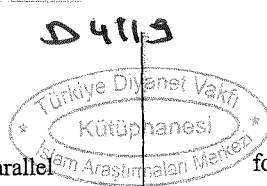


Nir Shafir, "Moral Revolutions: The Politics of Piety in the Ottoman Empire Reimagined," Comparative Studies in Society and History, v. 61, no. 3, 2019, Cambridge, s. 535-623.

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and morality manuals of others.⁶⁵ He even simultaneously initiated a parallel project of *naşihat* for the empire's Christians by appointing his client, Awetik', to the position of Armenian patriarch for the express purpose of instilling "naşihat" to combat the 'heretical beliefs' that Catholic missionaries were spreading among the Armenian and Syriac populations.⁶⁶ His disciplinary project was the culmination of a century of discourse around morality that emphasized the need for all of the empire's subjects to be responsible moral actors who reflected on their individual actions. Ensuring the moral certitude of the empire, both among Muslims and non-Muslims, was seen to be the only way to restore its grandeur and legitimize the sultan as the personal champion of the sharia. And yet, it is important to remember that this overambitious project failed and may have been one reason for the extreme animus he faced at the hands of the people. Perhaps his true sin was in going so far as to sideline even the sultan and make the office of *şeyhülislam* the primary upholder of the empire's morality. Or perhaps it was his vision of *naşihat* that the empire's subjects were simply unwilling to accept.

NABİ'S NAŞİHAT

If Feyzullah Efendi attempted to inculcate his *naşihat* through a campaign of mass education, then the poet Nābī (1642–1712) whispered his *naşihat* into his listeners' ears as they lay alone reading his books. It provides a radical political vision, but one tied to a private moral transformation. His popular verse book of *naşihat*, which often went simply by the name of *naşihatnâme* but was formally titled *Hayriyye*, was one of the most popular works of Ottoman Turkish literature ever written and its overwhelming approval ensured Nābī's immense stature in the following centuries.⁶⁷ Rare is the manuscript library that does not carry multiple copies of the *Hayriyye* today, with copy dates

⁶⁵ Terzioğlu, "İlm-i Hal," 99.

⁶⁶ Many thanks to Cesare Santus for sharing his forthcoming article, "The Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi and the Armenian Patriarch Awetik: A Case of Entangled Confessionalization?," in Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu, eds., *Entangled Confessionalizations? Dialogic Perspectives on Community and Confession-Building Initiatives in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, forthcoming in 2020). The text of the order is in Ensar Köse, "Bir Hayalin Peşinde Yüz Yıl," *Tarih Dergisi* 63, 1 (2016): 41–88; the original order is in BOA, D.PSK, 2/48, but it seems that a line is missing from when the order was copied by the scribe, making it somewhat difficult to understand.

⁶⁷ Meseret Dirîöz, *Eserlerine Göre Nâbî* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı, 1994), 136. I have used the semi-critical edition prepared by Mahmut Kaplan, given that the most commonly available version of Iskender Pala is transcribed from the nineteenth-century printed version and thus it is about twenty couplets short. Nābī, *Hayriyye-i Nâbî (İnceleme-Metin)*; Mahmut Kaplan, ed. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2008); Nābī and Iskender Pala, *Hayriyye*. This work became canonical to the point that it elicited famous responses such as the *Lutfiyye* of Sünbülzâde Vehbî.

for its 1660 couplets ranging from shortly after it was written to the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

Nābī wrote the *Hayriyye* around 1701, the year before Feyzullah embarked on his campaign of *naşihat* qua mass education. At the time Nābī was fifty-seven and his son, to whom he dedicated the manual, was seven.⁶⁹ Like Feyzullah. Nābī was a provincial boy who made good in the capital, coming from the Arabic and Turkish-speaking town of Ruha (today's Urfa) to become a successful poet and *kâtib* (secretary) in Istanbul and Edirne, where he had attached himself to the households of various grandees. The death of his chief patron, Muşâhib Mustafa Pasha, in 1686 propelled him to find employment as a secretary in the imperial chancellery of Mehmed IV, but his success was short-lived since he lost the job following the deposition of the sultan in 1688.⁷⁰ Like Feyzullah, whom he personally knew,⁷¹ he was unable to gain a foothold in the new political milieu and was forced to leave Istanbul and work as a tax collector in Aleppo.⁷²

While we might view this move as a simple loss of position, and it might well have been, Nābī cast it as an act of self-made exile that allowed him to push a radical critique of society and state. He describes his transition to Aleppo by saying, "No longer preoccupied with estate | I've fallen into the corner of solitude."⁷³ This "corner of solitude (*kânc-i 'uzlet*)," though, had a second meaning of a "treasure (*genc*) of solitude," a sentiment he repeats to his son later on: "Don't leave the house, for that is paradise | in the corner of the house is the treasure of solitude."⁷⁴ It was a common enough act in his time. 'Uzlet, or withdrawal, was frequently used by intellectuals to present a deep critique of a society. Nābī would have known of Niyâz-i Mişrî, who for much of the 1680s purposefully stayed in self-imposed exile on Limni Island as he publicly circulated a private diary that decried the legitimacy of the dynasty and issued prophetic and messianic claims, and of 'Abd al-Ghanî al-Nābuluṣî, who retreated into his house in Damascus only a few years before Nābī in purposeful rejection of the corrupt society and government of his time.⁷⁵ All of these men, including Nābī, emerged from their exile with

⁶⁸ The mass popularity of the *Hayriyye* differentiates it from similar but earlier works like Mustafa Ali's cantankerous poem, scribbled on the edge of a manuscript. Andreas Tietze, "The Poet as Critique of Society, a 16-Century Ottoman Poem," *Turcica* 9 (1977): 120–26, 145–60.

⁶⁹ He was born in 1642, so arithmetic suggests the actual date of composition was 1699, or 1697 if one counts in *hijri* years, though the Kaplan has provided the date of 1701.

⁷⁰ This convoluted history of patronage is reconstructed in Dirîöz, *Eserlerine Göre Nâbî*, 58–84.

⁷¹ See the letters and *kaşides* that Nābī sent to Feyzullah, in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. Turc MS 378, ff. 184ab, 257b–58a.

⁷² BOA. AE.SMMD.IV 23.2592; IE.ML. 31.2991. By 1695, he seems to have actually been promoted to the *defterdâr* of Şâm province: IE.EV. 31.3565.

⁷³ Nābī, *Hayriyye*, 180.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 225.

⁷⁵ See the aforementioned morality manual of Ibn Ma'n, *al-Tamyiz*, 270–79. After being pardoned from his exile, Niyâz-i Mişrî chose to stay on Lemnos Island for another fourteen years.