefereye taklîd iden müşevveşler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 33.
[211] "*Lahmüke Lahmî," (Your flesh is my flesh*) is an 'Alid phrase believed to have been said by Prophet Muhammad to 'Ali as a sign of bond and unity.
[212] "...kendü öz oğlı ile bâde sohbetinde hem-kadeh olup "lahmüke lahmî" müsâhabet iden kâfir dinsiz gidilere..." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 5.
[213] "...ve şarâb meclisinde izhâr-ı fazîlet idüp müsâhebet-i 'ilm ve mübâhese-i ma'rif ü tasavvuf iden eşek sûfîlere..." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 4.
[214] "…bâde meclisinde cûd ü sehâ aşikâr idüb bir şey hîbe idüb irtesi gün ayıldıkda pişmân olan kırd kırd kalâfatlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 3.
[215] "…ve hazm etmeyüp şarâb içüp köpek gibi kusan mel'ûnlar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 35.

both a metaphor in poetry and an actual rarefied group practice, which would be accompanied by poetry[216] at social gatherings, despite its prohibition by Qur'an.[217] And as Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı show in their book on the early modern concept of love, wine gatherings in the early modern Istanbul would almost without exception be accompanied by the youthful boys,[218] just like the Quranic immortal youths who are to accompany Muslims in the gardens of delight in the hereafter.[219] Thus, the criticisms in *nefsü'l-emr*s, which pertain to wine consumption, are not from an oppositional ground but from within the Islamic elite wine-drinking culture, which the target groups in the texts violate by exceeding bounds, in terms of both religion and etiquette, which are transitive categories, as discussed earlier.

In the subchapter on the Sufis, I had discussed how the Sufi master is depicted as having full corporeal control, almost in a Socratic sense. In Plato's famous and influential work on love (*Eros*), *Symposium*, Athenian notables, including Aristophanes, Alcibiades, and later Socrates, converse about and eulogize Eros, the deity of desire, by turns at a wine gathering. Alcibiades, the prominent Athenian general, in his turn and "under the impact of wine's intoxication," confesses his "otherwise unspeakable" love for Socrates,[220] and how he tirelessly tried to seduce Socrates during the Battle of Potidea (432 BCE) to no avail. Socrates is described by Alcibiades as having not fallen to his "youthful beauty," attempt after attempt.[221] Alcibiades goes on to tell Socrates' perplexing control over his body, how

[216] Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Oxford: The University of Princeton Press, 2016), 36.
[217] Ahmed, *What is Islam*, 62.
[218] Walter G. Andrews & Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005), 144.
[219] Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Beloveds*, 156-7.
[220] Plato, *Symposium*, trans. Seth Bernadete (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 46-8.
[221] Ibid, 47.

he outdid every soldier in the challenging tasks of the battle, resisting hunger and bitter winter colds with the usual clothes that he always wore, walking barefoot on ice, standing still outside in the cold till dawn came up, etc.[222] The most amazing thing Socrates did, however, tells Alcibiades, is how nobody ever saw him drunk, and assures the guests that they will soon witness it.[223] He proves right, and at the end of the *Symposium*, when every guest falls asleep intoxicated with wine, Socrates, having drunk a tremendous amount, puts everyone to bed, goes to the Lyceum just as he'd do any other day.[224]

Symposium and its depiction of Socrates as the absolute master of his body, both resisting drunkenness, and youthful attraction, are interesting sources to look at. One should be careful in comparing them to early modern Istanbulite culture. However, classical Greek thought has been no stranger to the Sufis. I find similarities between this Socratic ideal in the hagiographic depictions and the Islamic wine drinking culture as discussed in this chapter. Self-control, imagined in the body of the Sufi master, extends into the elite wine party, where getting drunk would be a violation of etiquette, and those who lack it are criticized within *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

These criticisms are in line with the Kadızadeli critic and discourse that were up and thriving in the seventeenth century as discussed. The movement had gradually lost its acceleration towards the mid-eighteenth century, though its impacts on politics and religious identity were felt by the authors.[225] Moreover, there were other moralists in the eighteenth century, who wrote against innovations like coffee, and idle occupations like playing chess, gardening, or bird keeping, including Sünbülzâde

[222] Ibid, 50-1.
[223] Ibid, 50.
[224] Ibid, 54.
[225] Sariyannis, "Kadızadelis," 266.

Vehbî's (b. 1719 – d. 1809) *Lütfiyye*.[226] While the political movement eased, fundamentalist ideals remained effective in Ottoman thought.

Interestingly, the Kadızadelis themselves are not spared from the criticisms, in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript. In *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s except for *Risâle-i Garîbe*, the second place in the lists, after the disguised Sufis, is always reserved for "the arrogant weird birds who put on airs as if they are the Phoenix, who look down on heavens and the legendary Simurgh, calling it a fly."[227] The formula and the idiom are used to delineate arrogance without narrowing it down to an identified group of people deemed to be arrogant. In the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, however, the author takes up the same formula and idiom to attack the Kadızadelis, who this time are depicted as, "dressed up like weird birds."[228]

In his Master's thesis, Salgırlı claims that at the period in which the Nuruosmaniye manuscript was written, Kadızadeli would simply be a synonym for orthodox fanaticism.[229] However, self-proclaimed Kadızadelis were present in Sarajevo, as evidenced by Kerima Filan, as late as the second half of the eighteenth century.[230] Thus, while their halcyon days in the capital as powerful political actors were gone, the Kadızadeli identity did not disappear for much longer, turning this passage into one that directly criticizes Kadızadelis, to which the genre and its templates became an opportunity for expression.[231]

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[226] Ibid, 288.
[227] "...ve 'ankâlık da'vâsın iden feleğe kelek simurga sinek dimez her 'aceb kuş olanlara..." Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC), 1.
[228] "...ve simurga sinek demez 'ankālık da'vāsın eden 'aceb kuş kıyāfetli Kadızādeler..." Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 20.
[229] Salgırlı, *MA Thesis,* 33.
[230] Kerima Filan, "Religious Puritans in Sarajevo in the eighteenth century," *OTAM* 33 (2013): 44-6.
[231] The *Kadızâdeli* example is also an important one for having shown how the authors were occasionally appropriating the genre to their own social realities, instead of reproducing the same text withox*xxut subjectivity.

Similarly, in the Istanbul University and *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, and in Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, Birgivî Mehmed Efendi's followers, Birgivîs, are ridiculed. Once again a passage that is reserved for the donkeys and dogs, without specifying a target group gets turned into a passage that ridicules a religious group. In the Lâmiî Çelebi copies, the authors mock "the dogs (also donkeys) who do not let anybody else talk at a gathering."[232] The same passage is used to deride Birgivîs in *Mecmû'a-i Fevâid* and Istanbul University copies attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi; "Birgivîs who do not let anybody else talk at a gathering."[233] In *Makâle*, Hacı Ahmed derides "the mendacious Birgivîs who obstinately try to find fault in others."[234] This passage once again shows how the *nefsü'l-emr* stance was not totally aligned with the fundamentalist and moralist views that were popular at the time.

3.4 Conclusion

These examples from the manuscripts, which depict both Sufi-critical and Kadızadeli-critical positions, paint an ambiguous picture as to what stance the authors took in their works. I find Nathalie Clayer's article on Münîrî-i Belgrâdî useful for this context, as it shows an alternative approach to the discussion of clear-

[232] "…ve meclisde mütekellim-i vahde ve çene defterdârı olub kimseye nevbet değirmeyen hımârlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 3; "…ve meclisde mütekellim-i vahde ve çene defterdârı olub kimesneye nevbet değirmeyenhımârlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 5-6; "…ve meclisde kimseye kelâm itdirmeyüb nevbet virmeyen kuduz kilâblara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ), 3; "…ve meclisde kimseye kelam itdirmeyüb nevbet virmeyen kilâblara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC), 2.

[233] "…ve meclisde lakırdı itmede kimseye nevbet değirmeyen Birgivîlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 4; "…ve meclisde mütekellim-i vahde ve çene defterdârı olub kimesneye nevbet değirmeyen Birgivî sülüsü'l-kavle mübtelâ hımârlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 4.

[234] "…ve 'inâdına musırr olub sözi dürüst değil iken ta'annüt üzere olan Birgivîlere…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5.

cut orthodox and heterodox identities in the Ottoman Empire. Münîrî was a madrasa-educated Halvetî sheikh who, according to Nathalie Clayer, had a double identity of what she defines as *côté zâhir* and *côté bâtin*.[235] As Clayer argues, Münîrî played with both religious establishment through his profession as an Islamic jurist and teacher, and with the Sufi path as a prominent sheikh in his region.[236] Münîrî-i Belgrâdî individually favored an orthodox kind of Sufism, in which the humble follower did not skip obligatory prayers, consume coffee, opium, tobacco or wine, and abstained from displaying religiosity and performing rituals that challenged orthodox Sunnism like sama. He also wrote against the pro-Alid and Malami-sympathizing *fütüvvet* institution.[237]

At the period in which the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s were being written, both shariah-abiding Sufis and the fundamentalist Kadızadelis were competing for the spokesmanship of Sunni orthodoxy in the Ottoman political arena, finding themselves social base in the urban centers.[238] However, Sufism outlived the fundamentalist movement, via its capacity to internalize the Sunnitizing current of the times.[239] I suggest that, just like Münîrî, the *nefsü'l-emr* authors too represent the current of a middle-way approach internalized by Sufis vis-à-vis both the new modes of piety and the fundamentalist movements. While criticizing new and antinomian modes of dervish piety, which put Sufism at stake in a time when it was more difficult to be a Sufi, the authors also made sure to join into the factious debates like

[235] *Exoteric side* and *esoteric side*, which in the case of Münîrî compose his double identity as jurist and sheikh.
[236] Nathalie Clayer, "Münîrî Blegrâdî, Un représentant de 'ilmiyye dans la région de Belgrade, fin XVIe - début du siecle," *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte* (2002): 555-62.
[237] Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf*, 128; Sariyannis, "Kadızadelis," 281.
[238] Terzioğlu, "Sunnitization," 319.
[239] Ibid, 320.

the illicit innovations that were being spearheaded by Kadızadelis, whom they did not spare from their mockery.

In the end, I suggest, at least for the passages covered within this chapter, that the authors drew from two basic literary sources; Sufi *adab* literature, and the fundamentalist ideals that had been on the rise, which culminated in the works of Birgivî. It is, in the end, the proper conduct via one's self-control and abstinence from such factious innovations that constitute the counter-argument implied within *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN SPACE IN *NEFSÜ'L-EMRNÂME*S

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were turbulent times for the Ottomans. Cycles of rural unrest that periodically swept through the sixteenth century almost tripled the population of the capital city.[240] The city had also become a condensed nucleus of diversity where social conflicts and eventual daily confrontations between the "urban participants" were inevitable.[241] The social dynamism of the times helped the flourishing of new ways of seeing and representing the city both in pictorial and textual works.[242] New genres that directed their gaze towards the city and the loci where urbanites participated in the daily life started to appear, such as *şehrengîz* and *sûrnâme*.[243] Derin Terzioğlu and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu analyze the most celebrated example of the *sûrnâme* genre, İntizâmî's (b. 1540 – d.1612) *Sûrnâme-i Hümâyûn* in consideration of these social transformations.

I will try to analyze *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s and their targeted groups in the city with a similar approach. I will first discuss the concept of representation and what it might mean for the Ottoman early modernity, making use of the vocabulary suggested by Timothy Mitchell for comparisons of nineteenth-century Egypt and France. I will also challenge his arguments with the data and analyses offered by

[240] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56, no. 1 (2014): 27. Accessed May 30, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23890552.
[241] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square, Streets, and Denizens of Early Modern Istanbul: Practices of Urban Space and Shifts in Visuality," *Muqarnas* 27, no.1 (2020): 140.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84; Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square," 157-8.

Terzioğlu and Kafescioğlu on the representation of the early modern Ottoman capital and its populace.

After making the ground for an analysis of representation, I will compare two approaches to public and private spheres in the Ottoman historiography, offered by Alan Mikhail and Tülay Artan. Their discussions and differing approaches to space in the early modern Ottoman context will help me craft my tool for organizational purposes. Instead of an arrangement based on identity groups as in Chapter 3, I will employ a structure that takes the reader gradually from the street level to home.

4.1 Representation in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s - *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s as urban representations

In his celebrated article on the world fairs and the "spectacle," Timothy Mitchell argues that there was a changing way of representing the world that culminated in the West during the nineteenth century, and particularly in the example of the French in his article, which the Orient, as the great "external reality" of Europe, lacked.[244] Europeans, according to Mitchell, who reports from the accounts of Egyptians who had the chance to visit the late nineteenth-century world fairs (*expositions universelles*) in Paris, stood and stared, and had a keen eye for the spectacle (*le spectacle*), a word to which a visiting Egyptian student could not find an equivalent in Arabic.[245] Europeans organized the world around them as an endless exhibition to be viewed. Exhibition transcended the walls of the fairgrounds and transgressed into the city in which everything was organized so as to represent and recall a larger

[244] Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989): 218.
[245] Ibid, 220.

meaning. The Egyptian delegations often found themselves as the spectacle amidst a crowd of spectators.[246] In the Exposition Universelle of 1867, the Khedive of Egypt who visited Paris found out that an imitation palace was built for him that incorporated him into the theatrical machinery, where he received visitors who came to view him.[247] This theatrical machinery set the world up as a picture.

Mitchell conceptualizes this phenomenon as the "object-world," denoting the separation and distancing of the self from the world, so that it can be grasped as a meaningful whole, fit in a frame.[248] Exhibitions in Europe alluded to a sense of external reality that could be found and grasped.[249] Thus, the French intelligentsia, including Gérard de Nerval, Théophile Gautier, and Gustave Flaubert, traveled to Egypt in the nineteenth century in search of the "real thing," only to be tremendously disappointed, for it was nowhere to be found.[250] They ceaselessly searched for viewpoints, elevated enough or at the right angle, from which meaningful pictures of the cities and their neighborhoods could be drawn or photographed.[251] Mitchell argues that, as the world was not yet arranged to be viewed in the Orient, it refused such a rendition into an object.[252] The Frenchmen returned to their homes unsatisfied.

I find the concepts he suggests in his article quite useful for this research. Object-world explains the changing relationship of the viewing subjects with the world in which they live via separation and distancing. It can benefit the argument

[246] Ibid, 219-20.
[247] Ibid, 220.
[248] Ibid, 227-8.
[249] Ibid, 219-22.
[250] Ibid, 227-36.
[251] Ibid, 229.
[252] Ibid.

of changing regime of visuality in the early modern Ottoman art and society, suggested by Kafescioğlu. I will discuss it in relation to *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s further below.

However, some points in Mitchell's formulations are problematic and thus require discussion. Firstly, his arguments build a rigid and decisive dichotomy of "Egypt and France," or of "the Orient and West." He isolates Europe from the rest of the world, in a new and supposedly unique or exclusive regime of spectacle. In his comparison of the visual vocabulary, for instance, the lack of an equivalent for *le spectacle* in Arabic, "the" language of the Orient in a way, speaks for the whole. After all, if in Arabic you cannot find a word, why search for it in other languages of the historical geography? Hence, his study mutes the rest of the world with one example of an Egyptian student. Unbeknown to Mitchell, Ottoman Turkish had the word or words for the spectacle, which were being used ever more frequently in a century when viewing became one of the defining aspects of the Istanbulite urban life and identity, as evidenced by Kafescioğlu.

Kafescioğlu, in her article on the changing regimes of visuality in early modern Istanbul, offers *seyr* and *temâşâ* as significant words from the Ottoman "visualist vocabulary," and as potential equivalents for "spectacle."[253] *Seyr* and *temâşâ*, which both originate etymologically from Arabic roots that signify the act of walking, moving, and traveling have come to designate the act of mobile viewing in Turkish and Persian. In literary examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Istanbulites were increasingly described as *seyr ehli*, or *ehl-i nazar*, people

[253] Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square," 152.

of the gaze, who flock to the streets and squares to partake in the spectacle, moving through, watching the spectacle, and themselves being a spectacle to be watched.[254]

In this regard, I have to acknowledge that *ehl-i nazar* and *seyr ehli* differ from the European spectator in Mitchell's work. While the early modern Istanbulite spectator is described as both the spectator and the spectacle, European spectator of the nineteenth century, according to Mitchell, wanted to be invisible. His visibility was what impeded him to grasp the "reality," as the gaze around him in Egypt always intervened and did not let him set himself apart from the world.[255] The Istanbulite *seyr ehli*, on the other hand, partook in that reciprocal relationship voluntarily. The alleged difference is based on the will, as can be seen. The Frenchman failed at becoming the invisible spectator, as it was impossible to strip away from this relationship that caught one in the webs of the gaze.

I do not reject Mitchell's arguments that differentiate the European organization of world for viewing. However, this is not a phenomenon that can be isolated to one area and time. Without acknowledging "a European way" of spectacle among many other regimes of visuality that occurred before, in parallel, or relation with the so-called European organization of the view, Mitchell's argument remains highly reductionist and shortcoming. And even when the emphasis is on the increasing pervasiveness of the phenomenon beyond the borders of the arenas reserved for representational spectacles, Ottoman examples from the early modernity tend to challenge the picture.

[254] Ibid, 153.
[255] Mitchell, "World as Exhibition," 230-1.

The circumcision festival, held for two months in the summer of 1582 for Murad III's son Prince Mehmed III, marks the apogee of the Istanbulite spectacle, perhaps unparalleled in Istanbul even today as a single set of events. *Sûrnâme-i Hümâyûn* depicts processions and performances organized by professional groups of the city, and by groups like students (*sûhte*).[256] One of the central entertainments in the festivities, besides music, dance, and fireworks,[257] was the procession of model shops and workshops on wheels dragged by guild members. Guild members would play a scene that would imitate a day in their shops and workshops.[258]

The model shops exhibited in the circumcision festival were fictive and theatrical. They identified the individuals through the objects they made and exchanged.[259] They were prepared so as to recall the reality. Even the *ulama* performed in the processions, pretending to search for something in the books that they carried.[260] Likewise, in the Exposition Universelle of 1889, to the surprise of the Egyptian delegation, even the dirt on the façades of the Cairene souqs were imitated to represent the real market experience.[261]

These modes of professional representation in the processions in the Istanbulite festive scene were also linked to a newly emerging body of literature, *şehrengîz* (city thrillers) and *letâifnâme* (books of jokes), which commented on real or imaginary individuals from among the artisanal and professional communities.[262] The city and its urbanite identities were becoming new foci of art and literature.

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[256] Terzioğlu, "Circumcision Festival," 87.
[257] On performance arts in the festival, see Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1982); Metin And, *40 Days 40 Nights: Ottoman Weddings, Festivities, Processions* (Istanbul: Toprakbank, 2000 [1st ed. 1959]).
[258] Ibid; Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square," 157.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Terzioğlu, "Circumcision Festival," 93.
[261] Mitchell, "World as Exhibition," 217.
[262] Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square," 157.

*Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s relate to this picture and to the social dynamisms that played a significant role in the emergence of the new genres, in multiple ways. Firstly, they can be considered relatives of the *şehrengîz* and *letâifnâme* genres. Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi, for instance, has a *Letâif* in British Library collections. Moreover, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s similarly drew from the social transformations experienced and witnessed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar phenomena were at play in *nefsü'l-emr*s' absolute focus on the street and the city, rather than court or high politics. Just like *letâifnâme*s, *sûrnâme*s, and *şehrengîz*, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s too recount professional groups and their deeds like a procession, using humor as a representational quality.

When one distances him/herself from a bothering situation, it can be turned into an object that amuses. A distanced second life, that will not touch physically, turns into entertainment which represents a reality further away. Feelings of annoyance, and perhaps other emotions, can be exchanged for fun and humor when the subject distances him/herself from the object through representation. Processions in Ottoman circumcision festivals provide examples of this phenomenon. In their mobile model, coffee-sellers humorously reenacted a popular discourse of the time against coffeehouse patrons and coffeehouse clientele. Coffeehouses, which started to appear in Istanbul in the latter half of the sixteenth century, were objected by the pious for being loci of illicit drug use and idleness, beside seditious talks, and faced threats of being closed,[263] which I partly discuss in Chapter 3. As Terzioğlu reports, *Sûrnâme* recounts how the coffee sellers refused the debased coin of the drugged coffee drinkers as part of the play in 1582. Eventually, they argued for drinking

[263] Terzioğlu, "Circumcision Festival," 87.

coffee and how it benefited learning, as it kept people awake, drawing a hilarious contrast with the drugged drinkers. According to Mustafa ʻÂli, this performance pleased the sultan so much that he promised them respite from his wrath for at least some time.[264] I suggest that this instance from 1582 shows how an actual problematic reality – accusations of drug use and idleness directed at coffeehouse clientele in this case – becomes tolerable and amusing when turned into a representation.

Another example is the presence of mock-market inspectors (*muhtesib*) who pretended to walk around the shop models to keep the "simulated" order in the market representation. While in 1582, they did not punish the performing guild members, in the circumcision festival of 1720, they punished the artisans who "violated" the market regulations. One example was a baker who used defective weights to get around price controls. His wooden cap was covered with gun powder. The *çavuş*es charged with fire and *tulumcı*s with water, so the mock punishment continued.[265] This act certainly evokes the spectacle of punishment in Foucaultian sense, which argues that public torture is a theatrical forum that manifests the sovereign's extensive power.[266] However, it is not the real punishment itself in this case, and therefore, opens up space for an otherwise missing humor and amusement within the "safe" distance between the real and representation.

These examples are contained within the limits of the festivals. However, the Istanbulite gaze and the spectacle were not spatially and temporally limited to the festivities, where norms could be suspended and lines between identities were

[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid, 91.
[266] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1977), 55.

blurred in a Bakhtinian sense.[267] A very interesting example from the anonymous *nefsü'l-emr* work, the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, shows the embeddedness of the idea of spectacle in early modern Ottoman society. In the passage the author mocks:

> The street broom,[268] the Devil's buffoon, who (to organize a wedding feast) walks around the plane tree(s) of 'Avrat Bâzâr, Çukur Hammâm, and Eyyûb four times, and says "I invite [you all] to my wedding! It shall be just as crowded as a spectacle (*seyr*)," inviting dildo-makers to her wedding (*zıbıkçılarun okuyucısı*).[269]

This example is distinct from all the other formulations found in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. First, it is the only insult that is directed to a third-person singular in the whole *nefsü'l-emr* genre. This suggests that, perhaps, the author insults a real female burgher he saw, without extracting a generic identity out of her, as he does with the rest of the targeted groups. More importantly, however, this passage shows the multiple foci of the urban gaze and spectacle. The woman is making a spectacle of herself, walking around in public spaces of the aforementioned neighborhoods, and calling out to the onlookers. Moreover, she announces that she is desirous of a wedding feast that is as visible and crowded as a spectacle would be. And lastly, the authorial gaze is upon her, which eventually turns her into textual representation.

While this example is a distinct one, it informs the readers about both the changing regimes of visuality in the early modern capital city and the authorial gaze at work in turning urban realities into textual and humorous representations. I will turn back to this passage further below when discussing gender and space. Before

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[267] Terzioğlu, "Circumcision Festival," 91.
[268] "Street broom" is an insult to women that is frequently used in humorous literature. See İpek Hüner-Cora's article on *Hikâye-i Hâce Fesâd*. İpek Hüner-Cora, "Gendered Infidels in Fiction: A Case Study on Sābit's *Ḥikāye-i Ḫvāce Fesād*," *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, ed. Hakan Karateke, H. Erdem Çıpa, and Helga Anetshofer, (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 260.
[269] See Appendix D, 11.

getting to that, it is necessary to discuss two concepts that have been the focus of much debate in Ottoman social historiography: public and private.

4.2 Public and private in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s

Both Alan Mikhail and Tülay Artan argue that the dichotomy of public and private is a shortcoming tool that fails to explain the spatial dynamics of the premodern Ottoman society. Both offer coffeehouses as places that reject the Habermasian categorization under public or private, which rigidly appoints males to public arenas, and females to private areas that are well defined and intransitive.[270]

Tülay Artan, in her article on gendered public spaces in early modern Istanbul, suggests a third category between the public and private as an intermediate sphere where boundaries between the individual and society tended to blur.[271] Alan Mikhail, on the other hand, makes use of the concept of heterotopia, coined by Michel Foucault. According to Mikhail, heterotopias are overlapping spaces that juxtapose several sites that are in themselves incompatible. He suggests that one should not think in terms of a rigid dichotomy of private and public but should emphasize the multilayered character of urban spaces in the early modern Ottoman context.[272] I find both approaches quite useful. However, both arguments acknowledge the undeniability of the public and private as spatial categories, instead

[270] Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House," Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Dana Sajdi (London & New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 134-6.
[271] Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression: Istanbul and Beyond, 1600–1800," *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead, (New York: Routledge, 2012): 381.
[272] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 137.

of challenging them. Throughout their articles, both use public and private as inevitable categories.

I suggest that *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are works that prove the existence of the public and private space as gendered urban spheres in early modern Istanbul. However, these spaces are constantly breaching each other's domain and overlap in numerous places. These overlappings, visibilities, and audibilities are what disturb, and perhaps amuse, the *nefsü'l-emr* authors. This is why I find Mikhail's suggestion of heterotopia as a multilayered locus highly suitable for the Ottoman context, without, however, denouncing the use of public and private.

To explain my understanding further, I will use the example of the coffeehouse as used by Mikhail and Artan. I suggest that the Ottoman coffeehouse is a public domain, which constantly got breached by the private. When male coffeehouse clientele talked over private matters or when they brought their families together with them to watch a *karagöz* show at night,[273] the public sphere got intervened by the private. However, based on *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, I suggest that these instances did not completely alter its being a public domain as perceived by the authors. Likewise, when the guests at a house party try to look inside the interior rooms, the house does not necessarily give up its being a private sphere. The *nefsü'l-emr* problematizations of space are raised right at these junctures and intersections.

Regarding this scheme, I will try to analyze the urban space as represented in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, starting at the public level, first as unbreached by the domain of private. I will gradually arrive at the neighborhood and home, and on the way, will try to discuss *nefsü'l-emr* problematizations of the breachings and transitions

[273] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 260-1.

between the two. Thus, I make use of the two categories public and private, observe the areas where they overlap temporarily and result in conflict.

4.2.1 A derisive map of Istanbul

*Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s that are attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi and Hacı Ahmed are mostly abstract, not only in terms of anonymity of their targeted groups but also spatially. In their versions and copies, places are not specified and thus, in a way, linger in mid-air as representative loci that can signify any location in the outside reality. When their locus is the market or the dervish lodge, it depicts a generic picture that represents all the markets and lodges, just like the Cairene souq in Parisian world fairs or the shop models of the circumcision festival in 1582, which point to external realities further away. The only instance where urban space gets specified with a modicum of description in three Lâmiî Çelebi copies is "the imbeciles who borrow money to go to view the [Rumelian?] Castle (hisâr) with five rowboats."[274] This passage that brings up the issue of spectacle is only present in three Lâmiî Çelebi copies that date from the early eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries when the urban spectacular turn became much more pronounced and unignorable.

While the same abstractness in space is also present in Niksârîzâde's version and the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, these texts have instances in which Istanbul and its neighborhoods suddenly appear with distinguishable toponyms. Their works sporadically exhibit textual maps of the city, which instantly lay the texts on the

[274] "…karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 6; "…karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 5; "…karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 3.

actual ground. Moreover, besides drawing an atlas with words for the readers, their descriptions also make use of the premodern temporal universe, informing the reader when and where the ill-mannered Istanbulites performed their ugly deeds. In the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, a quite lengthy section is reserved for the neighborhoods of Istanbul and some surrounding towns:

> The meaningless, who enter into the filthy pool of the Yeni Kapu bathhouse for the sake of the catamites of Ayak Kapusı, and who deserve an early grave; and those who soak the coal and adulterate it with earth and stone in Cibâli Kapusı … and the oarsmen who row around and save whores [from drowning in Golden Horn] in Zindân Kapusı … and the filthy who eat mussels, oysters, crabs, and lobsters in Balık Bâzârı … and the porters with poles from Kastamonı who say "Oh! Servants and slaves! Get out of the way!" in Gümrük … and the pimps who have beloveds in Cihângîr, and restlessly climb up the slope of Tophâne every day [to go to their places].[275]

There are many more examples from the same section, and each one is about one neighborhood in and around Istanbul. These depict a city in motion. People climb up steep slopes, row on boats, go to filthy bathhouses, and partake in urban life. The city and its denizens become of spectacular value, being mobile-viewed – recalling Kafescioğlu's visual lexicon[276] – and worthy of depiction in their unscrupulous, and sometimes hilarious ways to take part in public life. These passages do not depict residential neighborhoods, but neighborhoods as bustling places of exchange, and as crowded streets. The authorial gaze is on every district of the city, each giving a different spectacle to both the author and the other denizens. It renders the street experience into textual representation.

Kafescioğlu analyzes the changing perspectives in urban pictures of Istanbul in early modernity. With the increase in the urban population in the latter half of the

[275] See Appendix D, 12.
[276] Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the City," 152.

sixteenth century,[277] cartographic depictions of Istanbul start to make use of new perspectives.[278] In *Hünernâme*, written by Seyyid Lokmân (d. ca.1601) and illustrated by Nakkâş ‘Osmân, who was the head of the atelier of painters and illuminators at the time, Istanbul is illustrated as a completely built-up urban area within the city walls with courtyards, monuments, bazaars, and intricate webs of streets that collide.[279] The perspective in the picture, as suggested by Kafescioğlu, puts forward the subjective, street-level experience of a dense urban environment, inscribing the walking subject into the image.[280]

I suggest that the untitled *nefsü’l-emrnâme* of the Nuruosmaniye Library pictures the same street experience in textual form. Neighborhoods follow each other as in the maps, with depictions of the ill-manners and debaucheries that are unique to those neighborhoods. At the same time, I am reminded of the maps hung on the walls of classrooms in primary schools in Turkey, dotted with landmarks, local produce, or men and women clad in traditional garments unique to provinces. *Nefsü’l-emr*s create a similar symbolism, marking Istanbul’s neighborhoods with their distinguishable immoralities and chicaneries, much more mobile and transitive, however, than an educational map that pictures a static and idealized nation.

A shorter passage can be found in the copies of Niksârîzâde’s *nefsü’l-emr*, where the author derides the festal masses:

> The restless wanderers (*gezendiler/gezendeler*),[281] who (in the extreme winter cold or the extreme heat) roam and view Istanbul on the first day of the holidays, Tophane on the second, and Eyüp on the third, jammed together

[277] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “Mapping Istanbul,” 27.
[278] Ibid, 19.
[279] Ibid, 22.
[280] Ibid, 30.
[281] It is written as *gezendi* in the Hamidiye manuscript, and as *gezende*, meaning reptile, in the Hafız Ahmed Paşa manuscript. The latter must be a copyist error.

> with the scoundrels of those fetid local market (towns), pushing each other in the tumult.[282]

Again in this passage, the denizens of Istanbul who desire to partake in the urban sightseeing, viewing-walking the city and its neighborhoods, themselves become the spectacle. Moreover, as Cemal Kafadar shows, there were established routines of sightseeing at the time, as recounted by *meddah* stories, for which city tours for those who newly arrived in the city had become a recurring theme.[283] Kafadar continues his example with passages from the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, one of which reviles the urban spectators as "boylovers of the nature of cooks' dogs that satisfy themselves through their eyes, who hustle around Istanbul all day and boast 'I have seen so many sights today.'"[284] This passage summarizes the early modern Istanbulite mode of viewing quite skillfully. Istanbul, described as "a sea of people of the gaze (*ehl-i nazar deryâsı*)" by Mustafa 'Âlî,[285] increasingly displayed this indispensable aspect of its urbanite identities, who satisfied themselves through their eyes, by the view, gazing and enjoying the spectacle, both the show performed in festivities or coffeehouses[286] and the scenes played by the daily urban theater, which was ever livelier.

In the hustle and bustle of the *nefsü'l-emr*s' intricate streets, many social frictions are problematized too. One such passage reviles:

> Those who ride their horses in the muddy streets; and those who sit by their shops and torment the passers-by leaving their horses in the middle of a crowded [street]; and the meaningless panders who sit by their shops and

[282] See Appendix D, 13.
[283] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 263.
[284] Ibid, 264; "…ve bütün İstanbul'ı seğirdüp gezüp 'Bu gün fülân kadar seyr eyledim!' deyen gözinden doyar aşçı köpeği tabî'atlu kulanparalar…" Devel, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 25.
[285] "Dirin Istanbul'a ben ehl-i nazar deryâsı; Kesret-i nâsa nazar nev'-i beşer deryâsı." Mustafa 'Âlî, Divan, ed. İsmail Hakkı Aksoyak, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 309; Kafescioğlu, "Mapping Istanbul," 117.
[286] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 260-1.

> touch passers-by with their muddy boots and shoes [and spoil their clothes].[287]

The street is treated as a transit space, where the flow gets occasionally disturbed. Moreover, it is where different segments of the urban society encounter each other in conflict, and yet, sometimes the problem for the authors is that there is no conflict, where it should be. The authors accuse Muslim urbanites of greeting, doing business, and hanging out with the "infidel" non-Muslims with no remorse:

> The confused who dress up and go to drink wine at the taverns on holidays in imitation of the infidels; and the irreligious who make merry with the infidels in their blasphemous holidays; and the filthy who (when they come across an infidel) converse in the infidel's tongue despite they [both] know Turkish; those who deserve to die, and say "My dear!" when doing business with an infidel; and those who visit infidels at their homes and greet them in their tongues; and those who respond when infidels salute them."[288]

To explain the high level of aversion of Ottoman Muslims for Jews, Hakan Karateke suggests that *devşirme*-soldiers who were stationed in cities with diverse populations must have come into contact and conversed with local Christians in their mother tongues, learning about the Christian anti-Jew lore like blood libels.[289] While the exact identities are not specified in the passages mentioned above, it is safe to assume that conversations in languages from the Balkans, or in Greek, Armenian, and Ladino were common between convert Muslims and non-Muslims. Thus, the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s only tangentially insult non-Muslims as secondary subjects, while it aims for the Muslim urbanite, who perhaps showed marks of non-Muslim origins. Another passage from a different section epitomizes this discomfort well: "the Greeks, who convert to Islam in order not to pay the kharaj tax, and yet converse in

[287] See Appendix D, 14.
[288] See Appendix D, 15.
[289] Karateke, "Ottoman Anti-Judaism," 123.

Greek with other Greeks."[290] The modern reader should be careful here, as the author rejects the Muslim identity of the aforementioned target group by calling them Greek, as being Greek could equally be read as "Orthodox Christian." Likewise, Hacı Ahmed in his *Makâle*, derides "the lunatic pimps who speak to the infidels, who know Turkish, in pig Latin[291] (*kuşdili*)."[292]

Another interesting and unique aspect of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript is the derision of the professional and artisanal groups of the city, just as *şehrengîz* and *sûrnâme*:

> The infidel bakers[293] who do not clip their fingernails; and pastry sellers (*börekçi*) who are inattentive to flies, and who prepare pastries with flies in them; and the dairymen who add three okes (*vakiyye*) of water into milk, and who will be submerged into water … and the bathhouse owners (*hammâmcı*), who keep the bath cold and the clothes dirty … and the chief stokers[294] who do not provide shelter to the naked poor in the stokeholes in winter.[295]

4.2.2 Breaches in (gendered) spaces

While Artan and Mikhail analyze the categories of public and private with rather theoretical tools, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s suggest and necessitate a very different approach. The argument for places as heterotopias with multiple possibilities, or searching for a

[290] "…ve harâc korkusından Müslimân olup da gine Urum gördüğünde Urumca söyliyen Urumlar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 41.
[291] It can be claimed that *kuşdili*, literally bird's language, is the Turkish version of "pig Latin," a rendering of English done by playing with syllables and consonants of words.
[292] "…ve Türkîce bilen kâfirlere kuş dilince söyliyen deli puştlara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 2.
[293] Develi claims that bakers in Istanbul were mostly of non-Muslim origin in the early seventeenth century, as reported by *Kitâb-ı Mesâlih*. Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 96.
[294] As Tülay Artan reports, chief stokers (*külhânbeyi*) were bully characters who were allowed some authority in the neighborhood in return for protection and keeping the public order. They would provide food, shelter, and warmth to the homeless, orphans, etc. in the stokeholes of bathhouses. Artan, "Forums of Expression," 388-9.
[295] See Appendix D, 16.

third category that is conveniently in between the two gets disrupted by the waves of laughter of the *nefsü'l-emr* authors.

As Artan and Mikhail's suggestions capture the early modern Ottoman urban and spatial realities well, I will make use of their models. However, on account of the pedantically critical and facetious *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, a positive discourse interwoven with ideas of spatial coexistence or multilayeredness seems suddenly problematic. *Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are emphatically disapproving of gendered juxtapositions of public and private, and their disapproval covers not only spaces that directly conform to the two categories of public and private, e.g. bazaar or house, but also such places as coffeehouses or bathhouses, offered as nexal and/or liminal spaces by Mikhail and Artan.[296] This argument does not reject the actual coexistence or multilayeredness. Contrarily, it acknowledges the urban reality of coexistence and proposes *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s as works that prove this phenomenon. However, given that the spatial categories exist within mentalities, a study on public and private should not ignore authorial grievances. Thus, my preference for the word "breach," is solely one that seeks to resonate with the *nefsü'l-emr* authors' perspectives.

I should also clarify what instances I consider to be breached. After all, every derision and criticism in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s focuses on breaches of a kind in the social life. However, several passages problematize not immoral behaviors or ill-manners *per se*, but an untoward presence in a certain place and time. Even when the focus is on behavior, emphasis on the spatial presence aggravates the ugly practice or deed. This is best exemplified by the passage on smoking in the vicinity of the symbolic power that emanates from the Palace, as the author of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript

[296] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 137, 160; Artan, "

reviles "those who, after embarking on a boat from Ahor Kapusı, start smoking tobacco before leaving past the Sinan Paşa Mansion."[297] While the act of smoking is deemed reproachable throughout the text, this passage aggravates it by situating it at an untoward location. Hence, the smoker breaches a symbolic space in the city.[298] Smoking is an interesting example. As a gaseous substance, it is extremely pervasive, and always finds its way and sneaks into unlikely places, disturbing everyone in its vicinity.

In this subchapter, I begin strolling around the gendered streets and marketplaces, walk past the coffeehouses and baths in neighborhoods, and lastly get inside the houses of the Istanbulite elite.

As Mustafa 'Âlî reports, in the circumcision festival of 1582, a woman who wanted to watch the spectacles, rode into the fairgrounds on horseback disguised as an Ottoman *subaşı*. Someone from among the crowd noticed her true identity and exposed her ruse, and eventually, she got arrested. She got released the next day, after defending herself as a chaste woman, who just wanted to watch the festivities. She also accepted her mistake of dressing up as a man, although she knew there were many other women among the crowd who watched the spectacle.[299] The woman, who was conscious of the spatial and visual hierarchy of "the right to look," wanted to make use of the hierarchy in her favor by sneaking in disguise into the gendered territory. Only when she backed down as a chaste woman, who was joyful in the "veil" of purity,[300] was she condoned by the establishment. This does not only tell

[297] "Ahor Kapusında kayığına binüp Sinân Paşa Köşküni geçmeden duhân içenler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 23.
[298] Ibid, 84.
[299] Terzioğlu, "Circumcision Festival," 94.
[300] Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square," 157.

the story of a woman in disguise, but also the male identity which indirectly gets challenged and debilitated by the female, a theme which one also encounters several times in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s.

Female visibility, and occasionally audibility, in public places, like squares, bazaars, streets, and gardens of the city, is a theme that gets condemned in every authorial version and copy of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. Interestingly, however, there are only a few examples that revile women *per se*. In two Lâmiî Çelebi copies, and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, one such passage ridicules "the putrid [women] who expose their faces in marketplaces, thinking they are old hags."[301] However, I could not find any other instance from the manuscripts which problematize female visibility in public space without at the same time insulting the men as fathers or husbands of women.

Female visibility is always treated as an impudence allowed by men, who are directly or indirectly reviled and ridiculed either as mollycoddles or cuckolds. İpek Hüner-Cora, in her article on *Hikâye-i Hâce Fesâd*, written by the poet *Sâbit* (d. 1712), claims that the story of the rape of an Armenian woman by two villainous men, Söz Ebesi and Hâce Fesâd, only secondarily mocks the woman, who is depicted as a mere object of the male gaze and desire.[302] It is her husband, who gets ridiculed with derisive allusions to his Armenianness, like being a dung dealer[303] (*bokçu*).[304] The Armenian husband, who fails at protecting his wife, is blamed not only for

[301] "…kendü özün koca karı zann idübde çarşularda burnun açan kokmuşlar…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 3; "…kendüzin koca karı zann idüb çarşûlarda yüzin açan kokmışlara…" Lâmîi Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 3; "…kendüyin koca karı zann idüb de çârşûda yüzin açub gezen kokmışlar(a)…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 3.
[302] Hüner-Cora, "Gendered Infidels," 256.
[303] As also mentioned by Hüner-Cora, Armenians are derided in the same way in the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, as the author mocks "the Armenians, who, as dung dealers, dare be poets while drenched in wet shit." (…*ve sulu bokçuluk ile boh olmuş iken şâ'irliğe yeltenen Ermenîler*…) Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 41.
[304] Hüner-Cora, "Gendered Infidels," 258.

allowing the rape of his wife but also for not having kept her in control before the incident, as Söz Ebesi is described to have watched the woman and planned the rape for long.[305]

Similarly, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s usually use wives and daughters as objects within derisions that are in fact, directed at men as incapable husbands, careless fathers, or as effeminate men. The Nuruosmaniye manuscript facetiously describes several urban areas ventured by couples and children. Likewise, the presence of children, allowed or brought by their fathers, is treated as equally untoward and reprehensible:

> The pimps who accompany their wives and concubines, and go to Kâğıdhâne to rinse clothes in summer; and those who join their wives and concubines, and go to the wharf to buy linens with them; the panders who go to baths with their children; and the debauchees, who take their little children (*küçük ma'sûm*) on their laps and bring them to marketplaces, mosques, promenades, and excursions.[306]

Men are reproached not only for allowing and, at times being the main agents of female and infantile presence in public places, but also for joining them in their unmanly or domestic activities, such as rinsing cloths or buying linens. Furthermore, some examples more deliberately tease men as inferiors to their wives. In the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi and Hacı Ahmed, the authors mock:

> The panders who walk behind their wives to a spectacle; and the impudent and careless pimps, who allow (the voice of) their wives to be heard by strangers in front of grocery stores and butcher shops by asking their wives "Oh Lady 'Âişe! How many okes of meat and how much rice and butter shall we buy?"[307]

In these two passages, wives not only become open to view and audition but also are depicted as superior to their husbands, who walk behind or hand on the responsibility

[305] Ibid, 245-6, 259.
[306] See Appendix D, 17.
[307] See Appendix D, 18.

of the house economy. The matter of house economy is an interesting one, as more than two centuries later, Ahmet Mithat Efendi (b. 1844 – d. 1912), in his *Art of Being a Father* (*Peder Olmak Sanatı*) published in 1899, situates man in the center of the house economy as the absolute decision maker of every domestic task, from washing the baby's diaper to selecting the good pepper in the market.[308] Ahmet Mithat Efendi's work is influenced by Western ideas and literature and depicts the husband as the "enlightened despot," who should also enlighten his wife.[309] Nevertheless, it shows the possible continuation and/or transformation of the gendered phenomena of the house economy and domestic decision making in the Ottoman family, when compared with this *nefsü'l-emr* passage. Furthermore, the domestic responsibilities also included the control over servants and slaves in addition to the family members, especially in the case of the wealthy. In the Nuruosmaniye manuscript, the author criticizes "the wealthy who do not question their servants' whereabouts while they (servants) restlessly run about to find whores in the streets without their masters knowing."[310]

There are other examples from the works that resonate with the derision of men through inferiority to women. The shorter Lâmiî Çelebi copies mock "the confused pimps who dress their wives in brocade and satin, while they do not even have woolen clothes to wear."[311] The Nuruosmaniye manuscript, on the other hand, epitomizes this physically:

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[308] Ahmet Mithat Efendi, *Peder Olmak Sanatı,* ed. Gizem Akyol, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2013): 65-6.
[309] Ibid, 62-4.
[310] "…ve hizmetkârları sokak sokak yelüp orospu arar, ağasının haberi olmayup 'Nerede idin?' demeyen devletlüler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 36.
[311] "…kendüne giyecek 'abâ bulamayub 'avretine kemhâ giyüren şaşkun püzevenkler…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC), 2; "…ve enine giymeğe 'abâ ve kuşanmağa ip bulamayupda 'avretine atlas ve kemhâ kaftan kuşak giyidüb kuşatan pâzenklere…" Lâmiî Çelbi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 5; "…kendine 'abâ bulmayub 'avretine kemhâ giyüren püzevenklere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü'l-emr (AÖ), 3.

> The sons of heroes (*bögüzâdeler*)[312] who marry two or three women and settle them in the same home, and who get beaten up badly as their wives pluck theirs beards, tear up their clothes and split their heads with tongs.[313]

In his extensive study on death in Istanbul, Edhem Eldem discusses a similar phenomenon embedded in the gravestones of Istanbulite women. In the gravestone of Naciye Hanım, who died on 26 August 1901, the elaborate and illustrious inscriptions on her gravestone eulogize her only through the accomplishments and public personae of her father Iskender Bey, and her husband Namık Bey. Eldem defines cemeteries as extensions of the public space and claims that women, who were almost exclusively limited to the private sphere, could only attain visibility in this public domain, either as daughters or wives.[314] Derisions in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s display the same attitude towards women, who are rendered into identity categories that enable authors to mock men and question their manliness.

It is interesting to see that the *nefsü'l-emr* derision of women almost exclusively juxtaposes them with their male relatives. Bearing in mind that the non-Muslims were almost exclusively criticized for their encounters with the Muslim urbanites, the picture gets clearer. The *nefsü'l-emr*s' concern is the Muslim male population of the city, who constitute the society and who are at the center of the whole establishment. The authors make use of other identities as movie extras, who in the background, come and go and set the humorous scene for the debaucherous male Muslim subject at the leading role and in the center of the criticism.

[312] Develi suggests the compound word bögüzâde/bügizâde means sons of (strong) heroes, as *böke* means stronga dn heroic. Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 107.
[313] See Appendix D, 19.
[314] Edhem Eldem, *Death in Istanbul: Death and Its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Cultures* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005), 144.

The extremity and unusualness of the Nuruosmaniye passage that ridicules the woman who invites people to her wedding, exemplifies this. She is strongly reviled, as she makes this great publicity, more so than the women who go to bazaars with their husbands and children. She is depicted as alone and autonomous, with no man to whom the author can transfer the fault of her untoward presence, visibility, and audibility.[315] When she assumes a central position of her own making, she becomes the main target. The author of the manuscript was taken aback by the level of her willing public presence.

Up to this point, I treated the categories of public and private as if they were the mirror images of male and female identities. This, however, does not emancipate men from the shackles of privacy. The great challenge of privacy is that everyone carries their most private belongings wherever they go: their bodies. The ubiquity of the body is perhaps the most basic and latent breach in the domain of the public. One always has to contain one's body within limits. I showed that the exposure of the female face in the marketplace was treated as a "breach." However, men are not exempt from the necessary corporeal continence in the public sphere and are ridiculed, more than women, when they expose their body parts. In one passage, the Lâmiî Çelebi copies unanimously mock "the old catamites who expose a tuft of hair out of their turbans, despite being bearded."[316] In *Makâle*, Hacı Ahmed berates

[315] I wonder if the fact that she was calling out for her wedding feast had anything to do with her solitary presence in the passage, as a woman at the liminal space in transition from the father's domain of power to the husband's.

[316] "…ve sakallu olub sarığından dışra perçem gösteren 'atîk pûştlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 2; "…ve sakallu olupda saruğunın ardından perçem gösteren eski puştlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS), 4; "… ve sakallu olub sarığından dışra perçem gösteren 'atîk pûştlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 5; "…ve sakallu olubda sarığından dışra perçem gösteren eski pûştlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 4; "…ve sakallı olub sarığından dışra perçem gösteren 'atîk puştlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 3; "…ve sakallu olubda perçem gösteren eski puştlara…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ), 3.

"those whose dicks will desiccate, and who erect and exhibit their insolent dicks in their pants." Another passage, again from the Lâmiî Çelebi copies revile "the passive pederasts who expose their asses while bathing in the bathhouse."[317] Perhaps the curse of flatulence in the initial section of maledictions should also be read along these lines, as the absolute loss of corporeal control and letting one's inner corporeal privacy out at a gathering (*meclîs*). I take the argument a step further and propose that the female body and presence could be approached with male corporeality in mind, as wives, and also children, are treated almost as extensions of the male body, not without the allegory of Eve being created from Adam's rib. Söz Ebesi and Hâce Fesâd perhaps rape the body of the Armenian husband in the story.

As I give the example of the bath, I arrive at the doors of Ottoman coffee- and bathhouses, which Artan and Mikhail both designate as places that necessitate different analytical tools beyond the categories of public and private.

Central to Mikhail's argument on the coffeehouse is the residential neighborhood. He suggests that Istanbulites saw their neighborhoods (*mahalle*) as extensions of their untouchable individual private space, of their inner personal domain.[318] Strangers were immediately recognized and counted as outsiders, as residents rarely ventured out of their neighborhoods, where all of their basic needs could be met.[319] The nineteenth and early twentieth-century Armenian author Zabel Yessayan's memoir, *The Gardens of Silihdar*, gives a similar account of her area of movement that gradually expands as she grows. As the bedridden days of her infancy

[317] "…ve hammâmda gasl iderken götün gösteren kekezlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB), 2; "…ve hammâmda gasl iderken götün gösteren kekezlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME), 5; "…ve hammâmda yıkanurken götin gösteren kekezlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK), 4; "…ve hammâmda gasl iderken götün gösteren bî-şerm kekezlere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ), 3.
[318] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 146.
[319] Ibid, 144.

end, their street opens up as a space where she can play, and gradually she starts to visit the adjacent streets and neighbors.[320] At the end of the book, she and her friend Arshagouhi decide to visit the famous feminist author of the time Srpouhi Dussap, and leave their neighborhoods.[321] The neighborhood is described as an extension of domestic privacy and safety, from which Yessayan manifestly broke apart with a visit to feminist Dussap, who lived across the Bosphorus.

However, the suggestion of extension should not be overestimated. Mikhail claims that Ottoman homes had a unidirectional relationship with the street and neighborhoods. While vision and sound could travel into homes, the opposite was ideally not allowed. Islamic laws regulated house and street relationships, pertaining to structural matters like where a window could look.[322] The author of the Nuruosmaniye manuscript gives facetious examples to this unidirectional relationship, as he mocks: "the panders who get built lattice windows that view the street, saying 'Both I and my wife are melancholic!"[323] In another passage, he ridicules "those who throw their sweepings on the roads; and those who allow [their wives] to hang their motley gowns and lingerie on the street and towards the neighbors' side."[324] These passages show that the streets and neighbors adjacent to one's home were nevertheless considered within the domain of the public.

At the center of the neighborhoods was the coffeehouse. Mikhail argues that coffeehouses were nexal spaces, which means that they collected, connected, and

[320] Zabel Yessayan, *The Gardens of Silihdar: A Memoir,* ed. Judith A. Saryan and Joy Renjilian-Burgy (Boston: AIWA Press, 2014): 68.
[321] Ibid, 135.
[322] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 152-3.
[323] "…ve 'Ben de ehlim de sevdâyidür!' deyü sokağa pençere kafes yapdurdan gidicikler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 28.
[324] "…ve yol üzerine süpüründi dökenler; ve sokak üzerine konşuluktan tarafa 'avartlarun alaca tonun alaca kaftanın 'avrat çamaşırın serdirenler…" Ibid, 44.

distributed rumors, gossips, and news from within and outside the neighborhood. Coffeehouses were so central to the neighborhood life and culture that they were usually the first businesses to be opened up in newly built neighborhoods throughout the Empire.[325]

According to Mikhail, coffeehouses were where men gathered and socialized in the privacy of their own, as poorer families did not afford the traditional separation of *haremlik* and *selamlık* within their houses. In a way, the coffeehouse functioned as a *selamlık* where men could host their fellows without disrupting the family privacy. Thus, coffeehouses became somewhat second homes to poorer male denizens of neighborhoods as centers of homosociality. In *Makâle*, Hacı Ahmed ridicules this phenomenon not without some arrogance, deriding "the shameless who visit those who pass their time killing lice (*kehle cellâdı*) and sleep in coffeehouses."[326]

Coffeehouses were also bringing together men from different social and economic strata and with different motivations to go there. This is why, just like the street, coffeehouses too were places of encounter. For instance, Niksârîzâde mocks "the disgraced addicts, who, unnecessarily [cause the coffeehouses to] get blamed by the felicitous ones, although the purpose of going there is to gather with friends, and to converse about learned matters, poetry, and witticisms." [327] In this pro-coffeehouse passage, Niksârîzâde directly alludes to the debates of the time, which targeted coffeehouses as loci of illicit drug use and idleness and threatened to close

[325] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 138-9.
[326] "…ve kahvehânede uyuyan kehle cellâdına ziyârete varan utanmazlara…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5.
[327] "…ve kahvehâneye varmakdan maksûd yârânla haşr olub 'ilmi ve şi'iri ve ba'zı letâif musahabeti iken eshâb-ı sa'âdet mezemmetin iltizâm-ı mâ-lâ-yelzem eyleyen nekbetî tiryâkîlerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 5-6; "…ve kahvehâneye varmakdan maksûd yârânla haşr olub 'ilmi ve şi'iri ve ba'zı letâif musahabeti iken eshâb-ı sa'âdet mezemmetin iltizâm-ı mâ-lâ-yelzem eyleyen nekbetî tiryâkîlerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 7.

them,[328] and speaks up as an insider from within the café culture. It shows that the discomfort about the coffeehouses and coffeehouse clientele was not solely from outside or from the high officials, who feared seditious fermentations,[329] but from among the elite coffeehouse enthusiasts, who had a certain vision for coffeehouses as places of socialization, and who were dismayed by the presence of lower classes.

Contrary to what Cengiz Kırlı suggested earlier, Mikhail discusses that coffeehouse talk included private-intimate gossipry more than public-political rumor in its Habermasian sense.[330] The coffeehouse was a space where men brought their family issues, opened up about their private lives, and shared their daily troubles and emotions. The prevalence of "feminine talk," suggests Mikhail, invalidates a gendered dichotomy of male-public and female-private as lenses with which to examine the coffeehouses, as they were in a reciprocal and natural relationship with the households of the neighborhood and the outside world at once.[331] However, it is necessary to add that these moments of opening were not always smooth or well-received. The Nuruosmaniye manuscript problematizes the issue of advertising and/or publicizing privacy in the following passage:

> The panders who always talk about their homes; the Croats who say "My family went to the bathhouse today;" and those who boast about themselves going to the bathhouse; and those who allow their wives and concubines' voices to be heard by the neighbors and in the streets.[332]

[328] Terzioğlu, "Circumcision Festival," 87; Artan, "Forums of Expression," 383.
[329] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 253-4.
[330] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 159-60.
[331] Ibid, 137.
[332] See Appendix D, 20.

In the Lâmiî Çelebi copies[333] and Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, the authors bash exactly at this juncture where men brought too much privacy and feminine talk specifically within the coffeehouse context:

> The impudent debauchees in the coffeehouse, who say "Boy! [My] wife requests henna at home!" instead of telling their servants in privacy; the confused who say "Boy! Fetch [me] the large purse from home immediately! I have run out of money!" in the coffeehouse or when with friends; and the blokes, who brag about (*kaftân biçen*)[334] their wives in the coffeehouse.[335]

Remembering Sariyannis' suggestion that the seventeenth-century Kadızadeli movement might have appealed to a profit-minded merchant class, comparable to Protestant work ethic,[336] I add that one perhaps needed to be neither a Kadızadeli nor a profit-minded merchant to defend industrious endeavors in the seventeenth century. Perhaps one should bear this industrious ethic in mind when trying to understand what the *nefsü'l-emr* as an identity category suggested by Niksârîzâde might mean. Feminine gossipry, as opposed to masculine rumor, and drugged laxity, as opposed to caffeinated vigor, work against the *nefsü'l-emr* identity, that is reverse-built in the works. Kafadar's example of the grand vizier Koca Sinan Paşa (b. 1520 – d. 1596) might be a good one to compare with the *nefsü'l-emr* gentleman, as Paşa self-reportedly worked at nights for stately matters, portraying himself as a night owl in his letters to the Sultan.[337] Interesting on the part of *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, nighttime is missing from the works, as there are no depictions of nocturnal activities or mischiefs. The night is when social and public life mostly came to a halt in

[333] These examples found in Lâmiî Çelebi copies are pure copyist additions as Lâmiî Çelebi himself cannot have seen coffeehouses, having died at least one decade before the earliest reports of coffeehouses from the Empire in the mid-fifteenth century.
[334] I could not find the idiom *kaftân biçmek* (to tailor robes) in dictionaries, but I assume that men either eulogize or brag about their wives in this context, as *kaftân* was precious.
[335] See Appendix D, 21.
[336] Sariyannis, "Kadızadelis," 263-4.
[337] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 254-5.

premodern societies. Despite its becoming ever livelier in early modern Istanbul, as Kafadar shows, the contrast that the night drew with the day and its outright grotesque chaos under the sunlight, must have spared the night from *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s' mockery. As the people retreated to their homes' privacy, the disturbances railed in the social invectives eased down or, alternatively, surfaced up, while the authors were writing their works in the calmness of the night.

As the *nefsü'l-emr* gentleman appears around the corner, I arrive at the house. The house in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s is the elite household without exception. While the coffeehouse liberated men from their poor domestic environment,[338] the elite usually gathered at each others' houses with domestic servants serving coffee or pouring wine.[339]

Like Mustafa 'Âlî's *Table of Delicacies* (*Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis*), *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s too take into the center the elite gathering and the table manners, and as reverse works of etiquette, they emphasize the excluding aspect of the etiquette even more. In *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, guests are ridiculed for a wide array of uncouth and hilarious behaviors at the table, from blowing one's nose too loud like a Frank horn,[340] to pouring one's remainder of soup back into the pot.[341] The following lines from the Nuruosmaniye manuscript ridicule the two opposite types of guests, who could not find the golden mean of etiquette: "those who run to sit down to the

[338] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 143-4.
[339] Ibid, 142.
[340] "…ve bir kaç kimseler yanında makâm ile sümkürüp firenk borusı gibi bunını öttüren nâ-hemvârlar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 34.
[341] "…ve kaşığında kalan ta'âmı yine ta'âm içine döken nâ-cinslere…" Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 3.

meal before the host says 'Please, sit down!'; and the inattentive who sit back out of politeness, and drop [food] on the table napkin and their clothes."[342]

One of the most recurring topics, however, is the guests' relationship with the servants. As the servants were considered as members of the host's domestic and private domain, guests had to abstain from exceeding a line concerning servants. The following passage from the Nuruosmaniye manuscript exemplifies this, as the author reviles "the brutes who look at the face of the servant young boys while the latter serve coffee at a grandee's house."[343] This also shows the homoerotic and/or homosocial culture of the elite wine and coffee gatherings. As Mikhail suggests, both in wealthy households and coffeehouses, coffee was served by attractive youths, just like wine.[344] Socratic continence was perhaps also necessary when being served a cup of coffee, which probably was etymologically related to wine in the Arabic language.[345]

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I took into the center the urban space as represented in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, and treated *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s as textual expressions of early modern transformations in Istanbul's urban identity, for which the notions of gaze, spectacle, and viewing became inseparable features. While *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s make fun of

[342] "…kibârlar evlerinde ta'âm kurulup sâhib-i hâne: "Buyurun!" demeden seğirdüp çökenler ve "Buyurun" denildikte 'aklınca zirâfet edüp gerü oturup beşkîr üzre, esbâbı üzre damladan bî-nedler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 26.
[343] "…ve kibâr hânesinde tâze hizmetkârlar kahve verirken oğlanın yüzine bakan hayvânlar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 26.
[344] Mikhail, "Coffee House," 164-5.
[345] Kafadar, "Leisure and Pleasure," 248.

people who were ever more desirous of the spectacle, at the same time they give glimpses of the authorial gaze upon the daily life out on the streets, marketplaces, bath- and coffeehouses, depicted as chaotic, immoral, and hilarious loci of socialization. I used instances from early modern festivities as discussed by Terzioğlu and used the visualist vocabulary offered by Kafescioğlu, comparing it with Mitchell's article on world fairs.

I tried to comment on the discussions of the gendered categories of public and private as analyzed and denounced as inefficient by Artan and Mikhail. I defended the usefulness of the two terms and offered passages from *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s that showed the validity and reliability of the two categories in the Ottoman urban space, which was not independent of the mentalities that experienced it, while at the same time making use of the concepts of heterotopia suggested by Mikhail, and liminality by Artan.

The *nefsü'l-emr* identity, which will be discussed in the conclusion of this thesis, has been questioned in this chapter concerning the "other" identities, like women and non-Muslims of the city, who came to take secondary roles in creating the responsible center figure of the male Muslim Istanbulite.

Lastly, in this chapter, I offered the early modern Ottoman genres of *şehrengîz, sûrnâme* and *letâifnâme* as potential relatives to the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, and at the same time considered exclusionary works of etiquette, such as 'Âlî's *Table of Delicacies,* as works that could have influenced the making of the *nefsü'l-emr* genre.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, the four authorial versions of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme* genre have been analyzed. It has been argued that the seven manuscripts attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi, the famous poet of the fifteenth-century Bursa, cannot have been written by him, as they ridicule social phenomena that took place after his death in 1532. The four authorial versions, based on their attributions in titles, have been divided into two branches to highlight divergences within the genre. Lâmiî Çelebi copies, Hacı Ahmed's *Makâle*, and the anonymous Nuruosmaniye manuscript have been collected under one rubric, named the Lâmiî Corpus. In Chapter 2, the divergences and convergences of the manuscripts within the Lâmiî School have been exemplified along with the basic structural elements that form the genre of *nefsü'l-emr*.

Niksârîzâde Mehmed Efendi's unique style has been analyzed under a different subsection as his version follows a different form and ridicules a different set of people of the early modern Ottoman society. It has been claimed that Niksârîzâde's main target group is the pretentious people who undeservingly earn themselves a place among the learned elite.

In Chapter 3, the argument has focused on the religious groups and matters, including Sufis, Kızılbaş, and Kadızadelis, all of whom receive their share from derisions in *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. It has been argued that the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s display the Sunnitizing currents of their time, joining in discussions against antinomian dervish piety, Kızılbaş, and illicit innovations (*bid'at*). However, as discussed, the

works also do not condone the fundamentalist views of the contemporaneous groups like Birgivîs and Kadızadelis, who are not spared from the derisions.

In Chapter 4, the focus has shifted to the urban space and how the city and urban society get represented in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. It has been argued that *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are urban representations, similar to their literary relatives *şehrengîz*, *letâif,* and *sûrnâme*. It has also been asserted that the paradigm of spectacle has been a central topic in *nefsü'l-emr* literature. In that regard, Timothy Mitchell's "object-world" and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu's "mobile-viewing" have been helpful concepts to think with.

Furthermore, using passages from *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, the usefulness of the terms public and private for the early modern Ottoman social context has been questioned. Contrary to Alan Mikhail and Tülay Artan's denouncement of the terms for failing to represent Ottoman social realities, I have argued that gendered notions of public and private are concepts that do exist in the minds of the *nefsü'l-emr* authors, who deride instances that can be considered as breaches in urban space.

These comprise only some of the topics, issues, groups, and practices that are ridiculed and derided in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. From sexuality to gender, to social class and table etiquette, the wide array of topics problematized in the works needs a much deeper investigation. As this thesis is also an attempt at introducing this highly ignored genre to the larger scholarship, the topics covered have been wider.

Furthermore, future studies should analyze the manuscripts uncovered in this thesis due to inaccessibility. As most of those manuscripts, which are listed in Chapter 1, are seemingly attributed to Lâmiî Çelebi in library catalogs, the question

of his *nefsü'l-emr* authorship might get a clearer answer after analyses of all the *nefsü'l-emr* manuscripts attributed to him.

Having laid out the main arguments of the thesis, I find it necessary to provide an attempt at translation of the compound word "*nefsü'l-emrnâme*," which functions as the binding title of the works studied in this thesis.

Cemal Kafadar in his article on *Sohbetnâme,* a seventeenth-century diary kept by a certain Seyyid 'Osmân, claims that ego narratives and social observations like those of Mustafa 'Âlî increased in number and variety in the Ottoman Empire, due to rapid social transformations and dislocations through the seventeenth century.[346] Kafadar adds that these new styles and genres that took the self or social observations into center mostly went unmentioned in contemporaneous biographical and literary studies, which preferred to function within the confines of recognized conventions.[347]

Furthermore, Emine Fetvacı shows that the rising subjectivity was not only in the first-person narratives but also in the long-standing traditions that were usually deemed to be formal and static like Ottoman paintings. Fetvacı argues that author and painter portraits became more visible in the early modernity, as they started to attach their portraits in the books prepared for palace patrons, distinguishing their works from other paintings and reminding themselves to the reader-beholder.[348]

*Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are not ego narratives. However, as discussed in previous chapters, they are expressions of the same social change and transformations in the

[346] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69, (1989): 125-6.
[347] Ibid, 126.
[348] Emine Fetvacı, "Ottoman Author Portraits in the Early-modern Period," in *Affect, Emotion, and Subjectivity in Early Modern Muslim Empires,* ed. Kishwar Rizvi, (Leiden: Brill. 2017): 66-94.

Empire, coinciding with a time when diaries, *sûrnâme*s, *şehrengîz*, or travel books were being written.

It is undeniable that *nefsü'l-emr*s' primary purpose is to turn several groups of others into amusing objects to be laughed at. Perhaps Mihirig's reading of *nafs al-amr* as an "objective world" independent of the thinking mind,[349] and Mitchell's concept of the "object-world" as pointing to outside reality,[350] can be argued to be at the center of the term *nefsü'l-emr* as applied in these *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s. What these social invectives primarily do is to make known a truth, accepted by the authors to exist either behind the pretentious covers of the immoral masses or in the genuine acts and traits of the genteel. Hence, I suggest that the *nefsü'l-emr*, the meaning of which I had opened into a discussion in Chapter 1, is concerned more with the idea of truth applicable to both the ill-doers and the men of grace. *Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s not only reveal the true faces of the charlatans, but also make known the "true" gentleman, men of grace, or, perhaps the "friends of *nefsü'l-emr*." Hence, *nefsü'l-emr* simultaneously designates a lowly other, worth of becoming an object to humiliating waves of laughter and sets aside a sincere elite identity. Thus, I would translate the name of the genre *nefsü'l-emrnâme* as *fact books* or t*he books of facts*.

While the *nefsü'l-emr* descriptions are unidirectional, as discussed several times throughout this thesis, the criticisms of immoral behaviors indirectly draw a reverse picture of the elite demeanors. The self is not at the center in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, nor is it as visible as the author portraits attached at the paintings as Fetvacı suggests, except for some instances in the initial passages where the authors

[349] Mihirig, "Typologies of Scepticism," 14-6.
[350] Mitchell, "World as Exhibition," 227-8.

express feelings or when they designate some counter identity to which they presumably belong. However, such pedantic construction of the other in the works inevitably draws the image of the authorial identity and feelings of belongingness. Thus, I suggest that for a document to be "ego," perhaps reverse descriptions that give indirect road maps to authors' self-perception would also be alternatives. When the authors ridicule this plethora of uncouth behaviors, from nose-picking to foolishly borrowing money to organize a feast, the readers get also informed on the authors, who, like the European travelers who, according to Mitchell, would try to conceal themselves beneath the dark veil of their cameras, are cached behind their pens. We navigate between their hilarious observations, but in every corner, we see the authors.

However, the reverse construction of the authorial identity in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s does not need to stoop so low as to be defined solely in contrast to what the impudent riff-raff do. When the texts end, it is the ability to laugh away at the parade of these self-humiliating people, that separates and sets apart the "men of grace." Laughter has long been treated as the commoner's endeavor, with crude jokes and grotesque imagination. While my argument does not oppose that paradigm, I suggest that in the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, laughter sets an almost aristocratic superiority on the genuine elite's part, turning others into crude jokes by which the true elite can be amused at gatherings. This is where the Ottoman historiography on humor errs, dismissing the language applied in these texts, becoming perplexed by what they call worthless vulgarities, with which "even a pumpman would be ashamed of."[351] The supposedly obscene, scatological, and/or lampooning language in these works, is

[351] Levend, "Gülmece ve Yergi," 40.

exactly what set the elite and/or genteel apart and above, locking the pretentious mobs down in the fecal ground.

In conclusion, I suggest that the *nefsü'l-emr* concern is only secondarily the manners. Written by and for a group of elite, who would already be well-informed on the etiquette, *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s offer images of grotesque maledictions on hilarious wannabes and use laughter as a barricade with which to distinguish the right from wrong, genuine from fake, in a time of upward mobility and social transformations. *Nefsü'l-emrnâme*s, I suggest, are written as manifestos of an identity crisis, out of a need to reaffirm and remind the readers who is who.

APPENDIX A

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

Authorial Attribution	Library & Collection ID	Abbreviation
Lâmiî Çelebi	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi – Mihrişah Sultan 439	*Nefsü'l-emr* (MS)
Lâmiî Çelebi	İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı – Muallim Cevdet K.144	*Nefsü'l-emr* (MC)
Lâmiî Çelebi	Milli Kütüphane - Yazmalar Koleksiyonu A.264/3	*Nefsü'l-emr* (MK)
Lâmiî Çelebi	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi – Yazma Bağışlar 6692	*Nefsü'l-emr* (YB)
Lâmiî Çelebi	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 2167	*Nefsü'l-emr* (HME)
Lâmiî Çelebi	Milli Kütüphane – Adnan Ötüken İl Halk Kütüphanesi 3757/2	*Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ)
Lâmiî Çelebi	İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi – TY.3182	*Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ)
Hacı Ahmed	Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi – Bağdad 404	*Makâle*
Niksârîzâde	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi – Hafız Ahmed Paşa 362	*Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP)
Niksârîzâde	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi – Hamidiye 390	*Nefsü'l-emr* (H)

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Full transcriptions of the unpublished manuscripts used for this thesis can be found below in the order in which they were presented in Table 1 in Chapter 1. Corresponding folios are indicated with letter F. Punctuations are used to help the reader make sense of the texts. Where the writers crossed off in the original texts are represented here with a strikethrough. Passages that could not be read are represented with ellipses. Modern Turkish transcriptions of the *nefsü'l-emrnâme*s are my own with much-appreciated checks and help from my thesis advisor Derin Terzioğlu.

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS)

(F1)

1 Sezâvâr-ı hamd ü sena ol pâdişâh-ı bî-hemtâya ve şehinşâh-ı zû'l-'izz ve'l-kibriyâya-

2 -dır ki dergâh-ı 'âli ve bârgâh-ı müte'âlîsinden gerdânkeş ve cabbârlar

3 kelbden hor ve hakîr yürür ve hezâr ezhâr-ı hadâyık-ı salavât ol 'andelîb-i

4 terennümserâ-yı bâğ-ı hakâyıkadır ki delâlet-i tarîk-i hidâyet ânun içün feth-i

5 bâb olmuşdur ki latîf edâlardan ve şirîn nidâlardan hevâ râgıbları ve dünyâ

6 tâlibleri hakkında "ed-dünyâ cîfetün ve tâlibühâ kilâbun" gelmişdir. Sebeb-i risâle-i

7 'acîbe ve mûcib-i tedkîk-i makâle-i garîbe oldur ki; elem ü şiddetden hâtırdar

8 idüb halkın kendü 'aybları ile takayyüd itmeyüb erbâb-ı zarâfete haylî elem ve

9 ıztırâb virdikleri içün bî-ihtiyâr lîsânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste kelâmât

10 zuhûra getürüb şutûm-ı ma'kûle ile şetme başladım. Evvelâ usûldan

11 hâric olub dahî ta’lîm ile mukayyed olmayan cühelâya hüdâ-yı zû’l-meşan ve
12 pâdişâh-ı lem-yezelden ricâm budur ki; âb-evşâna vardıkda ol kuyuya
13 düşe ve kış günleri ‘azîm zifozlara uğraya ve kasıklarında kan
14 çıbanları çıkara ve câmehâbında kırk dâne yılan bula ve katır depmesine
15 dokuna ve çârsu içinde atıyla giderken başından saruğu düşe
16 ve ‘azîm meclisde bin dâne kavara vâkî’ olub bin dürlü ‘azîm hicâba
17 düşe, yâ’ni rüsvâ-yı ‘âlem olsun. Evvelâ hakîkat dâ’vâsı iden ehl-i
18 kisvet sûfîlere ve ‘ankâlık dâ’vâsın iden sîmurga sinek dimek
19 her ‘aceb kuş olanlara ve hidâye okuyup hidâyet bulmamış köy
20 fakîlerine, köle sûfîlerine ve yeniçeri mürâyilerine, ıstılâhât ve ‘ibârât

(F2)

1 söylerin sanub türkî sözü dahî idrâk idemeyen türk dânişmend-
2 -lerine, tekyegâhlarda celb-i dünyâ içün önüne çerâğ koyub oturanlara ve
3 evliyâdır diyenlere ve pîrliğinde aksakalın boyayub yiğitlenen kocalara ve
4 kızının gelin gibi yüzün yazan pîre-zenlere ve ölü helvasına, ıskat
5 akçesine göz karardub yılışan tarrârlara, yalancı emîrlere ve yalancı
6 pîrlere, ve emîrin azgunlarına ve dânişmendlerin kuzgunlarına ve
7 okunmayan da’vete varanlara, çerp pilavı destmâle koyanlara ve ta’âm
8 ortada iken bu dursun filan gelsün deyü hazır ta’âmı
9 kalduranlara ve yemeği kendü önüne çekenlere ve kaşıkta kalan
10 ta’âm bakıyyesini ta’âm içine dökenlere ve yemek evvelinde çok çok
11 sığır gibi su içenlere ve yemek yerken tükrüğün saça saça söz
12 söyleyenlere ve dahî ta’âm ortada iken fâtiha fırladanlara ve bahâ-
13 -dırum deyü başına kartal kanadı sokanlara, ve katır eğerine pâlden
14 takanlara, ve bargîr su içerken sıklık virenlere, ve çakşırsız mest

15 giyenlere, ve bir kimse bir sözü dimeden gamz iden kezzablara, ve bir muhabbeti
16 evvelinden dinlemeyüb tamâm olucak mahalde soran püzevenklere
17 ve kendü esbabın düzmeğe mukayyed olan hîzlere, ekâbir sofrasında
18 ta'âm sâhibinin hizmetkârların sofraya çağıran edebsizlere,
19 ve geda … baba nasûha kuş mısın dimeyübde âşikâre hokkasına
20 biber kadar afyon gıdâsın koyanlara, … ilin kitâbın okumağa deyü
21 elinde eski beze döndüren cühelâya, ve sofra üzerinde poh

(F3)

1 lakırdısın iden pohlu böceklere ve ba'z-ı sakîl gidilere, yârânın yârâna
2 koşduğun istemeyübde kendü gelüb sokulan yezidlere, yalan
3 şâhidliğine hâtır içün kezb ihtiyâr iden kezzâblara, ve sofrada
4 cümlesi bir sahanda yer iken gayrı ta'âma el uzunluğu iden dest-i
5 nâ-pâkı kuruyacaklara, tazının ve zağarın ağzından öpen murdarlara, senin
6 hakkına garîbân söyledi deyü münâfakat iden boğazından asılacaklara,
7 eline bir kaç akçe girmeğle kendü özün büyük âdem tabakasına koyup
8 kimse beğenmeyüb soğra görmüş köftehorlara, ve ferâce altına et
9 ve yahud balık saklayan murdarlara, kör fakîh mülevves tiryâkilere, ferâcesinin
10 yeniyle ve kuşağının ucuyla ağzın silenlere, ve çok çok kağrılub
11 tükren marîzlere, ve süd ve ayran ve çorba yerken kaşığın pek dolduran
12 ac gözlülere, ve muttasıl bıyığın düzmeğle mukayyed olan
13 kalâfatlara, ve gizlenüpde kapu yaruğundan bakan pîre-zenlere, kendü özün
14 koca karı zann idübde çarşularda burnun açan kokmuşlara, ve bayram
15 günlerinde saruğunın ardın önüne giyen hayvanlara, ve bir yola gitdikde
16 ferâcesinin yenin koltuğuna alan zarîf kuzgunlara, ve sakalın dişiyle
17 yolan dîvânelere ve sakalının ağın yolubda bıyığını kızılbaş bıyığına

18 döndüren kızılbaş gidilere, ve ölü ta’âmına varub koltuğuna çanak

19 kısub bekleyenlere, ve hıyarın ellisi altmışı bir akçeye iken azdır dahî

20 vir diyen insâfsızlara, ve bir kimesne bir şey okurken sen okuyamadın

21 getür ben okuyayım diyen edebsiz cühelâya, ve satranc bâbında leclâc

(F4)

1 geçinübde biri biri ardınca üc def’a yenilen yâdigârlara, ve “pilava yoğurt

2 koymak hakîr, hazz eylemezin” diyen ağzının dadın bilmenlere, ve lâgar bârgire

3 ‘abâyla binen gidilere, ‘âriyetî bârgir ve esbâb ile düğüne gidenlere, ve

4 konc(l)u cizme giyübde kof kof gezenlere, ve komsu kazâ kethüdalarına, …

5 kuzı kürkine zerdevâ yakalık koyanlara, ve mahkeme mahzarı olupda efendisi

6 var filan kimesne getür dedikde ol dahi temâm herîfi haklayub salıvir-

7 -dikden soğra geldikde dünyânın yalanın söyleyen kezzâblara, ve ba’z-ı yâran

8 bir hikâye bast iderken bunun aşağısı filandır diyen edebsizlere, ve henûz

9 ağzında hamr râyihâsı var iken namâz kılmak isteyen mel’ûnlara, ve meclisde

10 fâsık-ı mahrûm olup sofra kurudanlık iden ‘abdü’l-batn sığırlara,

11 ve ‘ilm mâ’rifetden bî-haber olupda ‘âlim geçinen merkeblere, odasın ve hizmetkâr-

12 -ların düzmeğle mukayyed olan hîzlere, ve sakallu olupda saruğunın ardından

13 perçem gösteren eski puştlara, ve hamâmda yıkanırken götün gösteren

14 puştlara, ve bin târihinden soğra evlenmek kasd iden har-ı lâ-yefhemlere, ve

15 maksûdı bir şahsa ziyâfet iken mecliste bir münâsebeti olmayan eşhâsı

16 dâhil iden idrâksizlere, kendü müflis iken mürâbaha ile akçe alupda ziyâfete

17 taklîd iden nekebâte, ve meclisinde kelâm itmeye kimesneye nevbet virmeyen

18 köpeklere, makremesi içine sümkürüp yine içine bakan hımârlara, kendüyi

19 bilmeyüb ve istihkâkı olmayubda sadr-ı â’lâyı gözeden mel’ûnlara, ve ba’z-ı

20 ta’âm iz’ân-ı pâk yenürken kaşık ile girişen ‘abdü’l-batn sığırlara,

21 ve bâ’z-ı kimesne yeniçeri sipâhi değil iken ol kıyâfetde gezen densizlere,

(F5)

1 türk dânişmendi ile kahvehâneye, bûzehâneye ve meyhâneye ve çârsu
2 bâzâr seyrine varan bî-mezâk civânlara, ve kîsesinde akçe olmayupda
3 nigâra ve civâna ‘âşık geçinen ahmaklara, ve ba’z-ı dilber dahî ‘âşıkına cefa
4 idüb gayrı ile konuşanlara, ve bâde meclisinde cömerdlenüb bir kimesneye
5 bir kazıyye bir câbe çekinübde irtesi peşîmân olan kurı kalâfatlara, ve
6 ba’z-ı gidiler, oğlıyla şarâb sohbeti idüb ‘avretine kadın oğlına
7 çelebi diyen kodoşlara, ve enine giymeğe ‘abâ ve kuşanmağa ip bulamayupda
8 ‘avretine atlas ve kemhâ kaftân kuşak giyidüb kuşadan
9 pâzenklere, duhân lülesi ağzında iken uyuklıyan pohlu böceklere,
10 başı kel âverdi bol hodbin zevâid lazlara, ve te‘vîl ile yemîn
11 iden mel’ûnlara, metâ’ına yalan şirâ katan Bâzîrgânlara, halk-ı
12 ‘âleme kendüyi dindâr inandırub elin hakkına tama’ iden mürâyîlere,
13 müselmân olupda meyhânecilik iden pelîdlere, kâhillik iden kâtiblere,
14 kitâbet bilürken bana mektûb yazıvir diyen küstâhlara, uzaktan
15 kız dileyüpde kış gününde düğün iden ahmâklara, ve düğüncülüğe
16 varan süfehâya, namâzda ta’dîl-i erkân itmeyen namâz uğrılayana,
17 ve câriyeyi gebe idübde yine satan müsülmânlığı kıttlara, ve mağlûb-u
18 keyf olupda pohuyla çekişen pohlı tiryâkîlere, poha denk olub
19 ekâbir hoş-âmedcilerine, ve ‘ulemâ meclisinde ehl-i ‘irfân âresinde
20 bilir geçinen cühelânın mürekkeblerine, ‘avreti ve niçe evlâdı var iken
21 yine evlenen köpeklere, ve serhadd emekdârı geçinübde battâl hikâyelerin

(F6)

1 tekrâr söyliyen sakîllere, kapucıların yalancılarına, nekbetî alay beğlerine,

2 ve müflis müteferrikalara, ve fâzîlların komsîlarına (?) nâîblerin telebbüslerine,
3 kethüdâların puştlarına, kahvehânede oturubda dünyâyı mezemmet
4 iden kallâşlara, meyhâne çalıcısına … sipâhîlerine, yeniçerilerin
5 dûşluksuz püzevenklerine, çorbacı odabaşı olan kodoşlara,
6 ‘acem oğlanının maryollarına, ve zemherîde karpuz ve yaz gününde yumurta
7 yiyenlere, abdâl usladan didikleri yağmurda yağmurluk giyinmeyübde dülbendden
8 makreme ile örten idrâksizlere, mâl-ı yetîm ve mâl-ı vakf ekl ü bel’ iden
9 bî-dînlere, aksakallu olupda fâhişelere mukayyed olan îmânsızlara,
10 başı kel olupda nâzik ‘arakçîn giyen arnavud hîzlerine, bir kimesnenin
11 ba’z-ı tuhfesi olupda satılığı değil iken elbette bunı bana sat diyen bî-meze
12 hayvânlara, ve bir yerde bir kimesne musâfir iken hâricden gelen musâfire “elbette
13 gel bizde kon” sâhib-i hânenin rızâsı yoğiken teklîf iden bî-’ârlara,
14 ba’de’t-ta’âm el yunurken leğen içine sümküren murdârlara, ve ziyâ-
15 -fetlerde zarîf peşkire elin silen eli kurıyacaklara, bayrâm günlerinde kız isteyen
16 ve gelinin seyre gönderen … kendi ma’yûb iken elin ‘aybıyla mukayyed olan
17 hodbînlere, namâz kılmayupda dâimâ elinde tesbîh getüren bî-namâzlara,
18 ekâbir yanına sokulub dâimâ yüzine medh iden rîş-handelere,
19 bu nefsü’l-emrde yazılan fi’l-cümle perhîz olmak üzre
20 kasd itmeyen ebterlerden her kim olursa bu risâle
21 dîbâcesinde olan vartalara ve ‘akîdlere … (illegible)

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü’l-emr* (MC)

(F1)

1 Sebeb-i risâle-i ‘acîbe ve mûcib-i makâle-i garîbe oldur ki elem ü şiddetden
2 hâtırdar idüb halkın halkın kendi ‘ayblarıyla takayyüd itmeyüb erbâb-ı zerâfete

hayli elem ve ıstırâb virdikleri içün bî-ihtiyâr lîsânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste kelimât zuhûra getürüb ma'kûliyle şetme başladım. Evvelâ usûlden hâric olub dahi ta'lîm ile mukayyed olmayan cühelâya hüdâ-yı zu'l-menândan ve pâdişâh-ı lem-yezelden ricâ ve niyâzım budur ki âb-evşâna vardıkda kuyuya düşe ve kış günleri 'azîm zede uğraya ve zifozlara uğraya, ve kasık yerlerinde kan çıbanları çıkara, ve câmehâbında kırk dâne yılanlar bula, ve katır depmesine dokuna, ve çârsu içinde atıyla giderken başından saruğı düşe ve 'azîm meclisde bin dâne kavara vâki' ola, bin dürlü 'azîm hicâba düşüb hacâlet ile rüsvâ-yı 'âlem olsun. Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsın iden ehl-i kisvet sûfîlere, ve 'ankâlık da'vâsın iden *feleğe kelek simurga sinek* dimez her 'aceb kuş olanlara, ve hidâye okutub hidâyet bulmamış köy fakilerine, ve yeniçeri mürâyîlerine, ve ıstılâh-ı 'ibârât söylerim sanub türkî sözü dahî idrâk idemeyen türk dânişmendlerine, ve tekyegâhlarda celb-i dünyâ içün önünde çırâk koyub okuyanlara, ve ana evliyâdır deyü sû' idenlere, ve pîrlikde ak sakalın boyayub yiğitlenenlere, ve kızının yüzün gelin gibi yazan pîre-zenlere, ve ölü helvasına ve iskat akçesine göz kızardub yılışan tarrârlara, ve yalancı emîrlere, ve yalancı pîrlere, ve emîrin azgunlarına, ve dânişmendlerin kuzgunlarına, ve okunmayan da'vete varanlara, ve cerb pilâvı destmâline koyanlara, ve ta'âmı yârân önünden kendi önüne çekenlere, ve kaşık içinde kalan ta'âmı gerü ta'âm içine dökenlere, ve yemek evvelinde çok çok sığır gibi su içenlere, ve ta'âm yerken tükrüğün saça saça söz söyliyenlere, ve katır izine pâldüm dakanlara, ve bârgîr su içerken ıslık virenlere, ve çakşırsız mest

24 giyenlere, ve bir musâhebeti evvelinden dinlemeyüb soğra temâm olunca evvelini soran püzevenklere,

25 ve kendü esbâbın düzen hîzlere, ve hokkasına büber kadar afyon koyanlara, ve ilin kitâbın

26 emânet alub eski beze döndüren cühelâya, ve sofra ortasında murdar lakırdısı iden

(F2)

1 sakîl gidilere, ve yârânlar istemeyüb kendi gelüb sokulan ‘arsız gidilere, ve tazısının

2 ağzından öpen murdarlara, ve eline akçe geçüb kimesne beğenmeyen köfte-horlara,

3 ve ferâce altına et saklıyan murdârlara, ve yeniyle ve kuşağıyla ağzın silen

4 tabî’atsizlere, ve çok çok kağurub tüküren pislere, ve çorba içerken kaşığın

5 dolduran ac gözlülere, ve muttasıl bıyığın düzen kâlefatlara, ve sakalın ağın yolan

6 ve kırkan gidilere, ve hıyarın ellisi bir akçeye iken az diyen insâfsuzlara, ve satranc

7 başında leclâc geçinüb birbiri ardınca üç kerre yenilen yâdigârlara, ve yağır bârgîre

8 ‘abâ ile binen mendebûr gidilere, ve konclu cizme giyüb beylik beylik kof kof

9 gezen kuvâldâzlara ve ba’z-ı yârân bir hikâye bast iderken bunun aşağısı filandır

10 diyen edebsüzlere, ve ta’âmda sofra kurudan güvezlere, ve ‘ilm ü ma’rifetden bî-haber olub

11 ‘âlim geçinen mürekkeblere, ve sakallu olubda perçemin göstüren eski puştlara, ve bin

12 târihindensoğra evlenmek kasd iden har-ı lâ-yefhemlere, ve mürâbaha ile akçe alub

13 ziyâfet iden nekbetlere, ve yoklukda oruc dutan mürâyî köpeklere, ve meclisde kimseye

14 kelam itdirmeyüb nevbet virmeyen kilâblara, ve makremesi içine tükürüb ya sümkürüb

15 içine bakan hımârlara, ve yeniçeri olmayub ol kıyâfetde gezen densüzlere, ve hizmetkârı

16 ac kendüsi habbeye muhtâc iken libâs-ı fâhire ilen … iden kalâylı kûzlara,

17 ve kîsesinde akçe olmayub nigâra ‘âşık geçinen ahmak yoluklara, ve ‘avretine

18 kadın oğluna çelebi diyen kodoşlara, kendüne giyecek ‘abâ bulmayub

19 ‘avretine kemhâ giyüren şaşkun püzevenklere, ve te’vîl-i yemîn iden mel’ûnlara,

20 ve kitâbet bilürken kâhillik idüb bana bir mektûb yaz diyen küstâhlara, ve kış

21 gününde düğün iden ahmaklara, ve namâzda te’dîl-i erkân itmeyen namâz uğrılarına,

22 ve “câriye-yi gebe” idüb satan müsülmanlığı kıtlara, ve kürkiyle çekişen mühmelât

23 tiryâkîlere, ve ‘ulemâ meclisinde “bilürin” geçinen câhil merkeblere, ve ‘avreti ve evlâdı

24 var iken yine evlenen mendebûrlara, ve nekbet alay beğilere, ve menhûs kethudâlarına,

25 ve süflî çorbacı odabaşısı olanlara, ve ‘acem oğlanının maryollarına,

26 ve müflis müteferrikalara, ve nâ’iblerin telebbüslerine, ve kahvehânede dünyâ demi iden

27 kallâşlara, ve zemherîde karpuz ağustosda yumurta yiyen … kadrin bilmeyenlere,

(F3)

1 ve aksakallu olubda fâhişelere hased iden îmânsuzlara, ve musâfir olubda

2 bir yerde “**…** bırakun ev sâhibi râzıdır” diyen bî-’ârlara, ve ba’de-

3 ’t-ta’âm el yurken leğen içine sümküren murdârlara, ve ziyâfetlerde latîf

4 peşkîrlere elin silen eli kuruyacaklara, ve bayramlarda karısın seyre göndüren

5 tarrârlara, ve kendi ma’yûb iken ilin ‘aybına mukayyed olan hodbînlere, ve namâz

6 kılmayub elinde tesbîh getüren bî-namâzlara, ve … sûret … tabân sûfîlere,

7 ve ekâbiri yüzine medh iden rîş-handelere, bu nefsü’l-emrde yazılan fi’l-cümle

8 perhîz kasd itmeyen ebterde her kim olursa bu risâle ibtidâsında zikr olan

9 vartalara uğraya, âmîn. Temme er-risâle.

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK)

(F1)

1 Sezâvâr-ı hamd ü sena ol pâdişâhân-ı bî-hemtâya ve şâhinşâh-ı zû'l-'izz ve'l-kibriyâyadır ki dergâh-ı 'âli ve

2 bârgâh-ı müte'âlîsinden gerdankeş ve cabbarlar kelbden hor ve hakîrlerdir ve hezâr-ı hadâyık-ı salavât ol 'andelîb-i terennüm-

3 -serâ-yı bâğ-ı hakâyık-ı *hubebdir* ki delâlet ~~(ider)~~ -i tarîk-i hidâyet ince feth-i bâb olmuşdur ki latîf edâlardan ve şirîn

4 nidâlardan hevâ râgıbları ve dünyâ tâlibleri hakkında "ed-dünyâ cîfetün ve tâlibühâ kilâbun" gelmişdir. Sebeb-i risâle-i 'acîbe

5 ve mûcib-i tedbîr-i makâle-i garîbe oldur ki; bir seher dâr-ı dünyânın elem ü şiddetin hâtıra idüb halkın

6 kendi 'aybları ile takayyüd eylemeyüb erbâb-ı zarâfete elem virib hayle ıztırâb virdiklerinden bî-ihtiyâr lisânıma

7 gelen nâ-şâyeste kelimât zuhûra gelüb biz-zarûrî şetme başladım. Evvelâ usûlden hâric olub dahî ta'lîm ile

8 mukayyed olmıyan cühelâya hüdâ-yı zu'l-menândan ricâmdır ki âb-evşâna vardıkda ol kuyuya düşe ve kış günlerinde

9 'azîm zifozlara uğraya, ve kasık yerlerinde kan çıbanları çıkara, câme-hâbına kırk dâne ~~kan çıbanları~~ yılan gire,

10 katır depmesine ~~uğraya~~ dokuna, çârşu içinde atla giderken saruğı düşe, 'azîm meclisde bin tâne kavara vâki'

11 olub 'azîm hicâba düşüb rüsvây ola. Hakîkat da'vasın rîş-hand ehl-i kisvet sûfilere, bir dûd-ı âhdan tekye

12 külâhı urunmış 'âşık meşreb sâfî dil levendlere, bir dûd-ı âhdan 'ankâlık da'vâsın iden sîmurga sinek dimez bir 'aceb

13 kuş olanlara, efkâr-ı hiddete evkâr olub kerkes gibi bî-per ü bâl olmuşlara, ve hidâye okumuş hidâyet bulmamış

14 fakîlere, köle sûfilerine şeyhlik iden şakîlere, çıkrığa çevrilmiş misvâklara, sufîyân mürâyîlere, kara şemle

15 sarınub gâîb söylerin diyen etrâklara, ıstılâh ü ‘ibârât söylerin sanub türkî sözi dîvâra kısub

16 deliklere koyanlara, köy be-köy ka’be sûretin gezdirib kapu kabu ibrâhîm destânın okuyanlara, semâ’ ü safâ bilmez

17 Mevlevîlere ya’nî eliflü külâh urunub kara yerin gömgök evliyâsı görinüb çerâğ ü ‘ilm getürüb cerr ü cevr iden

18 Levlevîlere, Hızır İlyâs çevgânın getürenlere, tekye-gâhlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önlerine çerâğ koyub oturanlara,

19 eyyâmı temmûzda mesâfe-i ba’ideden evg getüren beğlere, ve âhu postından tâc urınub er oğlı geçinen köpeklere, deli şücâ’dan

(F2)

1 Deli Şücâhdan tâc ~~ıı~~ giyenlere, ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere evliyâdır diyenlere,

2 pirlikde ak sakalın henûz kırkıb yiğitlenen koca pelîdlere, pirâyelerle kız gelinler gibi yüzin boyayan pîre-zenlere,

3 esrâr ‘âşıklarına, bûze-hâne köpeklerine ya’nî yâvuz bekrîlere, haşîş horlara, kumar-bâzlara, ‘ayyârlara, şevl-i kadeh

4 cerrârlığın iden bî-‘ârlara, ölü helvâsına göz karardıb yılışan tarrârlara, yuvâdan uçmamış bûn yavrılar

5 şikârına içün kebûter bâzlık iden nâ-bekârlara, yalancı pirlere, ve yalancı emîrlere, ‘avâmın azgunlarına ve

6 dânişmendin kuzgunlarına, okunmıyan da’vete varanlara, çerb pilâvı destmâle saranlara, kadâyıf kaşığıyla

7 hoşâb yiyenlere, dahî ta’âm ortada iken fâtihâ okuyanlara, sofra çekilüb nân ni’met dökülüb yemek

8 ortaya geldikden soğra “hele filân da gelsün” deyü hâzır ta’âmı koyub gâîbe küyenlere, zarîf-i sipâhî

9 geçinüb sarı sofdan şalvar giyenlere, bahâdırım diyüb başına kartal kanadın sokanlara, eğer katırına

10 pâldüm takanlara, ihtiyârla tüfenk getürenlere, tob tüfenk atılur kal’a nişângâhlarına karşu âb-evşâne

11 oturanlara, bârgir su içerken sıklık virenlere, çakşırsız mest giyenlere, ve bir kimseden bir sözi işidib

12 dahî gamz iden tiryâkîlere, ve ba’z-ı kimsenin evsâfın otururken dimeyüb doğrı kalkub diyürenlere, ve bir

13 musâhebeti evvelinden dinlemeyüb tamâm olucak mahallde evvelin soran pâzenklere, ve türkçe bilen kâfir dilince

14 söyliyen nâdânlara, ve kendi esbâbın düzmeğle mukayyed olan hîzlere, ve ekâbir sofrasında ta’âm sâhibinin

15 hizmetkârların sofraya çağıran edebsizlere, ve gedâ yemede baba nasûha kuşu musun diyübde

16 âşikâre hokkasına biber kadar afyon gedâ yiyen sefîh tiryâkîlere, ve elin kitâbun alub eski beze

17 çeviren hayvânlara, ve sofra üzerinde poh lakırdısın iden pohlı böceklere, ve yâran öninden kendi

(F3)

1 önine çekenlere, kaşığında kalan ta’âm bakıyyesin yine ta’âm koyanlara içine dökenlere, ve yemek

2 evvelinde sığır gibi çok çok su içenlere ve ba’z-ı kimseyi göz habsine koyan bî-kârlara, ve ba’z-ı sakîl gidiler

3 bir yârânın yârâna kırışdığın istemeyüb de kendi gelüb sokulan hîzlere, ve yeni dânişmend oldukda

4 velâ yanında edebsizlik iden harlara, yalan şâhidlerine ve hâtır içün kezb ihtiyâr iden kezzâblara,

5 ‘ahd nedür bilmezlere, ve sofrada cümlesi bir sahandan yerken gayrı ta’âma el uranlığın iden dest-i

6 nâ-pâki kurıyacaklara, tazının ve sığırın ağzın öpen murdârlara, zemmâmlara, müfessellere, filân kimse

7 senün hakkına garâibât söyledi deyü münâfakat iden boğazından asılacaklara, istimâlî lakırdılara pek pek

8 çığıran merkeblere, eline bir kaç akçe girmek ile kendüsin bir büyük âdem tabakasında koyub kimse

9 beğenmiyen soğradan görmüşlere, ve ferrâcınun altına et veyâ balık saklayan murdârlara, eşek ve dana sikenlere,

10 müsülmanlığın başın ağrıdıb kerevetü'l-kulûb olan uslûbsızlara, kör fakîlere, mülevves tiryâkîlere,

11 kürkli ferrâcenin yeni ile ağzın silen köpeklere, ve çakşır içinde gömleğin edibde sikin düzen siki

12 kurıyacaklara, ve çok çok kağırub tüküren marîzlere, ve süd yerken kaşığın pek dolduranlara, muttasıl

13 bıyığın düzmeğle mukayyed olanlara, kalâfatlara, ve kapu yarığından gizlenib bakan fertütlere, kendüzin

14 koca karı zann idüb çarşûlarda yüzin açan kokmışlara, ve gözlerin kömürle silinmiş

15 çilingir yüzüğüne döndüren ahrimanlara, ve bayrâm günlerinden sarığının ardın enine giyen hayvânlara,

16 ve sakalının ağını yolubda ya'nî kızıl baş bıyığına döndüren kızıl başlara, ölü ta'âmı içün koltuğuna

(F4)

1 çanak kısub bekleyenlere, hıyârın ellisi altmış bir akçeye iken azdır deyü "dahî vir" diyenlere,

2 bir kimesne ba'z-ı nesne okurken "sen okuyamadın getür ben okuyayın" diyen edebsizlere, "pilâva yoğurt

3 koymak hakîr, hazz eylemezin" diyen zarîflere, ârîk rüsvây bargîre âbâ ile binen gidilere, ve elin bârgîriyle

4 ve gayrının esbâbıyla düğüne binenlere, koncı bol cizme ile giyenlere, komsu kazâ kethüdâlarına ve çavûş

5 değilken çavûş geçinen merkeblere, beyâz kuzı kürkine zerdevâ yakalık koyanlara, ceybine etmek üzüm

6 yumurta koyanlara, zurâfâ meclisinde kâfir dilince söyliyen mürtedlere, ve ba'z-ı yârân bir hikâye bast iderken "bunın

7 aşağısı bu filândır" diyen edebsizlere, ve henûz ağzının hamr râyihâsı var iken namâz kılmak isteyen mürâyîlere,

8 ve meclisde fâsık-ı mahrûm olubda sofra kurudanlık iden 'abdü'l-batn sığırlara, ve yârân odasında berş

9 hokkasının dibin gözteren berrâşlara, ve 'ilm ü ma'rifetden bî-haber olub da 'âlim geçinen türklere, … odasın ve hizmetkârın

10 göstermeğle mukayyed olan cimrî musâfirlere, ve sakallu olubda sarığından dışra perçem gösteren eski pûştlara,

11 ve hammâmda yıkanurken götin gösteren genezlere, ve bin târihinden soğra evlenmek isteyen kasd iden har-ı lâ

12 yefhemlere, ve maksûdı bir şahsa ziyâfet iken meclise bir münâsebeti olamayan eşhâsları dâhil iden

13 idrâksizlere, ve kendi tamâm müflis olupda mürâbaha ile akçe alub da … ziyâfet taklîd iden nükesâ

14 nekebâte, ve mikdâr-ı kifâye sebeb-i ma'işeti var iken hindistân seferine kasd iden bikle bâzirgânlara,

15 meclisde hiffet ihtiyâr iden galîzlere, ve şarâb meclisinde izhâr-ı fazîlet idüb musâhebet-i 'ilmiyye iden kasbe-i zarîf

16 yârâna, ve yağmurlı havâda salıncak ile takayyül iden iden yâdigârlara, ve bayramlık 'âşıkı olmayubda salınçakçılar

17 koçsun makâmında yalnuz salınan civânlara, ve ashâbı-ı sa'âdetden mezemmetin iltizâm-ı mâ lâ-yülzem eyleyen nekbetî

18 … ve meclisde lakırdı itmede kimseye nevbet değirmeyen Birgivîlere, ve makremesinin içine tükürüb … (missing)

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB)

(F1)

1 Sebeb-i risâle-i 'acîbe ve mûcib-i dakâyık-ı garîbe oldur ki nâ-gâh bir hengâm-ı seher dünyânın âlâm-ı şedâyidinden

2 ve mihen-i hadâyidinden idrâce-i hâtıra idüb ekser-i nâs kendü tühem ü 'uyûbıyle mukayyed olmayub erbâb-ı zarâfete

3 elem ve ashâb-ı letâfete endûh ü gam virdiklerinden nâşî bî-ihtiyâr ve bi'l-ıztırâr lisânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste

4 kelimâtları zikr idüb girîbân-ı ihtiyârımdan dest-i tahammüli 'adem-i tahlîs ve cürûb ü şütûm-ı mütenev'îye şürû' ü âgâz

5 eyledim. Evvelâ dâire-i usûlden hâric olub dahî ta'allüm-i 'ilm ü âdâb ile mukayyed olmıyan cühelâya cenâb-ı hazret-i

6 zû'l-menandan ricâ ve niyâzım budur ki; berây-ı efşân edebhâneye vardıkda ol çâh-ı menhûsa düşe, ve zeker

7 ü hâyesi havâlibinde mükerrer ve müte'addid kan çıbanları çıka, ve câmeh(w)âbına kırk 'aded mâr-ı ef'î gire,

8 ve katır depmesine öküz süsmesine mülâkî ola ve dâbbe-süvâr tarîk ve asvâk içre giderken başından

9 destârı düşüb ehl-i dükkân harâmzâdesinün sît ü sadâsıyla melâmet ü melâletine uğraya, 'âkıbet-i âlâm

10 bir meclis-i 'azîmde mânend-i zebtâne zırta çeküb üftâde-i hicâb ü rüsvây ola, imdi da'vât-ı sâlifât

11 ü muhâlifât kimlere 'âid ü râci' ola? Evvelâ hakîkat da'vâsıyla rîş-hand olub ehl-i zerâfeti

12 ve erbâb-ı letâfeti kesüb biçen sûfîlere, ve her dûd-ı âhdan tekye urunmış ‘âşık meşreb sâfî dil

13 levendlere, efkâr ü hiddetde evkâr ve vâdi-i hayretde bî-kâr olub kerkes kuşı gibi bî-per ü bâl olmuşlara,

14 ‘ankâlık da’vâsın idüb sîmurga sinek dimez “bir ‘acâyib kuş” diyen hodpesendlere, ve Hidâye okumuşda

15 hidâyet bulmamış kör fakîhlere, çıkrıkdan çevrilmiş misvâk isti’mâl iden mürâyî sûfîlere, ve

16 ıstılâhât ü ‘ibârât söylerim zann idüb türkî kelâmı dahî edâya kâdir olmayan türk dânişmendlere,

17 karye be-karye ka’be-i mükerreme sûretin gezdirüb kapu kapu geyik destânın okuyanlara, eliflü külâh

18 urunub kara yerin gömgök evliyâsı görünüb çerâğ ü ‘ilm ile habr ü halka ezâ ü cevr iden

19 semâ’ ü safâ bilmez mevlevîlere, bir meclisde ahbâb ile sohbet iderken uyuyan tiryâkî-i menhûs

20 nâ-halef eşerrlere, Hızır İlyâs çevgânın getürenlere, tekye-gâhlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önine

21 çerâğ koyub oturanlara, eyyâm-ı temmuzun şiddet-i harâretinden mesâfe-i bâ’ideden un/evg devşirüp

22 getüren peyklere, âhû postundan libâs ü sûret düzüb “er oğlı nefs oğlıyız, kazâya siper

23 içün üç pâre nezr ve bir pâre kurbân gönder” deyü kerâmet kaydına düşen geyiklere, ve anlara i’timâd

24 iden har-ı lâ-yefhemlere, ve deli şücâ’dan tâc giyenlere ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar

25 dîvânelere evliyâdır diyenlere, ve pîrlikde aksâlın kırkub yâhûd pirliğin ihtifâ içün boyalar

(F2)

1 sürüb sâhte yiğitlenen koca pelîdlere, pirâyelerle kız gelinler gibi boya ve tel ile yüzlerin bezeyen pîrezenlere,

2 esrâr ü beng ‘âşıklarına, ve bûzehâneye gelenlere, ve haşhâşhorlara, ve kumârbazlara, ve ölü

3 helvasına, düğün aşına, ıskat akçesine göz karardub yeğişen ‘ayyârlara, dahî yuvadan

4 uçmamış bûn yavrular *gibi* şikâr içün kebûterbâzlık iden nâ-bekârlara, mücerred oğlan saydına

5 âlet olmak içün ‘azîm bahâ ile kebûter iştirâ idüb oğlanları sayd iden mu’allim-i bî-îmânlara, yalancı

6 emîrlere ve kezzâb pîrlere, ‘avâmın azgınlarına ve dânişmendin kuzgunlarına, da’vet olunmayan mahalle

7 varan eşeklere, yağlı pilâvı destmâline sarub yağın akıdarak hânesine götüren kedâ-çeşmlere,

8 kadâyıf kaşık ile ve hoşâbı pilâv kaşığıyla yiyenlere, dahî ta’âm ortada iken fâtiha okuyan leffâflara,

9 sofra ortada ve ta’âm hâzir ü âmâde iken “hele katlanın filan kes dahî gelsün” deyü intizâra düşen

10 harlara, sipâhî geçinüb sarı şalvâr giyen bî-edeblere, ve bahâdırım deyü başına kartal kanadın sokanlara,

11 eğerli katırına pâldüm takanlara, ihtibâr ile tüfenk getürenlere, tob ve tüfenk atılurken kal’e nişângâhlarına

12 karşu oturan eşek bahâdırlara, hayvanât su içerken sıklık viren sığırlara, ve

13 çakşırsız mest giyenlere, ve bir kimseden söz işidüb âhere gamz iden tiryâkî mel’ûnlara, ve ba’z-ı kimsenin

14 evsâf-ı ‘uyûbın müvâcehesinde dimeyüb kalkub gitdiktensoğra hınzîrlara, ve bir müsâhebeti ibtidâsından

15 dinlemeyüb tamâm olacak mahalde evvelini su’al iden pûzevenklere, ve türkçe bilir kâfire küffâr lisânınca

16 söyliyen hinâzir-i bî-dînlere, ve kendi esbâbını düzmeğle mukayyed olan harlara, kibâr sofrasında ta’âm sâhibinin

17 hüddâmın sofraya da’vet iden edebsizlere, ve bî-’ulûm ve bî-ma’ârif iken ‘âlim geçinen bî-’ârlara, odasın ve

18 hüddâmın göstermek ile mukayyed olan cimrî murdârlara, hamâmda gasl iderken götün gösteren kenezlere, ve

19 sakallu olub sarığından dışra perçem gösteren ‘atîk pûştlara, ve bin târihindensoğra evlenüb

20 ‘avretden vefâ ma’mûl iden bî-’akllara, ve maksûdı ancak bir şahsa ziyâfet iken mecliste münâsebetden dûrâ-dûr

21 olan şahs-ı le’îmi idhâl iden idrâksizlere, ve kendüsi tamâm müflis iken mürâbaha ile akçe alub

22 âhere ziyâfet ve helvâ sohbeti iden nekbet me’âblara, ve mikdâr-ı kifâye cihet-i ta’ayyüş var iken hindustân

23 seferin ihtiyâr iden tama’kâr sığır bâzirgânlara, ziyâde-i mürâbahaya tama’ idüb bin derd ü mihnet

24 ile cem’ eylediği nukûd akçesin müflis olanlara kapdıran nâkislere, ve on gurûş ile dükkâna oturub

25 anı dahî kapdırub soğra hüsrân ü sergerdân kalan katırlara, ve meclisde hiffet ihtiyâr

26 iden galîzlere, ve şarâb meclisinde ızhâr-ı fazîlet idüb müsâhebet-i ‘ilm ve mübâhese-i ma’ârif ü tasavvuf

(F3)

1 iden eşek sûfîlere, ve yağmurlı günde salıncak salınan yâdigârlara, ve ‘âşıkı olmayub bayrâmda

2 yalnız salıncağa binüb salınan fâhişelere, ashâb-ı sa’âdet mezemmetin iltizâm iden nekbet-i zemmâm

3 ü nemmâm tiryâkîlere, ve meclisde mütekellim-i vahde ve çene defterdârı olub kimseye nevbet değirmeyen hımârlara,

4 ve makremesinin içine sümkürüb yine nazâr iden esterlere, bir kimsenin cem'iyeti gününde ev sâhibinden

5 iznsiz geleni istikbâl ve gideni teşyî' ve makâm-ı hizmetde olanlara, kethüdâlık idüb aşcı

6 ustalara dahî "şunı şöyle bunı böyle idin" diyen dü-kûn-ı fuzûli kuzgun gidilere,

7 ve tolma sahanın sofraya ve ortaya kodukdan soğra çârsûya yoğurt aramaya âdem gönderen ile giden

8 mühmelâtlara, ve hâtunı önine düşürüb seyre giden deyyûslara, ve yolda kasâb ve bakkâl

9 dükkanları önine gelince "yâ 'âişe kadın! kaç vakıyye lahm ve nemikdâr pirinç ve yağ alalım?" deyü çârsû yüzinde

10 ve nâ-mahrem muvâcehelerinde 'avretinin sadâsın illere işitdiren 'ârsız ve gayretsiz pûzevenklere,

11 on on beş günde bir mest veyâ papuş çıkarub eski arastada cedîdi ile mübâdele iden

12 densiz sefîh hınzîrlara, ve dadı kadın pâyesiyle hânesinde âyna ile destârın saran şaşkın

13 herîflere, ve yağmurlı günde destârını sıyânet içün kirli ve sümüklü makremesin pâk

14 destârı üstüne koyan merkeblere, karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden

15 eblehlere, hadd-ı 'ayârın bilmeyüb istihkâkı yoğiken sadr-ı 'âlâ gözeden melâ'în ü hubesâya,

16 ve ba'z-ı et'ime-i nefîse dest ile yenmek 'âdet iken iz'ânsız ve sabrsız olub burun fışırdısı ve

17 ağız şabırdısı ile girişüb sağa ve sola bakmayan ebü'l-batn geyiklere, ve dahî mûdan

18 bir eser yoğiken hilâl kadarca sakal başları izhâr iden densiz süfehâya, ve etrâk dânişmendi ile

19 kahvehâneye ve bûzehâneye ve meyhâneye ve çârsûya ma'an giden bî-mezâk hayvânlara, ve kîsesinde sîm ü zeri

20 olmayub nigâra ve civâna ‘âşık geçinen sığırlara, ve kaba türkî kelâma kâdir ve zerâfetde mâhir değil iken

21 yollarda musâdif olduğı havânîne zen-dostlık ‘arz idüb “rabbim sen sakla benim morlumı, kadınım

22 nereden işersin?” deyü pohlu pohlu zerâfetler iden eşeklere, bâde meclisinde cûd ü sehâ aşikâr

23 idüb bir şey hibe idüb irtesi gün ayıldıkda pişmân olan kırd kırd kalâfatlara, ve başmağının içine

24 ayağı sığmayub nısfı dışrada kalan cedîd şehr oğlanı puştlarına, kendü öz oğlı ile

25 bâde sofrasında hem kadeh olub musâhebet iden kâfir dînsiz gidilere, ve sovuğa tahammüli yoğiken

(F4)

1 ‘üryân olub abdâl geçinen süfehâya, ve ‘avreti hennâ ısmârlayub tenhâda huddâmına söylemek mümkin

2 iken kahve hânede “bre oğlan! evden hennâ sipâriş itdiler” diyen bî-’âr sefîhlere, kahve

3 hânede veyâ hûd ahbâb yanında oğlanına “bre var, fi’l-hâl evden büyük kîseyi getür, yanımızda

4 harclık kalmadı” diyen şaşkınlara, ve kahve hânede zevcesine kaftân biçen leke herîflere,

5 ve kûcek oğlancığı olub mescîd-i şerîfe ma’ân götüren merkeblere, ve kibâr sofrasından evvel

6 kalkubda ehl-i keyflik iden edebsizlere, ve başı kel olubda başına reng-âmiz mâi ve çemenî

7 yeşil ‘arâkıyye giyüb başını nakkâş çenâğına müşâbih iden fodûllara, ve keyften geçmiş tiryâkî yârânın

8 hâlini fehm itmeyüb savt-ı â’lâ ile çok çok su’al ve musâhebet iden densizlere,

9 ve bir kimesnenin tuhaf-ı makûlesinden olan bir şey’ini ma’ hazâ satılığı dahî olmasa “elbetde şunı bana hibe

10 yâ hûd fürûht eyle” deyü teklîf-i mâ-lâ-yutâk iden câmûslara, ve ta’âm yenürken âherin yedüğine

11 pek pek bakmağı ‘âdet iden bî-mezâklara, ve ba’de’t-ta’âm elini yuyub soğra liğen içine sümük

12 besteleyenlere, ve ba’z-ı ziyâfetlerde latîf peşkirlere yağlı ellerin silen elleri kuruyacaklara,

13 ve ‘ıyd günlerinde gelinlik kızlarını bayrâm seyrlerine götürenlere ve salıncağa çıkaran deyyûslara,

14 ve bir kimesne bir hikâyeye başladıkda önüni alub “anın sonu şuna çıkar” deyü iskât ve kendüsi

15 âhir bir hikâyeye başlayan bî-edeblere, ve bardakla su içübde yanında olan kimesneye “tut

16 şu bardağı yire ko” diyen basîretsizlere, ve çârsû içinde kendüden büyük âdemin ardınca

17 giderken râst geldüği âdemlere savt-ı ‘âlâ ile hâl hâtır soran eşeklere, ve bârgîr

18 üzerinde oturub musâhebet iden bî-rahmlere, ve bir kimesne hafiyye yazu yazarken yazusına

19 bakan yüzi karalara, ve bir kimesnenin tarafından birine memhûr ve müşemma’ mektûb veyâ nâme veyâ tezkire

20 gönderüb ol gönderülen âdem mührin izâle idüb mahfîce okurken âherden “nedir ol?” diyen veyâ hûd

21 “getür bende kırâ’at ideyim” diyen şeddelü eşeklere, ve ta’âm vaktini bilüb kibâr ziyâretine varan

22 kuzgunlara, ve kibâr huddâmlarına ‘âşık geçinen yâ hûd hâne sâhibinin tâze oğlanı yâ hûd karındaşı

23 yâ hûd dâmâdı, ahbâbının oğlı veyâ hûd akrabâsının oğlı ve bunun emsâlleriyle

24 latîf ve ‘âşıkâne sohbet iden pûzevenklere, ve tabl ü surna ile meclisde şarâb içüb

25 halkı âgâh iden bî-hicâblara, Bedî’ Kâsım içün birbirlerine mücâdele ve beynlerinde bürûdet iden hayvânlara,

(F5)

1 ve tâze üzümün kabuğın ve kirazın çekirdeğin çıkarub avucı içine aldıkdan sonra [sofra] içine döken

2 murdârlara, ve elinin enfiye bulaşığını yâ hûd tönbâki ıslağını sâhib-i hânenin şilte yâ hûd mak'adına

3 silen edebsizlere, ve ahbâb ile havz başında yâ su kenârında otururken suya tüküren câhillere,

4 ve koynunda olan sâ'atin habbelerini dışra sarkıtan yâ hûd yağlığın ucun gösteren görmedik

5 fodûllara, ve kendü echel-i halkulllah olub âherin yanlışına ta'an iden eşeklere, ve namâz kılmayub

6 nümâyiş içün elinde tesbîh götüren münâfıklara, ve dünyâda bir pîşe ihtiyâr itmeyüb her kangı san'atı

7 müzâkere iderlerse andan haber virüb yine elinden bir san'at gelmeyen humekâya, ve kendü ihtiyârıyla cellâd şâkirdi

8 olanlara, ve 'avreti yanında tonsız yaturken "bana am vir" diyen bî-'ârlara, ve bâzâr içinde kâfir ve

9 yahûdî tâifesinden şarâb akçesi isteyen bî-hayâlara, "ben cîvâna ancak dîdâr 'âşıkıyım,

10 meyânından aşağı el urmam" diyen sefîh mahbûb-dostlara, bir civâna yâ bir nigâra 'âşık geçinüb

11 tamâm murâdı üzre ele getürüb sadâkat kaydına düşüb fırsatı ganîmet bilmeyen mecnûn süfehâya,

12 ve nice nice hizmetleri var iken ta'tîl idüb beher yevm kahve hâneye gelüb kendüyi oturub

13 ahvâlin perîşân iden tenbel ve nuhûset tiryâkîlere, ve her bir kibârın yanına sokulub dâimâ "siz

14 şöyle ve böylesiniz" deyü medh ü müdâhene iden bî-mezâklara, ve bir kibâr meclisine varub kendüye duhân

15 getürdüklerinde nûş iderken nefîs nazîf yasdıkların ardına tüküren eşeklere, ve her gün

16 bir gûne libâs giyüb illere göstermek ile mukayyed olan gücle görmüşlere, muhassılü'l-kelâm

17 "nefsü'l-emrde ancak bana dokunmamış" diyen süfehâya ve nefsü'l-emr içinde 'aybını bilübde ol 'aybdan

18 kesilmeyen sığırlara, "bi'l-cümle bunları gözetmeyüb ve bu 'uyûb ile muttasıf olanı bulsam

19 toksan dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım" diyen 'aklsızlara. Muhassıl-ı kelâm ve netîce-i merâm

20 insân insân olduğı hasbiyle bu mezkûr 'avâyibden kâdir olduğı

21 kadarca ictinâb ve perhîz ve ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır, belki ehem ve mühim ve

22 elzemdir. İmdi âdâb-ı hulkı beyân ve hâsıyyetin 'ayân itmek

23 lâzım geldüği ecilden lâ cürmü 'alâ kadri't-tâka bu fasl-ı

24 hitâb müstetâba şürû' yüzinden böyle ketb

25 ü tahrîr olundı. 'Amel iden yârân-ı safâ ve ihvân-ı

26 pür-vefâ bizi hayr du'âdan ferâmuş

27 itmeyeler. Sene 1121 mim.

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME)

(F1)

1 Sebeb-i risâle-i 'acîbe ve mûcib-i dakâyık-ı garîbe oldur ki nâ-gâh bir hengâm-ı seher

2 dünyânın âlâm-ı şedâyidinden ve mihen-i harâyir/hadâyidinden idrâc-ı hâtıra idüb

3 ekser-i nâs kendü tühem ve 'uyûbıyle mukayyed olmayub erbâb-ı

4 zarâfete elem ve eshâb-ı letâfete endûh ü gam virdiklerinden nâşî

5 bî-ihtiyâr ve bi’l-ıztırâr lîsânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste kelimâtları zikr
6 idüb girîbân-ı ihtibârımdan dest-i tahammül-i ‘adem-i tahlîs ve cürûb ü
7 şütûm-u mütenevv’îye şürû’ ü âgâz eyledim. Evvelâ dâire-i usûlden
8 hâric olub dahî ta’lîm ü ‘ilm-i âdâb ile mukayyed olmayan cühelâya
9 cenâb-ı hazret-i zû’l-menândan ricâ ve niyâzım budur ki berâ-yı efşân
10 edebhâneye vardıkda ol çâh-ı menhûsa düşe, ve zeker ü hâyesi
11 havâlibinde mükerrer ve müte’addid kan çıbanları çıka, ve câmehâbına
12 kırk ‘aded mâr-ı ef’î gire, ve katır depmesine ve öküz süsmesine mülâkî
13 ola, ve dâbbe-süvâr tarîk ve asvâk içre giderken başından
(F2)
1 destârı düşüb ehl-i dükkân harâmzâdesinün
2 sît ü sadâsıyla melâmet ü melâlete uğraya, ‘âkıbet-i âlâm
3 bir meclis-i ‘azîmde mânend-i zebtâne zırta çeküb hicâb
4 ü rüsvây ola, imdi da’vât-ı sâlifât ü muhâlifât kimlere
5 ‘âid ü râci’ ola? Evvelâ hakîkat da’vâsıyla rîş-hand
6 olub ehl-i zerâfeti ve erbâb-ı letâfeti kesüb biçen sûfîlere,
7 her dûd-ı âhdan tekye [külâhı] urunmış ‘âşık meşreb sâfî
8 dil levendlere, efkâr ü haddinde evkâr ve vâdi-i hayretde
9 bî-kâr olub kerkes kuşı gibi bî-per ü bâl olmuşlara,
10 ‘ankâlık da’vâsın idüb sîmurga sinek dimez “bir ‘acâyib
11 kuş” diyen hodpesendlere, ve Hidâye okumuşda hidâyet
12 bulmamış kör fakîhlere, çıkrıkdan çevrilmiş misvâk isti’mâl iden
13 mürâyî sûfîlere, ve ıstılâhât ü ‘ibârât söylerim zann idüb
14 türkî kelâmı dahî edâya kâdir olmayan türk dânişmendlere,
15 karye be-karye ka’be-i mükerreme sûretin gezdirüb kapu kapu geyik

16 destânın okuyanlara, eliflü külâh urunub kara yerin

17 gömgök evliyâsı görünüb … ü ‘ilm ile habr ü halka ezâ ü cevr

18 iden semâ’ ü safâ bilmez mevlevîlere, bir meclisde ahbâb ile

19 sohbet iderken uyuyan tiryâkî-i menhûs nâ-halef eşerrlere,

(F3)

1 Hızır İlyâs çevgânın götürenlere, tekye-gâhlar öninde celb-i

2 dünyâ içün önine çerâğ koyub oturanlara, eyyâm-ı temmuzun

3 şiddet-i harâretinden mesâfe-i bâ’ideden un devşirüp

4 getüren peyklere, ve âhû postundan libâs ü sûret düzüb

5 “er oğlı nefs oğlıyız, kazâya siper içün üç pâre nezr

6 ve bir kurbân gönder” deyü kerâmet kaydına düşen geyiklere,

7 ve anlara i’timâd iden har-ı lâ-yefhemlere, ve deli şücâ’dan tâc

8 giyenler ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere

9 ve evliyâdır diyenlere, ve pîrlikde aksâlın kırkub yâhûd pirliğin

10 ihtifâ içün boyalar sürüb sâhte ile yiğitlenen koca pelîdlere,

11 pirâyeler ki kız gelinler gibi boya ve tel ile yüzlerin bezeyen

12 pîrezenlere, esrâr ü beng ‘âşıklarına, ve bûzehâneye

13 gelenlere, ve haşhâşhorlara, ve kumârbazlara, ve ölü helvasına,

14 düğün aşına, ıskat akçesine göz karardub yeğişen

15 ‘ayyârlara, dahî yuvadan uçmamış bûn yavrular şikâr

16 içün kebûterbâzlık iden nâ-bekârlara, mücerred oğlan

17 saydına âlet ve ‘azîm bahâ ile kebûter iştirâ idüb oğlanları

18 sayd eyleyen mu’allim-i bî-îmânlara, yalancı emîrlere ve kezzâb pîrlere,

19 ‘avâmın azgunlarına ve dânişmendin kuzgunlarına, da’vet

(F4)

olunmayan mahalle varan eşeklere, yağlı pilâvı destmâline sarub
yağın akıdarak hânesine götüren kedâ-çeşmlere, kadâyıf
kaşık ile ve hoşâbı pilâv kaşığıyla yiyenlere, dahî ta'âm
ortada iken fâtiha okuyan leffâflara, sofra ortada ta'âm
hâzir ü âmâde iken "hele katlanın filan kes dahî gelsün" deyü
intizâra düşen harlara, ve sipâhî geçinüb sarı şalvâr giyen
bî-edeblere, ve bahâdırım deyü başına kartal kanadın sokanlara,
eğerlü katırına pâldüm takanlara, ihtibâr ile tüfenk getürenlere, tob
ve tüfenk atılurken kal'e nişângâhlarına karşu oturan
eşek bahâdırlara, ve hayvanât su içerken sıklık viren
sığırlara, ve çakşırsız mest giyenlere, ve bir kimesneden söz işidüb
âhere gamz iden tiryâkî mel'ûnlara, ve ba'z-ı kimesnenin evsâf-ı
'uyûbın müvâcehesinde dimeyüb kalkub gitdiktensoğra
hınzîrlara, ve bir müsâhebeti ibtidâsından dinlemeyüb tamâm olacak
mahalde evvelini su'al iden pûzevenklere, ve türkçe bilir kâfire küffâr
lisânınca söğliyen hinâzir-i bî-dînlere, ve kendi esbâbını düzmeğle
mukayyed olan harlara, ve kibâr sofrasında ta'âm sâhibinin hüddâmların
sofraya da'vet iden edebsizlere, ve bî-'ulûm ve bî-ma'ârif
olub 'âlim geçinen bî-'ârlara, odasın ve hüddâmın göstermek

(F5)

ile mukayyed olan cimrî murdârlara, ve hamâmda gasl iderken
götün gösteren kelezlere, ve sakallu olub sarığından dışra
perçem gösteren 'atîk pûştlara, ve bin târihindensoğra evlenüb
'avretden vefâ ma'mûl iden bî-'akllara, ve maksûdı ancak
bir şahsa ziyâfet iken meclisine münâsebetden dûrâ-dûr olan

6 şahs-ı le’îmi idhâl iden idrâksizlere, ve kendüsi

7 tamâm müflis iken mürâbaha ile akçe alub âhere ziyâfet ve helvâ

8 sohbeti iden nekbet me’âblara, ve mikdâr-ı kifâye cihet-i ta’ayyüş var iken

9 hindustân seferin ihtiyâr iden tama’kâr sığır bâzirgânlara, ziyâde-i

10 mürâbahaya tama’ idüb derd [ü] mihnet ile cem’ eylediği nukûd

11 akçesin müflis olanlara kapdıran nâkislere, ve on gurûş ile

12 dükkâna oturub ânı dahî kapdırub soğra hüsrân [ü]

13 sergerdân kalan katırlara, ve meclisde hiffet ihtiyâr iden

14 galîzlere, ve şarâb meclisinde ızhâr-ı fazîlet idüb müsâhebet-i

15 ‘ilm ve mübâhese-i ma’ârif ü tasavvuf iden eşek sûfîlere, ve yağmurlı

16 günde salıncak salınan yâdigârlara, ve ‘âşıkı olmayub bayrâmda

17 yalnız salıncak binüb salınan fâhişelere, ashâb-ı sa’âdet

18 mezemmetin iltizâm iden nekbet zemmâm ü nemmâm tiryâkîlere, ve meclisde

19 mütekellim-i vahde ve çene defterdârı olub kimesneye nevbet değirmeyen

(F6)

1 hımârlara, ve makremesinin içine sümkürüb yine nazâr iden

2 esterlere, bir kimesnenin cem’iyeti gününde ev sâhibinden izinsiz

3 geleni istikbâl ve gideni teşyî’ ve makâm-ı hizmetde olanlara,

4 kethüdâlık idüb ve aşcı ustalara dahî “şunı şöyle

5 ve bunı böyle idin” diyen dü-kûn-ı fuzûli kuzgun

6 gidilere, ve tolma sahanın sofraya ve ortaya kodukdansoğra çârsûya

7 yoğurt aramaya âdem gönderen ile giden mühmelâtlara, ve hâtunı

8 önine düşürüb seyre giden deyyûslara, ve yol(d)a kasâb

9 ve bakkâl dükkanları önine gelince “yâ ‘âişe kadın! kaç vakıyye lahm ve nemikdâr

10 pirinç ve yağ alalım?” deyü çârsû yüzinde ve nâ-mahrem muvâcehelerinde ‘avretinin

11 sadâsın illere işitdiren ‘ârsız ve gayretsiz pûzevenklere,

12 on onbeşer günde bir mest veyâ bâbûş çıkarub eski

13 arastada cedîdi ile mübâdele iden densiz sefîh hınzîrlara,

14 ve dadı kadın pâyesiyle hânesinde âyna ile destârın saran

15 şaşkın herîflere, ve yağmurlı günde destârını sıyânet

16 içün kirli ve sümüklü makremesin pâk destârı üstüne

17 koyan merkeblere, karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine

18 giden eblehlere, hadd-ı ‘ayârın bilmeyüb istihkâkı yoğiken sadr-ı

19 ‘âlâ gözeden melâ’în ü hubesâya, ve ba’z-ı et’ime-i nefîse dest

(F7)

1 ile yenmek ‘âdet iken iz’ânsız ve sabrsız olub

2 burun fışırdısı ve ağız şabırdısı ile girişüb

3 sağa ve sola bakmayan ebü’l-batn geyiklere, ve dahî mûdan bir eser

4 yoğiken hâl-i kadrce sakal başları izhâr iden densiz

5 süfehâya, ve etrâk dânişmendi ile kahve hâneye ve bûze hâneye ve

6 meyhâneye ve çârsûya ma’an giden bî-mezâk hayvânlara, ve kîsesinde

7 sîm ü zeri olmayub nigâra ve civâna ‘âşık geçinen sığırlara,

8 ve kaba türkî kelâma kâdir ve zerâfetde mâhir değil iken yollarda musâdif

9 olduğı havânîne zen-dostlık ‘arz idüb “rabbim sen

10 sakla benim morlumı, kadınım nereden işersin” deyü pohlu pohlu

11 zerâfetler iden eşeklere, bâde meclisinde cûd ü sehâ aşikâr idüb

12 bir şey hibe idüb irtesi gün ayıldıkda pişmân olan

13 kırd kırd kalâfatlara, ve başmağının içine ayağı sığmayub nısfı

14 dışrada kalan cedîd şehr oğlanı puştlarına kendü öz oğlı
15 ile bâde sofrasında hem kadeh olub musâhebet iden kâfir dînsiz
16 gidilere, ve sovuğa tahammüli yoğiken ‘üryân olub abdâl geçinen
17 süfehâya, ve ‘avreti hennâ ısmârlayub tenhâda huddâmına söylemek
18 mümkin iken kahve hânede “bre oğlan! evde hennâ sipâriş itdiler”
19 diyen bî-’âr sefîhlere, kahve hânede yâ hûd ahbâb yanında oğlanına

(F8)

1 “bre var, fi’l-hâl evden büyük kîseyi getür, yanımızda harclık
2 kalmadı” diyen şaşkınlara, ve kahve hânede zevcesine kaftân
3 biçen leke herîflere, ve küccük oğlancığı olub mescîd-i şerîfe
4 ma’ân getüren merkeblere, ve kibâr sofrasından evvel kalkubda ehl-i
5 kehflik iden edebsizlere, ve başı kel olubda başına
6 reng-âmiz mâi ve çemenî yeşil ‘arâkıyye giyüb başını nakkâş çenâğına müşâbih
7 iden fodûllara, ve keyften geçmiş tiryâkî yârânın hâlini fehm itmeyüb
8 savt-ı â’lâ ile çok çok su’al ve musâhebet iden densizlere,
9 ve bir kimesnenin tuhaf-ı makûlesinden olan bir şey’ini ma’ hazâ satılığı
10 dahî olmasa “elbetde şunı bana hibe yâ hûd fürûht eyle” deyü
11 teklîf-i mâ-lâ-yutâk iden câmûslara, ve ta’âm yenürken âherin
12 yedüğine yan yan bakmağı ‘âdet iden bî-mezâklara, ve ba’de’t-ta’âm
13 elini yuyub soğra leğen içine sümük besteleyenlere, ve ba’z-ı
14 ziyâfetlerde latîf peşkirlere yağlı ellerin silen elleri kuruyacaklara,
15 ve ‘îd günlerinde gelinlik kızlarını bayrâm seyrlerine götürenlere ve sancağa
16 çıkaran deyyûslara, ve bir kimesne bir hikâyeye başladıkda önüni alub
17 “anın sonu şuna çıkar” deyü iskât ve kendüsi bir âhir hikâyeye
18 başlayan bî-edeblere, ve bir bardağla su içübde yanında olan kimesneye

19 “tut şu bardağı yire ko” diyen basîretsizlere, ve çârsû içinde

(F9)

1 kendüden büyük âdemin ardınca giderken râst geldüği

2 âdemlere savt-ı ‘âlâ ile hâl hâtır soran eşeklere, ve bârgîr

3 üzerinde oturub musâhebet iden bî-rahmlere, ve bir kimesne

4 hafiyye yazu yazarken yazusına bakan yüzi karalara, ve bir kimesnenin

5 tarafından birine memhûr ve müşemma’ mektûb veyâ nâme veyâ tezkire gönderüb

6 ol gönderülen âdem mühürin izâle idüb mahfîce okurken

7 âherden “nedir ol?” diyen veyâ hûd “getür bende kırâ’at ideyim”

8 diyen şeddelü eşeklere, ve ta’âm vaktini bilüb kibâr ziyâretine

9 varan guzgunlara, ve kibâr huddâmlarına ‘âşık geçinen yâ hûd

10 hâne sâhibinin taze oğlı yâ hûd karındaşı yâ hûd dâmâdı veyâ hûd

11 ahbâbının oğlı veyâ hûd akrabâsının oğlı ve bunın emsâlleriyle

12 latîf ve ‘âşıkâne sohbet iden pûzevenklere, ve tabl ü surna

13 ile meclisde şarâb içüb halkı âgâh iden bî-hicâblara,

14 bedî’ ü kâsim içün birbirlerine mücâdele ve beynlerinde bürûdet iden

15 hayvânlara, ve tâze üzümün kabuğın ve kerâsın çekirdeğin

16 çıkarub avucı içine aldıkdansoğra sofra içine döken murdârlara,

15 ve elinin enfiye bulaşığını yâ hûd töbâki ıslağını sâhib-i hânenin

16 şilte yâ hûd mak’adına silen edebsizlere, ve ahbâb ile

17 havz başında yâ su kenârında otururken suya tüküren

(F10)

1 câhillere, ve koynunda olan sâ’atin habbelerini dışra sarkıtan

2 yâ hûd yağlığın ucun gösteren görmedik fodûllara, ve kendü

3 echel-i halku’l-lahdan olub âherin yanlışına ta’an iden eşeklere,

4 ve namâz kılmayub nümâyiş içün elinde tesbîh götüren münâfıklara,
5 ve dünyâda bir pîşe ihtiyâr itmeyüb her kangı san'atı müzâkere iderlerse
6 andan haber virüb yine elinden bir san'at gelmeyen humekâya, ve kendü
7 ihtiyârıyla cellâd şâkirdi olanlara, ve 'avreti yanında
8 tonsız yaturken "bana 'âmm vir" diyen bî-'ârlara, ve bâzâr
9 içinde kâfir ve yahûdî tâifesinden şarâb akçesi
10 isteyen bî-hayâlara, "ben cîvâna ancak dîdâr 'âşıkıyım, meyânından
11 aşağı el urmam" diyen sefîh mahbûb-dostlara, bir civâna
12 yâ bir nigâra 'âşık geçinüb tamâm murâdı üzre ele getürüb
13 sadâkat kaydına düşüb fırsatı ganîmet bilmeyen mecnûn süfehâya,
14 ve nice nice hizmetleri var iken ta'tîl idüb beher yevm kahve hâneye
15 gelüb kendüyi oturub ahvâlin perîşân iden tenbel ve nuhûset
16 tiryâkîlere, ve dahî bir kibârın yanına sokulub dâimâ "siz şöyle
17 ve böylesiz" deyü medh ü müdâhene iden bî-mezâklara, ve bir kibâr meclisine
18 varub kendüye duhân getürdüklerinde nûş iderken nefîs,
19 nazîf yasdıkların ardına tüküren eşeklere, ve her gün

(F11)

1 bir gûne libâs giyüb illere göstermek ile mukayyed olan
2 gücle görmüşlere, muhassılü'l-kelâm "nefsü'l-emrde ancak bana dokunmamış"
3 diyen süfehâya ve nefsü'l-emr içinde 'aybını bilübde ol 'aybdan
4 kesilmeyen sığırlara, "bi'l-cümle bunları gözetmeyüb ve bu 'uyûbla muttasıf
5 olanı bulsam toksan dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım" diyen
6 'aklsızlara. Muhassıl-ı kelâm ve netîce-i merâm insân insân olduğı hasbiyle
7 bu mezkûr 'avâyibden kâdir olduğı kadarca ictinâb ve perhîz ve ihtirâz
8 itmek lâzımdır, belki ehem ve mühim ve elzemdir. İmdi âdâb-ı

9 hulkı beyân ve hâsıyyetin ‘ayân itmek lâzım geldüği ecilden

10 lâ cürm ‘alâ kadri’t-tâka bu fasl-ı hitâb müstetâba şürû’

11 yüzinden böyle ketb ü tahrîr olundı. ‘Amel iden

12 yârân-ı safâ ve ihvân-ı pür-vefâ bizi

13 hayr du’âdan ferâmuş itmeyeler. Sene 1121 mim.

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü’l-emr* (AÖ)

(F1)

1 Sebebi risâle-i ‘acîbe ve mûcib-i tedkîk-i makâle-i garîbe oldur ki

2 elem ü şiddetden hâtırdar idüb halkın kendi ‘aybları ile

3 takayyüd itmeyüb erbâb-ı zarâfete hayli elem ve ıztırâb

4 virdikleri içün bî-ihtiyâr lisânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste

5 kelimâtı zuhûra getürüb şütûm-ı ma’kûle ile şetme

6 başladım. Evvelâ usûlden hâric olub dahî ta’lîm ile

7 mukayyed olmıyan cühelâya hüdâ-yı zu’l-menândan ve pâdişâh-ı

8 lem-yezelden ricâm budur ki; âb-evşâna vardıkda ol

9 kuyuya düşe, ve kış günleri ‘azîm berde uğraya zifoz-

10 -lara uğraya, ve kasık yerlerinde kan çıbanları çıkara,

11 ve câme-hâbında kırk dâne yılan bula, ve katır depmesine

12 dokuna, ve çârşu içinde atla giderken başından saruğı

13 düşe, ve ‘azîm meclisde bin dâne kavara vâki’ ola,

14 bin dürlü ‘azîm hicâba düşüb hacâletle rüsvây-ı

15 ‘âlem olsun. Evvelâ hakîkat da’vasın iden ehl-i

16 kisvet sûfîlere, ve ‘ankâlık da’vasın idüb “felek kelek,

17 simurga sinek” dimez her ‘aceb kuş olanlara, ve Hidâye
18 okuyub hidâyet bulmamış köy fakîhlerine, köle (kef vav lam he)
19 sûfilerine ve yeniçeri mürâyîlerine, ıstılâh ve ‘ibârât
20 söyleriz sanub türkî sözi dahî idrak idemeyen

(F2)

1 türk dânişmendlerine, tekye-gâhlarda celb-i dünyâ içün önine
2 çerâğ koyub oturanlara, ve ana evliyâdır diyenlere, ve pîrlikde
3 ak sakalın boyayub yiğitlenen kocalara, ve kızının gelin gibi
4 yüzin yazan pîre-zenlere, ölü helvasına ve ıskat akçesine
5 göz karardub yılışan tarrârlara, yalancı emîrlere, ve yalancı
6 pîrlere, emîrin azgunlarına, ve dânişmendlerin kuzgunlarına,
7 ve okunmayan da’vete varanlara, ve cerb pilâvı destmâle koyanlara,
8 ve ta’âmı yârân öninden kendü önine çekenlere, ve kaşıkda
9 kalan ta’âmı ta’âm için girü dökenlere, ve yemek evvelinde çok
10 çok sığır gibi su içenlere, ve yemek yirken tükrüğin saça
11 saça söz söyliyenlere, ve katır eyerine pâldûn takanlara,
12 ve bârgîr su içerken ıslık virenlere, ve mestsüz çakşır
13 giyenlere, ve bir musâhebeti evvelinden dinlemeyüb de tamâm olucak
14 mahallde soran pûzevenklere, ve kendi esbâbın düzen hîzlere,
15 ve hokkasına büber kadar afyon koyanlara, ve ilin kitâbın alub
16 eski beze döndüren cühelâya, ve sofra üzerinde murdâr
17 lakırdısın iden sakîl gidilere, ve yârânlar istemeyüb kendi
18 gelüb sokılan ‘arsızlara, ve tazının ağzından öpen murdâr-
19 -lara, ve eline bir akçe girüb kimesne beğenmeyen köfte-horlara,
20 ve ferâcesi altında et saklayan murdârlara, ve yeniyle ve kuşağıyla

21 ağzın silenlere, ve çok çok kağırub tükürenlere,

(F3)

1 ve çorba içerken kaşığın dolduran ac gözlülere, ve muttasıl

2 bıyığın düzen kalâfatlara, ve sakalının ağın yolan ve kırkan

3 gidilere, ve hıyarın ellisi bir akçeye iken az diyen insâf-

4 -suzlara, ve satranç bâbında leclâc geçinen birbiri ardınca

5 üc kerre yenilen yâdigârlara, ve yağır bargîre ‘abâ ile binen

6 gidilere, ve konclu çizme giyüb kof kof gezenlere,

7 ve ba’z-ı yârân hikâye bast iderken “bunın aşağısı filândır”

8 diyen edebsüzlere, ve ta’âmda sofra kurudanlık idüb

9 ‘abdü’l-batn sığırlara, ve ‘ilm ü ma’rifetden bî-haber olub da ‘âlim

10 geçinen merkeblere, ve sakallu olubda perçem gösteren eski puştlara,

11 ve bin târihindensoğra evlenmek kasd iden har-ı lâ-yefhemlere, ve mürâbaha

12 ile akçe alub ziyâfet iden nekbetlere, ve yoklukdan oruc dutan

13 mürâyî köpeklere, ve meclisde kimseye kelâm itdirmeyüb nevbet

14 virmeyen kuduz kilâblara, ve makremesi içine sümkürüb içine bakan

15 hımârlara, ve yeniçeri olmayub ol kıyâfetde gezen densüzlere,

16 ve hizmetkârı aç kendüsi habbeye muhtâc iken libâs-ı

17 fâhire ile kerr ü ferr iden kalaylu kuzlara, ve kîsesinde

18 akçe olmayub nigâra ‘âşık geçinen ahmak yolıklara,

19 ve ‘avretine kadun ve oğlanına çelebi diyen kodoşlara,

20 ve kendine ‘abâ bulmayub ‘avretine kemhâ giyüren pûzevenklere,

21 ve te’vil-i yemîn iden mel’ûnlara, ve kitâbet bilürken kâhillik

(F4)

1 idüb “bana bir mektûb yaz” diyen küstahlara, ve kış

2 güninde köye düğüne giden ahmaklara, ve namâzda ta’dîl-i erkân

3 itmeyen namâz uğrılarına, ve câriye gebe idüb satan müsülmanlığı

4 kıttlara, ve kürkiyle çekişen mühmelât tiryâkîlere, ve ‘ulemâ meclisinde

5 “bilürün” geçinen câhil merkeblere, ve ‘avreti ve evlâdı var iken

6 yine evlenen mendebûrlara, ve nekbetî alay beğilere, ve

7 kethüdâ berilerine, ve çorbacı oda başısı olan kodoşlara,

8 ve ‘acem oğlanın maryollarına, ve müflis müteferrikalara, ve nâiblerin

9 telebbüslerine, ve kahve hânede dünyâ dem iden kallâşlara,

10 ve zemherîde karpuz ve ağustosda yumurta yiyenlere, ak sakallu

11 olubda fâhişelere hased olan îmânsuzlara, ve musâfir

12 olubda bir yerde “elbetde bize kon, ev sâhibi râzıdır” diyen

13 bî-‘ârlara, ba’de’t-ta’âm el yurken leğen içine sümküren

14 murdârlara, ve ziyâfetlerde latîf peşkirlere elin silen

15 eli kurıyacaklara, ve bayrâmlarda karısın seyre göndüren

16 … ve kendi ma’yûb iken ilin ‘aybına mukayyed olan

17 hodbînlere, ve namâz kılmayub dâimâ elinde tesbîh getüren bî-namâzlara, ve

18 ekâbiri dâimâ yüzine medh iden rîş-handelere, bu nefsü’l-emrde

19 yazılan fi’l-cümle perhîz kasd itmeyen ebterden her kim olursa

20 bu risâle dibâcesinde olan vartalara uğraya, âmîn. Temmet er-risâle sene 1160

Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü’l-emr* (İÜ)

(F1)

1 Şükr ü sipâs ol pâdişâh-ı bî-hemtâya ve şehinşâh-ı zu’l-’izz ve’l-kibriyayâdır ki dergâh-ı ‘âli ve penâh-ı müte’aliden

2 gerdankeş olan cebâbire kilâbdan hor ve hakîrdir. Ve sad hezâr-ı ezhâr-ı hadâyık-ı salavât ol ‘andelîb-i terennüm-serâ-yı

3 bâğ-ı hakâyık-ı habîbedir ki delâlet-i tarîk-i hidâyet içre futûhât-ı ebvâb olmuşdur ki latîf edâlardan ve hûb

4 nidâlardan hevâ râgıbları ve dünyâ tâlibleri hakkında “*ed-dünyâ cifetun ve tâlibuha kilâbu*” gelmişdir. Sebeb-i te’lif-i

5 risâle-i ‘acîbe ve mûcib-i dakâyık-ı garîbe oldur ki nâ-gâh bir hengâm-ı seher dünyânın âlâm-ı şedâyidin ve mihen-i harâyirin

6 idrâc-ı hâtıra idüb ekser-i nâs kendü tühem ve ‘uyûbıyle mukayyedler olmayub erbâb-ı zerâfete elem ve ashâb-ı

7 letâfete endûh ü gâm virdiklerinden nâşî bî-ihtiyâr ve bi’l-ıztırâb lisânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste kelâmları zikr idüb

8 girîbân-ı ihtibârımdan dest-i tahammül-i ‘adem-i tahlîs ve hurûb ü şütûm-ı mütenev’îye şürû’ ü âgâz eyledim. Evvelâ

9 dâire-i usûldan hâric olub dahî ta’lîm-i ‘ulûm ü âdâb ile mukayyed olmayan cühelâya cenâb-ı hazret-i zu’l-menândan ricâ

10 ve niyâzım budur ki; berâ-yı efşân edebhâneye vardıkda ol çâh-ı menhûsa düşe, ve eyyâm-ı şitâda ‘azîm zifozlara müsâdif

11 ola ve zeker ü hâyesi havâlibinde mükerrer ve müte’addid kan çıbanları çıka, ve câmehâbına kırk ‘aded mâr-ı ef’î

12 gire, ve katır depmesine ve öküz süsmesine mülâkî ola, ve dâbbe-süvâr tarîk ü asvâk içre

13 giderken başından destârı düşüb ehl-i dükkân harâmzâdesinin sît ü sadâsıyla melâmete uğraya,

14 ve ‘âkıbet-i âlâm bir meclis-i ‘azîmde mânend-i zebtâne zırta çeküb üftâde-i hicâb ü rüsvây ola, imdi da’vât-ı

15 sâlifât ü muhâlifât kimlere ‘âid ü râci’ ola? Evvelâ hakîkat da’vâsıyla rîş-hand olub ehl-i zerâfeti

16 ve erbâb-ı letâfeti kesüb biçen sûfîlere, ve bir dûd-ı âhdan tekye külâhı urunmış ‘âşık meşreb sâfî-dil levendlere,

17 ‘ankâlık iddi’âsın ider simurga sinek dimez bir ‘acâyib kuş olan hodpesendlere, efkâr-ı hiddetde evkâr ve

18 vâdi-i hayretde bî-kâr olub kerkes kuşı gibi bî-per-ü-bâl olmuşlara, ve hidâye okumuş hidâyet bulmamış fakîhlere,

(F2)

1 ve köle sûfîlerine ve şeyhlik iden abtal ve ebterlere, ve çıkrıkda çevrilmiş misvâk isti’mâl iden sûfîlere,

2 ve başına şemd-i siyâhî sarınub “gâ’ib söğlerin” diyen etrâk-ı bî-idrâklere, ve ıstılâhât ü ‘ibârât

3 söylerin zann idüb türkî kelâmı dîvâr deliklerine sokanlara, ve karye be-karye ka’be-i mükerreme sûretin gezdirüb

4 kapu kapu geyik destânın okuyanlara, ve elifli külâh urunub kara yerin göngök evliyâsı görünüb

5 çerâğ ü ‘ilm ile habr ü halka izâ ü cefâ iden semâ’ ü safâ bilmez mevlevîlere, ve Hızır İlyâs çevgânın getürenlere,

6 ve tekye gâhlar önünde celb-i dünyâ içün önine çerâğ koyub oturanlara, ve eyyâm-ı temmuzun şiddet-i

7 harâretinde mesâfe-i ba’ideden evg devşirüb getüren peyklere, ve âhu postundan libâs ü sûret

8 düzüb “er oğlu ve nefs oğluyuz, özge nerce kazâya siper içün üç pâre nezr ve bir kurbân

9 göründü” diyüb kerâmet kaydına düşmüş köpeklere, ve ana i’timâd iden har-ı lâ-yefhemlere, ve deli şücâ’dan

10 tâc giyenlere, ve yollarda oturub mezbelelerde oynar dîvânelere “evliyâdır” diyenlere, ve pirlikde ak

11 sakalın kırkub yâ hûd pirliğin ihtifâ içün boyalar sürüb sâhte ile yiğitlenen koca pelîdlere,

12 ve pirâyeler ki kız gelin gibi boya ve tel ile yüzlerin bezeyen pîre-zen menhûslara, ve esrâr

13 ü beng ‘âşıklarına ve bûzehâne kelblerine, ve haşhâş-horlara, ve kumâr-bâzlara, ve şevl-i kadeh cerrârlığın

14 iden bî-’ârlara, ve ölü helvâsına ve düğün aşına göz karardub yılışan ‘ayyâr-ı tarrârlara, ve

15 dahî yuvadan uçmamış bun yavrular şikârı içün kebûter-bâzlık iden nâ-bekârlara, ve mücerred

16 oğlan saydına âlet ü ‘azîm bahâ ile kebûter iştirâ idüb zenberekli kümesler ihdâs eyleyen muğlem-i

17 bî-îmânlara, ve yalancı emîr ve kezzâb pîrlere, ‘avâmın azgunlarına ve dânişmendin kuzgunlarına,

(F3)

1 da’vet olunmayan mahalle varan eşeklere, ve yağlı pilâvı destmâline koyub yağın akıdarak hâneye

2 götüren kedâ-çeşmlere, kadâyıfı kaşık ile ve hoş-âbı pilâv kaşığıyle yiyenlere, ve dahî

3 ta’âm ortada iken fâtiha okuyan nifâklara, sofra ortaya yayılub ta’âm hâzir ü âmâde

4 oldukda “hele katlan filan kes dahî gelsün” deyü intizâra düşen harlara, ve sipâhî geçinüb sarı

5 şalvâr giyen bî-edeblere, ve bahâdırım deyü başına kartal kanadın sokanlara, eğerlü katırına pâldüm

6 takanlara, ihtibâr ile tüfenk atılurken kal’e nişângâhlarına karşu oturan

7 eşek bahâdırlara, hayvanât su içerken sıklık uran sığırlara, ve çakşırsız mest

8 giyenlere, ve bir kimseden söz işidüb âhere gamz iden tiryâkî murdârlara, ve ba’z-ı kimsenin

9 evsâf-ı ‘uyûbın otururken müvâcehesinde dimeyüb kalkub gitdiktensoğra verâsından diyen hınzîrlara,

10 ve bir müsâhebeti ibtidâsından dinlemeyüb tamâm olacak mahalde evvelini su’al iden pûzevenklere,

11 ve türkceyi bilür küffâra küffâr lisânınca söyliyen hanâzir-i bî-dînlere, ve kendü esvâbın düzmek ile

12 mukayyed olan harlara, ve kibâr sofrasında ta’âm sahibinin hüddâmın sofraya da’vet iden edebsizlere,

13 ve bî-‘ulûm ve bî-ma’ârif olub ‘âlim geçinen güsiste-‘ināna, ve otasın ve hüddâmın göstermek ile mukayyed

14 olan cimrî murdârlara, ve sakallı olub sarığından dışra perçem gösteren ‘atîk puştlara, ve hamâmda

15 gasl iderken götün gösteren bî-şerm kekezlere, ve bin târihinden soğra evlenüb ‘avretinden vefâ

16 ma’mûl iden bî-‘akllara, ve târih-i mezkûreden soğra evlenmek kasd iden nâdânlara, ve maksûdı ancak

17 bir şahsa ziyâfet iken meclisine münâsebetden dûrâ-dûr olan şahs-ı leimi idhâl iden idrâksizlere, ve

18 kendüsi tamâm müflis iken mürâbaha ile akçe alub âhere ziyâfet ve helvâ sohbeti iden nekbet-me’âblara,

(F4)

1 ve mikdâr-ı kifâye cihet-i ta’ayyüş var iken hindustân seferin ihtiyâr iden tama’kâr bâzirgânlara,

2 ve rîş-i tama’kâr yekûn müflis iken mısdâkınca ziyâde-i mürâbahaya tama’ idüb bin derd ü mihnet ile cem’ eyledüği

3 nukûd akçesin müflis ehl-i hıdmetlere kapdıran nâkislere, ve on guruş sermâye ile dükkâna oturub

4 anı dahî viresiye kapdırub soğra hüsrân ü ser-gerdân kalan katırlara, ve meclisde hiffet ihtiyâr iden

5 galîzlere, ve şarâb meclisinde ızhâr-ı fazîlet idüb müsâhebet-i ‘ilm ve mübâhese-i ma’ârif ü tasavvuf iden eşek sûfîlere,

6 ve yağmurlı günde salıncak salınan yâdigârlara, ve ‘âşıkı olmayub bayrâmda yalnız salıncak binüb sallanan

7 “kocsun” makâmında salınan fâhişelere, ashâb-ı sa’âdet mezemmetin iltizâm-ı mâ-lâ-yelzem eyleyen nekbet-i zemmâm ü nemmâm

8 tiryâkîlere, ve meclisde mütekellim-i vahde ve çene defterdârı olub kimesneye nevbet değirmeyen … sülüsü’l-kavle mübtelâ

9 hımârlara, ve makremesinin içine tükürüb yâ sümkürüb yine açub içine nazâr iden esterlere, bir kimesnenin

10 cem’iyeti gününde sâhibinin izinsiz, da’vetsiz, teklîfsiz kendüliğinden geleni istikbâl ve kendüyi teşyî’ ve makâm-ı hıdmetde

11 olanlara, kethüdâlık idüb aşcı ustalara dahî “şunı şöyle bunı böyle eylen” diyen dükûn-ı fuzûli

12 kuzgun gidilere, ve tolma sahanın sofraya ve ortaya kodukdan soğra çârşûya yoğurt almağa gönderen

13 ve giden mühmelâtlara, ve hâtununı önine düşürüb seyre giden deyyûslara, ve yolda kasâb ve bakkâl

14 dükkanları önine gelince “yâ ‘âişe kadın! kaç vakıyye lahm ve ne mikdâr pirinç ve yağ alalım?” deyü çârşû yüzinde ve

15 nâ-mahremler muvâcehesinde ‘avretinin sadâsın illere işitdiren ‘ârsız ve gayretsiz sâzende kodoşlara,

16 on beş günde bir mesh, pâbûş çıkarub eski arastada cedîdi ile mübâdele iden densiz

17 sefîh hîzlere, ve dadı kadın pâyesiyle hânesinde âyna ile destârın saran şaşkın

18 herîflere, ve yağmurlı günde destârın sıyânet içün kirli ve sümüklü makremesin pâk destârı üstüne koyan merkeblere,

(F5)

1 karz akçe alub beş çifte kayık ile hisâr seyrine giden eblehlere, ve istihkâkı yoğiken sadr-ı ‘âlâ gözeden

2 melâ’în ü hubesâya, ve ba’z-ı et’ime-i nefîse dest ile yenmek ‘âdet iken iz’ânsız ve sabrsız olub burun

3 fışırdısı ve ağız şapırdısı ile girişüb sağa ve sola bakmayan ebü’l-batn geyiklere, ve dahî mûdan

4 bir eser yoğiken hilâl-i kurca sakal başları izhâr iden densiz süfehâya, ve etrâk dânişmendi ile

5 kahvehâneye ve bûzehâneye ve meyhâneye ve çârsûya ma’an giden bî-mezâk hayvânlara, ve kîsesinde sîm ü zeri

6 olmayub nigâra ve civâna ‘âşık geçinen sığırlara, ve kaba türk kelâma kâdir ve zerâfete mâhir değil yollarda

7 musâdif olduğı havânîne zen-dostlık ‘arz idüb “rabbim sen sakla benim morlımı, kadınım nereden

8 işersin?” deyü pohlu pohlu zerâfetler iden ... bâde meclisinde cûd ü sehâ aşikâr ve vâfir şey

9 hibe idüb irtesi gün hüşyâr oldukda pişmân olan kurı kalâfatlara, ve başmağının içine

10 ayağı sığmayub nısfı dışrada kalan cedîd şehr oğlanı puştlara, ve kendü öz oğlı ile bâde

11 sohbetinde hem kadeh olub “lahmüke lahmi” musâhebet iden kâfir ve dînsiz gidilere, ve soğuğa tahammül idemeyüb

12 ‘üryân abdâl geçinen süfehâya, ve ba’z-ı güveyiğin ‘avreti hennâ isteyüb tenhâda almak mümkin iken kahve hânede

13 hüddâmına “Bre oğlan! Var da filan sipâriş itdiler” diyen bî-’âr sefîhlere, kahve hânede yâ hûd ahbâb

14 yanında oğlanına “Bre var, fi’l-hâl evden büyük kîseyi getür, yanımda harclık kalmadı” diyen şaşkınlara,

15 ve kahvehânede zevcesine haftân biçen leke herîflere, ve kûçek oğlancığı alub mescîde ma’ân getüren

16 merkeblere, ve başı kel olubda başına reng-âmiz mâi ve çemenî yeşil ‘arakıyye giyüb başı nakkâş

17 çenâğına müşâbih olan fodûllara, ve otı geçmiş tiryâkî yârânın hâlini fehm itmeyüb savt-ı â'lâ ile

18 çok çok musâhebet iden densizlere, ve bir kimesnenin tuhaf makûlesinden bir yâdigârı olsa ma' hazâ

19 satılığı dahî olmasa "elbetde şunı bana fürûht yâ hûd hibe eyle" deyü teklîf-i mâ-lâ-yutâk iden câmûslara,

(F6)

1 ve ta'âm yenürken yek yek ağza bakmağı 'âdet idinen bî-mezâklara, ve ba'de't-ta'âm el yunurken leğen içine

2 sümük bestehleyenlere, ve ba'z-ı ziyâfetlerde latîf peşkirlere yağlı ellerin silen elleri kuruyacaklara, ve 'îd

3 günlerinde gelinlik kızların bayrâm seyrlerine ve sancağa çıkaran göziyle görmüşlere, ve bir kimesne bir hikâyeye

4 başladıkda önüni alub "anın sonu şuna çıkacakdır" deyü anı iskât ve kendüsi bir âher hikâyeye

5 başlayan bî-edeblere, ve bardak ile su içübde yanında olan âdeme "tut yere koy" diyen basîretsizlere,

6 ve çârşû içinde kendüden büyük âdemin ardınca giderken yolda râst geldüği âdemlere savt-ı 'âlâ ile hâl ü

7 hâtır soran eşeklere, ve bârgîr üzerinde oturub musâhebet iden bî-rahmlere, ve dâimâ kahve hânede

8 nefîr h(w)âne çekenlere, ve bir kimesne hafiyyeten yazı yazarken yazısına bakan yüzi karalara, ve bir kimesnenin

9 tarafından birine mührli ve müşemma'lı mektûb yâ nâme veyâ tezkire gönderüb ol gönderülen âdem mührlerin izâle

10 idüb mahfîce okurken âherden "nedir ol?" diyen yâ "getür bende kırâ'at ideyim" diyen şeddelü eşeklere,

11 ve ta'âm vakti geldikde vaktini bilüb kibâr ziyâretine varan kuzgun edebsizlere, ve kibâr huddâmlarına

12 ‘âşık geçinen pûzevenklere, ve tabl ü surna ile meclisde şarâb içüb halkı âgâh iden bî-hicâblara,

13 ve bedî’ kâsim içün birbirleri ile lec ve beynlerinde bürûdet iden hayvânlara, ve tâze üzümün kabuğın

14 ve kerâsın çekirdeğin çıkarub avucı içine aldıkdan soğra yine sofra içine döken murdârlara, ve kendü echel-i

15 halku’l-lahdan olub âherin yanlışına ta’an iden eşeklere, ve namâz kılmayub nümâyiş içün elinde tesbîh

16 götüren münâfıklara, ve dünyâda bir pîşe ihtiyâr itmeyüb her kangı san’atı müzâkere iderlerse andan haber virüb

17 yine de elinden bir san’at gelmeyen humekâya, ve kendü ihtiyârıyla cellâda şâkird olan bî-dîn ve bî-merhametlere,

18 ve ilikleme meshi döndürüb tiz eskimesün deyü hısset belâsından öbür tarafını giyen eşeklere, ve ‘avreti

(F7)

1 yanında tonsız yaturken “bana filan şeyi vir” diyen bî-’ârlara, ve bâzâr içinde kâfir ve yahûdî tâifesinden

2 şarâb akçesi isteyen bî-hayâlara, “ben cîvâna ancak dîdâr ‘âşıkıyım, meyânından aşağı el urmam” diyen sefîh mahbûb-dost

3 yârânlara, ve bir civâna yâ bir nigâra ‘âşık geçinüb tamâm murâdı üzre ele getürdükde sadâkat kaydına

4 düşüb fırsatı ganîmet bilmeyen mecnûn süfehâya, ve nice nice hizmetleri var iken ta’tîl idüb beher yevm kahve hâneye

5 gelüb kendüyi oturub ahvâlin perîşân iden tenbel ve nuhûset tiryâkîlere, ve dahî bir kibârın yanına

6 sokulub dâimâ kendüyi yüzine “siz şöyle böylesiz” medh ü müdâhene eyleyen bî-mezâklara, ve bir kibâr meclisine

7 varub kendüye duhân getürdüklerinde nûş iderken nefîs, nazîf yasdıklar dibine tüküren

8 eşek ve ebterlere, ve her gün bir gûne libâs giyüb illere göstermek ile mukayyed olan gücle görmüşlere,

9 muhassılü'l-kelâm "nefsü'l-emrde ancak bana dokunmuş" diyen süfehâya ve nefsü'l-emr içinde 'aybını bilübde

10 ol 'aybdan kesilmeyen sığırlara, "bi'l-cümle bunları gözetmeyüb ve bu 'uyûbla muttasıf olanı bulsam toksan

11 dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım. Muhassıl-ı kelâm ve netîce-i merâm insân insân olduğı hasbiyle bu mezkûr 'avâyibden

12 kâdir olduğı kadarca ictinâb ve perhîz ve ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır, belki ehem ve mühim ve elzemdir. İmdi

13 âdâb-ı hulkı beyân ve hâsıyyetin 'ayân itmek lâzım geldüği ecilden lâ cürmu 'alâ kadri't-tâka bu fasl-ı hitâb

14 müstetâba şürû' yüzinden böyle ketb olundı. 'Amel iden yârân-ı bâ-safâ ve ihvân-ı pür-vefâ bizi

15 hayr du'âdan ferâmuş itmeyeler. Târîh-i istinsâh 1299 be.

Hacı Ahmed – *Makâle*

(F1)

1 Makâle-i nefsü'l-emr kelimât-ı şetm ü letâifi … ba'z-ı tavâîfi kadh ü zemm

2 … ve lakin hakîkatde … kinâyâtı … olub

3 mecâzen ve hakîkaten âdâb ü … münderic olunmağın terkîm olundı.

4 Sebeb-i tenmîk-i risâle-i 'acîbe ve mûcib-i terşîf-i makâle-i garîbe budur ki; bir seher

5 dâr-ı dünyânın elem ü şiddetin hâtıra idüb halkın kendü 'aybları ile eyleyüb

6 erbâb-ı zerâfete elem virüb haylî ıztırâb virdikleri bî ihtiyâr lisânıma gelen

7 nâ-şâyeste kelimât ve şetm tarîkıyle zuhûra gelüb bi'z-zarûrî kadh ü şetme âgâz idüb

8 söylemeğe başladım. Evvelâ usûlden hâric olub dahî ta’lîm ile mukayyed olmıyan cühelâya

9 hüdâ-yı zu’l-menân hazretlerinden ricâm budur ki âb-efşân hâneye vardıkda ol kuyuya

10 düşe, ve kış günlerinde ‘azîm zifozlara uğraya, ve kasık yirlerinde kan çıbanları

11 çıka, ve câme-hâbında kırk dâne yılan gire, ve katır depmesi dokuna ve çarşuda

12 at ile giderken sarığı düşe, ve ‘azîm bir meclisde otururken bedâ’ bir eyüçe

13 kavâre çalub yüzi kara olub hicâba düşüb rüsvây-ı ‘âlem ola. Zikr

14 olunan bed-du’âlar bu zikr olunacak gürûh üzerine vâki’ ola. Evvelâ hakîkat

15 da’vâsın iden ehl-i sâhib-i kisvet mukallak sûfîlere, ve

16 bir dûd-ı âhdan tekye külâhını urunmış ‘âşık meşreb sâfî dil olan zükûr

17 ü levendlere, efkâr-ı hiddetde evkâr olub kerkes gibi bî-per ü bâl olmuşlara,

18 ve *Hidâye* okumuş hidâyet bulamamış nekbet fakîhlere, cetrefil köle sû-

19 -flara, yine başına ‘aselî şemle sarub bir elinde tesbîh bir elinde ‘asâ gözleri

20 sürmeli bi-namâz şıhlık iden boğazından asılan şakîlere, çıkrıkda çevrilmiş

21 misvâkları sokunan ağacları götlerine sokulacak mürâyîlere, ve kara şemle sar-

22 -ınub götlerine kuyruk takınan mezhebsizlere, ve ıstılâhât ü ‘ibârât söylerin

23 sanub türk sözi dîvâra kısub deliklere koyan çetrefillere, ve köy

24 be-köy ka’be sûretin gezdirüb ve kapu kapu *ibrâhim dâstânın* okuyan civânmerglere,

25 ve semâ’ ü safâ bilmez abdest tahâret yazınmaz cunub mevlevîlere, ya’nî eliflü

26 külâh urunub kara yerin gömgök evliyâsı görinüb çerâğ ü ‘alem getürüb

27 hazz ü cevr iden … Levlevîlere, Hızır İlyâs çevgânın getüren harlara, tekye gâh

28 -hlar öninde celb-i dünyâ içün önlerine çerâğ koyub târik-i salavat olan[lara]

(F2)

1 mesâfe-i ba’ideden getürür ahmak peyklere, ve âhu derisinden tâc u-

2 -runub er oğlı geçinen geyiklere, Veli Şücâ'dan tâc giyinen cânverlere,
3 yollarda oturub mezbelede oynar dîvâneler ki anlara evliyâdır diyen hayvânlara,
4 ve pîrlikde ak sakalın kazdırub yiğit geçinen koca köpeklere, pîrâyeler ki
5 kızlar gelinler gibi yüzin tarayub gezen fâhişe pîre-zenlere, esrâr yiyen bî-
6 mezheb ışıklara, bûze hâne köpeklerine, ya'nî yavız ve bekrî haşîş-hâr-
7 -lara, kumâr-bâz 'ayyârlara, şevl-i kadeh cerrârlığın iden murdârlara, ölü helvasına
8 ve ıskâd-ı salavat akçesine göz göz karardub yılışan bî-'ârlara, yuvadan
9 henûz uçmamış bûn yavruların şikâr içün kebûter-bâzlık iden bî-kârlara,
10 ve yalancı mezmûm pîrlere, ve yalancı bî-namâz 'arsız nâ-cins emîrlere, 'avâmın az-
11 -gun Allâhımın haşır neşir hışmına uğrayacaklara, ve da'vet olunmayan yere varan
12 utanmazlara, cerb pilâvı destmâline saran 'ârsızlara, ve katâif ve
13 hoşâb kaşığıyla yiyen eblehlere, dahî ta'âm ortada iken fâtiha okuyan
14 yiğincek mürâyîlere, sofra çekilüb nân ü ni'met dökilüb yimek ortaya
15 geldikdensoğra, "hele filân dahî gelsün" deyü hâzır ta'âmı kıyub gâ'îbe koyan
16 ahmaklara, ve zarîf sipâhî geçinüb sarı sofdan şalvâr giyen zurna-
17 pâlara, bahâdırım deyü başına kartal kanadı sokunan dilsüzlere, eğer katırı-
18 -na pâldüm takan sefîhlere, ihtiyâr ile tüfenk getüren cûbânlara, tob tüfenk
19 atılurken kal'eler nişângâhlarında âb ü efşâne oturan göti
20 çıkacaklara, ve anatolı kâtiblerinden Miskî Çelebiler gibi zâhir akçe kuvvetiyle yolda-
21 -şlık defterine geçen ... ve kâfir havfından kan sıçanlara, ve
22 bârgîr su içerken sıklık viren humekâya, çahşırsız mest giyen …
23 bir kimesneden bir söz işidüb kendüyi rahmından mahrûm itmek içün gammâz-
24 -lık iden civânâmerg olacak bî-nevâllere, bir musâhebeti evvelinden dinlemeyüb
25 dahî tamâm olacak mahallde evvelin soran nekbetî tiryâkîlere, ve ba'z-ı kimesne-

26 -nin evsâfın otururken dimeyüb o rû kalkub diyüviren eblehlere,

27 ve türkîce bilen kâfirelere, kuş dilince söyliyen deli puştlara, kendü esbâbın

28 dürmeğle mukayyed olan hîzlere, ve kâbir sofrasında ta'âm sâhibinin hizmetkâ-

(F3)

1 -rın sofraya çağıran edebsizlere, gedâ yimede "baba nasûha koşmasınlar" diyüb

2 de tenhâda taşak kadar gedâ yiyüb âşikâre hokkasından büber kadar afyon yiyen

3 sefîhlere, ve ilin kitâbın icâzetsiz elinden alub da eski pere döndürüb

4 … hayvânlara, ve sofra üzerinde poh lakırdısın iden pohlı böçeklere, ve yârân

5 öninde kendüsin öğen sığırlara, ve kaşığında kalan ta'âmı yine ta'âm içine

6 döken nâ-cinslere, ve ilin sofrasında yemeğe oturdukda kolların sığayub

7 edebsizlik iden hocalara, ve yimek evvelinde sığır gibi çok çok su içen

8 öküzlere, ve ba'z-ı kimesneyi göz habsine koyan bî-kârlara, ve ba'z-ı bağalın

9 yârâna karışduğın yârân istemeyüb de kendü gelüb sokulan bezenklere,

10 ve kûcek oğlı alub eline ve karısı ardınca mevlevî hâne seyrine giden

11 deyyûslara, ve yalan şâhid olanlara, ve hatır içün kezb ihtiyâr idenlere, 'ahdine

12 durmayan yalancılara, ve sofrada cümlesi bir yerde bir sahandan yerken gayrı ta'âma

13 el uzunlığın iden dest-i nâ-pâki kuruyacaklara, tâze ve zağârın ağzın öpen

14 murdârlara, filân kimesne senin hakkında hezeliyât söyledi diyüb münâfakat ve zemm-

15 -lik iden boğazından asılacaklara, esnâ-yı musâhebetde pek pek çağıran eşeklere,

16 eline bir kaç akçe girmeğle büyüklenen mühmelâtlara, ferrâcesinin altına et veyâ balık

17 saklayan mellûnlara, eşek ve kısrak siken dînsiz yüzi karalara, ve müselma-

18 -nlığın başın ağrıdan kerîhü's-savt olan uslûbsız okuyıcılara, kör

19 fakîrlere, mülevves tiryâkîlere, kürklü ferrâce yeniyle ağzın silen köpeklere,

20 çahşır içinde gönleğiyle edebden hâric sikin kald(ır)ub gösteren siki ku-

21 -ruyacaklara, ve çok çok kağırub tüküren marîzlere, ve süd yerken kaşığın

22 pek dolduran harîslere, muttasıl bıyığın düzen kaleflere, ve muttasıl sakalın

23 ağzına koyub iş idinen münâfıklara, gizlenüb kapu yarığından bakan

24 fertûte fâhişelere, kendüyin koca karı zann idüb de çârşûda

25 yüzin açub gezen kokmışlar(a), gözlerin kömürle çilingir büzüğüne döndüren

26 eblehlere, ve bayrâm güninde saruğının ardın önine giyen hayvânlara, ve

27 sakalının ağın yolub da bıyığını kızılbaş bıyığına döndüren mezheb-

28 -sizlere, öli ta'âmı içün koltuğına çanak sokub bekleyen nekbetîlere,

(F4)

1 ve öli ta'âmı içün ma'hûd günlerde kapuya bakub kaşık hâzırlıyan harîs

2 mahrûm şeyhlere, hıyârın ellisi bir akçeye iken "azdır, dahî vir" diyen *komsu*lara,

3 "pilâva yoğurt komak hakîr, hazz eylemezin" diyen bî-mezâklara, arık ve rüsvây bâr-

4 -gîriyle 'abâsı ile binen ebleh-i fânîlere, ve ilin bârgîriyle belki niçe esbâbla düğüne

5 giden 'azîzlere, ve koncı bol çizme giyenlere, ve komsı kazâ kethüdâsı cehennem peyklerine,

6 ve çavuş değil iken çavuş geçinen merkeblere, ve beyâz kuzı kürkine zerdevâ yaka

7 koyan bakarlara, ve zurefâ meclisinde kâfir dilince söyliyen mürtedlere, ve ba'z-ı yârân

8 bir hikâye bast iderken "bunın aşağısı filân olsa gerekdir" diyen kendüyin

9 bilmez eşeklere, henûz ağzında hamr râyihası var iken namâz kılmak isteyen mürâ-

10 -yîlere, ve meclisde fâsık-ı mahrûm olub da sofra kurudanlık iden …

11 ve ba'z-ı sefih kimesne hâşâ mezkûresine hennâyı ve ... tenhâda almayub

12 da kahvehânede oğlanına "bre var işte evde filân istemişlerdir" diyen

13 edebsizlere, ve kahve hânede ve yârân mâbeyninde ve hidmetkârına "bre oğlan

14 var evden büyük kîse getür kîsemizde harclık kalmadı” deyü izhârlık

15 iden edebsiz züğürt bî-’ârlara, ve kahvehânede mezkûresine kaftan biçen

16 lekelere, ve kûcek oğlancığı olub da mescide bile götüren merkeblere,

17 başına kırmızı ve mâyî veyâ çemenî ‘arakçîn giyen kokmuşlara, ve bâde çok çok

18 içüb de dumanına bestehleyen yüzi karalara, ve otı geçmiş tiryâkî yârâna

19 çok çok musâhebet soran eşeklere, ve bir kimesnenin bir tuhfe nesnesi

20 olub hâlâ ki satılığı değil iken “elbette bana sat” diyen hımârlara, mahasıl-ı kelâm

21 ıtlâk üzere olan nefsü’l-emre “bana dokunman” diyüb bî-huzûr olan

22 süfehâya, ve nefsü’l-emr içinde kendü ‘aybın duyub da ol ‘aybdan kesilmeyen

23 sığırlara, ve berş ve afyon yenürken pek pek bakan gözi çıkacak hayvanâta,

24 ve ba’de’t-ta’âm el yunurken leğene sümküren bestelere, ve ba’z-ı ziyâfetlerde

25 peşkîr ile elin silen eli kuruyacaklara, ve bayrâm günlerinde gelinlik

26 kızlarını bayrâm seyrine çıkaran gidilere, ve bir kimesne bir hikâye duyurur-

27 -ken arkasından ol tamâm olmadın bir hikâye dahî başlayan köpeklere, ve bardağ

28 ile su içmeyüb de yanında olan âdeme “tut yere ko” diyen [i]drâksizlere,

(F5)

1 ve çârşûda giderken kendüden büyük âdem ardınca olub da yolda rast

2 gelen âdemin hâlin hâtırın sordukdansoğra selâm viren süfehâya,

3 ve kahvehânede uyuyan kehle cellâdına ziyârete varan utanmazlara, ve ekâbir

4 hidmetkârına ‘âşık geçinen köpeklere, ve bir kimesne hafiyye yazu yazarken yazusına bakan

5 gözi çıkacak yüzi karalara, ve ta’âm zamânında ekâbirlere ve tabl ü sû(r)na ile

6 meclisde ‘ayş ü nûş iden ırgadlara, ve *Bedî’ Kâsım* içün bahis iden

7 leccâclara, ve tâze üzüm ve kerâs çekirdeğin çıkarub da avcunın içine aldıkda-

8 -nsoğra yine sofra içine döken müstekrehlere, ve kendüsi câhil belki echel-i halkullah

9 iken ilin yanlışına ta'an iden ebter zavâllulara, ve namâz kılmayub da dâ'imâ elinde

10 tesbîh götüren münâfıklara, ve ekâbirden celb-i dünyâ içün müstehırlık iden

11 boşlıkdan … çıkmışlara, ve dünyâda bir san'atı ihtiyâr itmeyüb de

12 ıylancı ve hokkabâz olan merkeblere, ve bî-nazar saz faslı olurken ayağıyla

13 tahtaya veyâ ... kuruyacak dizlerine usûl dutan eli ayağı kuruyacaklara,

14 ve Dingoz kitâbına "dincûr" diyen ıstılâhâtı yerine getürmeyüb ıstılâha …

15 ve Preverdi kal'âsına "pire var oldı" diyenlere, beher hâl sözinde ve eğer hareketde ve

16 evzâ' ü etvâ[r]ında kendi mikdârın bilmeyen mikdârsızlara, ve kendi 'aybın fikr

17 itmeyüb ilin 'aybı ile mukayyed olan bî-'âr ü iz'ânsızlara, ve 'inâdına

18 musırr olub sözi dürüst değil iken ta'annut üzere olan Birgivîlere,

19 ve nâ-ma'kûl ve nâ-hemvâr olan ef'âl ü akvâlini terk itmeyüb de ma'kûl olan

20 pend ile müttezıh olmayan 'ârsızlara, ve bi'l-cümle tavâîf-i mezbûreyi seksen

21 dâne kelb-i 'akûra daladırdım ve boğazlarına kükürt torbasın asardım

22 ibtidâ-i bâlâda mezkûr şetmdensoğra işkence iderdim. Muhassıl-ı kelâm insân

23 olduğı haysıyyet ile 'avâyib-i mezkûrdan kâdir olduğı mertebe hazer idüb

24 ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır ve ictinâb gerekdir. Lâ cürmü 'alâ kadri't-tâka

25 işbu fasl-ı kitâb-ı müstetâbdan istifâde mahz-ı fâide

26 ol ecilden kaleme getürilüb ketb ü terkîm olundı.

27 Ve allahu a'lem bi's-sevâb … Hacı Ahmed fî … Yanya fî 1056 …. fî 1084.

Niksârîzâde – Nefsü'l-emr (HAP)

(F1)

1 Bu mes’ele beyânında e’imme-i Hanefîden cevâb ne vechiledir ki:

نه هر کس سزاوار باشد به صدر

کرامت به جاه است و منزل به قدر

به جای بزرگان دلیری مکن

چو سر پنجه‌ات نیست شیری مکن

نه منعم به مال از کسی بهتر است

نه جاهل بجاه از کسی برتر است

خر از جل اطلس بپوشد خر است

4 ile ‘amel eylemeyüb makâm-ı sadîrin ve kendinin duracak ve oturacak yerin bilmeyüb mikdârından

5 ziyâde hareket iden ve ‘abes yire söyleyen komîlerin ve fodulların ve mâ-halakları ‘ilm ü mâ’rifet

6 değil iken ‘ulûm ile takkayüd idüb beyn-el-enâm tamâm humk ü cehl ile meşhûr oldukdan soğra ekâbire intisâb

7 veyâ hûd bir kavî yerden te’ehhül idüb ol tarîk ile tarîk-i ‘ilme duhûl başına destâr-ı mermerşâhîden on kat

8 mikver-i hâşâ imâm-ı a’zam tâcı şeklinde kubbe-i hamâkat giyüb mecâlisde haddi değil iken tasaddur idüb

9 ‘ilmi mükâleme olundukda ‘arzı tahammül idemeyüb bî-münâsib kelimât-ı beyhûde iden ‘avret akıllu

10 cehelenin ve selîkası şi’ire dürüst olmayub ve ebeden ma’rifet ile münâsebeti olmadıkdan soğra

11 sâhib-i mahlas ve şâ’ir olub keç ‘atâ ba’z-ı edânînin kâh menhâsın ve kâh fazîlet ü hulkın medh idüb

12 kasîde deyüb câize ümîd eyleyen süfehânın ve sadr-ı ûlemâda humk ü cehl ile şehîr olub makâm-ı ihtiyâcda

13 kendüye gelen mevâliye âdem geçinen behâyimin ve tahsîl-i ‘ilmde mantık ü kelâm ü âdâb bahs-i lâzım iken

14 ‘ilmi Hidâyeden tahsîl eylemek isteyen ma’tûh çelebilerin ve henûz makâm-ı istifâdede değil makâm-ı ifâdeye

15 kadem basub dershânelerde ince dânişmendlere meze düşen müderrislerin ve ebeden şi’ir ile münâsebeti

16 olmayub:

نظیره گفتن اشعار حافظ شیراز

یقین بدان همه کیدی کر نحری در نجوریست

mükerrer iken

17 Hâce Hâfıza nazîre diyen türklerin ve yakalı sûf bi’l-külliye metrûk iken ağustosda nâfe-i üşek

(F2)

1 yakalı sûf giyen bi-ma’nâ ve nev-heves mollaların ve hikmet ü kelâm ile türk aklının kat’â münâsebeti

2 yok iken kelâm-ı mütâla’asın âhir ‘ömrine dek cehline rûpûş iden bi-idrâklerin ve vahdet-i vücûd

3 mes’elesi tavr-ı aklda fehm olunmadığına ‘âmme-yi ‘ulemâ ittifâk eylemişken husûsan isnâdü’l-beşer

4 ve’l-’aklü’l-hâdî ‘öşr olan muhakkak Cürcânî ‘aleyhi rahmetü’l-bâri Hâşiyye-yi tecrîdinde mebhas-ı ziyâde-yi

5 vücûdda nass eylemişiken ve Hâce Hâfız-ı Şirâzî:

تو کز سرای طبیعت نمی‌روی بیرون

طریقت گذر توانی کرد کجا به کوی

6 buyurmuş iken ve kudvetü’l-’arifîn Hazret-i Şeyh Sa’dî kuddise sırrahu dahî:

مپندار سعدی که راه صفا

توان رفت جز بر پی مصطفی

buyurmuş iken ve yine fâzıl-ı mezbûr hâşiye-yi metâli'inde bahs-i hamd ü

8 şükrde tehzîb-i zâhir şerâi'-i nebevî ve nevâmis-i ilâhi isti'mâli ile olur deyü tahkîk eylemişken

9 henûz ri'âyet-i şer'-i şerîf eylemeyüb tamâm nefs-i emmâre makâmına hizmet iderken vahdet-i vücûd mes'elesinden

10 dem urub taklîd-i zındıka eyleyenlerün ve ba'z-ı hitâm-ı dünyâ içün anları tasdîk iden kâzib-i nâ-dervişlerin

11 ve mahlası meşhûr olub şi'irini kimesne bilmez şâ'ir efendilerin ve evkât-ı şerîfesin 'ilme sarf itmeyüb

12 şi'ir böceği olan haşarâtın ve eyyâm-ı ta'tîl ile sâir zamânı tefrika eylemeyüb dâimâ şenlikçi olan

13 muksirlerin ve ba'z-ı nemmâm-ı sakîl ve mekrde olan eşhâsdan hatt sûretin gösterüb mecâlis-i 'irfâna dâhil

14 olmağa sebeb olan kâselilerün ve yektâ mikver-i destâr giymeğle 'arz-ı tahsîl eyleye …

15 eşhâsın ve mikver-i yektâ destar ile cüzh(w)ân şeklinde olan mukallid meze müderrislerin ve fevku'l-hadd

16 gûl iken yârân-ı 'aceme taklîd idüb tekellüm-ü farsî eyleyen harların ve üç yüz yaşına kadem basmış iken

17 müderris-i nevheves olanların ve bir sohbet henûz nâ-tamâm iken bir niçe temhîd-i mukaddime eyleyen 'abdü'l-batn

18 ekûllerin ve maksûdı bir şahsı ziyâfet iken meclise münâsebeti olmayan eşhâsı idhâl iden

19 lûtbâzların ve 'ömr-ü nâzenînini dâimâ ziyâfete hasr iden yilkovanların ve maksûd ehl-i 'ilmi ziyâfet iken

20 kendin ve yâhûd odasın göstermek içün defterdârları ve ba'z-ı muhasebeci ve mukâta'acıları

21 ziyâfete dâhil eyleyen nev-devletlerin ve kendi tamâm muflis iken mürâbaha ile medyûn olub

(F3)

1 defterdârlar ziyâfetine taklîd eyleyen cimrî müderrislerin ve mertebesi … kazâ iken tevcîh olundukda kabûl

2 eylemeyüb b'il-âhire niçe müdetten soğra nâçâr kabûl eyleyen nâ-kabûllerin ve mikdâr-ı kifâye sebeb-i ma'işeti var iken

3 sefer-i Hindustân iden harîs ü hercâyîlerin ve tamâm ahlâk-ı zamîme ve hırs ile muttasıf olub

4 târik-i dünya geçinen müstağni-şekl olan dervîş-i bî-endâm bî-nevâların ve tamâm cehl ile câhil iken

5 kendüyi müderris-i hakîkî menzilesine tenzîl eyleyen fodûl-ı bî-ma'nâların ve vâlidesi 'ismetinde şübhesi

6 olub kendü ma'sûm şekl olan helâlzâdelerin ve … etrâf-ı … semt ma'nîdir …

7 vücûh-ı takdîm ve tâ'cîz ve tenâkuz-ı ı'râzı 'ilm zann idüb tasnîfe cesâret iden 'ilm gedâ-çeşmlerinin

8 ve mezelik ve püzelik ile meclise dâhil olan girân-canların ve 'ilm ma'nî iken şi'ir-i 'arab

9 ve bir kaç mânusü'l-isti'mâl olmayan lugat bilmeği 'ilm zann idüb kitâb içinde elfâz-ı gazel bilir

10 bebe kitâb güğelerinin ve ile taklîd idüb müdakkik olan yârânı 'ilmine i'tikâd itdirmek

11 ister ehl-i zann belki ehl-i şekllerin ve mevzu'-ı bahs 'ilm ü ma'rifet olmayub ol makûle-i edânî ile lâf ü

12 güzâf eden mâ-lâ-ya'nî süfehânın ve tarîk-i 'ilmde bir akçe değmez iken beyt'ül-mâlden mevâlî tekâ'üdi

13 itdirmeğe sebeb olan ehl-i insâfların ve tarîk-i 'ilmi bu şekle koyan fazılanın ve dahî makâm-ı ifâde ile

14 istifâdeyi tefrika eylemeyüb ve eylemek şânından olmayub dânişmend terbiye eyleyen ebterlerin ve bin

15 tarihinden soğra ‘ilme ve tarîk-i ‘ilme heves iden ‘ukûl-u kâsıranın ve henûz tasavvur-ı ‘ilm eylememişken

16 imtihân taleb iden lâ-ya’killerin ve tevâbi’i kâbil-i ‘ilm değil idüğin bilürken tarîk-i ‘ilme idhâl eylemeğle

17 tarîk-i ‘ilmi esâsından hadm eylemek ister koca günâhkârların ve ol makûle süfehâyı mezelenen yârân-ı rinde

18 dil-gîr olan nâdânların ve ıtlâkı üzre olan nefsü’l-emrlere rencide-hâtır olan bî-meşreb

19 ve tâ’ife-yi rind ü evbâşı mevâ’îd bî-meze-i … ile tesliye iden kabâhat-i nâ-fehmlerin ve ervâma

20 insân i‘tikâdında değil iken hem-meşreb olmak içün ervâma taklîd iden yārān-ı ‘acemin ve ebeden

21 yārān-ı ‘acemden hazz eylemek şānından değil iken taḳlīd ile huşke pilav puhte iden nâ-puhtelerin

(F4)

1 ve sakalı ak olub henûz meleke-yi ‘ilmiyyesi kâmile olmayan tâlib-i ‘ilmlerin ve şehr oğlanı mahbûbları ile ıhtılât

2 eylemeğe taklîd iden … alayının ve meyhânede perîşân büyük kirli destâr ü tecvîd ile nağme

3 eyleyen türk dânişmendlerinin ve gazel taksîminde türkî şi’ir okuyan yârân-ı ‘acemin ve farsî ile gazel

4 taksîm eyleyen ervâmın ve tamâm sıklet ile sakîl iken sıkletin sırr itmek içün meclisde hiffet ihtiyâr eyleyen

5 galîzlerin ve şehr oğlanı mahbûbun odasına da’vet idüb babası dânişmendlerin sohbete idhâl iden

6 hâne-perver çelebilerin ve izhâr-ı fazîlet idüb meclis-i şarâbda musâhabet-i ‘ilmiyye iden türk dânişmendlerinin

7 ve karîhası pâk olmayub ehl-i ‘ilm şeklinde olan eşhâs ki üç dört yüz akçe sermâye ile elmâs fürûş

8 olmak ister nâkısâtü’l-’akla teşbîh olunmuşdur ol makûle har-mühre-fürûş katırcıların ve imlâsının

9 çelebîliğe tahammüli olmayub boğazı çehâr-penç ‘unsurı yağlı karacıların ve ‘ilm şânından değil iken ‘ilme

10 takallut viren paşa ü defterdârzâdelerin ve “ليس هذا اول قارورة كسرت في الاسلام” mefhûmun

11 bilürken ‘acz ü kederinden tarîk-i ceheleye sülûk eylemek ister mevâlîzâdelerin ve ol makûle ve imânda akrân

12 olan nâ-murâdlara destgîr olmıyan bî-hamiyyet zürefânın ve kudema’-i felâsefe ile hem-ders olan

13 ak sakalı olub kırmızı mücevveze giyüb defterdâr olmak ister türk kâdılarının ve ehl-i ‘arz kahvehânesine

14 müdâvemet iden bî-’arzların ve mahzâ tarîk-i ‘ilmi ihyâ içün medrese binâ idüb cemî’-i eşhâs

15 yanında müsâvî belki maksûdı ehl-i ‘ilme tevcîh iken nefsü’l-emri ol makûle sâhib-i hayr olan

16 eshâb-ı sa’âdete sevk eylemeyen eshâb-ı ağrâzın ve ol makûle ef’âl ü akvâlinden eshâb-ı devleti

17 hatt eyler i’tikâdında olan nâdânların ve … kavliyle ‘amel iden kibârın ve ders-i ‘âmme sebeb-i

18 ri’âyet olsun deyü i’râbdan hattı olmıyan eşhâsı idhâl eylemeğe sebeb olan ehl-i insâfın ve

19 sebeb-i ri’âyet-i cehele olsun deyü tarîk-i ‘ilmde zamân i’tibâr iden mu’teberlerin ve ehl-i ‘ilm ile

20 cehele ‘indallah ve ‘inde’n-nâs mümtâz iken ba’z-ı ağ’râz-ı fâsıla ile temyîz murâd eyleyen bî-temyîzlerin

21 ve mensûb-u ileyhi gittikden soğra abrîz olduğun bilürken yine ma’ el-kerâhe tarîk-i ‘ilme duhûl eyleyüb

(F5)

1 zâhiren ve bâtınen mekrde olanların ve ehl-i ‘ilm ve müderris-i hakîkî olan selef-i sâlihîne taklîd idüb

2 ancak ıstılâh-ı müderrisîni istifâde ve ‘ilmi ebeden ifâde eylemeyüb mecâlis-i ‘ulemâda cenâh-ı i’tibâr

3 eyleyen kuşların ve zamânede muhtâc-ı ileyh makâmına ikâmet idüb ra’nâlanan gücle güzellerin

4 ve ‘inde’t-tahkîk muhtâc-ı ileyh bârî te’âlâ iken kendü gibi bir ‘âcizi muhtâc-ı ileyh eğleyüb a’yâdde

5 ve sâ’ir zamânda … bir ulak bargîrine binüb bin dâne meclise girân-cân olanların ve yağmurlı

6 havâda salıncak ile takayyüd eyleyen yâdigârların ve bir aylık ‘âşıkı olmayub salıncakçılar

7 koçsun makâmında yalnız salınan güzellerin ve türk dânişmendi ile bayram ve kahvehâne ve meyhâne

8 seyrine varan civânların ve şehr oğlanı rengine bed-şekl ve … köleleri ve anadolıdan gelen türk

9 oğlanını zer ü züyûra gark iden ahriyân ve türk kâdılarının ve bayrâm seyrinde evvelki gün

10 İstanbulun ve ikinci gün Tobhânenin ve üçüncü gün Eyyübündür deyü şiddet-i şitâda ve yâhûd

11 şiddet-i harrda ol mevâzi’in esvâk-ı müntinesinden kendü gibi erâzil ile muhkem itişüb gezen

12 güzendelerin ve bir dânesi dünyâya yiter iken üç nâbûd bî-meze karındaşını tarîk-i ‘ilme

13 sıklet virüb girân-cân olan Molla Gürânizâdelerin ve dünyâ bu şekle girdikden soğra yine

14 ehl-i mansıb olmak ister nâdânların ve bu makûle bî-i’tibâr bî-ma’nâ …

15 firâr eylemeyüb karâr eyleyen bî-karârların ve seyyâretinde şübhe olub belki şübhe olmayub ol

16 ‘ırk-ı pâke intisâbdan maksûd ahlâk-ı hamîde ile intisâf iken ümmet-i mehemmede cefâ ve izâ iden

17 dâhillerin ve ‘ilm ile münâsebeti yoğiken mücerred şeref-i neseb ile tarîk-i ‘ilme dâhil olmak ister

18 hâriclerin ve yârân odasına varub keyf ü … teklîf olundukda hokkanın dibin

19 gösteren berşîlerin ve eshâb-ı devlete varub bî-tekellüfâne kâh kahve ve kâh mâkûlât ister

20 bebe köpeklerin ve fenâr kapusı ve dîngoz ve bunun emsâli elfâzı tağyîr idüb dîncûz ve bâb-ı fânus

21 diyen kuşlahüddînlerin ve kahvehâneye varmakdan maksûd yârânla haşr olub ‘ilmi ve şi’iri

(F6)

1 ve ba’z-ı letâif musahabeti iken eshâb-ı sa’âdet mezemmetin iltizâm-ı mâ-lâ-yelzem eyleyen nekbetî tiryâkîlerin

2 ve ebeden ‘ilm ü ma’rifet ile münâsebeti yoğiken musannifîn-i ervâh-ı tayyibelerinden havf ü hicâb eylemeyüb

3 kütüb-i nefîseyi cem’ ü habs iden muhtebislerin ve ekser-i evkâtını şenlikçilikde geçirüb ‘ilm ü ma’rifet ile

4 takayyüd eylemeyüb mahzâ ‘örf ü izafeti ile nefsü’l-emr yârânı ‘ilmine i’tikâd itdirmek ister

5 Nasreddin Hâcelerin ve kendi bî-haysiyyet iken odasına kendüyi ve yâhûd ta’âmını ve hüddâmını

6 göstermek içün ‘ulema ve şu’arâyı da’vet idüb kendünün ve ta’âmının mezesin çıkaran devletlü

7 endâmında olan müsrif mezelerin ve tiryâkî olan devletlü evinde bir kaç otı geçmiş oda

8 bucağında dâimâ sâmit ü sâkit oturur … şekl kokonosların ve meclis-i şarâbda fâsık-

ı

9 mahrûm olub sofrada meze eyleyen hayvanâtın ve henûz ağzında hamr var iken meclis-i şarâbdan kalkub

10 namâz kılmak isteyen mürâyîlerin ve bin târihinden soğra te'ehhül murâd eyleyen koca puluçların, muhâsıl

11 bu zikr olunan ef'âl-i kabîha ve â'mâl-i şenî'a ile 'amel *iden tavâifin ihtiyâr* itdikleri evzâ'-ı

12 nefsü'l-emre mutâbık olacak olursa 'avretim talâk-ı selâse ile mutallaka olsun diyen rinde -ne lâzım olur- şer'en talâk vâkî' olur mı?

Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (H)

(F1)

1 Niksarizade Efendi Merhûmun Nefs'ül-Emrenâme

2 deyü yazdıkları sûret-i mes'îledir. Bu mes'ele beyânında e'imme-i Hanefîden

3 cevâb ne vechiledir ki, nazm:

نه هر کس سزاوار باشد به صدر

کرامت به جاه است و منزل به قدر

به جای بزرگان دلیری مکن

چو سر پنجه‌ات نیست شیری مکن

نه منعم به مال از کسی بهتر است

نه حاهل بجاه از کسی برتر است

خر از جل اطلس بپوشد خر است

7 ile 'amel eylemeyüb makâm-ı sadîrin ve kendinin duracak ve oturacak

8 yerin bilmeyüb mikdârından ziyâde hareket iden ve 'abes yire söz söyleyen

(F2)

komîlerin ve fodulların ve mâ-halakları ‘ilm ü mâ’rifet değil iken ‘ulûm ile takkayüd idüb

beyn-el-enâm tamâm humk ü cehl ile meşhûr oldukdan soğra ekâbire intisâb veyâ hûd bir kavî

yerden te’ehhül idüb ol tarîk ile tarîk-i ‘ilme duhûl idüb başına destâr-ı mermerşâhîden

on kat mikver-i hâşâ imâm-ı a’zam tâcı şeklinde kubbe-i hamâkat giyüb mecâlisde

haddi değil iken tasaddur idüb ‘ilm mükâleme olundukda ‘arzı tahammül idemeyüb

bî-münâsib kelimât-ı beyhûde iden ‘avret akıllu cehelenin ve selîkası şi’ire dürüst

olmayub ve ebeden ma’rifet ile münâsebeti yoğiken sâhib-i mahlas ve şâ’ir olub

kec ‘atâ ba’z-ı edânînin kâh menhâsın ve kâh fazîlet ü hulkın medh idüb

kasîde deyüb câize ümîd eyleyen süfehânın ve sadr-ı ûlemâda humk ü cehl ile şehîr

olub makâm-ı ihtiyâcda kendüye gelen mevâliye âdem geçinen behâyimin ve tahsîl-i ‘ilmde

mantık ü kelâm ü âdâb bahs-i lâzım iken ‘ilm-i hidâyeden tahsîl eylemek isteyen ma’tûh

çelebilerin ve henûz makâm-ı istifâdede değil iken makâm-ı ifâdeye kadem basub dershâne-

-lerde eyüce dânişmendlere meze düşen müderrislerin ve ebeden şi’ir ile münâsebeti olmayub, nazm:

نظیره گفتن اشعار حافظ شیراز

یقین بدان همه کیدی کر نحری در بحوریست

mukarrar iken Hâce Hâfıza nazîre diyen türklerin ve yakalı sûf bi’l-külliye metrûk

iken ağustosda nâfe-i üşek kaplu sûf giyen bi-ma’nâ nev-heves mollaların ve hikmet

ü kelâm ile türk aklının kat’â münâsebeti yoğiken kelâm-ı mütâla’asın âhir ‘ömrine

dek rûpûş iden bi-idrâklerin ve vahdet-i vücûd mes’elesi tavr-ı aklda

19 fehm olunmadığına ‘âmme-yi ‘ulemâ tahkîk ü ittisâk eylemişken husûsan üstâdü’l-beşer ve’l-’akl-ı

20 hâdî ‘aşer olan muhakkik Cürcânî ‘aleyhi rahmetü’l-melekü’l-bârî Hâşîyye-yi Tecrîdinde

21 mebhas-ı ziyâde-yi vücûdda nass eylemişiken ve Hâce Hâfız-ı Şirâzî, nazm:

تو کز سرای طبیعت نمی‌روی بیرون

کجا به کوی طریقت گذر توانی کرد

23 ve kudvetü’l-’arifîn Şeyh Sa’dî kuddise sırrahu, nazm:

مپندار سعدی که راه صفا

توان رفت جز بر پی مصطفی

(F3)

1 buyurmuşken ve yine fâzıl-ı

2 mezbûr hâşiye-yi matla’ında bahs-i hamd ü şükrde tehzîb-i şerâi’-i nebevî ve nevâmis-i

3 ilâhi isti’mâli ile olur deyü tahkîk eylemişken henûz ri’âyet-i şer’-i şerîf eylemeyüb

4 tamâm nefs-i emmâre makâmına hizmet iderken vahdet-i vücûd mes’elesinden dem urub

5 taklîd-i zendeka eyleyenlerün ve ba’z-ı hitâm-ı dünyâ içün anları tasdîk iden kâzib-i

6 nâ-dervişlerin ve mahlası meşhûr olub şi’irini kimesne bilmez şâ’ir efendilerin ve

7 evkât-ı şerîfesin ‘ilme sarf itmeyüb şi’ir böceği olan haşarâtın ve eyyâm-ı

8 ta’tili ile sâir zamânı tefrika eylemeyüb dâimâ şenlikçi olan muksirlerin ve ba’z-ı

9 tamâm sakîl ve mekrde olan eşhâsdan hatt sûretin gösterüb mecâlis-i ‘irfâna dâhil

10 olmağa sebeb olan kâselilerün ve yektâr mikver-i destâr giymeğle ‘arz-ı tahsîl eyleyen komi

11 eşhâsın ve ve mikver-i yektâr destar ile cüzh(w)ân şeklinde olan mukallid meze müderri-

12 -slerin ve fevku'l-hadd gûl iken yârân-ı 'aceme taklîd idüb tekellüm-ü farsî eyleyen harların

13 ve üç yüz yaşına kadem basmış iken müderris-i nevheves olanların ve bir sohbet henûz nâ-tamâm

14 iken bir niçe sohbet temhîd-i mukaddime eyleyen 'abdü'l-(matlab)batn ekûllerin ve maksûdı

15 ehl-i 'ilmi ziyâfet iken kendin veyâ hûd otasın göstermek içün defter

16 dârları ve ba'z-ı muhâsebeci mukâta'acıları ziyâfete dâhil eyliyen nev-devletlerin

17 ve kendi tamâm muflis iken mürâbaha ile medyûn olub defterdârlar ziyâfetine

18 taklîd iden cimrî müderrislerin ve mertebesi … kazâsı iken tevcîh olundukda

19 kabûl eylemeyüb b'il-âhire nice müdetten soğra nâçâr kabûl eyleyen nâ-kabûllerin ve

20 mikdâr-ı kifâye sebeb-i ma'işeti var iken sefer-i Hindustân eyleyen harîs hercâyîlerin ve tamâm

21 ahlâk-ı zamîme ve hırs ile muttasıf olub târik-i dünya geçinen müstağni

22 şekl dervîş-i bî-endâm ve bî-nevâların ve tamâm cehl ile câhil iken müderris-i

23 hakîkî menzilesine tenzîl eylemeyen fodûl-u bî-ma'nâların ve vâlidesi 'ismetinde şübhesi

(F4)

1 olub kendü ma'sûm şekl olan helâlzâdelerin ve mezelik ve püzelik

2 ile meclise dâhil olan girân-canların ve 'ilm ma'nî iken şi'ir-i 'arab ve bir kaç mânusü'l-

3 isti'mâl lügât bilmeği 'ilm zann idüb kitâb içinde gazel bilir kitâb güğelerinin

4 ve eyle taklîd idüb müdakkik olan yârânı 'ilmine i'tikâd itdirmek ister ehl-i zann belki

5 ehl-i şekllerin ve mevzu'-ı bahs 'ilm ü ma'rifet olmayub ol makûle-i edânî ile

6 lâf ü güzâf eden mâ-lâ-ya'nî süfehânın ve tarîk-i 'ilmde bir akçe değmez iken

7 beyt’ül-mâlden mevâlî tekâ’üdi nâmına toksan ve yüz akçe ekl eyleyen helâl

8 hârların ve ol makûle-i nüfûs zâyi’eye mevâlî tekâ’üdin itdirmeğe sebeb olan

9 ehl-i insâfların ve tarîk-i ‘ilmi bu şekle koyan fazılanın ve dahî makâm-ı ifâde ile

10 istifâdeyi tefrika itmeyüb ve tefrika eylemek şânından olmayub danişmend

11 terbiye eyleyen ebterlerin ve bin tarihinden soğra ‘ilme ve tarîk-i ‘ilme heves iden

12 ‘ukûl-u kâsıranın ve henûz tasavvur-ı ‘ilm eylememişken imtihân taleb iden lâ-

13 ya’killerin ve tevâbi’i kâbil-i ‘ilm değil idüğin bilirken tarîk-i ‘ilme idhâl eylemeğle

14 tarîk-i ‘ilmi esâsından hadm eylemek ister koca günâhkârların ve ol makûle

15 süfehâyı mezelenen yârân-ı rinde dil-gîr olan nâdânların ve ıtlâk üzre

16 olan nefsü’l-emrlere rencide-hâtır olan bî-meşreb ve tâ’ife-yi rind ü evbâşı

17 mevâ’îd pey-meze ile tesliye iden kabâhat-i nâ-fehmlerin ve ervâma insân i‘tikâdında

18 değil iken hem-meşreb olmak içün ervâma taklîd iden yārān-ı ‘acemin ve ebeden

19 yārān-ı ‘acemden hazz eylemek şānından degül iken taḳlīd ile huşk pilav puhte

20 iden nâ-puhtelerin ve sakalı ak olub henûz meleke-yi ‘ilmiyyesi kâmil olmıyan

21 tâlib-i ‘ilmin ve şehr oğlanı mehbûbları ile ıhtılât eylemeğe taklîd iden …

22 alayının ve meyhânede perîşân büyük kirli destâr ü tecvîd ile nağme iden

23 türk dânişmendlerinin ve gazel taksîminde türkî şi’ir okuyan yârân-ı

(F5)

1 ‘acemin ve farsî ile gazel taksîm iden ervâmın ve tamâm sıklet ile sakîl iken mahfiyyen

2 mahzâ sıkletin sırr itmek içün meclisde hiffet ihtiyâr eyleyen galîzlerin

3 ve şehr oğlanı mahbûbun odasına da’vet idüb babası dânişmendlerin sohbete

4 idhâl iden hâne-perver çelebilerin ve izhâr-ı fazîlet idüb meclis-i şarâbda

5 müsahebet-i ‘ilmiyye iden türk dânişmendlerinin ve karîhası pâk olmayub

6 ehl-i ‘ilm şeklinde olan eşhâs ki üç dört akçe ile elmâs fürûş ü

7 olmak ister nâkısâtü’l-’akla teşbîh olunmuşdur ol makûle hurda-fürûş

8 katırcıların ve imlâsının çelebîliğe tahammüli yoğiken boğazı çehâr-penç ‘unsurı yağlı

9 kara çelebilerin ve ‘ilm şânından değil iken ‘ilme takallut viren paşa ü

10 defterdârzâdelerin ve “ليس هذا اول قارورة كسرت في الاسلام”

11 mefhûmun bilürken ‘acz ü kederinden tarîk-i ceheleye sülûk itmek ister

12 mevâlîzâdelerin ve ol makûle “imânda ikrâr-ı nâ-murâdlara destgîr olmıyan

13 bî-hamiyyet zürefânın ve kudema’-i felâsefe ile hem-ders olan ak sakallu olub

14 kırmuzı mücevveze giyüb defterdâr olmak ister türk kâdılarının ve

15 ehl-i ‘ilm [ü] ‘arz kahvehânesine müdâvemet iden bî-’arzların ve mahzâ

16 cemî’-i eşhâs yanında müsâvî belki maksûdı ehl-i ‘ilme tevcîh iken nefsü’l-emri

17 ol makûle sâhib-i hayr olan eshâb-ı sa’âdete sevk eylemeyen eshâb-ı

18 ağrâzın ve ol makûle ef’âl ve akvâlinden eshâb-ı devleti hatt eyler i’tikâdında

19 olan nâdânların ve eşbâh kavliyle ‘amel iden kibârın ve ders-i ‘âmme sebeb-i

20 ri’âyet olur deyü i’râbdan hattı olmıyan eşhâsı idhâl eylemeğe sebeb

21 olan ehl-i insâfın ve sebeb-i ri’âyet-i cehl olsun deyü tarîk-i

22 ‘ilmde zamân i’tibâr iden mu’teberlerin ve ehl-i ‘ilm ile cehele ‘indallah ve ‘inde’n-

23 -nâs mümtâz iken ba’z-ı ağ’râz-ı fâsıla ile temyîz murâd eyleyen bî-temyîzlerin

(F6)

1 ve mensûb-u ileyhi gittikden soğra abrîz olduğun bilürken yine ma’ el-kerâhe

2 tarîk-i ‘ilme duhûl eyleyüb zâhiren ve bâtınen mekrde olanların ve ehl-i ‘ilm ve müderris-i

3 hakîkî olan selef-i sâlihîne taklîd idüb ancak ıstılâh-ı müderrisîni istifâde (ifâde) ve

4 ‘ilmi ebeden istifâde (ifâde) itmeyüb mecâlis-i ‘ulemâda cenâh-ı i’tibâr eyleyen kuşların

5 ve zamânede muhtâc-ı ileyh makâmına kendin ikâmet idüb ra’nâlanan gücle …

6 güzellerin ve ‘inde’t-tahkîk muhtâc-ı ileyh bâri te’âlâ iken kendü gibi bir ‘âcizi muhtâc-ı ileyh

7 makâmına ikâmet idüb a’yâdde ve sâ’ir zamânda bir ulak bargîrine

8 binüb bin firâr bin meclise girân-cân olanların ve yağmurlı havâda salıncak

9 ile takayyüd iden yâdigârların ve bir aylık ‘âşıkı olmayub salıncakçılar koçsun makâmında

10 yalnız salınan güzellerin ve türk dânişmendi ile bayram ve kahvehâne ve meyhâne seyrine

11 varan civânların ve şehr oğlanı renginde bed-şekl ve … kölelerin ve anadolıdan

12 gelen türk oğlanın zer ü züyûra gark iden ahriyân-ı zarîf türk

13 kâdılarının ve bayrâm seyrinde evvelki gün İstanbulun ve ikinci gün Tobhânenin

14 ve üçüncü gün Eyyübündür deyü şiddet-i şitâda ve yâhûd şiddet-i harrda ol

15 mevâzi’in esvâk-ı müntinesinden kendü gibi erâzil ile muhkem itişüb gez de

16 gezendilerin ve bir dânesi dünyâya yiter iken üç nâbûd pey-meze karındaşını idhâl

17 ile tarîk-i ‘ilme sıklet virüb girân-cân olan Molla Gürânizâdelerin

18 ve dünyâ bu şekle girdiktensoğra yine ehl-i ‘ilmim deyü mansıb olmak ister nâdânların ve bu

19 makûle bî-i’tibâr bî-ma’nâ … firâr eylemeyüb karâr eyleyen

20 bî-karârların ve seyyâretinde şübhesi olub belki şübhesi olmayub lakin ol

21 ‘ırk-ı pâke intisâbdan maksûd ahlâk-ı hamîd ile intisâf iken ümmet-i mehemmede

22 izâ ve cefâ üzre olan dâhillerin ve ‘ilmde münâsebeti yoğiken mücerred şeref-i

23 neseb ile tarîk-i ‘ilme dâhil olmak ister hâriclerin ve yârân odasına

(F7)

1 varub keyf-i … teklîf olundukda hokkanın dibin gösteren berşîlerin

2 ve eshâb-ı devlete varub bî-tekellüfâne kâh kahve ve kâh mâkûlât ister …

3 ... ve fenâr kapusı ve Dîngoz ve bunun emsâli elfâzı tağyîr idüb dîncûz

4 ve bâb-ı fânus diyen kuşlahüddînlerin ve kahvehâneye varmakdan maksûd yârânla

5 haşr olub ‘ilmi ve şi’iri ve ba’z-ı letâif musahabeti iken eshâb-ı sa’âdet

6 mezemmetin iltizâm-ı mâ-lâ-yelzem eyleyen nekbetî tiryâkîlerin ve ebeden ‘ilm ü ma’rifet ile münâsebeti

7 yoğiken musannifîn-i ervâh-ı tayyibelerinden havf ü hicâb eylemeyüb mahzâ ‘örf ü

8 izafeti ile nefsü’l-emr yârânı ‘ilmine i’tikâd itdirmek ister Nasreddin Hâce-

9 -lerin ve kendi bî-haysiyyet iken odasına kendüyi ve yâhûd ta’âmını ve hüddâmını gö-

10 -stermek içün ‘ulema ve şu’arâyı da’vet idüb kendünün ve ta’âmının mezesin

11 çıkaran müsrif … mezelerin ve tiryâkî olan devletlü evinde bir kaç otı

12 geçmiş oda bucağında dâimâ sâmit ü sâkit oturur şihân-şekl kokonosların ve

13 meclis-i şarâbda fâsık-ı mahrûm olub sofrada meze ekl iden hayvanâtın

14 ve henûz ağzında âsâr-ı hamr var iken meclis-i şarâbdan kalkub namâz kılmak ister

15 mürâyîlerin ve bin târihinden soğra te’ehhül murâd eyleyen koca puluçların, muhâsıl bu zikr

16 olunan ef’âl-i kabîha ve â’mâl-i şenî’a ile ‘amel itdikleri evzâ’-ı nefsü’l-emre

17 mutâbık olacak olursa ‘avreti talâk-ı selâse ile mutallaka olsun diyen rinde

18 -ne lâzım olur- şer’en talâk vâkî’ olur mı? Beyân buyurulub müsâb

19 olasız, allahu a’lem bi’s-sevâb. Temmet. ‘Alî bin Ebi Tâlib, keremallahu vechu.

APPENDIX C

FACSIMILES OF MANUSCRIPTS

Figure C1. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS)



Figure C2. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS) 2



Figure C3. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MS) 3



Figure C4. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC)



Figure C5. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MC) 2



Figure C6. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK)

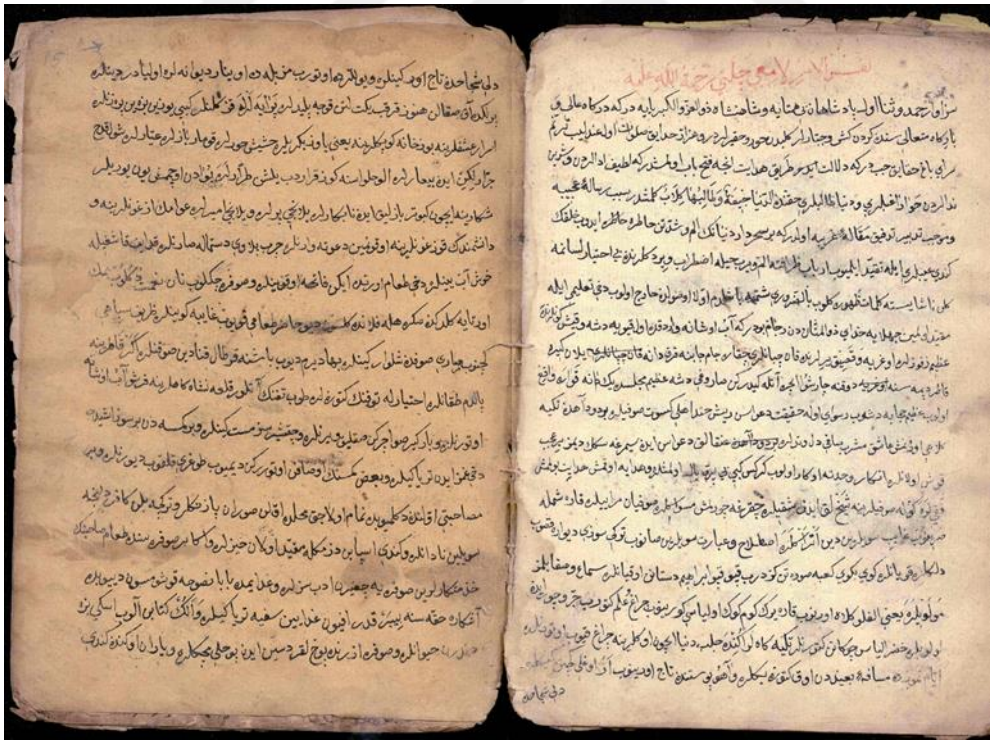


Figure C7. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (MK) 2

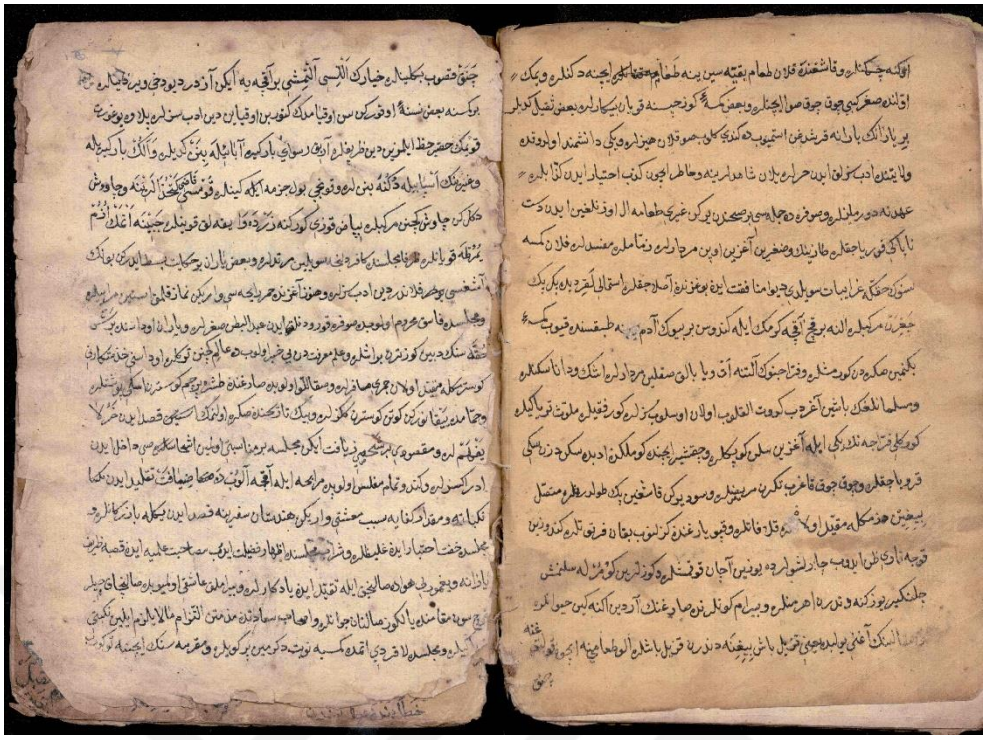


Figure C8. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB)

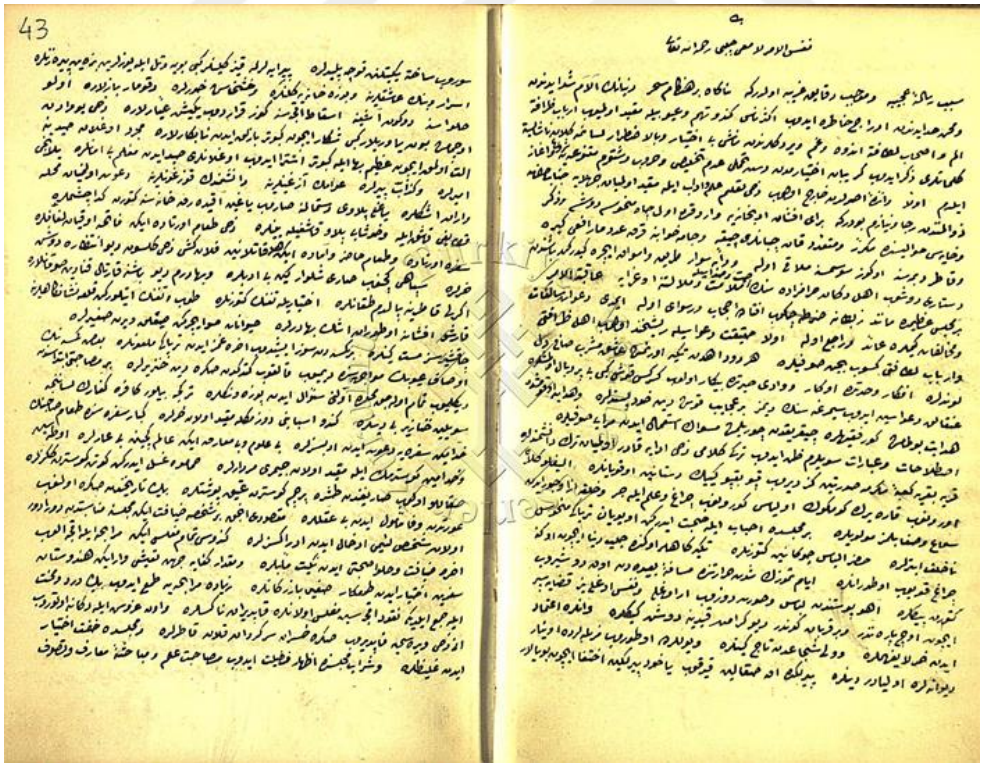


Figure C9. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB) 2

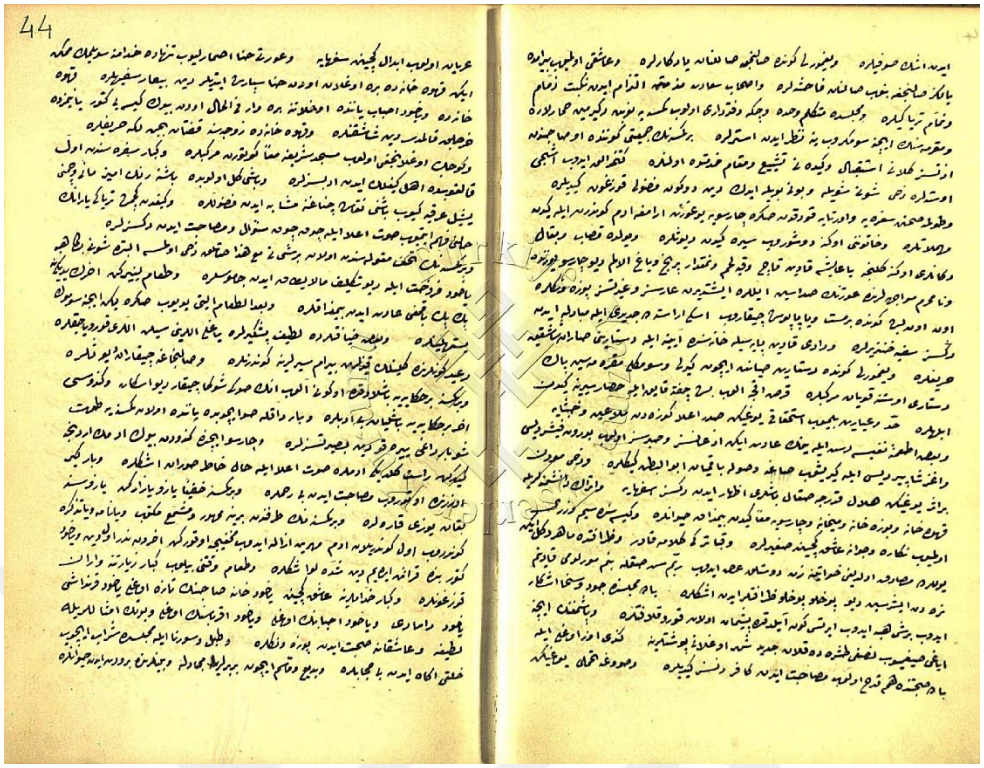


Figure C10. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (YB) 3

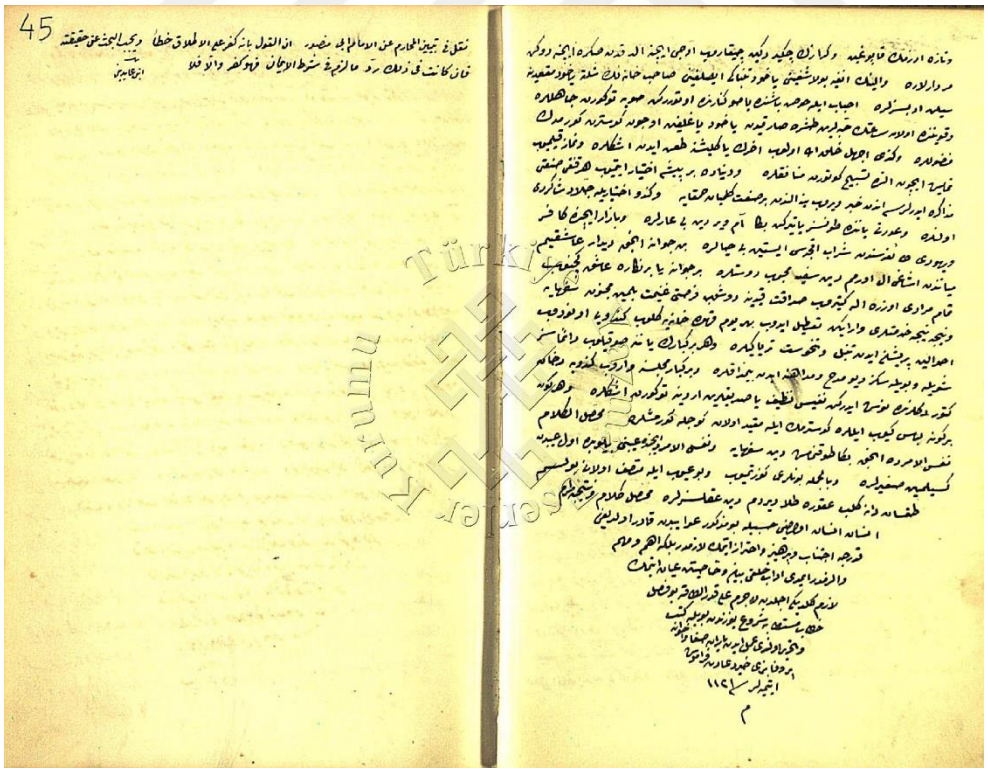


Figure C11. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME)

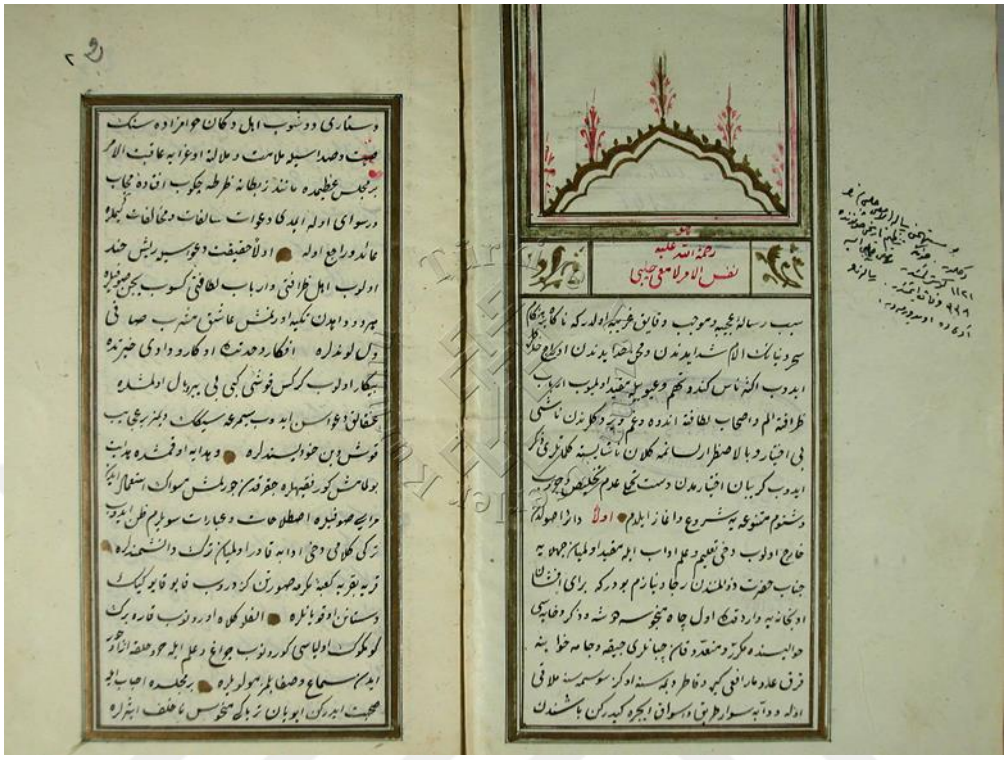


Figure C12. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME) 2

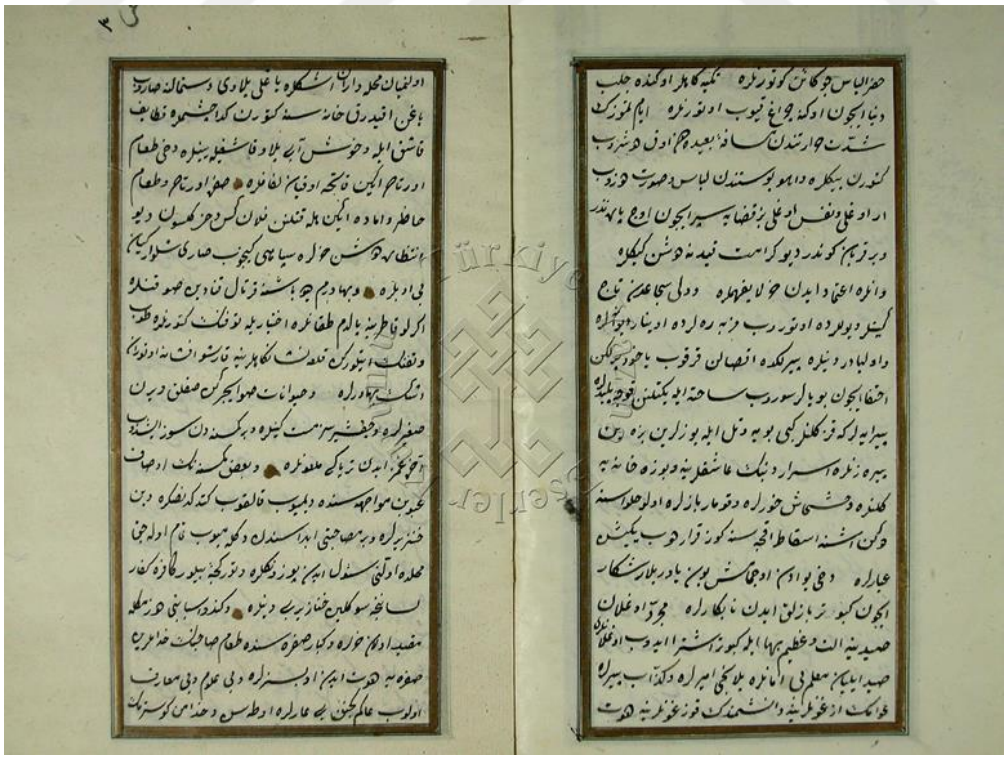


Figure C13. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME) 3

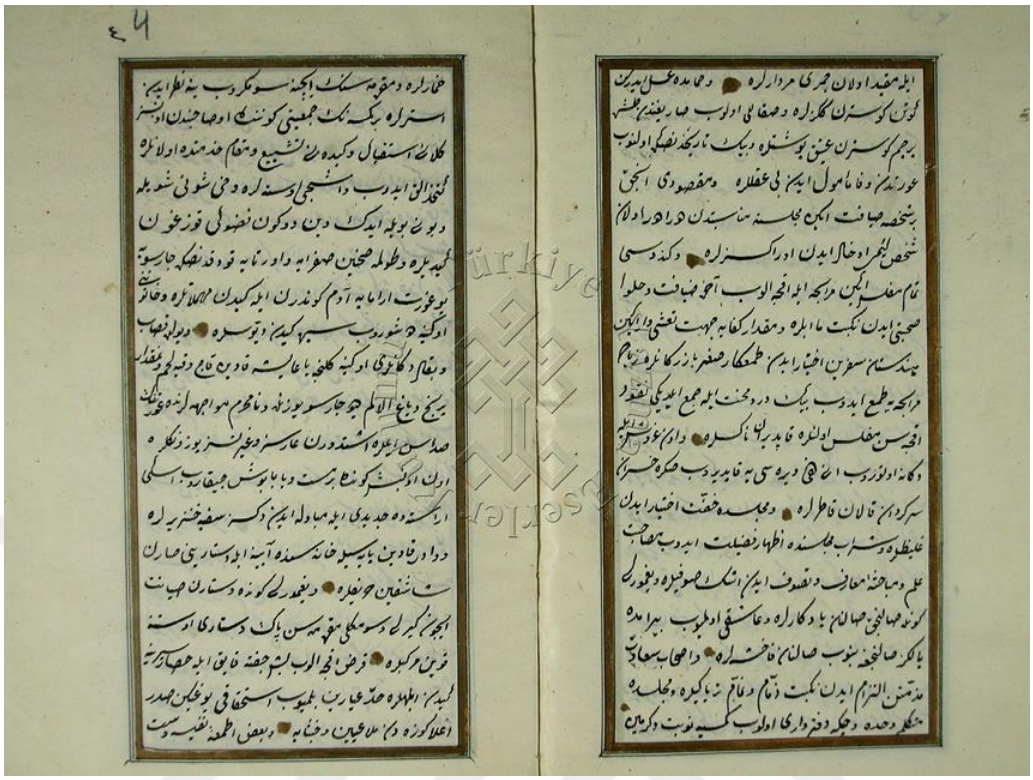


Figure C14. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME) 4



Figure C15. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME) 5

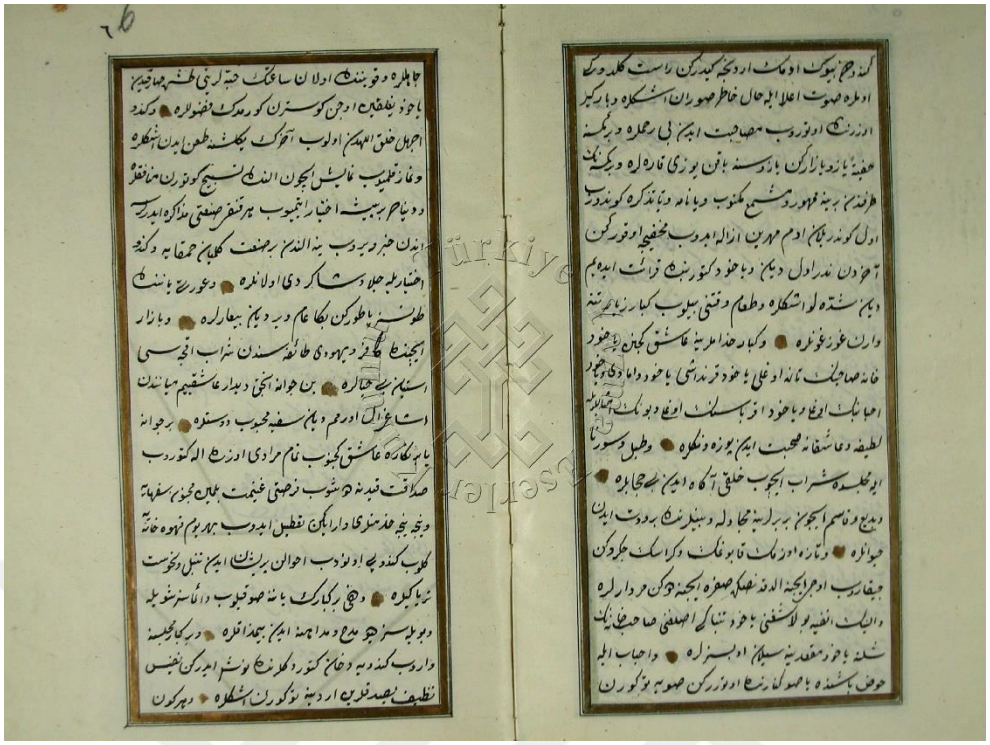


Figure C16. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HME) 6



Figure C17. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ)

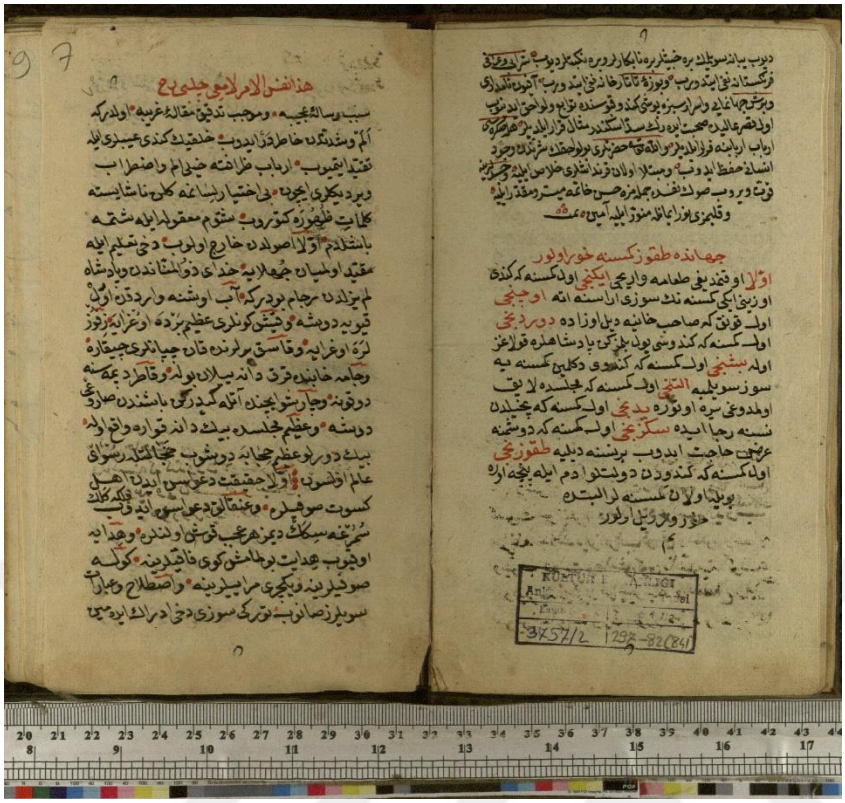


Figure C18. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ) 2



Figure C19. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (AÖ) 3.

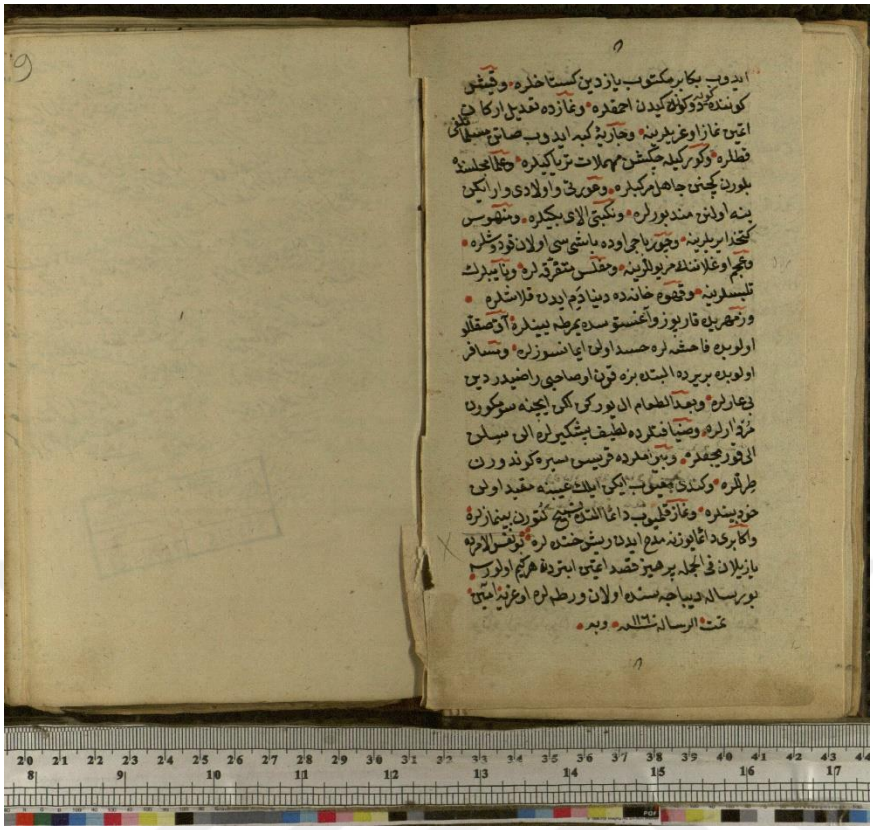


Figure C20. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ)

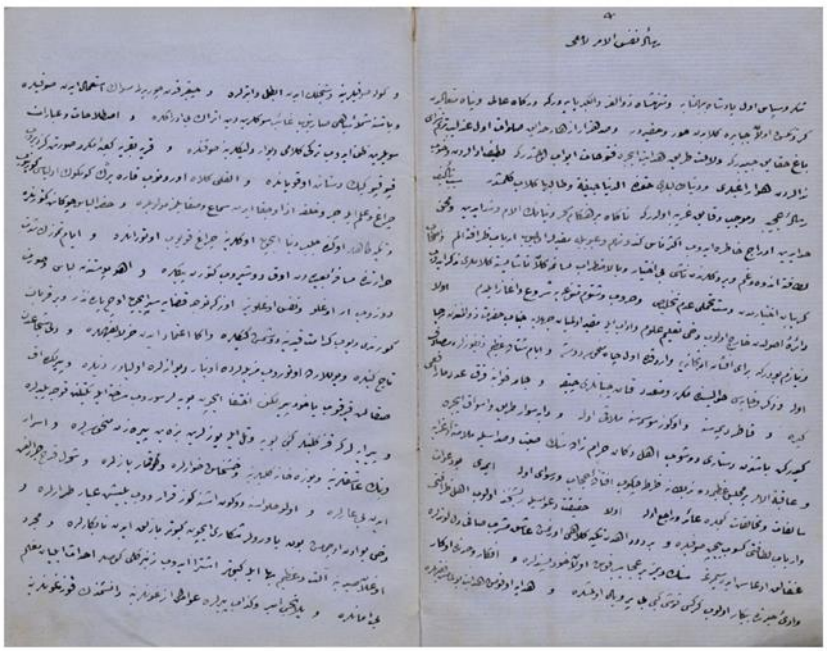


Figure C21. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ) 2

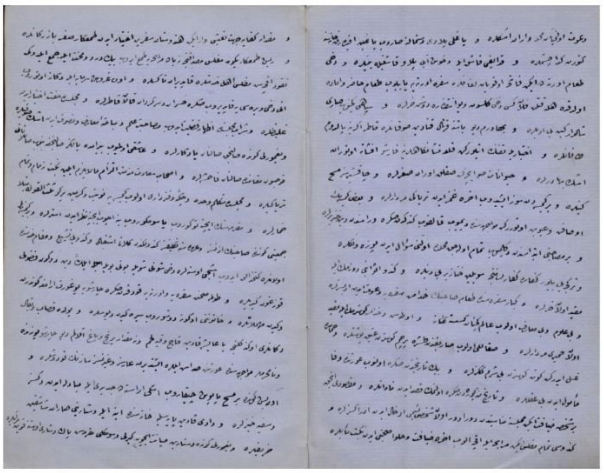


Figure C22. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ) 3

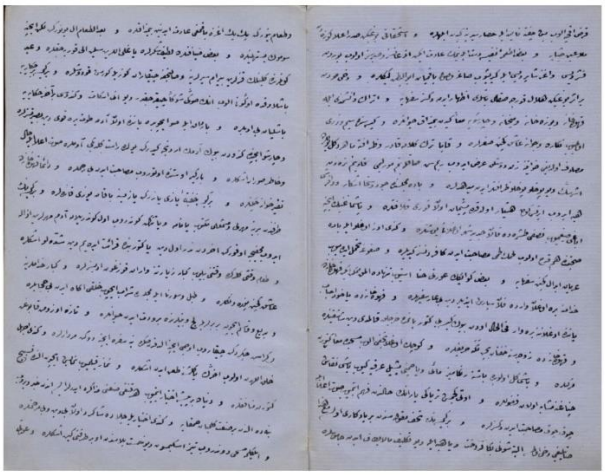


Figure C23. Lâmiî Çelebi – *Nefsü'l-emr* (İÜ) 4

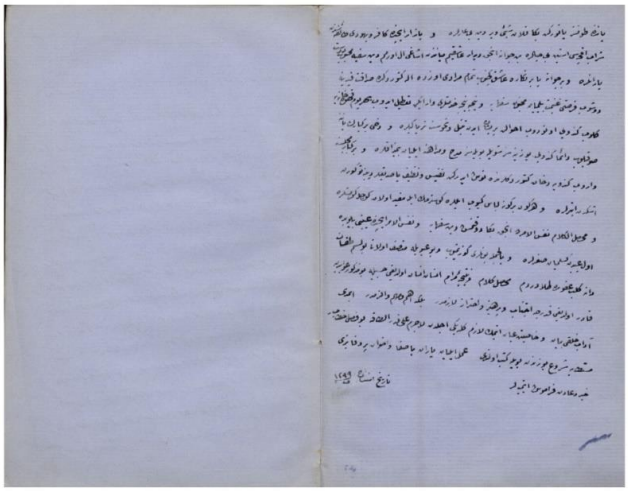


Figure C24. Hacı Ahmed – *Makâle*

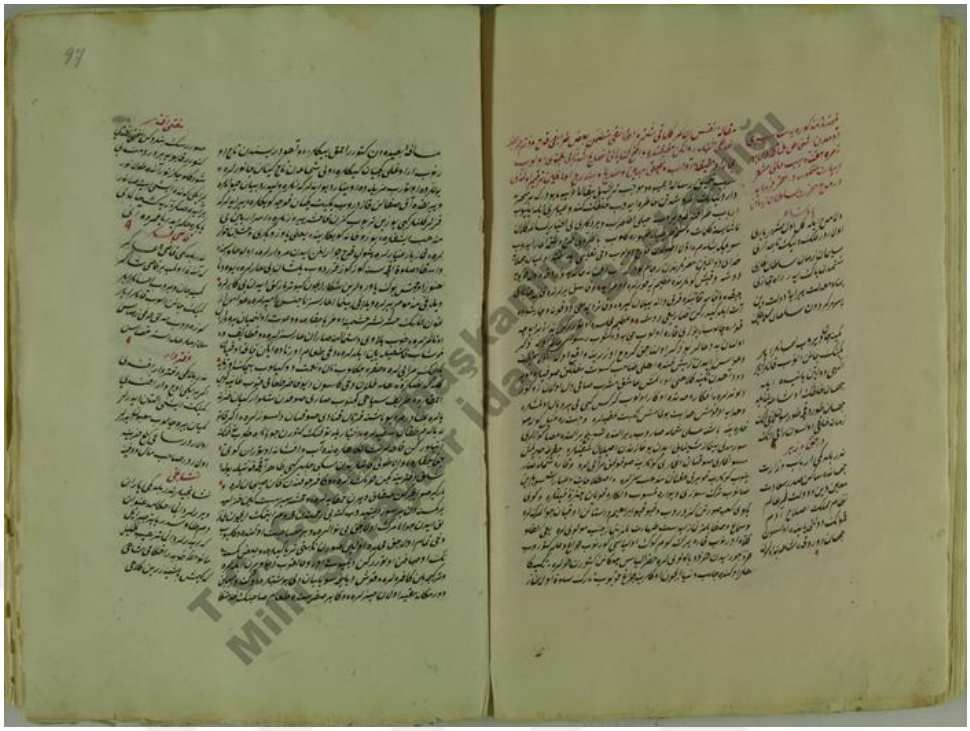


Figure C25. Hacı Ahmed – *Makâle* 2



Figure C26. Hacı Ahmed – *Makâle* 3



Figure C27. Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP)

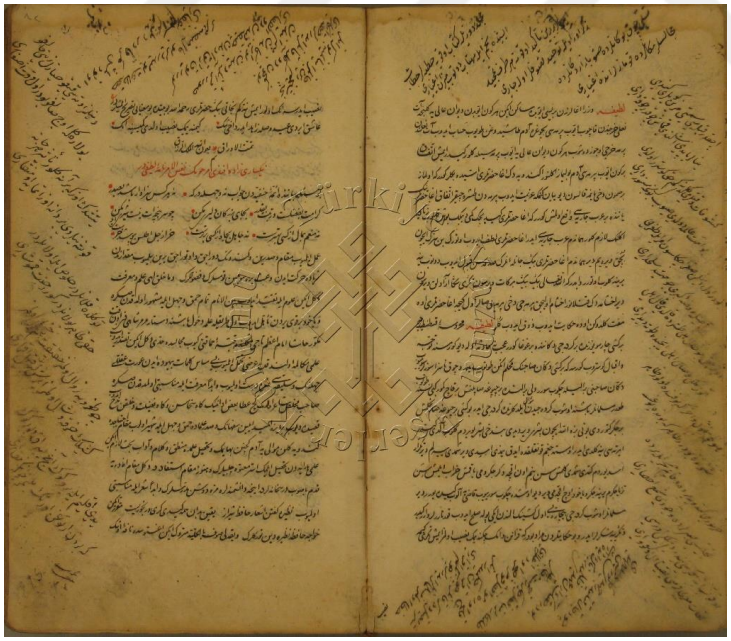


Figure C28. Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP) 2

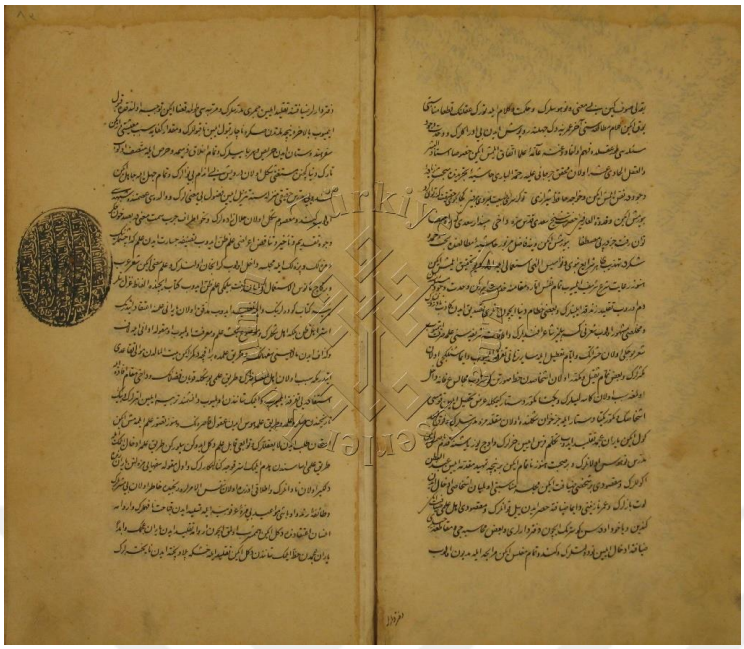


Figure C29. Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP) 3

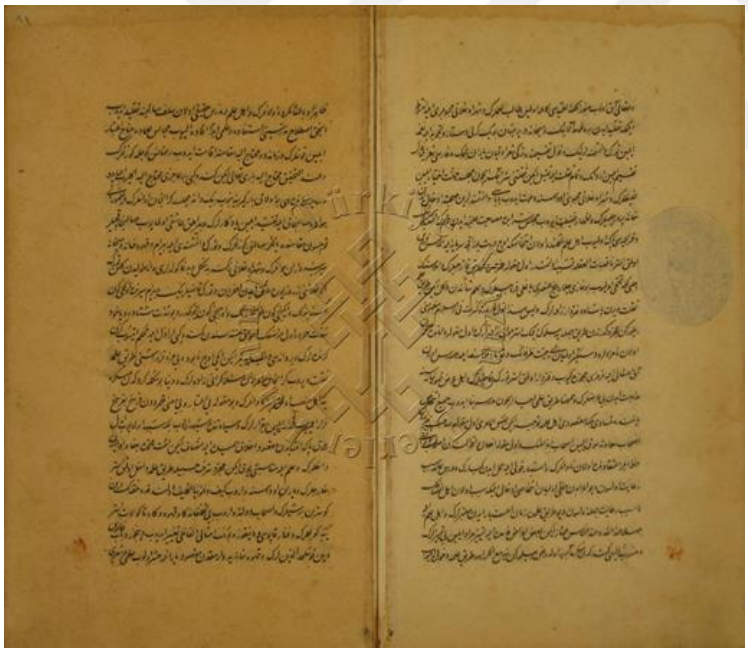


Figure C30. Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP) 4

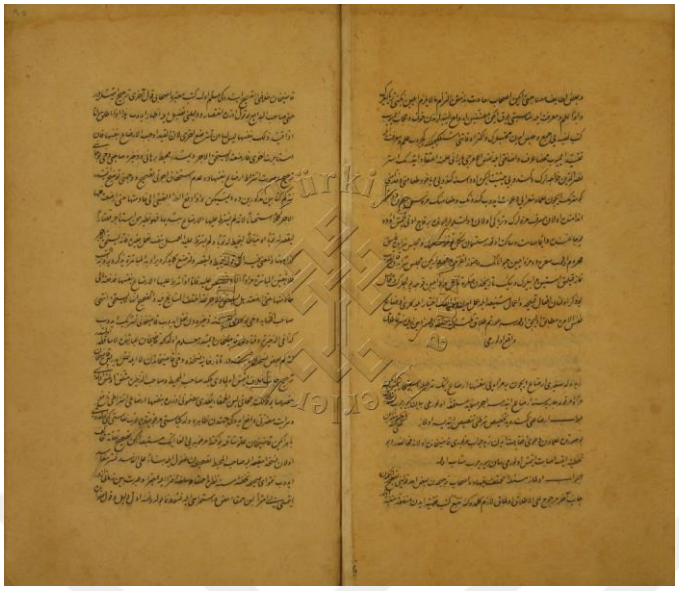


Figure C31. Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (H)



Figure C32. Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (H) 2

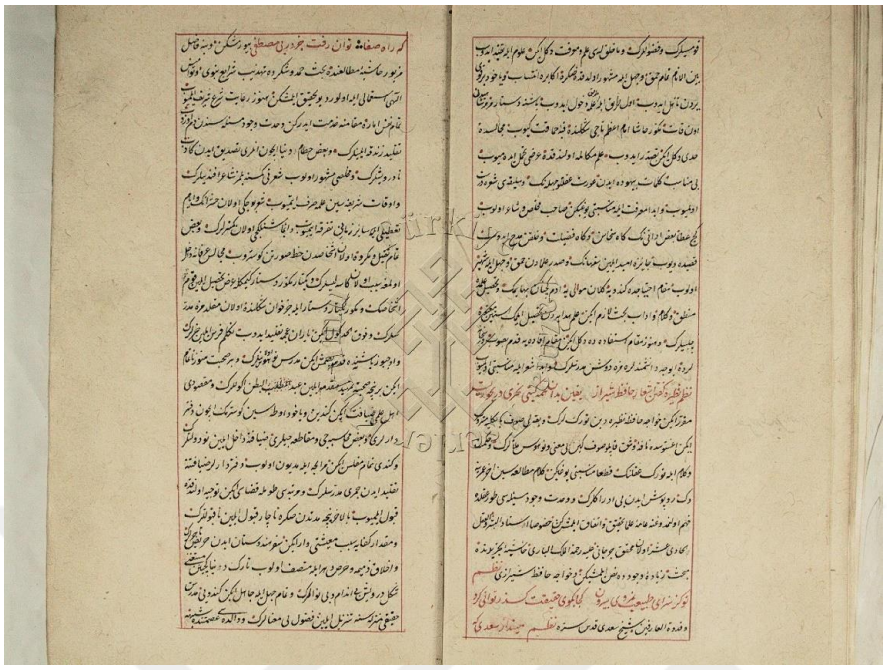


Figure C33. Niksârîzâde – Nefsü'l-emr (H) 3

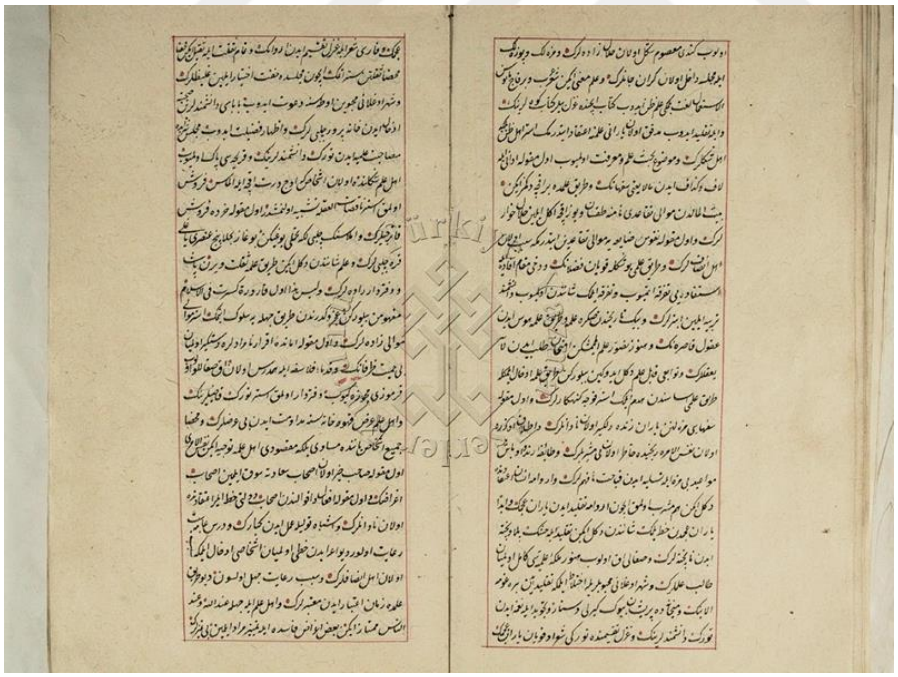
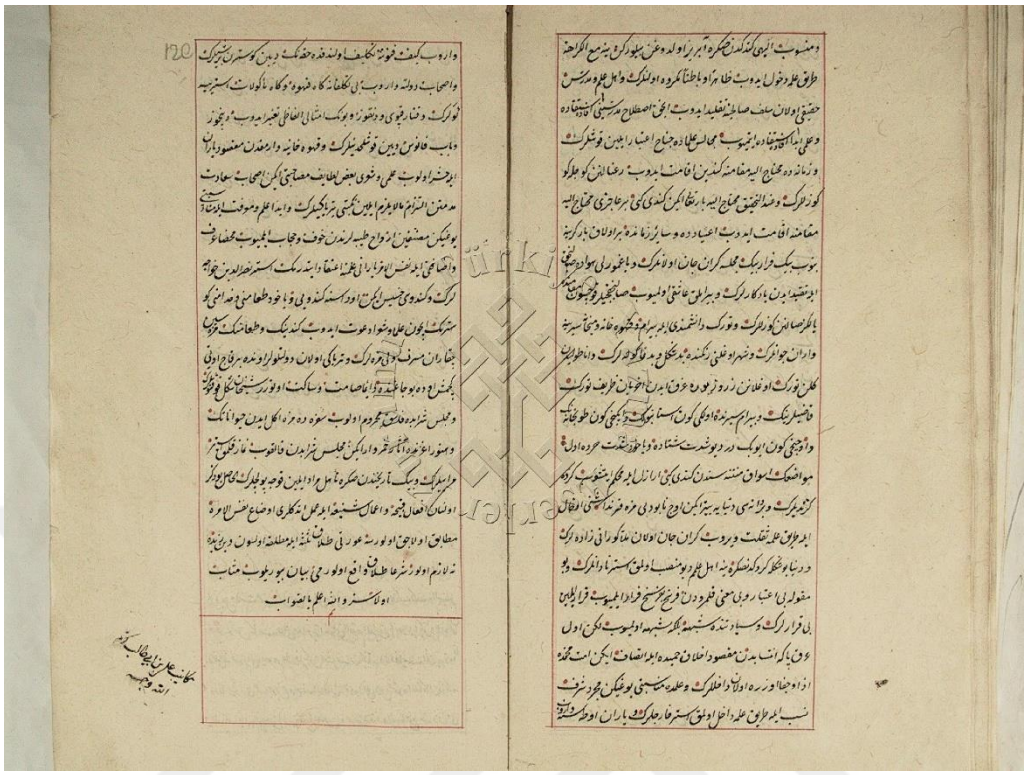


Figure C.34 Niksârîzâde – *Nefsü'l-emr* (H) 4



APPENDIX D

TRANSLATED REFERENCES

1. “Pes imdi sebeb-i te'lif-i risâlet-i 'acîbe ve mûcibe-i tedkîk-i makâle-i garîbe oldur ki halkın sefâhatine nazar edüp ve lağviyyâtını istimâ' eyleyüp elem şiddetin hâtıra edüp herkesi gendi 'aybları ile takdîr eyleyüp erbab-ı zirâfete hayli elem ve ıztırâb verdükleri ecilden bi-ihtiyār lisânıma gelen nâ-şâyeste zuhûra gelüp şütûm-ı mugallaza ile şetm-i azîme başladım.” Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü’l-emr* (YB), 1.
2. “Evvelâ usûlden hâric olub dahî ta’lîm ile mukayyed olmıyan cühelâya hüdâ-yı zu’l-mennândan ve pâdişâh-ı lem-yezelden ricâm budur ki; âb-evşâna vardıkda ol kuyuya düşe, ve kış günleri ‘azîm berde uğraya zifozlara uğraya, ve kasık yerlerinde kan çıbanları çıkara, ve câme-hâbında kırk dâne yılan bula, ve katır depmesine dokuna, ve çârşu içinde atla giderken başından saruğı düşe, ve ‘azîm meclisde bin dâne kavara vâki’ ola, bin dürlü ‘azîm hicâba düşüb hacâletle rüsvây-ı ‘âlem olsun.” Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü’l-emr* (AÖ), 1.
3. “Usulden hâric olup iz’andan bi-haber ve edebden berî olup dahi terbiye ve ta’lim erkanîle mukayyed olmayan cehele dilerim Ol Padişah-ı Lemyezelden ki ‘uşana’ vardıkta ayağı sürçüp ol kuyuya düşüp boynu altında kala, ısıcak günde kabız ve sovuk günde ishale uğraya, yaz günleri sıtmaya, kış güni sancıya uğraya; çıkmaz sokaktan kelb-i 'akur ardın alup eteğin yırtup baldırın bir yanundan bir yanına diş geçüre ve taraçık sokaktan katır çiftesine ve deve

depmesine ve öküz süsmesine uğraya ve kalabalık çarşu içinde giderken yağmurlı havada atının ayağı sürçüp başından sarığı düşüp risvãy, çamurlı yolda giderken kolı zifüre uğraya, Kasığı yerinde ve hayaları yerinde kaz yumurtası gibi kan çıbanları çıkara ve cami‘ saçağı altında yaturken yılan ve çiyan, ‘akrep birle kehleden, pireden gayri tahta biti, sivri sinek şerrine uğraya. Genç iken uyuz sakallanup tonuz ola, kocalıkta puşt ola, bir utanacak yirde boş bulunup bin dane kavara vaki‘ olup hicāba düşe ya'ni rüsvay ‘âlem olup ol meclise bir dahi varaçak yüzi sureti kalmaya.” Develi, *Risale-i Garibe*, 19.

4. “Muhassıl-ı kelâm insân olduğı haysıyyet ile ‘avâyib-i mezkûrdan kâdir olduğı mertebe hazer idüb ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır ve ictinâb gerekdir. Lâ cürmu ‘alâ kadri’t-tâka işbu fasl-ı kitâb-ı müstetâbdan istifâde mahz-ı fâide ol ecilden kaleme getürilüb ketb ü terkîm olundı.” Hacı Ahmed, *Makâle*, 5; “Muhassıl-ı kelâm ve netîce-i merâm insân insân olduğı hasbiyle bu mezkûr ‘avâyibden kâdir olduğı kadarca ictinâb ve perhîz ve ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır, belki ehem ve mühim ve elzemdir. İmdi âdâb-ı hulkı beyân ve hâsıyyetin ‘ayân itmek lâzım geldüği ecilden lâ cürmü ‘alâ kadri’t-tâka bu fasl-ı hitâb müstetâba şürû’ yüzinden böyle ketb ü tahrîr olundı.” Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü’l-emr* (YB), 5; “Muhassıl-ı kelâm ve netîce-i merâm insân insân olduğı hasbiyle bu mezkûr ‘avâyibden kâdir olduğı kadarca ictinâb ve perhîz ve ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır, belki ehem ve mühim ve elzemdir. İmdi âdâb-ı hulkı beyân ve hâsıyyetin ‘ayân itmek lâzım geldüği ecilden lâ cürm ‘alâ kadri’t-tâka bu fasl-ı hitâb müstetâba şürû’ yüzinden böyle ketb ü tahrîr olundı.” Lâmiî Çelebi*, Nefsü’l-emr* (HME), 11; “Muhassıl-ı kelâm ve netîce-i merâm

insân insân olduğı hasbiyle bu mezkûr ‘avâyibden kâdir olduğı kadarca ictinâb ve perhîz ve ihtirâz itmek lâzımdır, belki ehem ve mühim ve elzemdir. İmdi âdâb-ı hulkı beyân ve hâsıyyetin ‘ayân itmek lâzım geldüği ecilden lâ cürmu ‘alâ kadri’t-tâka bu fasl-ı hitâb müstetâba şürû’ yüzinden böyle ketb olundı.” Lâmiî Çelebi, *Nefsü’l-emr* (İÜ), 7.

5. “Günâhından, hatâsından rücû’ etmeyüp tâ’ib ve tâhir olmayanlar; ve ‘Cümlemize dokanmış!’ deyüp hakîkatine nazar etmeyenler; ve bu kadar eşyâyı arayup, cem’ edüp, yazup, okuyup, dinleyüp, bununla kâdir olduğı mertebe etmeyenler; ve bunı okıyup yağrına dokunup, cerb çalup bana borclu olanlar. Temmet fî sene 1132.” Hayati Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 45.
6. “Muhâsıl ‘bu zikr olunan ef’âl-i kabîha ve â’mâl-i şenî’a ile ‘amel iden tavâifin ihtiyâr itdikleri evzâ’-ı nefsü’l-emre mutâbık olacak olursa ‘avretim talâk-ı selâse ile mutallaka olsun’ diyen rinde ne lâzım olur, şer’en talâk vâkî’ olur mı?” Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü’l-emr* (HAP), 6; “[1] “Muhâsıl bu zikr olunan ef’âl-i kabîha ve â’mâl-i şenî’a ile ‘amel itdikleri evzâ’-ı nefsü’l-emre mutâbık olacak olursa ‘avreti talâk-ı selâse ile mutallaka olsun diyen rinde ne lâzım olur- şer’en talâk vâkî’ olur mı? Beyân buyurulub müsâb olasız, Allahu a’lem bi’s-sevâb.” Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü’l-emr* (H), 7.
7. “…ve vahdet-i vücûd mes’elesi tavr-ı aklda fehm olunmadığına ‘âmme-yi ‘ulemâ tahkîk ü ittisâk eylemişken husûsan üstâdü’l-beşer ve’l-’akl-ı hâdî ‘aşer olan muhakkik Cürcânî -‘aleyhi rahmetü’l-melekü’l-bârî- Hâşîyye-yi Tecrîdinde mebhas-ı ziyâde-yi vücûdda nass eylemişiken ve Hâce Hâfız-ı Şirâzî, nazm … ve kudvetü’l-’arifîn Şeyh Sa’dî kuddise sırrahu, nazm … buyurmuşken ve yine fâzıl-ı mezbûr Hâşiyye-yi Matla’ında bahs-i hamd ü

şükrde tehzîb-i şerâi'-i nebevî ve nevâmis-i ilâhi isti'mâli ile olur deyü tahkîk eylemişken henûz ri'âyet-i şer'-i şerîf eylemeyüb tamâm nefs-i emmâre makâmına hizmet iderken vahdet-i vücûd mes'elesinden dem urub taklîd-i zendeka eyleyenlerün ve ba'zı hitâm-ı dünyâ içün anları tasdîk iden kâzib-i nâ-dervişlerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (H), 2-3; "…ve vahdet-i vücûd mes'elesi tavr-ı 'aklda fehm olunmadığına 'âmme-yi 'ulemâ ittifâk eylemişken husûsan üstâdü'l-beşer ve'l-'aklü'l-hâdî 'aşer olan muhakkik Cürcânî 'aleyhi rahmetü'l-bâri Hâşiyye-yi Tecrîdinde mebhas-ı ziyâde-yi vücûdda nass eylemişiken ve Hâce Hâfız-ı Şirâzî … buyurmuş iken ve kudvetü'l-'arifîn Hazret-i Şeyh Sa'dî kuddise sırrahu dahî … buyurmuş iken ve yine fâzıl-ı mezbûr hâşiye-yi metâli'inde bahs-i hamd ü şükrde tehzîb-i zâhir şerâi'-i nebevî ve nevâmis-i ilâhi isti'mâli ile olur deyü tahkîk eylemişken henûz ri'âyet-i şer'-i şerîf eylemeyüb tamâm nefs-i emmâre makâmına hizmet iderken vahdet-i vücûd mes'elesinden dem urub taklîd-i zendeka eyleyenlerün ve ba'z-ı hitâm-ı dünyâ içün anları tasdîk iden kâzib-i nâ-dervişlerin…" Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü'l-emr* (HAP), 2.

8. "…ateş-berest Hindûlar; ve 'Bilürem yel değirmeni, ammâ suyı nereden gelür?' [deyen] Bosna[lı]lar; ve olur olmaz Kazağun boyunun urmayup İslâmbol'a getüren Tatarlar; ve köpek aslı Kalmuklar; ve Müslimân olmayan Uruslar; ve Boğdan'un hâ'ini; ve Ulah'un hırsızı; ve Leh'ün cühûdı; ve Moskov'un nûrsızı; Nemçe'nin harâmzâdesi; Macar'un 'inâdcısı, 'Abaza'nun deli bakçuvânı; Çerkes'ün sikalusı (?); Gürci'nün kürek çekmeğe bilmezi; Cühûd'un hîlebâzı; âdem aldamadukça etmek yimeyüp poh yeyecek îmânsızlar; ve cihar-yâr-ı güzîn rızvânullahi te'âlâ 'aleyhim ecma'în

hazretlerine sebb eden cühûd eşeği Revâfiz Kızıl baş mel'ûnlar." Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 41.

9. "…Süleymân Han nâmenin mefhûmundan âteş-pâre olup bin hemyân mâlı cümle İslambol Yahudîlerine elçi huzûrunda bezl edüp bir habbe kalmadı. Elçiye hitâb edüp buyurdılar kim: 'Rafızî rûz-ı kıyâmet har bûd zîr-i Yahûd.' Böyle olıcak size süvâr olacak Yahûd tâifesi efendilerinize malınız nasîb ola kim, rûz-ı kıyâmette size süvâr oldukta mahmız ü tâziyâne urmayalar. Yohsa sizcileyin târikü's-salât kavim câmi' hayrâtında 'alâkaları ne ola?" Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, 1. Cilt, Bağdad 304, 44b.
10. "…ve hergün beş vakitte âbdest ibriği ile görüşmeyüp sovuk havada soyunup güreş tutan eşekler; ve ok atmağa ta'lîm edemeyüp cirid oynamağa mâ'il olan hoyradlar; ve okumağa mukayyed olmayup da tâvla ve şatranc ve mankala oynayan mel'ûnlar; ve hazret-i Kur'ânı ve Risâleyi ve sâ'ir Tevârih-i Taberî okuymayup Şâhnâme ve Hamzanâme okıyan kezzâblar; ve dünyâsına ve âhiretine fâ'ide olmayan su'âl ve cevâb ile günlerin geçüren ozanlar; ve tenhâ sokaklarda ve câmi' önlerinde aşuk oynayanlar; ve tophânelerde kumâr oynayan Firenkler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 32-3.
11. "…ve düğün etmeğe kalkup iptidâ okuyuculığa 'Avrat Bâzârı'n, Çukur Hammâm'ın ve Hazret-i Eyyûb'un çenârın dört kerre dolanup "Düğüne okuram, seyre ne kadar âdem gelür gider benim de düğünüme ol kadar âdem gelsün!" deyen şeytân masharası, sokak sipürgesi, zıbukçıların okuyucısı…" Devel, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 44.

12. “…ve Ayak Kapusının puştı içün Yeni Kapunın hammâmında bohlu havzına giren cüvânmerg olası mehmelâtlar; Cibâli Kapusında kömüri ısladup taş toprak katanlar…ve Zindân Kapusında dolaşup oropsu kurtaran kürekçiler…ve Balık Bâzârında midye ve istiridye ve engeç ve estakoz yeyen nâ-pâkler…ve Gümrük’te ‘Âh uşaklar, dadılar! Savulun yoldan!’ deyen Kastamonılı sırık hammâlları...ve Cihângîrde dilber sevüp her gün Tophâneye geçüp ol yokuşa tırmaşan ayağı geyinli püzüvenkler…” Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 22-3.
13. “…ve bayrâm seyrinde evvelki gün İstanbul’un ve ikinci gün Tobhâne’nin ve üçüncü gün Eyyûbündür deyü şiddet-i şitâda ve yâhûd şiddet-i harrda, ol mevâzi’in esvâk-ı müntinesinden kendü gibi erâzil ile muhkem itişüb gezen gezendelerin…” Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü’l-emr* (HAP), 5; “…ve bayrâm seyrinde evvelki gün İstanbul’un ve ikinci gün Tobhâne’nin ve üçüncü gün Eyyûbündür deyü şiddet-i şitâda ve yâhûd şiddet-i harrda, ol mevâzi’in esvâk-ı müntinesinden kendü gibi erâzil ile muhkem itişüb gez de gezendilerin…” Niksârîzâde, *Nefsü’l-emr* (H), 6.
14. “…ve çamurlu günde sokakta beygir koşturanlar; ve beygiri çoklık ortasında koyup yuların eline alup dükkân kenarına oturup gelene geçene ıztırâb verenler; ve pabucun ve çizmesin çıkarmadın dükkân kenarına oturup gelüp geçene ayağın çamurın süren bî-ma’nâ gidiler…” Devel, *Risâle-i Garîbe* 39.
15. “…ve bayram güni geyinüp kuşanup meyhâne[ye] varup şarâb içen ve kefereye taklîd eden müşevveşler; ve keferenün küfrî güni kefere ile ‘işret eden dînsizler; ve kefere gördükte Türkçe bilürken kefere lisânı ile söyleşen pelîdler; ve kâfir ile alış veriş iderken: “Cânım!” deyen cânı çıkasılar; ve kâfir

evine varup keferece selâm verenler; ve kâfir gelüp selâm verdükte selâm alanlar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 33.

16. "…ve tırnakların kesmeyen etmekçi kâfirler; ve sinek gözetmeyüp sinekli börek yapan börekçiler; ve bir süde üç vakiyye su katan suya gark olacak südciler…ve hammâmı sovuk ve esbâbı nâ-pâk tutan hammâmcılar…ve kış güni çıblak fakiri külhâna komayan külhâncılar…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 40.
17. "…ve yaz günleri Kâğıdhâne'ye karısıyle ve cariyesiyle bez çırpmağa varan kodoşlar; ve 'avratıyle ve cariyesiyle iskeleye ketân almağa bile gidenler; bir eline çocuğun ve bir eline bohçasın alup hammâm kapusına varan deyyûslar; ve küçük ma'sûmı çarşuya ve câmi'e ve mescide ve ba'zı mesîreye ve seyrâna kucağına alup getüren sefîhler…" Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe*, 24.
18. "…ve hâtunı önine düşürüb seyre giden deyyûslara; ve yol(d)a kassâb ve bakkâl dükkânları önine gelince 'Yâ 'Âişe Kadın! Kaç vakiyye lahm ve nemikdâr pirinç ve yağ alalım?' deyü çârsû yüzinde ve nâmahrem muvâcehelerinde 'avretinin sadâsın illere işitdiren 'ârsız ve gayretsiz pûzevenklere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü'l-emr (HME), 6; "…ve hâtunı önine düşürüb seyre giden deyyûslara, ve yolda kasâb ve bakkâl dükkanları önine gelince "yâ 'âişe kadın! kaç vakıyye lahm ve nemikdâr pirinç ve yağ alalım?" deyü çârsû yüzinde ve nâ-mahrem muvâcehelerinde 'avretinin sadâsın illere işitdiren 'ârsız ve gayretsiz pûzevenklere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü'l-emr (YB), 3; "…ve hâtununı önine düşürüb seyre giden deyyûslara, ve yolda kasâb ve bakkâl dükkanları önine gelince "yâ 'âişe kadın! kaç vakıyye lahm ve ne mikdâr pirinç ve yağ alalım?" deyü çârşû yüzinde ve nâ-mahremler

muvâcehesinde ‘avretinin sadâsın illere işitdiren ‘ârsız ve gayretsiz sâzende kodoşlara…” Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü’l-emr (İÜ), 4.

19. “…ve iki üç ‘avratı nikâhile alup bir evine içine koyup biri sakalın yolup, biri yakasın yırtup ve birisine maşa ile başını yarduran bögüzâdeler…” Develi, *Risâle-Garîbe,* 28.
20. “…ve dâimâ evi tarafından müzâkere eden deyyûslar; “Bizimküler bu gün hammâma gittiler.” deyen Hırvadlar; ve gendünün hammâma gitmesiyle ‘âleme iftihâr edenler; ve ‘avratının ve cariyesinün sesini komşuluğa ve sokağa işi[d]düren[ler]…” Develi, *Risâle-i Garîbe,* 29.
21. “…ve ba’z-ı güveyiğin ‘avreti hınnâ isteyüb tenhâda almak mümkin iken kahvehânede hüddâmına “bre oğlan! Var da filân sipâriş itdiler” diyen bî-’âr sefîhlere, kahvehânede yâ hûd ahbâb yanında oğlanına “bre var, fi’l-hâl evden büyük kîseyi getür, yanımda harclık kalmadı” diyen şaşkınlara, ve kahvehânede zevcesine haftân biçen leke herîflere, ve kûçek oğlancığı alub mescîde ma’ân getüren merkeblere…” Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü’l-emr (İÜ), 5; “…ve ‘avreti hınnâ ısmârlayub tenhâda huddâmına söylemek mümkin iken kahve hânede “bre oğlan! evden hınnâ sipâriş itdiler” diyen bî-’âr sefîhlere, kahvehânede veyâ hûd ahbâb yanında oğlanına “bre var, fi’l-hâl evden büyük kîseyi getür, yanımızda harclık kalmadı” diyen şaşkınlara, ve kahve hânede zevcesine kaftân biçen leke heriflere, ve kûcek oğlancığı olub mescîd-i şerîfe ma’ân götüren merkeblere…” Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü’l-emr (YB), 4; “…ve ‘avreti hınnâ ısmârlayub tenhâda huddâmına söylemek mümkin iken kahve hânede “bre oğlan! evde hınnâ sipâriş itdiler” diyen bî-’âr sefîhlere, kahve hânede yâ hûd ahbâb yanında oğlanına “bre var, fi’l-hâl evden büyük kîseyi

getür, yanımızda harclık kalmadı" diyen şaşkınlara, ve kahve hânede zevcesine kaftân biçen leke herîflere, ve küccük oğlancığı olub mescîd-i şerîfe ma'ân getüren merkeblere…" Lâmiî Çelebi, Nefsü'l-emr (HME), 7-8; "ve ba'z-ı sefih kimesne hâşâ mezkûresine hınnâyı…tenhâda almayub da kahvehânede oğlanına "bre var işte evde filân istemişlerdir" diyen edebsizlere, ve kahve hânede ve yârân mâbeyninde ve hidmetkârına "bre oğlan var evden büyük kîse getür kîsemizde harclık kalmadı" deyü izhârlık iden edebsiz züğürt bî-'ârlara, ve kahvehânede mezkûresine kaftan biçen lekelere, ve kûcek oğlancığı olub da mescide bile götüren merkeblere…" Hacı Ahmed, Makâle, 4.

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