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THE GÜL-İ ŞAD-BERG OF MESİHİ

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The only biographer to name a prose work by the Ottoman poet Mesîhî is Laṭîfî. Writing in 953/1546, less than thirty years after the poet's death¹, he gives this circumstantial description:² 'There is also [a collection of] one hundred copies of letters of his, entitled *Gül-i şad-berg* [«The rose with a hundred petals»], written in clear phraseology, after the style of the *Gülşen-i inşâ*. It is highly esteemed by prose-writers and epistolographers. He has set down there the rules for the science of prose-composition (*ḳavânîn-i 'ilm-i inşâ*) and the regulations for the proper style of orthography (*imlâ*). He has expounded the types and kinds of ordinary prose and of rhyming and non-rhyming prose, including also styles of address and terms (*elḳâb u elfâz*) appropriate to each person's station'.

1 According to 'Âşık Çelebi (*Meşâ'ir 'üş-şu'arâ*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London (GMS, n.s. xxiv) 1971, 123a), Mesîhî died on 16 Cumâdâ I 918/30 July 1512, and this date is generally accepted (indeed the year 918 appears in the title of the early MS Ç described below), but it cannot be correct, on the evidence of letters included in the *Gül-i şad-berg* (see below) and of others in the British Library MS Or. 11194, which I described in 'An Ottoman manual of provincial correspondence,' in *WZKM*, 68, 1976, pp. 31-45. This text (to which I shall have occasion to refer as 'the Manual') was not compiled before 1532. It is in four distinct sections, which I designated A - D : A is unconnected with Mesîhî; B contains four letters, B 3 being from Mesîhî to his friend Sûzenî and B 4 being Sûzenî's reply; C contains 27 letters all presumptively composed by Mesîhî in his official capacity as secretary (see n. 15) : and D includes many letters which appear to have come into his hands in the course of his duties. For Mesîhî, see E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, ii, 226-56; *EI*¹, s.v. (Th. Menzel); *İA*, s.v. (Abdülkadir Karahan); and *EI*² (Menzel-Ambros). His *Dîvân* has been edited, as an Edinburgh PhD thesis (1970), by Mine Özoğul.

2 *İkdâm* ed., 1314, p. 310.

In spite of the popularity which, according to Laṭifî, the collection enjoyed, manuscripts seem to be rare³. I know of four, which present two recensions:

E = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 3351

Ç = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Çorum 2237

S = Sarajevo, Gazi-Husrevbegova Biblioteka, 4885

P = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 159.

E contains three works, the second of which (ff. 7v-27v, 21 lines to the page) is a nearly complete text of the *Gül-i şad-berg*, copied in the characteristic neat *ta'liq* hand of Es'ad Efendi himself, with numerous lexical glosses in the margins⁴. It contains 82 letters of various types, none very long, and not arranged in any systematic order, whether by genre or by addressee or by chronology. I refer to them as 1 - 82. The text is incomplete: fol. 27v ends with the first two lines only of 82 and a catch-word. The evidence of Ç and S suggests that only two leaves are lost.

Ç, written in a clear but rather clumsy *nesih* hand, with 19 lines to the page, is fragmentary. Fol. lv, torn at the bottom, contains, after the heading *Bî'smillâhi 'l-rahmâni 'l-rahîm. Gül-i şad-berg-i Mevlânâ Mesîhî, vefâtı sene 918*, most of the text of 1. Fol. 2 (a modern supply?) is blank; ff. 3-6 contain the end of 4, 5-12 complete, and the start of 13; f. 7 is blank; ff. 8 - 18 contain the end of 16, 17-56, and the start of 57; f. 19 is blank; ff. 20-25 contain the end of 68, 69-82, and one further letter, headed *Tevakkû'ı 'ulûfe içün*, which I number 83. After a new heading (f. 25r): *Âsitâne-i sa'âdete 'arızlar*

³ Th. Menzel's copy (mentioned in *EI*¹) was presumably destroyed, with his other manuscripts, towards the end of the Second World War. Bursalı Mehmed Tahîr's reference (*OM*, ii, 410) to a manuscript in the Nuruosmaniye Library and A. Karahan's citation (*İA*, col. 126a) of MS Selim Ağa, Hüdaî Ef. mecmua 57, appear to be erroneous, as I am informed by Mr J. R. Walsh, who on this point, and on many others, has generously allowed me to draw on his expertise.

⁴ For the scholar, bibliophile and official historiographer Es'ad Efendi (1789-1848), see M. Münir Aktepe's article in *İA*, s.v., and (abridged) in *EI*².

yazdıkdā bu sernāmelerle yazıla, 'When one writes submissions to the Threshold of Felicity they should be written with these superscriptions', come 14 variations on the theme of prostration at the *dergāh*/*'atebe/südde*. A macaronic colophon follows: *Temmet Gül-i şad-berg-i Mevlānā Mesihī ber dest-i kaşirü 'l-beyān 'Alī bin 'Oşmān el-şehīr bi'l-Mu'ammāyi fi beldeti Karatova sene 942*. This early manuscript was therefore written in 1535-6 A.D. at Kratovo, some 60 kms east of Skopje (and not much further from Mesihī's native Priština). The copyist is known: he is a minor poet whom 'Aşık Çelebi thought deserving of a two-page notice⁵. After this colophon there appears on f. 26r-v a further letter, in the same hand, headed '*Azā-nāme-i belīg*, which I number 84 (it appears in the other recension, MS P, as P 63).

S contains 101 ff. with 15 lines to the page, written in a clear calligraphic *nesh*⁶. After the title, *Gül-i şad-berg-i Mevlānā Mesihī*, come the 83 letters of EÇ, but with one gap: at line 7 of f. 5r the text jumps, in mid-sentence, from a point near the end of no. 6 to a point near the beginning of no. 10: evidently the copyist was working from a text that lacked (?) two leaves. After a heading similar to that in Ç come the 'superscriptions', with one extra example, then the '*azā-nāme* ('84'), and then (at f. 45r) a colophon in Arabic: it was completed by a certain Muḥammad in Rebī' I 954 (April-May 1547). The content of the remaining pages presents a problem, but this is best considered later.

If the extra material in S is ignored, these three MSS stand closely together, presenting a text which had originally 84 common items, most of them complete letters 'signed' by Mesihī, in the same order and with no duplication, plus 15 (so S) superscriptions for sub-

5 124b-125b, and cf. Laṭīfī, p. 312. He was born at Tire (in Western Anatolia) but migrated to Salonica and travelled widely, especially in the frontier regions of Rūmeli. A short treatise of his on enigmas (*mu'ammā*) is described by Barbara Flemming, in *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, xiii/1, Wiesbaden 1968, no. 418. See also Hanna Sohrweide, 'Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten...', in *Der Islam*, 46, 1970, pp. 263-302, at p. 297.

6 The MS was noted by Professor E. Birnbaum in one of his important articles on the cataloguing of Turkish manuscripts: *JAOS*, 103, 1983, p. 519. I am most grateful to the Director of the library, Dr M. Omerdić, for sending me xerox copies of the text.

missions to the Porte, to give a total near enough to the 'hundred' promised in the title. Several letters have explanatory headings, in Turkish or in Persian; since these have much the same wording in the three MSS, they are to be ascribed to the author. There is no preface, introduction or explicit dedication, but the first item is a highly elaborate letter of congratulation to Sultan Selim upon his conquest of Egypt.

P, which is complete, consists of 72 ff., with 15 lines to the page. It is written in a fine calligraphic *nesh*, lavishly vocalized to f. 37v, but presenting on the whole a poor text; moreover, from about f. 20 onwards the text is progressively blurred by damp, so that many passages are illegible⁷. It differs considerably, in both content and arrangement, from the common text (as reconstructed) of EÇS. There is no colophon; the headings are brief and uninformative; and the *arz*-superscriptions are lacking. It contains 92 items, but four of these are repetitions⁸. Nos. 64 and 51 of EÇS, there incomplete, are presented in a continuous text as P 76; with this counted as a single text, there are 70 items common to the two recensions. The 13 letters found in EÇS but lacking in P appear mostly near the beginning⁹, and the 18 found in P but lacking in EÇS appear mostly near the end¹⁰. The Selim letter which introduces EÇS is lacking in P, whose first item is a letter of congratulation to an unnamed Grand Vizier¹¹ upon his appointment (this letter appearing as no. 12 in the EÇS recension).

There are only two links with the British Library's 'Manual of provincial correspondence',¹² several letters in which are explicitly

7 The MS is mentioned at p. 46 of 'Les sources de l'histoire ottomane en France' (*Studi Preottomani e Ottomani*, Naples 1976, pp. 31-57) by J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, who most kindly assisted me to obtain a microfilm. Among various notes in the margins are some entries, in Arabic script but a European hand, stemming from the manuscript's use as a text-book by Jeunes de Langues. A note in Arabic on f. 72v recording a death in 1047/1638 gives a terminus for the date of copying. The signature 'André d'Abenour' (whom I cannot identify) appears on ff. 1v, 72r and 72v.

8 P 67, 88, 91, 92 repeat P 8, 60, 43, 37 (= EÇS 70, 65, 24, 30) respectively.

9 Namely EÇS 1-4, 6-11, 57-58, 66.

10 P 2-3, 7, 35, 50, 56, 62, 74, 79-85, 87, 89-90.

11 Certainly a Grand Vizier, for he is addressed as *ṣāhibū 'l-ṣadrī 'l-cedīdī 'l-refī'i 'l-Asafī fi'l-mülki 'l-osmāni*.

ascribed to Mesîhî: Mesîhî's letter of thanks to a young teacher for a gift of fruit, the last item in what I have called Section C of the 'Manual', appears in the *Gül-i şad-berg* as EÇS 70 (in a truncated text)/P 8 (full text) and (repeated) 67; and Mesîhî's letter from Bosnia to his friend Süzenî in Istanbul, the third letter in the Manual's Section B, appears as P 35 (but is lacking in EÇS).

The letters in the *Gül-i şad-berg* are of a wide variety of types. Many are merely flowery letters of compliment, usually headed *maḥabbet-nāme*, and others are equally conventional congratulations, condolences, invitations and replies to invitations. Although most of the letters are 'signed' by Mesîhî¹³, some at least of these, though no doubt composed by him, were (from internal evidence) drafted either as a personal favour for dispatch by his friends¹⁴ or officially on behalf of the superiors whom he served as *divān kâtibi*¹⁵. Several are letters of recommendation (*şefakat-nāme*) carried by aspirants for posts, two of them —recommendations for sons of timariots—¹⁶ reflecting Mesîhî's career in Bosnia. Only two or three of the 'official' letters approach in interest those in the Manual. Four short letters on literary matters illustrate Mesîhî's poetical activity, and these (exceptionally) are grouped together in EÇS as 37 - 40 (but dispersed in P, as 30, 29, 12, 13). In general, it is not possible to detect any consistent ordering of the contents according to genre, whether in the EÇS recension or in the re-shuffled arrangement of P: a few links show that the sequence is not entirely random¹⁷, but that is the most that can be said —except as regards the first letter in each recension: it cannot be an accident that EÇS opens with a letter to the Sultan and P with one to a newly-appointed Grand Vizier (P naturally lacks the letter to the Sultan, for that could not be relegated to an inferior place). Although there is no explicit

12 Described in the article cited in n. 1.

13 EÇS 18 is signed 'Lāmi'î' (but the equivalent P 61 has 'Mesîhî').

14 57, for example, is a letter from a *müderris*, as is 78/P 22.

15 Mesîhî was in the service successively of the Grand Vizier Hādîm 'Alî Pasha (who was killed in July 1511); of Fîrûz Beg, Sanjakbey of Bosnia (d. June 1512); and of Yünus Pasha, Sanjakbey of Bosnia (with an intermission) from December 1512 to October 1515 (see *WZKM*, 68, pp. 35-38).

16 21/P 53, 44/P 26.

17 Thus 23-25 = P 42-44 and 43-45 = P 28, 26-27.

tone of dedication or hint of reward, we may be fairly sure that the separate recensions were made for presentation to the addressees of the first letter in each.

Not one letter has a date, and three apparently promising pointers to a *terminus ante quem non* for the year(s) of compilation of the two recensions seem to lead nowhere: 11 (not in P) is a letter of congratulation on the occasion of the *sünnet* of a son of Prince Süleymân —but the son is not named;¹⁸ 17/P 58 is the reply to a letter from a Pasha giving news of the death of 'Haydar, the former *beg* of Trablus'— whom I cannot identify; and P 7 (not in EÇS) is a recommendation on behalf of a *çavuş* of Van who had raised workmen for the repair of the fortress of Erciş— an operation for which I can find no record. In all three cases, of course, one must reckon with the possibility that these are model-letters for fictitious circumstances; but since a model-letter must be plausible, these three are relatively late: the first would not be composed before Süleymân (b. 900/1494) had a young son¹⁹, nor the second before Tripoli was in fact constituted an Ottoman sanjak²⁰. The third (published below), with its circumstantial detail, has the ring of authenticity as reflecting the consolidation of Eastern Anatolia some time after the defeat of Shâh Ismâ'îl in 1514.

There is, however, a valuable point of reference in 29/P 36, a letter from Mesîhî thanking his correspondent for news of the activities of the Kızılbaş and of Selîm's defeat of the Mamluks. This, probably alluding to the battle of Marj Dâbiğ (August 1516), indicates that Mesîhî did not take part, in any capacity, in the Egyptian campaign, which occupied the period June 1516 to July 1518, whence it follows that the EÇS recension cannot have been presented to the Sultan before his return to Istanbul. It remains to iden-

18 The heading in E and Ç is *Tehniye-i sür-i sülâle-i şehzâde-i Suljân Süleymân-şâh* (with a clear *hemze* for the *izâfet* of *şehzâde-i*). S reads ...*şehzâde Suljân Selîm* — but this is impossible: the letter refers to only one prince, whereas Selim and two brothers shared a joint ceremony, in 936/1530.

19 His first son Murâd was born in 919/1513.

20 The first sanjakbey of Tripoli, Muşafâ b. İskender Pasha, was appointed shortly after Selim's arrival in Damascus in September 1516 (Sa'deddin, ii, 342; Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 481).

tify the Grand Vizier whom Mesîhî congratulates on his appointment in 12/P 1 and whose patronage we may presume him to have been seeking in compiling the P recension. Since this recension contains the 'Marj Dâbiğ' letter, he can only be Pîrî Pasha²¹: having been left in charge at Istanbul as third vizier, he was, after the execution of Yûnus Pasha, summoned to meet the Sultan at Damascus, where he was appointed to the Grand Vizierate in January 1518. But whereas Selîm returned to Istanbul that summer, Pîrî Pasha was deputed to conduct a demonstration in strength down the Euphrates in order to cover the main army's withdrawal and returned to Edirne only in December 1518 or January 1519, five or six months after Selîm²². It would appear then that both recensions were made at about the same time, not before 1519, EÇS for presentation to the Sultan and P for presentation to the recently returned Pîrî Pasha²³. Both collections, we may be sure, were assembled by Mesîhî himself, for it is impossible to account for the very variant order of EÇS and P except on the hypothesis that each was put together, hastily and carelessly, from a sheaf of separate papers.

It remains to describe the miscellany of texts in the appendix of S.

Immediately after the colophon, f. 45r is completed by a formula for letters '*kâdîlerden beglere*'. There follow: two complete '*arz*'-letters seeking employment (45v-46v); a dozen *sernâmes* for letters between various correspondents, beginning '*sulehâya sernâmeyi böyle yazalar*' and ending with the *elkâb*, as in a firman, of 'Muştafâ Paşa' and the *kâdis* of Saray and Brod (46v-47r); four complete letters (47r-50r); a series of formulae for the ten conventional sections of a letter, with only the first three headings —*sernâ-*

21 Sinân Pasha, already Grand Vizier at the time of the battle of Marj Dâbiğ, is excluded; so presumably is his successor Yûnus, Mesîhî's former superior in Bosnia, who held office from February 1517 until his execution in September, in view of the lack of any mention of 'past services' and the improbability that an aspirant for favour would press his claims at such a distance.

22 Haydar Çelebi, in *Ferîdûn*², i, 495, 498; 499; Sa'deddîn, ii, 377, 380, 381, 383.

23 Pîrî, it so happens, is the only statesman named in the *Gül-i şad-berg*: in 2 (lacking in P) an applicant for employment is said to have a *şefakat-nâme* from him, and in 37/P 30 Mesîhî speaks of reciting a *kaşide* before him.

me-i mekātīb (53 examples!), ‘*arzu ’l-iṣṭiyāk, der irsāl-i du’ā*— filled in (50r-62v); 49 examples for ‘letters of recommendation’ (*ṣefakat-nāme*), partial or complete, varying in length from two to 24 lines (62v-71v); and 64 formularies on the themes of *iṣṭiyāk, temennī-yi mülākāt* and *selām* (71v-79v). Next come seven letters or fragments of letters (79v-82v), the first of which, complete, from a dignitary to a dignitary, reports the death on 9th Şevvāl [926] of Sultan Selim and the accession on the 17th of Süleymān: ‘thanks to you, no-one has come to harm’; ‘I can witness that the late Sultan loved you much, and this one loves you even more; so redouble your zeal to guard *ol cevānib*; I, your good friend, will perform whatever you wish’. After a blank space for a heading, there follows the genre *fethnāme* (83r-89v), with one complete text, dated I Muḥarrem 923, for the conquest of Egypt; a text beginning abruptly and with the names and dates dropped but otherwise following verbatim Ferīdūn², i, 338 (from line 19), i.e. Ca’fer Çelebi’s composition for the taking of Modon and Koron in 906/1500²⁴; and two short fragments. Finally come eight letters. The first two, signed Mesīhī, are requests for employment, followed by: the two ‘pilgrimage’ letters found in the Manual as B 1 and B 2; a flowery letter of greetings; a love-letter found in the Manual as C 26 and there signed Mesīhī; and finally the Manual’s B 3 and B 4, Mesīhī’s letter to Süzenī and Süzenī’s reply. There is no final colophon.

Arguments could be found that this appendix is a substantive section of the *Gül-i şad-berg* — the signatures of the final letters and the general ‘Rumelian’ and more specifically ‘Bosnian’ accent in its specimen texts²⁵; and since the date of Mesīhī’s death is unknown it is not excluded that the letter on Süleymān’s accession

24 The attribution is established by İsmail E. Erünsal, *The life and works of Tâci-zâde Ca’fer Çelebi...*, Istanbul 1983, p. lxxvii.

25 Thus the Muştafā Pasha coupled with the kâdis of Saray and Brod is most probably the sanjakbey of Bosnia appointed in 1515 (Č. Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici...*, Sarajevo 1911, p. 209). In the *ṣefakat-nāme* series (f. 62v-), a certain Seyyid ‘Alī is recommended as *seyh* of a *zāviye* because his counsel will benefit the *gāzis* (no. 13); a *halife* of Şeyh Buḥārī wishes to complete a *mescid* and a *hānkāh* with *gāzā māh* (no. 16); one of the *gāzis* of a *havāle* situated over against a Hungarian fortress had originally been *öte yakalu* but had been inspired to embrace Islam (no. 17).

might have come to his notice. On the other hand, the position of the colophons in Ç and S and the content of the complete MS P indicate rather that the appendix's random collection of formularies and letters was assembled, perhaps by the copyist of S himself, as a useful supplement to Mesîhî's basic text.

Thus neither recension represents the type of text we should expect from Laṭîfî's description. The *Gülşen-i inşâ*, scil. of Maḥmūd b. Edhem, with which he compares Mesîhî's work, is (to judge from published descriptions²⁶) a carefully composed textbook, beginning with rules and formulae for the various preliminaries — *elkâb*, *du'â*, *teblig-i selâm*, etc. — and grouping the various types of letter, whereas in the *Gül-i şad-berg* there is no exposition of rules and the arrangement is haphazard: one is forced to conclude that in spite of his laudatory words Laṭîfî had not seen the work and was guessing at its character.

All the same, the diverse contents contribute relatively early material for the study of Ottoman epistolary style; and furthermore the fourteen specimens here following provide some insight into the official and literary life of the time: 42 and 6 seem to belong to Mesîhî's period as secretary to Ḥādîm 'Alî Pasha, and 62 and 82 to his years in Bosnia; 21 and 45 represent the genre *şefakat-nâme*, whose predominance both here and in the Manual demonstrates the influence of patronage in all fields of professional life, while the hazards of office are illustrated by model-letters both for the denunciation of a rival (26) and (as its heading reveals) for preempting a denunciation (35). To the four 'literary' letters (37-40) I append the attractive letter to Sūzenî, the bantering tone of which echoes the spirit both of Mesîhî's *divân* and of the circle of poets that congregated around Zâtî²⁷.

Reducing variants to the minimum (they are anyway few within the group EÇS), I follow in general the convincing text of

26 Of the Vienna MS (owned by Hammer, cf. *GOR*, ix, p. 247, no. 162): Flügel, i, pp. 242-3; of the Paris MS: Blochet, i, p. 213; and of a Bursa MS: Muharrem Ergin, in *TDED*, iv/1-2, 1950, pp. 118-9.

27 See for example M. Çavuşoğlu, 'Zâtî'nin letâyifî', in *TDED*, xviii, 1970, pp. 1-27, and Günay Kut, 'Gazâlî'nin Mekke'den İstanbul'a yolladığı mektup...', in *TDAY. Belleten* 1973-74, pp. 223-52.

S. With his predilection for recondite words, Mesîhî has frequently baffled the copyist of P (whose numerous misspellings and simplifications I ignore) and on occasions also me, driving me to the recourse of (?).

[42/P 45. *A spy of the Kızılbaş, caught while crossing from Istanbul, is sent under escort to the Porte*].

(Der irsâl kerden-i cäsüs-ı girifte)

Be-cenâb-ı dergâh-ı âşyân-ı devlet ve bârgâh-ı säyebân-ı rif'at ve âftâb-ı sübhânî-yi salţanat ve mâhtâb-ı zemîn-i ma'delet —maşşüd-ı Hâlik-ı kâyinât ve mevdüd-ı^a Râzîku'l-arz ve'l-semevâtdur— ol südde-i münîf ve 'atebe-i nazîfe 'arz-ı bende-i bî-vücüd budur ki:

Dâr-ı Koştantünîyenüñ iskelesinüñ ma'berinden bir cäsüs-ı haberçîn 'ubür, Sürh-ser-i pür-kîn ü kemterine sa'y-ı bî-fütür édüp giderken dutlub Ebnâ'-ı Sipâhîyân-ı Dergâh-ı Penâh-i cihândan Sinân Beg ile gönderdik.

Bâkî fermân dergâh-ı mu'allânüñdur.

az'afu'l-'ibâd

Mesîhî-yi bende-nihâd

a So E; ÇSP vücüd

[6/P -. *A petition from treasury officials reminding the Defterdâr that the annual gift customarily made to them is overdue*²⁸].

(Defterdârdan küttâb idrâr ve sâliyâne-i sultânî taleb étmekdedür)

Hâkipây-ı kîmyâ-mişâle ki tütyâ-yı 'uyün-ı erbâb-ı kalem ve kühl-i ebsâr-ı aşhâb-ı rakamdur mestür^a olmiya ki:

Bundan esbak ezmine-i mâziye ve âvâne-i hâliyeden küttâb bendelerünüñ ki min kadîmî'l-zamân ilâ hâzâ'l-ân devlet-h'âh-ı bî-iştibâh-

28 The staff of the Defterdâr is studied by J. Matuz, in *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymâns des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden 1974, pp. 57-63. Two donatives made to the Kâtibân-ı Hızâne-i 'Âmire (eleven in number) in the year 909/1503-4 (on 6 Rebi' I and 21 Ramazân) are recorded in Ö. L. Barkan, 'İstanbul saraylarına ait muhasebe defterleri' (= *Belgeler*, ix/13, 1979) at pp. 307-8 and 351-2.

laruñuzdur 'avârif-i sulţāniye ve 'avārif-i hākāniyeden sāl be sāl in'ām u ihsān olunan şemme-i 'ināyet ü zerre-i bī-gāyet şimdiki-hālde zamānı erişüb belki bī-ḥasbī'l-'āde mütecāviz olduğuna 'ilm-i şerifiñüz daḥı muḥit olub ve anda ḥākipāy-ı sa'ādet-āyātıñuza mübāşeret ü mülāzemet-i ḥidmet éden du'ā-güylaruñuza daḥı işāl olunmayub ḥāli-yā cenāb-ı cennet-me'ābdan tevaḥku' u tazarru' olunur ki bu zāviye-i zücret ve peygüle-i hicretde rüz u şeb du'ā-güyuñuz olan bendelere daḥı ihsān olunması bābında elţāf-ı şāmil-i kaffe-i benī Ādem ve a'tāf-ı vāşil-i 'amme-i 'ālem dirîg buyurulmayub himmet ü 'ināyet olma.

Bāki sürādikāt-ı 'izzet ü ḥaşmet ve serāperde-i devlet ü rif'at müstahkem bād, bi'l-nebī illezi hüve raḥmetü'l-'ibād.

bende-i devlet-ḥ'āh

Mesīḥi-yi 'abd-i bī-iştibāh

a So E; ÇS fütür

[P 7/EÇŞ -. The bearer Sinān, a çavuş of Van (formerly?) in the service of (Ḥādīm?) 'Alī Pasha, has rendered good service in impressing labourers for the repair of the fortress of Erciş and deserves promotion].

('Arz-ı ḥāl)

Dergāh-ı felek-medār ve bārgāh-ı gerdün-iḳtidār türābına 'arz-ı bende-i bī-miḳdār ve zerre-i ḥāksār budur ki :

Van çavuşlarından yevmī on iki akçe 'ulūfeye mutaşarrıf olan rāfi'-i ruḳ'a-ı rıḳḳiyet Sinān Çavuş, 'Alī Pāşā kullarından, ḥāliyā ta'mir olunan ḳal'a-ı Erciş ḥidmetine gelüp kireç seng ve odun getürmesine ırḡad iḥrācına istiḥdām olunub ordu-yı ḥümāyün-i pādişāhīde^a bezl-i maḳdūr ve sa'y-ı mevfüz zuhūra getürüb her vechle yarar maḥall-i himmet ü 'ināyet ve sezāvār-ı ri'āyet ve şecā'at-şī'ār bendelerinden olmaḡın, dirlicigi²⁹ şey-i ḳālil olub vech-i ma'işetine vefā édemeyüb 'uluvv-ı himmet-i şadaḳāt-ı pādişāhīden zerre-i 'ināyet ricā étmegin vāki' olan ḥidmeti ve sa'yı ve emegi muḳābelesinde serḥadd-ı Van'da yazılı gedük düşdükde mezbür bendelerine tevcih

29 This is the 'deprecatory diminutive' on which I commented in *WZKM*, 68, p. 42, n. 40. It recurs in 21 (below), with *timarcik* (sic, with final *kāf*).

olunmak için dergâh-ı merâm-bağşdan hüküm-i şerîf ile behredâr ve kâmkâr buyurılmak ricâsına pâye-i serîr-i a'lâya 'arz olundu.

Bâkî fermân re'y-i hürşîd-leme'ânûndur.

a MS : pâdişâhiden

[62/P 9. A report that an enemy raiding force which had crossed the Danube was intercepted and defeated; the messenger is bringing the head of its leader].

(İrsâl-i nigûsarî-i küffâr ve muzaffer şüden-i islâm bâ-vaqâr)

Hâzret-i Pâşâ-yı kâmyâb (edâme 'llâhu ikbalehü ilâ yevmi'l-hisâb)

Şerâ'if-i tahiyât-ı şâfiyât-ı mahabbet-âyât ve la'if-i teslimât-ı vâfiyât-ı meveddet-gâyât ki mahz-ı müvâlât ve 'ayn-ı muşâfâtdan feyezân u seyelân bula kavâfil-i kabâyil-i esvâk ve revâhil-i vesâyil-i iştiyâk birle ithâfdan-soñra, zamîr-i münîr-i âftâb-tenvîre^a ki mir'ât-i suver-i takdîr ve fihrist-i kitâb-ı tedbîrdür inhâ'-ı fakîr oldur ki :

Tuna kenârına küffâr-ı hâksâr gelüb memâlik-i islâmiyede nehb-i bisyâr ve gâret-i bî-şümâr ve hasâret-i bî-nihâyet édüb taht-ı livâda olan ceng-cûy u neheng-ñüy ve tünd-ü-tîz ü hün-rîz cüvânları cem' édüb ol mela'mün ileyin alub tîg-i âbdâr ile tebârın kesüb başlarınuñ başın alub süm-i semend-i sa'âdet-ercümend zîrine^b gâltân étmek için Sinân bin 'Abdülmennân bendeñuz ile revâne kılındı.

Bâkî fermân re'y-i hürşîd-leme'ânûndur.

fakîr ü hakîr ü üftâde
Mesîhî-yi zâr u miskîn ü dil-dâde

a So P; E müstenîr, S. m. şîr

b Emended; ES m. zîrine, P m. zîdine

[82/P 24. A sanjakbey is requested to assist the bearer in his duty of collecting cizye].

(Sancakbeglerine ağalardan ve vüzerâdan ve sâ'ir erbâb-ı devletden şefâkat ü mu'âvenet-nâmedür ki cizye cem'inde ve sâ'ir hîdmetde Hüdâvendigâr kullarına vérilür)

Genâb-ı sa'âdet-nîşâb beg hâzretleri kâmyâb :

Dürer-i gurer-i tahiyât-ı şâfiyât-ı maḥabbet-intizâm ve cevâhir-i zevâhir-i ta'zîmât-ı sâ'î'ât-ı meveddet-irtisâm ki ecvâf-ı aşdâf-ı ve dâd-ı tâmm ve ḥazâyin-i ḳamḳâm-ı i'tikâd-ı tamâmdan feyezân u seyelân ve tabân u düruḥşân olub maḥsûd-ı ḥazînân-ı bihişt-i^a berîn ve maḡbûḡ-ı sâkinân-ı ḥıṭṭa-ı 'illiyîn ola ḳavâfil-i ḳabâyil-i cevheriyân-ı 'âlem-i 'ulvî ve revâhil-i vesâyil-i şayrefiyân-ı zümre-i ḳudsî ile müṭḥaf u mühdâ kılindukdan soñra, zamîr-i 'münîr-i 'âlem-tâb ve ḥâṭır-ı 'âṭır-ı âftâb-leme'âna^c ki fî'l-ḥaḳıḳa ḥizâne-i devlet ü iḳbâl ve bencîne-i 'izzet ü iclâldür maḡfî ve pûşide olunmaya ki:

İşbu ḥâmil-i varâḳa-ı du'â fahrü'l-ḥavâşş-ı vâfiyü'l-iḥtîşâş Fülân bendeñüz livâ'-ı sa'âdetüñüzde olan cizye cem'ine müteveccih olundu. Eyle olsa 'inde'l-vuşûl şeref-i dest-bûs-ı şerîfiñiz ile müşerref oldukda ol şân-ı 'âlîşândan istid'â u iltimâs olınan budur ki maḥabbet-i lem-ye-zeliyi zuhûra getürüb müşarileyh bendeñüze kefereden cizyeyi cem' êtdürmesine ḥüsn-i mu'âvenetiñüz melṭûf ve bâb-ı iltifâtiñuz meḳşûf olna. Mercûdur ki bu muḥibb-i muḥlişîñuz ḥâṭır-ı ri'âyeti için mûmâ-ileyh bendeñüz säyir kimesnelere ḳıyâs olunmayub üzerinden nazâr-ı 'inâyet dirîḡ buyurulmayub cizye cem' oldukda ol cenâb-ı ni'me'l-me'âbdan varâḳa-ı dil-küşâyile girü bu cânibe irsâl olunmasında 'inâyet buyurıla.

Bâḳi ve'l-du'â.

el-fakîr el-hakîr

Mesîḥî-yi bende-i bî-ḳadîr

a E breaks off here.

b-c CŞ münîr âftâb 'âlem-tâb leme'âna, P münîr âftâb-ı leme'âna. Expanded after the Manual's C.2, where this whole *sernâme* appears practically verbatim. That letter is addressed to the Ḥazînedârbaşı and this relates to the raising of revenue, so that the *ḥazîn*, *cevherî*, etc. allusions are equally appropriate.

[21/P 53. A sanjâkbey recommends to the beylerbey the son of one of his timariots.]

(Şefâḳat-nâme mine'l-ümerâ ilâ emîri'l-ümerâ

Pâşâ-yı kâmyâb:

Da'vât-ı şâlihât-ı müstecâb-âyât ve teslîmât-ı ḥâlişât-ı müstetâb-beyyinât ki tuḥfe-i meclis-i maḥmedet-maḳrûn ve hedîye-i mesned-i mekremet-meşḥûn kıldukdan soñra ḥâkipây-ı kîmyâ-mişâle ma'rûz-ı bende-i pür-melâle oldur ki:

Aşhâb-ı timârdan erbâb-ı haste-i vâcib-i timârdan Hüseyin bendeñüz bu devlet-h'âh-ı dîrîneñüze etemm-i intisâbla mensûb u maşhûb bendeñüz olub bu hayr-h'âh-ı bî-iştibâhîñuzuñ cenâb-ı şerifiñüzde iltimâsını maqbûl 'add édüb hâmil-i hamâyil-i şenâ ve râsil-ia^a resâyil-i du'â oğlu Mehemmed bendeñüze timârcik şadağa olunmasın istid'â étmegin, ruķ'a-ı şenâ ile maķrûn olub cenâb-ı şerifiñüz süyma yüz süriyü revâne oldı. Ümîzdür ki 'ämme-i 'âleme 'amm u şâmil olan elţâf u a'tâfîñuz mezkûr bendeñüzüñ oğlu mezbûr bendeñüz hakkında dađı zühûr bulub şanınca timârcik şadağa buyurilub bu devlet-h'âh-ıñuzuñ ri'âyet-i hâtırı içün hâkipây-ı şerifiñüzden ber-murâd 'avdet étdirilüb^b säyir çirâğ-ı efrûhteleriñüz zümresinden ma'dûd buyurılmasına ma'mûm^c 'inâyetiñüz mebzûl buyurıla ki cenâb-ı şerifiñüze meşûbât-ı 'uzmâ ve bendeleriñüze minnet-i lâ-yuħşâ hâşil ola, in şâ'a'llâh ta'alâ.

Bâķi fermân ol zât-ı 'alişanuñdur.

efķaru'l-zu'afa
Mesîhî-yi hâkipâ

- a So EÇP (solecism?); S irsâl
b So ESP; Ç édi-vérilüb
c So ÇSP (solecism?); E 'umûm

[45/P 27. Request to a friend that the bearer be granted a certain appointment as kâtib].

(Der iltimâs-ı emânet ü kitâbet)

Be-hidmet-i birâder-i cânî ve maħbûb-ı her-dü-cihânî döst-ı şâdiķ u yâr-ı muvâfiķ nûr-ı 'aynü'l-aşhâb şem'-i cem'-i aħbâb câmi'-i fûnûnu'l-âdâb el-maħşûş bi-'inâyeti'l-Meliki'l-vehhâb (edâme 'llâhu baķâhu ve rezâkanâ ħuşûle liķâhu) du'â gevherlerin ve şenâ cevherlerin kavâfil-i şabâ ve revâhil-i şidķ u şafâ birle diyâr-ı yâra nişâr u işâr étdükden soñra, 'arz-ı dâ'i-yi devlet ve mâdiħ-i şevket budur ki :

İşbu hâmil-i nâme-i maħabbet ve nâķil-i sernâme-i meveddet kâtib 'Abdülvehhâb bendeñüz fûnûn-ı erķâm ve inşâ'-ı siħr-nişân ve imlâ'-ı bedî'u'l-beyânda mâhîr muħâsib ve fikr-i şâyib ve zihn-i âyib^a kimesnedür. Hâliyâ fûlân kitâbeti cenâb-ı refî'u'l-me'âbdan bi-'inâyeti'l-Meliki'l-vehhâb rica éde du'â-nâme-i 'anberîn-fâme^b ile säyevuş sürinü hâkipây-ı dil-kuşâya müteveccih olundu. Me'mûldür ki 'inde'l-vuşûl mezbûruñ üzerinden nazâr-ı 'inâyet-eşer dür olmayub

bâb-ı merâm-bağşdan ber-kâm revâne olmasıyle cānib-i bende-i muh-
lişînuza behcet-i ferāvān ve ğıbtat-i bî-pāyān bağışlayasız.

Bākî re'y ü fermān sultānımuñdur.

el-muħliş el-dā'i
Mesîhî

a So all MSS (meaning?)

b So EÇ (meaning?); SP -hāme

[26/P 46. *The addressee is warned that the person whom he appointed kâtib is associating with rogues and engaged in malpractices; the discontented populace will complain to the Porte.*]

(Ümerā ve kuđāt^a erkān-ı devlete ba'z-ı kimesneyi kovlamakda
ve subaşıları beglere kovlamakda yazıla)

Ğıbbe edā'-ı ed'ıye-i 'ammet berekātuhā fi'l-'ibād ve temmet
hasenātuhā beyne'l-'ibād' zamîr-i münîre püşide olmağa ki :

Ol zahîr^b ve üftāde dēyü destġir olduġunuz Fülān ol hîn cenāb-ı
reşk-i huld-i beriniñüzden kim revān olub 'atā olan kitābete geldükde
dest-i te'tāvüli hilāf-ı kânün ve bî-mu'āf^c fi'l-i cerîmet-meshûna dirāz
édüb kanda hemmāz u ġammāz ve levendāt-ı rüzġār u nuħsendāt-ı^d
aġtār var-ise dem-sāz olub 'aql perdesinden bîrün ef'al étmege mü-
başir ü mübādirdür. Eger bir ān ol ef'al-i 'işyān-nişān üzerine kıyım
ü dāyim ola, ol e'trāf u eknāfuñ dükeli ahrār u ülu'l-aħyārı eger ricāl
ve eger nisā'-ı pür-melāl ayaġ üzerine şurub şikāyet-i hāl ü hikā-
yet-i aħvāl için dergāh-ı mu'allā u bārgāh-ı a'lāya sāye-veş sürinü
varurlar. Bu kıavlümüzde dürüg yokdur.

Bākî fermān şāhib-re'y-i bālā^e fikret-küşānuñdur.

el-faķîr el-ħaķîr
Mesîhî-yi 'abd-i bî-zahîr

a S+ve

b So EÇ (parallel with *destġir*); SP faķîr (parallel with *üftāde*). But (a tex-
tual conundrum) in Ç *faķîr* is written above in the same hand.

c According to Steingass, s.v., *mu'āf* is a by-form of Ar. *mu'āffa*, 'restraining'
(but P vocalizes *ma'āf*).

d So EÇS (vocalized -u- in Ç), meaning? P illegible. This obscure word is used
by Me'ālî, apparently with the sense 'adroit' (J. R. Walsh, in *BSOAS*. 47, 1984,
p. 152).

e So E; ÇS b.lā

[35/P 31. A certain Celāl, seeking to obtain the post of emān which the addressee had granted the sender, is on his way to make a false denunciation.]

(Ümenānuñ ve küttābuñ cerāyimin ifsā étmege giden adamuñ 'aķebince āsitāne-i sa'ādetē kendü hālīn ve istiķāmetin i'lām étmekde)

Du'alar ki zülf-i cānān gibi mergüb ve şenālar ki büy-ı dil-sitān gibi maħbüb^a ola bi'l-şıdķı 'l-şāf ihdā u ithāf oldukdan soñra, ma'rüz-ı bende-i kemter ilā huzūr-ı nīk-maħżar budur ki :

'Ummān-ı eltāf feyezān ve deryā-yı kerem ü a'tāf seyelān étdürüb bu ķatre-miķdāra iħsān étdüğünüñ emānete fırķa-ı hıyānetden 'adū-yı 'izz ü kemāl ve bed-ħüy u zıst-fi'ālden Celāl nām kimesne tālib ve bu faķiri şirretle mücrim çıkarmaģa rāģıb olub ma'denü'l-luť ve'l-kerem ve maħzenü'l-hulķ ve'l-şiyem a'nī sultānum ħāzretlerinüñ bāb-ı sa'adet-me'ābına revāne oldı.

Bāķi fermān sultānımuñdur.

el-faķir 'abd-i dīrīne
Mesīħi-yi kemīne

a. So E; ÇSP + ve mergüb

[37/P 30. Mesīħi informs a superior how he recited a ķaşıde before Piri Pasha and was rewarded, with a gift of gold coins and an increase of stipend.]

(İzhār-ı maħbül şüden-i ķaşıde ve sāyir tuħaf)

Ğıbbe vaźı 'l-ħudūd 'alā mevāzi'i 'l-sücüd ma'rüz-ı bende-i bī-vücüd bā ħāzret-i mehbiť-ı i'lā u cüd (ebķāhu 'llāhu 'l-Melikü 'l-vedüd bi'l-'izz ve 'l-fazli 'l-mes'üd ila yevmi 'l-mev'üd) budur ki :

Şadru şafārifi^a 'l-zamān bedrü ğaťārifi 'l-deverān ħāzret-i Piri Pāşā (yessere 'llāhu mā yeşā') ħāzretlerine bir ķaşıde-i pür-ħanīde söyleyüb dīvān-ı şerīflerinde envā'-ı ādāb u vaķār ve eşnāf-ı ħuşū'-ı rezīyet-āşārıla okıyub tamām étdükde, firāyān taħsīn ve bī-pāyān āferīn eyleyüb ceyb-i ma'den-i cevher-ü-sīm-ü-zerinden dest-i kerem-baħş u luť-naķş ile rü-yı 'aşıķ-ı zāra mümāşil ve eşk-i dil-i bī-ķarāra müşāķil nesnelere ile bu dā'ilerin şādān u ħandān édüb Padişāh-ı

cihân-penâha terbiye édüb 'inâyet-i Rebbü 'l-'âlemîn yetişüb terakki étdiler.

Bâkî ve 'l-du'â.

el-fakîr-i dil-figâr

Mesîhî-yi 'andelîb-i gülşen-i güftâr

a So EÇ (meaning ?); S şafâyif, P (?) şahâyif

[38/P 29. *Mesîhî sends to a (?) patron forty poems written at his request.*]

(Der firistâden-i eş'âr ve gayrihâ ba'de 'l-taleb)

Her devlet-i ebed-peyvend-i rûz-efzûn ki ketebe-i kârhâne-i 'kün fe-yekûn' şemme-i tahîrînde kaçırûndur hemîşe qarîn-i zât-ı mâ'âlî-makrûn ve a'âlî-meshûn, zülâl-i maqâl-i "aynen yeşrebü bihâ el-mu-çarrebûn' ola, bi-hakk-ı 'nûn ve'l-kalem ve mâ yeşürün"³⁰. Ba'd ez tecdîd-i esâs-ı şıdk u i'tikâd ve te'sîs-i bünyân-ı hulûş-ı şafâvet-şifât, 'arza-ı dâ'i-yi bî-iştibâh be-cenâb-ı sa'âdet-penâh (lâ zâlet makrûneten bi-himâyeti 'llâh) 'arz-ı bendegî budur ki :

Muqaddemâ cânib-i muhibb-i bî-riyâya mektûb-ı maḥabbet-üslûb irsâl édüb lafz-ı dürer-bâr-ı güher-nişârdan hayâl-engîz eş'âr ve şafâ-âmîz ebyât-ı vefâ-âşâr istemişsiz. Hâliyâ kırk dâne güzîde 'aşîkâne şî'r-i hanîde yazub irsâl étdük. Ümîzdür ki hayyiz-i kabûlde vâkî' ola.

Bâkî el-du'â.

el-fakîr el-hakîr

Mesîhî-yi 'abd-i ḥatîr^a

a Sic; Lane lists the rare (but here expected) sense 'ignoble'.

[39/P 12. *Mesîhî reluctantly lends an anthology of poems.*]

(Der firistâden-i dîvân ve sâ'ir cîzhâ ve tahrîş^a nümûden ber ânâ ez cânibeyn)

Du'âyî ki müşeyyid-i kavâ'id-i devlet ü 'âzamet ve şenâyî ki mümeḥhid-i şevârid-i 'izzet ü ḥürmetdur hem-nefes-i kabûl-i sübhânî ve qarîn-i me'âşir-i seb'u 'l-meşânî olub, bi'l-şıdk ve'l-şafâ kavâfil-i vefâ ile irsâl édüb i'lâm olunur ki :

30 Qur'an, 83.28, 68.1.

Şu'arâ-ı eslâf-ı şâhibü 'l-elâf ve fuzalâ-ı eşraf-ı zü 'l-a'tâf kelimâtından intihâb u inticâb olmuş kitab-ı Müntahab el-Şerifi³¹ bu 'abd-i za'ifden istemişsiz. Bendeñüz 'Abdülkâdir ile irsâl kılduk. Ümîddür ki mu'tala'a-ı şerif müte'allik ve murâd hâşıl oldukdan soñra, bir mu'tamed ve müstaķim ve halim kimesne ile işâl buyurasız: gâyetde ta'allukumuz vardır. 'Hâfir-ı 'âfir irsâl olunmaduđından fâtir ola' déyü viribidik. Beden-i miskinden cân-ı şirini vérmek âsândur anı vérmekten, illâ sizler cândan aħabb ve ħubbuñuz dilde ađleb olduđu ħayşiyetden selâm u dürüd-nâme ile vürüd olundu.

Bâķi ve 'l-du'â.

el-faķir-i pür-enîn
Mesihî-yi bende-i kemîn

a So S; Ç tahrîz (? read ħırş)

[40/P 13. At his correspondent's request, Mesihî sends him specimens of calligraphy attributed to Yâķüt el-Müsta'şimî³² and argues for their authenticity.]

(Der firistâden-i derc ba'de 'l-ťaleb ve 'âciz şüden-i ba'zî der ân dere)

Merâsim-i ta'zîmât-ı vâfiyât-ı maħabbet-âyât ve levâzim-i tek-rîmât-ı şâfiyât-ı^a devlet-gâyât ki maħz-ı vedâd ve 'ayn-ı ittiħâddan zâhir u bâhir olur ħavâfil-i i'zâz u ikrâm ve revâhil-i iltiyâm u ihtirâm ile itĥâf olunub i'lâm kılınur ki:

Mektüb-ı müsteťâb-ı şirîn-cevâbıñuz ile kıbletü'l-küttâb ħazret-i Yâķütüñ derc-i şeriflerini ricâ u ŧaleb kılmuşsiz. Kâtib Muħyieddîn ile irsâl étdük. Luťf édüb enzâr-ı muta'aşşibîn ve ebşâr-ı müfsidinden penâh édüb ta'viz-i cân gibi ħızâne-i dilde nihân kılasız, zîrâ ba'zî kâtib yârânlardan gelüb seyrân étdüklerinde temyîz édemeyüb ol 'azîzüñ ħaťt-ı şerifin fülân kimesnenüñ ħaťtına teşbih édüb tenzîh eyleyümedi-

31 The only work with this title that I can trace is a treatise on enigmas by a certain Emir Şerif, who came from Herât to the Ottoman lands: he taught the art of enigmas to (among others) the Mu'ammâyi who is the copyist of our MS Ç; he died in 927/1521 (see B. Flemming, loc. cit. in n. 5). This may well be the anthology of 'kelimât' of which Mesihî speaks.

32 For this most famous of calligraphers (d. 697/1298) see, e.g., 'Âlî, *Menâķib-i ħünerverân*, Istanbul 1926, pp. 17-18, 21-23; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908, pp. 84-86.

ler. Bu bendeñüz ol dercün ahvāline vākıf olan erbāb-ı ma'ārifden haberin alub-dururım: Seyyid Mürtażā ve Esedüllāh³³ ol derce nazar édüb 'On biñ akçedür bunuñ müjdegānisi, degül ki buña kıymet ola hezār dīnār' dédiler^b. Merhūm Şeyhzāde³⁴ bir sene miqdārı şülş ve muhaqqak besmelelerin mişāl edinüb aña mişāl bir harf yazamayub āyine-i hātırına ğubār-ı ğumūm-āşār yörendüği muhaqqakdur ve cemī-i huñuñ^c bī-kā'ide ü üslüb zā'idelerin mesh' étdüği muqarrer ve muṭlaqdur.

Bākī ve'l-du'ā.

el-fakīr el-ḥakīr
Mesīhī-yı bī-zahīr

- a So Ç; ESP vāfiyāt(!)
b So E; lacking in ÇSP
c EÇP + ki

[P 35/S ff. 97v-99v/ 'Manual' (M) ff. 64v-66v. Mesīhī writes to his friend Süzenī in Istanbul: he has had to stay another year in Bosnia, where Turkish is practically unknown and the climate has made him ill; he has been on two distant raiding expeditions and lost a valued horse; he sends greetings to Mahremī, 'Alī Çelebi, Kātib Memī Çelebi and Zātī.]

(Mektüb-ı Mesīhī be-Mevlānā Süzenī)

Du'āyī ki be-sān-ı süzen-i Mesīh āsmān-ġüzār ve senāyī ki mānend-i kelām-ı faşīh müselsel ü ābdār ola bā kāfile-i zümre-i müsēbbihān-ı eşhār ve rāhile-i ḥamāme-i āh-ı tābdār müthaf ve mühdā kılındukdan soñra, şiddet-i keşret-i āz ve şavlet-i lev'at-i niyāz ol dercede degüldür ki engüşt-i kilik-i suhen-sāz isti'āre-i ḥakīkat ü mecāz ile taḥrīr ü taşvīr édebile; müṭala'a-ı mir'at-ı likā ki sebeb-i taşliye-i

33 Seyyid Mürtażā b. Āferīn of Herat flourished in the middle of the 9th/15th century (Müstakimzāde, *Tuḥfe-i ḥaḥāfīn*, Istanbul 1928, p. 518). For Esedüllāh Kirmānī (d. after 892/1486), see Müstakimzāde, p. 113.

34 'Şeyhzāde' usually refers to Muşafā Dede, son of Şeyḥ Ḥamdullāh of Amasya, but he lived until 945/1538. Ḥamdullāh himself might have been so termed (he is 'Şeyh-oğlu Ḥamdī' in a couplet quoted by 'Ālī, p. 25), but since he is reported to have survived just into the reign of Süleymān (Müstakimzāde, p. 186) he could not be 'merhūm' when this text was compiled.

Hâtemü 'l-Enbiyâdur 'an-ka'rib müyesser ü muşavver bād, bi-elif lām mīm şād.

Ba'de-mā: kemmîyet-i hāl ü keyfîyet-i ahvâlimizden istiqlâ' olunur ise, işbu vādî-yi vahşet ve bevādî-yi hasretde mukîm-i zâviye-i hâviye-i 'anā ve sâkin-i emâkin-i endüh u belâ olub ümîd-i istişhâb-ı aşhâb-ı vefâ ve ricâ-yı iltikâ-yı erbâb-ı şafâ bu bende-i bî-mikdâra mü'nîs ü gam-güsâr ve 'sânî işneyn iz hümâ fi'l-gâr'³⁵ olmuştur. Egerçe ki be-hükmi-zarûret bu sene dahı Bosna'da tırmak vardı ammâ cennet olduğu taqdîrce adam bunda eglenemez, zîrâ bu kenârda olan kaffe-i re'âyâ ve 'âmme-i berâyânun dili şırf Sırf olub ve kimesne Türkî-yi terkiye asmayub³⁶ her kankısına ki 'adam' déyü selâm véresin ol saña 'boğdây'³⁷ déyü cevâb vérür. Bu ecelden nice zamândur ki bülbül-i zebân kafes-i dehânda sâkit ü şâmit olub ruhsâre-i 'arûs-ı tabî'at nâhun-ı belâ u miñnet ile harâşide ve şahîfe-i 'ulûm u 'irfân tîg-i noqsân u nisyân ile terâşide olmağa yüz tutmuştur.

Beyt : Fütâde-em be-gürühî ki gâh-ı bezm-i şarâb
Müderriş-eş ne-şinâsed kitâb-râ zi kebâb

Ümîddür ki zâlâm-i tebâ'üd-i şürî ve perde-i müfârağat ü dürî debdebe-i kevkebe-i vişâl-i yârân ve şa'sa'a-ı şümûs-ı ittişâl-i ihvânla mürtefi' u muzmañill ola, inşâ'a'llâh ta'alâ. Mizâc-ı mersûmu 'l-zücâc bu cânibün âb u havâsiyle imtizâc édemeyüb müddet-i medîd çeşm-i gazâlân gibi haste ve 'ahd-i mañbûbân gibi şikeste düşüb az kalmış idi ki revâk-ı vücûd-ı bî-miknet ve çartâk-ı 'unşur-ı tabî'at tünd-bâd-ı âfet ü sakâmet ile hâksâr ola ve şeyh-i ecel zâviye-i 'tende konub' karar éde. İttifâkan sekerât-ı mevte bir 'İsâ-dem 'iyâdete gelüb ve ol 'ibâdet yérine geçüb fi'l-hâl kalkınub 'el-ğamdü li'llâh illezi ahyânî

³⁵ Kur'an, 9.40.

³⁶ The (rare?) locution *terkiye asma-*, evidently meaning 'to have no dealings with', occurs also in the *şehr-engiz* of Yağya Beg (M. Çavuşoğlu, in *TDED*, xvii, 1969, p. 94); in lines on a young saddler: 'Beni zülfüne'as' dërsem éder naz/Dirigâ kimseyi terkiye asmaz'.

³⁷ I do not understand the joke. Friends have tentatively suggested that the native, mishearing *adam* as Serbian *ja dam*, 'I give', retorts with *Bog daje*, 'God gives', i.e. 'It is God (and not you) that provides'. Serbian words and catch-phrases seem to have been current among the literati of Istanbul (as in Rûmî's reply to Gâzâlî's letter: art. cit. in n. 27, p. 243).

ba'demā emāteni³⁵ ve redde ileyye rūhī' du'āsın tezkār u tekrār eyledim, elḥamdü li'llāh 'ale'l-selāme.

Ba'de zālik iki def'a akına varub, akını yakın sandım. Ne yakın! Nice yaykın³⁹ geçüb ve konub göçüb ve tağlar ve dereler aşub ve küffarla cenk ü aşüb édüb ve ḥayli esbābum kalub ve bir yaḥşı ātimuñ ayakları saḡat olub ve gelürken şehīd olub kendüyi zāg u kelāga ısmarladı.

Beyt : Doyum olmağa varub ümmiz ipin berk eyledim
Hāzırından daḡı çıkdım atımı terk eyledim

Nic'-édelüm? Varsun, merḥüm ve mağfūr Necātī'nün kara katırı ile muşāhabet édüb sebzezār-ı 'ademde bilece seyrān eylesünler⁴⁰.

Ba'de-mā : 'bizüm Mevlānā Maḥremī ve 'Alī Çelebi ve Kātib Memi Çelebi'ye⁴¹ tefḥīm-i tām̄m ve ta'zīm ü ikrām̄la du'alar éderiz, ḡabul buyurıla; ve hem^d emlaḡu 'l-ṡu'arā kulaḡı katı Mevlānā Zātī'ye daḡı du'alar éderiz, inṡā'a'llāh ḡarīn-i icābet vāki' ola.

Beyt : Āferīn ol 'arifiñ ṡabrına kim ḡāh-ı ḡitāb
Katı söz iṡitdügince vérür āheste cevāb⁴²

Mercūd̄ur ki ittifāḡ-ı telāḡa degin köṡe-i ḡalbde kalub nesyen men-ṡiyen ḡabīlinden olmayavuz. Çun ḡarāz 'arż-ı ḡullet ve izḡār-ı meved-

38 cf. Ḳur'ān, 2.26, 22.65, etc.

39 For this rare word (here probably meaning 'marsh'), as an adj. '(a river) in flood', see Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary...*, s.v. yadḡun; and as a noun, *Söz Derleme Dergisi*, s.v. yaykın : '(2) Daḡ tepelerinde veya dere kenarlarında bir kaç dönüm genişliğinde olan düzlükler'.

40 The allusion is to Necātī's *mersiye-i ester* (*Divan*, ed. A.N. Tarlan, p. 97).

41 The minor poet Maḥremī (d. 942/1535) is noticed by Laḡfī (p. 306) and 'Aṡıḡ Çelebi (f. 117b): cf. also A.S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler...*, Ankara 1956, pp. 49, 176. For 'Alī Çelebi, see 'Aṡıḡ Çelebi, 121b, s.v. Merdümī (his son): Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 227. The name Memi is too common to permit identification.

42 This couplet is included in Mesīḡī's *Divān*, ed. Mine Özoḡul (see n. 1), p. 432. According to Sūzenī, the riposte of Zātī (who was deaf) was :

Ey nükte ile Zātī'ye ṡa'n eyleyen, iṡit
Ol degme sözi koymaz olubdur kulaḡına.

det bûd, ziyâde ber-în maşâbih-i vedâd der zâlâm-ı zengî-sevâd midâd
ne-fürûhtîm, ve dîbâ-yı kelâm be-sûzen-i ser-tîz-i aqlâm ber kâmet-i
ibrâm ne-dûhtîm. Hemvâre şûret-i me'mûl der âyîne-i huşûl melhûz
bâd ve ceyb-i hil'at-i bakâ ez teţâvül-i dest-i fenâ mahfûz bâd, bi-Rebbi
'l-'ibâd.

Beyt : Kôz karasın hâll kılub ol ayğa yazdım name'i
Bâri bu tezvîrlen kôrgey kôzim ruhsârını⁴³.

a-b So M; PS gurbetde fertüt
c-d Lacking in P

43 For the Ottoman literary fashion, inspired by the prestige of Nevâyi, of writing verses in Çagatay Turkish, see O.F. Sertkaya, 'Osmanlı Şairlerinin Çagatayca şiirleri', in *TDED*, xviii, 1970, 133-8, xix, 1971, 171-84 and xx, 1972, 157-84; M. Çavuşođlu, 'Kanunî devrinin sonuna kadar Anadolu'da Nevâyi tesiri üzerine notlar', in *Atsız armađanı*, Istanbul 1976, 75-90; and E. Birnbaum, 'The Ottomans and Chagatay literature', in *CAJ*, xx/3, 1976, 157-90.