ANALECTA ISISIANA
LX

JAN SCHMIDT

THE JOYS OF PHILOLOGY

STUDIES IN OTTOMAN LITERATURE, HISTORY AND ORIENTALISM (1500-1923)

Volume
I

Poetry, Historiography,
Biography and Autobiography

THE ISIS PRESS
ISTANBUL

THE JOYS OF PHILOLOGY • Jan SCHMIDT

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Jan Schmidt, born in 1951 in Arnhem, the Netherlands, studied History and Middle Eastern Languages and Culture at Leiden University off and on between the years 1969 to 1985. He obtained his doctorate in 1992 upon publication of a dissertation in which he proposed a new interpretation of the magnum opus of Mustafa Ali of Gallipoli, *Kunhu l-ahbar*, written in the 1590s.

The author taught, among other things, at secundary schools in the Netherlands, and was later Lecturer in Turkish and Ottoman Studies at Manchester University, England. He also did research work in the field of Ottoman linguistics, history, and literature for Leiden University, and is at present cataloguer of the Turkish manuscripts kept in the Leiden University Library. His interests cover a wide span of subjects, but is mainly focused on Ottoman history and literature as well as the contacts, political and cultural, between the Ottoman Empire and the West in the 16th to early 20th centuries.

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INTRODUCTION

A few months ago, I received a letter from the publisher of this book, Sinan Kuneralp. He wrote me that he was an admirer of my work and invited me to publish a selection of my articles in his series *Analecta Isisiana*. I was greatly honoured, I must confess, but the offer also made me melancholy. Did it mean that I had reached a turning point in my life? Have I already arrived at the apex of my intellectual powers and will I henceforward be, slowly but steadily, on the way downhill? At fifty, I still feel vigorous and full of plans. This, if I think of it, must be caused by the fact that, so far, I have, on the whole, been living a blessed life.

I was born and grew up in a rich country, the Netherlands, was blessed with some brains — not nearly enough for studying really difficult subjects like mathematics, as my father did — and I was able to spend much of my energy, and also earn my living most of the time, with an activity that can roughly be described as philology — a discipline largely, but undeservedly, out of favour - which has always been a source of great joy. Hence the title of this book. To return to Sinan Kuneralp and his offer: yes, I accepted, and decided to present a selection from my work representative of my major scholarly interests: literature, history — and particularly their common ground, historiography — and the historical interaction of the West with the world of the East, in my case, the area covered by the great historical entity of the Ottoman Empire.

Already as a child I was an obsessive and voracious reader and, particularly, addicted to the cerebral effect of what one might call the 'time machine', or the 'historical sensation', as it is called by historians of the narrative school. I keenly remember that as a small child I was taken by my parents to an exhibition of paintings by the 17th-century genre painter Jan Steen in the Mauritshuis Museum in The Hague, the town where I have spent most of my life, and was absolutely fascinated by those realistic (with hindsight perhaps I should rather say quasi-realistic) pictures of rich Dutch Golden Age living. So, when I finished the *Gymnasium*, I opted for a study of history, to which my parents, somewhat disappointed that I did not choose a more solid career, did not in the end object. I spent most of the following five years in Leiden, but not too much time in classrooms and libraries; I was discovering life, as you could call it, and was much involved in travelling, making friends, discovering sex — a time-consuming business! — and reading lots of books, most of them only remotely, or not at all, related to history. Perhaps the best thing, from a scholarly point of view, that happened to me at

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the end of that period, were my visits to the General Dutch State Archives in The Hague, where I had my first exciting experience with original old documents — I wrote an analysis of a late 15th-century notebook kept by a monk at the monastery of Egmond in the north-west of Holland for my final examination.

After I had passed the exam — that was in 1974 — I took a job — no one ever suggested that I try an academic career — and spent some years teaching in secondary schools in various places in Holland, and soon learned to hate it. With hindsight, it was clear that I was not really up to such a job: I failed to make much of an impression on adolescents; I looked too much like them, wore long hair according to the fashion of the day, and, on the whole, did not look much older at the time than most of the 15 to 17-year-olds I had to teach. Back home, one of my favourite pastimes, as before, was reading and dreaming about the past. Once during that period I read a biography, I think it was the biography of Lytton Strachey by Michael Holroyd, in the introduction of which the author describes how he became excited at the first view of the mass of Strachey's personal papers, kept in boxes, files, trunks and suitcases 'blanketed by cobwebs and a pall of dust' in the house of Strachey's brother, James Strachey, far away from the Metropolis in the Lincolnshire countryside. A mixture of curiosity and greed stimulated him to start the work. This was something, I realised, that I also wanted: chests of unread papers to get through while being subjected to the historical sensation! Sobered by the disheartening experience of teaching, I decided to escape the misery of the schoolroom and again try the university. Approaching thirty — it was by then 1977 — and in a much more serious frame of mind, I began studying languages, first Italian, later the more intellectually challenging Arabic, Persian and Turkish. The Islamic world had been a fairly recent 'discovery' of mine, brought about by travel in Morocco and my reading of the recently published Dutch translation of Ibn Ḥazm's *The Dove's Neck-ring*, an 11th-century work in the *adab* genre, the unique manuscript of which is kept in Leiden University Library. (While I was still at school, I had fancied the study of Indonesian and, later, Chinese, but that looked like an even more unpractical choice than history had been.) Back in Leiden, I had the great luck to meet, in particular, Barbara Flemming and Alexander de Groot, who, with their stimulating courses and, soon, personal friendship, led me onto the path of Ottoman studies. This I have never regretted.

Already at an early stage in my studies, Barbara Flemming offered me my first academic job, assisting her in deciphering and editing the Süssheim diaries and papers which she had come across during cataloguing work in the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*. Karl Süssheim (1878-1947) was an historian and orientalist of Jewish origin, who kept a diary in Turkish and Arabic for most of his life. His collection of manuscripts as well as most of his diaries and

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letters were sold by his widow to the Berlin library after her husband's death. At that time I was following courses in Arabic and had only recently started learning Turkish, and Barbara Flemming asked me to excerpt the two, last, Arabic volumes of the diaries. This I did and it, firstly, resulted in a typewritten Dutch description of their contents. That was perhaps my first serious attempt at scholarly writing. The reading — I could hardly stop — of, in the end, all the surviving volumes of the diary, and later, of the letters, kept me, off and on, busy for years. This resulted in two articles and, in collaboration with Barbara Flemming, a book which summarises the content of the diaries, and, in a way, presents a biography of the scholar. I include in the present book both articles, one of which was originally published in Germany but which I have translated and somewhat expanded for the occasion.

Barbara Flemming also brought me into contact with literature: poetry and ornate prose, and she suggested that I do some work on the *magnum opus*, the world history entitled *Künhü l-aḫbār*, of one of the great literary figures of the Ottoman 16th century, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli (d. 1008/1600). She took me with her to the Leiden University Library and showed me, it soon turned out, a very early copy of the work. This was my first contact with an Oriental manuscript. I soon went back and started reading in the hefty volume, and felt terrible. This was not an easy read at all. In fact it took me months to begin to understand what the author was trying to communicate in the introductory passages to his great work, but by sheer perseverance in trying to decipher the not very readable script, busily turning over the pages of dictionaries, and reading less difficult passages written in an more easily legible script, I quite soon discovered that my skills improved and that some work on the book was perhaps not impossible. While working with the manuscript and comparing its text to the printed edition and, later, other manuscript copies, it began to dawn on me that the author's preface of the Leiden manuscript contained a long passage which does not occur in the printed version, nor in other manuscript copies (and, to date, in any other copy of the odd hundred I have so far seen) — this then, was my first discovery! It resulted in my first book, a text edition and translation of the author's preface.

By the time I had finished my second round of studies, in 1985, Barbara Flemming encouraged me to go on and write a PhD thesis on the *Künhü l-aḫbār*. So I did. I obtained a grant from the Dutch Research Fund, and visited manuscript libraries in Egypt, Turkey, and Europe. For some months, one summer in the late 1980s, I rented a house on the island of Burgaz near Istanbul, and lived the life of a commuter, boarding the ferry to Sirkeci every morning, and, after a prolonged struggle with the bureaucracy, sitting amidst the treasures of the Topkapı Saray, the Süleymaniye, and less well-known libraries, inspecting all the copies of the *Künh* I could find, and as many of the other works of ʿĀlī, as I could. This resulted in the thesis entitled 'Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims', my second book, and four articles, one in Dutch and the others in English. In this book I will include an amplified translation of the Dutch article, which will contain a summary presentation of the finds of my research.

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After I had finished my work on Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, I was unemployed for some years. Living at a short distance from the General Dutch State Archives, I decided, stimulated by Alexander de Groot's classes on Ottoman history and on matters diplomatic and paleographic, to return there and spend some time amidst the papers of its rich collections. I started by leafing through the inventories that can be found on a great number of shelves in the central reading room, hunting for materials on the Ottoman Empire and beyond. Soon I became totally absorbed in the melancholy world of the *belle époque* and late Western Imperialism, when the İstiklâl caddesi was still called 'Grande Rue de Péra', and Jakarta still named 'Batavia', as I read about the staunch (but rather pitiful) way the Dutch clung to former glory and tried to keep up with great powers like Britain and France. The Dutch had been active in the Levant since the 17th century, mostly as traders, and during the days of the flowering of ideologies, particularly that of Pan-Islamism, Istanbul acquired an important role as a political centre from the Dutch perspective. It was the seat of the Caliphate and the Netherlands feared its malignant influence on the Indonesian masses, still colonial subjects of the small kingdom on the North Sea. I went through many files of the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Colonies, and found fascinating material on one, by now forgotten aspect of Dutch foreign policy, that of the threatening 'gun boat' type. This research resulted in a series of studies, partly published in a book in 1992. I include two of them here. Later I moved on to older times, and perused the voluminous papers of the Van Dedem family, one of whose members was Dutch ambassador at the Porte around 1800 and saw to it, seemingly, that not the smallest scrap of paper would be lost to the following generations. Within this collection I found two fascinating travelogues, one in Dutch dated 1785, another in French on Ambassador Van Dedem's return journey of 1793, and both written by his secretaries. I include here the as yet unpublished French text with an introduction in English. Later I became interested in the activities of Dutch traders in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, I published an article about the Dutch merchants in Ankara, based largely on a letter-book, hitherto unstudied, and I undertook detailed research on the Dutch opium trade which saw an unprecedented flourishing during the 19th century, traces of which I had come across during my earlier studies, and particularly while perusing files on the 19th- and 20th-century Dutch community of İzmir. A few Dutch families established in that town played a crucial role in this profitable activity. I include here a lecture, given a few times at English universities, which contains a summary of my book published in 1998.

Almost all source materials used for these studies were in Dutch and other European languages, particularly French and Italian, but during these years I did not neglect Turkish and Ottoman literature. Being for some years member of a group of, mostly Leiden-based, orientalists who gathered every few months to discuss poetics: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, I began seriously reading Ottoman poets and presented papers on Bāḳī, Fāżıl Bey, Sünbülzāde Vehbī, Meḥmed Eşref and Rıżā Tevfīḳ. I include three of those papers, one of which originally was published in Dutch.

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Meanwhile I had moved to Manchester where, between 1993 and 1997, I was lecturer in Turkish and Ottoman Studies. Being quite on my own, I soon decided to do local research in my spare time and the first target was the John Rylands University Library which I went to visit regularly, at first every Friday, a day on which I did not have to teach, and from 1995 daily, with grants from the Library's Research Fund and the British Academy in London, studying its small, but fascinating collection of Turkish manuscripts. Work during these years resulted in a catalogue of the manuscripts, and five articles on individual items or groups of items. I include all five of them.

By 1996, my last year in Manchester, I had become something of a professional cataloguer, and back in Holland I was asked by Jan Just Witkam, keeper of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library, to continue my cataloguing work in Leiden. This has already resulted in one published volume, which appeared in September 2000, and at least two more are to follow. As in the John Rylands, I made some exciting discoveries in the Leiden collection, surely to be expected in a collection brought together over four centuries but only partly, and for that part only succinctly, sometimes also misleadingly, described. To date, these discoveries have resulted in some articles on texts found in Leiden, partly as yet unpublished, which I have also put into this volume. My greatest discovery so far has, doubtless, been the unique autobiography of an Ottoman soldier, a horseman who lived in the early 19th century, an edition of which with an English translation I am now preparing. I include the introduction and the English translation. And this brings me to the present. As I said above, I still feel healthy and am looking forward to more interesting subjects in the future. A project I am already working on, together with my colleague and friend Edith Ambros, is an edition of the *dīvān* of the 16th-century poet Vālihī, an unique manuscript copy of which is preserved in the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*. Another fascinating text I have come across in the Leiden collection and which I have decided to edit and translate into English, is a contemporary description of the north-western Caucasus by the late 18th-century private secretary Hāşim Efendi, one of whose autographs is kept in the Leiden Library. The joys of philology are not yet over!

Leiden, 18 September 2001

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Part One
Poetry

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1. POETS AND POETRY IN MID-17TH-CENTURY ISTANBUL: ADDITIONS TO THE *DĪVĀN* OF FĀ'IŻĪ BY THE COPYIST YAḤYĀ AND OTHERS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS TURKISH 81*

1. Introduction[1]

The mainstream of Ottoman literature, on its 'higher' and more popular levels, both written and oral, consisted of poetry. It shares this characteristic with the other 'classical' literatures of the Islamic Middle East, Arabic and Persian. Thousands of poems, *ġazels, ḳaṣīdes* and other forms — were written during the six centuries the Empire existed. Relatively little of this materials has been edited and studied, and this is particularly true for the 17th century. We have no up-to-date history of Ottoman literature and we also lack some essential tools to approach the subject. A few biographical dictionaries of Ottoman poets have been edited, but only one concerning the 17th century.[2] This is the more lamentable because the eight or so works known to cover that century are rare and European libraries seem to possess only a few manuscript copies of a minority of them.[3]

It we know little about the production of this literature, we know even less about its reception. The Ottoman themselves hardly wrote about the subject although some data can be found in the (few) more elaborate biographical works. Another, albeit indirect, source is the contents and marginal notes of personal anthologies (*mecmū'a*s) which have survived in quite a large number in almost all Turkish manuscript collections. These are even less studied than the mainstream collections of poetry (*dīvān*s).[4]

---

*First published in *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* : 3/2 (2000), pp. 165-78.

[1]I am indebted to Professor J. T. P. de Bruijn for having been so kind as to read my manuscript and suggest some improvements.

[2]Abdulkerim Abdülkadiroğlu, *Beliğ, Şâhinemirzâde İsmail bin İbrahim* (Bursalı) (Ankara 1988).

[3]Cf. for a succinct survey, J. Steward-Robinson, (1965) 'The Ottoman Biographies of Poets', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, xxiv pp. 57-74, esp. p. 58. Sālim's *Tezkire-i şu'arā*, covering the years 1687-1720, is only available in an uncritical printed version by Ahmed Cevdet (Istanbul 1315).

[4]For a brief discussion of anthologies, see Günay Kut, 'Mukhtārāt' (3), in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd impr., hereafter *EI*); see also Barbara Flemming (1994) 'Notes on 'aruż in Turkish collections', in: Lars Johanson & Bo Utas, (Eds) *Arabic Prosody and its Application in Muslim Poetry* (Uppsala), pp. 61-79, esp. p. 65 ff.

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An interesting sample of such a personal collection of verse is found in the Manchester John Rylands Library MS Turkish 81, which I have described succinctly in my forthcoming Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts. Although the main part is a copy of the *Dīvān* of Ḳāfzāde ʻAbdulḥayy Efendi, who wrote under the name Fāʼiżī (d. 1031/1622), some margins, the empty pages preceding (1a-8b) and following (36b-57b) the main text as well as the inner boards have numerous additional scribblings, mostly verses, about 150 in number, higgledy-piggledy jotted in blank spaces. Some of these additions are in prose and contain the usual calculations, prayer formulas, a recipe for an aphrodisiac and lexicographical glosses. A letter (1b) and an *ebced* table (to calculate the numerical value of the letters of the alphabet, 45a) are also found.[1] These additional poems and notes can be considered to form a *mecmūʻa* in itself, and were understood to be one by earlier owners: the word *mecmūʻa* occurs on the title page, fia. The contents of this *mecmūʻa* give us some insight into the aspect of reception, or at least into the predilections of a small group of Istanbul poetry aficionados, among them the earliest owners of the manuscript. They were also literary men themselves who responded with verse to what happened around them as well as to challenges posed by their beloved poems, some of which were probably composed by close friends. Thus we are able to share the literary taste and activities of a number of gentlemen flourishing in the Ottoman capital in the middle years of the 17th century.

2. MS Turkish 81; its Copyist and First Owners

The *Dīvān* of Fāʼiżī was copied in a simple notebook by a certain Yaḥyā Efendi or Molla Yaḥyā (ʻYaḥyā el-Mevlāʼ) — both names occur in a colophon on f37a. The terms ʻmollaʼ and ʻefendiʼ seem to indicate that our Yaḥyā had received a medrese education and probably worked as a clerk (*kātib*) or perhaps even as full-time copyist. In a bolder hand, calligraphically more stylish than the one generally found in the manuscript, he wrote this couplet composed by himself (f6a):

> As soon as the pen becomes [weak as] a reed, the watery ink
> Makes the writer a schoolboy, I would think.[2]

Somewhat further down the page we find a couplet in Persian in the same metre but in a slightly different hand, which was possibly added by a later owner; both verses seem to comment on the though life of the clerk/copyist:

---

[1] For further details, see my forthcoming *Catalogue*.

[2] *(hezec) Ḳalem ṣāz olıcak ṣulı mürekkeb/Eder kātib olanı ṭıfl-i mekteb*

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When the pen is soft and the ink is dripping
Then the writer's heart, consequently, is writhing.[1]

Yaḥyā Efendi must have been a well-educated man, knowing his Arabic and Persian. He was also a poet in his own right and composed verse, in both Turkish and Persian, rather unusually under the dual pennames of Ḫālī and Va'dī. A number of his poems containing both his pen-names occur in the manuscript. In a colophon on f32b, the copyist calls himself 'Yaḥyā-yi Va'dī'; the same name occurs in a transcribed seal legend on f4a. On another page (6a), we find the ownership inscription of 'Yaḥyā-yi Ḫālī' to which is added the *nisba* 'el-Aġurūsī' or 'el-Aġurūşī' (?) which might point to the poet's origin in the village of Ġurūş (?) near Diyarbakır.[2] We find also the name of 'Ḫālī Çelebi' which occurs six times on ff6b and 7a. That Ḫalī and Va'dī were identical is further confirmed in the penultimate distich of a *ġazel* attributed to the copyist where the first two words of the line (in the *mużāri'* mettre) : *Va'dī medḥ etmekiçün ḥüsn-i dilberi* are crossed out and replaced by *Ḫālī Yūsuf etmekiçün*, etc. The second hemistich reads: *bu tāze ṭarż-u tāze edā tāze gū nedür*. We might translate these as:

Va'dī, to praise the beauty of your sweetheart
Ḫālī, to make a Joseph of your sweetheart
What new style, new manner is this, what new art ?

Yaḥyā Efendi completed this copy of Fā'iżī's *Dīvān* in 1075/1664-5. He left four chronograms (*tārīḫ*) in the manuscript dated as of the same year (ff34a, 45a, 53b) or the following, 1076 (1665-6, f33a). One of the chronograms of 1075 (on f45a), written in Persian, is curious enough to merit quoting. It plays with the meanings of the word *ḫaṭṭ*, 'writing' and 'down on a youth's cheek', as well as the meaning of 'Va'dī', 'the Promising One'.

As I saw a dust-like stubble on Va'dī's face
I know that his beauty is gone with the wind
[...]
I say, Va'dī, may your writing be full of grace[3]

---

[1] *Ḳalam sust[-u] murakkab hamchū ābast/Az īn ma'nī dil-i kātib kharābast.*

[2] This place, without indication of the first short vowel, is mentioned in 'Alī Cevād, *Memālik-i 'Oṣmāniye'niñ tārīḫ ve coġrafya luġatı* (Istanbul 1313), p. 564.

[3] *(ḫafif) Rīsh dīdam chu rū-yi Va'dī raml/Dānam ürā ki shud ḥusn barbād/[...] Va'dī gūyam ki khaṭṭ mubārak bād.*

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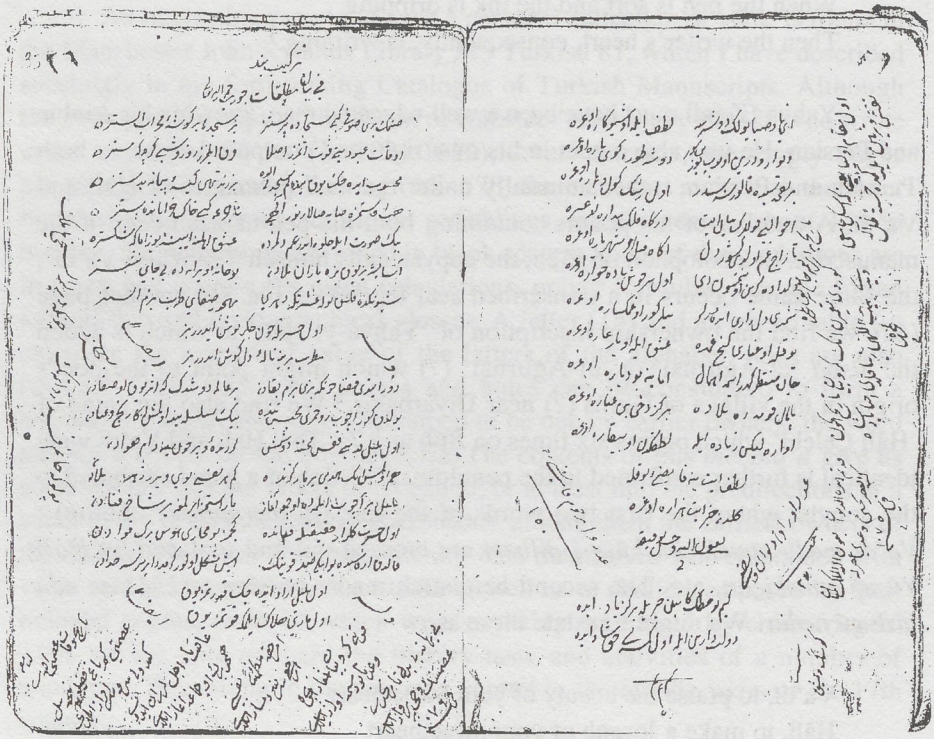

John Rylands University Library, MS Turkish 81, ff. 32fb-33a. The colophon with the name of the copyist/poet Yaḥyā and the year 1075 (1664-5) is visible in the right margin of f. 32b.

Not long afterwards, the manuscript must have passed into the hands of a certain ʻAbdülvehhāb who wrote under the penname of Ṣıdḳī; his signature occurs on f6a. He was a contemporary of Yaḥyā Efendi and wrote a 'fragment' (*ḳıṭʻa*) composed à propos a visit to the tomb of the saint Abū Ayyūb (Eyüp, a suburb of Istanbul) on 25 *Zilḳaʻde* 1074 (19 June 1664). He also wrote a chronogram during the same year (7a). Two other identifiable owners were a certain Aḥmed Ẓahr (or Ẓahīr) and Seyyid Fürūġ, whose signatures appear on ff1a and 2b, respectively, and are dated 1181/1767-8 and 1182/1768-9. In the 19th century, finally the manuscript was bought by the 25th Earl of Crawford and later passed with his collection to the John Rylands Library.

3. Contents: Contributors and Poetical Forms

Most texts found in the manuscript, including Fā'iżī's *Dīvān*, date from the 17th century. Contributions from earlier and later periods are few; among them we find verses by the 15th-century poet Kemāl Ümmī (57a) and

Necātī Beg (d. 914/1509, 5b)[1] as well as by two who flourished in the 16th century, Bāḳī (d. 1008/1600) and Rūḥī of Baghdad (d. 1014/1605, 43b). The poems by Bāḳī also occur in Ergun's edition of his *Dīvān*.[2] A few anonymous chronograms, or parts of them, dating from the 16th century (ff53b-54a) refer to, respectively, the appointment of İsḥāḳ Efendi as *ḳāḍī* of Damascus in 941/1534-5; the death of a certain Merḥabā Efendi (951/1544-5); and the demise of Emrī Çelebi (983/1575-6). Why these fragments were copied here is unclear to me.

Two chronograms date from the 18th century and were probably added by one or both of the aforementioned later owners: the handwriting as displayed in the signatures is almost indistinguishable. One of them celebrates the birth of Prince Selīm in 1175/1761-2 (57a), the other (57b) satirizes the burning of the Ottoman fleet in 1184/1770-1. It obviously refers to the disaster of the Battle of Çeşme, where almost the whole fleet under the command of the kapudans Ḥusāmuddīn Paşa and Cezāyirli Ḥasan Beg went up in flames.[3] It contains word play on the theme of stupid animals:

> Whilst [we] were staring like an ox, a learned man appeared and uttered this chronogram:
> They burned down the fleet like a stot stable, run [to help] Pasha[4]

A few other anonymous additions in, apparently, the same 18th-century hand are found on ff1a, 2b (a *ġazel* by a certain Kāẓım) and 57b.

A majority of the contributions date from the middle of the 17th century and seem to have been copied by Yaḥyā Efendi. Most of them are *ġazel*s by poets of his own generation. As far as they are identifiable,[5] we find the following names in order of appearance: 'Āşıḳ;[6] Nā'ilī (Muṣṭafā Efendi of

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[1]That the *ġazel* on this page is by the famous Necātī Beg and not by a later poet of the same pen-name is clear from a marginal note which states that Bāḳī wrote a *taḥmīs* on the poem. This was again, the famous Bāḳī who died in 1008/1600; the *taḥmīs* occurs in Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Baki Divanı* (Istanbul 1935), No. 36, pp. 99-100.

[2]Cf. my forthcoming *Catalogue*.

[3]Cf. İsmail Hâmi Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* IV (Istanbul 1972), pp. 48-50.

[4](*hezec*) *Ṣıġır gibi baḳarken geldi bir dānā dedi tārīḫ/Öküz ḍamı gibi yaḳdı donanma-yı ḳoş paşa; ṣıġır* (ox, cow) moreover resembles the word *ṣaġır* (deaf); *dānā* can be read as *dana* (calf); and *ḳoş* (run, or 'a pair') resembles *ḳoç* (ram).

[5]Identifiable, that is, which the poor tools available in north-west European research libraries; the primary study on which scholars must still largely rely is Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's detailed *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* (hereafter *GOD*; 4 vols. Pest, 1836-8).

[6]Probably the folk poet who flourished in the middle of the 17th century, cf. Abdullah Uçman, Saim Sakaoğlu et al. (Eds) (1987) *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar Türk Klâsikleri* VI (Istanbul), p. 79 ff.

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Istanbul, a government clerk and author of a *Dīvān*, d. 1077/1666-7);[1] Naẓmī (Meḥmed Efendi of Istanbul, author of a *Dīvān*, d. 1090/1679);[2] Neşāṭī (= ? Aḥmed Neşātīdede, a Mevlevī shaykh and author of a *Dīvān*, d. 1085/1674);[3] Nişārī (= ? Ḥüseyn Çelebi of Istanbul, author of a *Dīvān*, d. 1075/1664);[4] Ḥişālī (= ? Seyyid 'Abdurraḥmān, scholar and ḳāḍī of Eyüb, d. 1087/1677);[5] Ḥamdī (of Istanbul, a scholar and ḳāḍī at Erzurum, d. 1095/1684);[6] Cevrī (İbrāhīm Çelebi of Istanbul, a Mevlevī shaykh and author of a *Dīvān*, d. 1065/1654);[7] Vecīhī (Ḥasan Efendi of Istanbul d. 1071/1660); Remzī (=? Muṣṭafā Efendi of Antalya, scholar, d. 1100/1688);[8] Sāmī Beg of Galata (Yūsuf, a Mevlevi shaykh, d. 1079/1668);[9] Rıżā (Meḥmed Zehr-i Mārzāde, author of a biographical dictionary of poets and a *Dīvān*, d. 1083/1672);[10] Edīb (= ? Maḥmūd Çelebi, *ḳāḍī* of Aḳṭehir, d. 1079/1668-9);[11] Nāzī (Meḥmed Çelebi of Istanbul);[12] Ṭarzī (Meḥmed Efendi of Eski Zaġra (Stara Zagora), a scholar and *ḳāḍī*, author of a Dīvān, d. 1072/1661-2);[13] 'İṭmetī (a scholar and *ḳāḍī 'asker* of Rumeli, d. 1075/1664-5);[14] Ġafūrī (Shaykh Meḥmed, or Maḥmūd, Efendi of Gallipoli, a preacher at Istanbul, d. 1078/1667-8);[15] Şeyḥī (= ? Merḥabāzāde Aḥmed Efendi, a *ḳāḍī* of Eyüb and Istanbul, d. 1077/1666-7);[16] and Faṣīḥī (Meḥmed Uşşaḳīzāde, secretary and Mevlevī shaykh of Istanbul, d. 1064/1654).[17]

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[1] *GOD*, III, pp. 467-469; E. G. Ambros in EI.

[2] *GOD*, III, pp. 519-520.

[3] *GOD*, III, pp. 497-499; cf. Nevzat Kösoğlu, Hüseyin Ayan et al. (Eds) (1987) *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar Büyük Türk Klasikleri* V (Istanbul), p. 222 ff.

[4] *GOD*, III, pp. 453-454.

[5] *GOD*, III, p. 509.

[6] *GOD*, III, p. 530.

[7] *GOD*, III, pp. 417-422; cf. *Büyük Türk Klâsikleri* V, p. 178 ff.

[8] *GOD*, III, p. 550.

[9] Halûk İpekten, Mustafa İsen *et al.* (Eds) (1988) *Tezkirelere Göre Divan Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü* (5th impr. Ankara), p. 425; but cf. *GOD*, III, p. 211.

[10] *GOD*, III, p. 486; cf. *Büyük Türk Klâsikleri*, VI, p. 217 ff.

[11] *GOD*, III, p. 475.

[12] *GOD*, III, p. 346.

[13] *GOD*, III, p. 443; cf. *Divan Edebiyatı İsimleri Sözlüğü*, V, p. 503.

[14] *GOD*, III, pp. 496-497; *Büyük Türk Klâsikleri*, V, pp. 200-201; see also further below, where the year 1076 is mentioned.

[15] *GOD*, III, p. 472; cf. *Divan Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, pp. 154-155.

[16] *GOD*, III, p. 469; more Şeyḫīs are mentioned in *Divan Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, pp. 483-484.

[17] *GOD*, III, pp. 412-415; cf. *Divan Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, pp. 129-130.

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Among earlier generations, contemporaries of Fā'iżī, we find Nef'ī, the famous satirist (died probably in 1044/1635);[1] 'Ālī (d. 1026/1617); Edībī (d. 1027/1617-18 or 1029/1619-20);[2] and Hāşimī (Meḥmed Çelebi of Üsküdar, d. 1040/1630).[3]

Apart from the popular *ġazel*, other forms well-represented in the manuscript are the already mentioned chronograms (22 items) and *taḫmīs* (poems in which three lines are added to the couplets of a *ġazel* (six items). There are also a few *naẓīres* (imitations of other poems) (for items) and a *müstezād* (basically a *ġazel* with a supplement, found on f2a). A favourite genre is satire *hicv*). Most satirical poems copied in the manuscript contain bawdy language with graphic references to sex, and in a few cases to excrement and flatulation.

Apart from the *ġazel*, the other five categories all emphasize topicality and quickness of response and the verses of these types in particular must have contributed to the jollity of poetical sessions. We may well imagine that Yaḥyā Efendi was present on such occasions and brought his notebook with him. The prominence of these forms and genres in the *mecmū'a* confirms a trend in Ottoman literary history from the 17th century onwards of increasing popularity of elaborate or manneristic forms and satire and a growth of realistic or quasi-realistic elements in verse.[4] In the following, I will pay particular attention to this aspect of our *mecmū'a*.

4. Contents: Responsive Genres

Topicality is first of all represented by text fragments which reflect on historical events. In this category we find an anonymous fragment, said to be a *ḳaṣīde*, on Murād IV's closure of coffee-houses (in 1637, 5a),[5] a fragment (*ḳıṭ'a*) by Nişārī on the same sultan's prohibition of tobacco smoking (announced in the same year, 53b);[6] and a chronogram by Ġufūrī on the fire of

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[1] Metin Akkuş, *Nef'i ve Sihâm-ı kazâ* (Ankara 1998), p. 101.

[2] *GOD*, III, pp. 168-169; cf. *Divan Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*, p. 107.

[3] *GOD*, III, p. 214; cf. *Büyük Türk Klâsikleri*, V, pp. 93-95.

[4] Cf. E. W. J. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (hereafter *HOP*) (6 vols. London 1900-9), III, pp. 245 ff., who writes in this respect of the 'Ultra-Persian' or 'Artificial' as well as the 'Natural' schools; see also Kemal Silay *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court, Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change* (Bloomington, Indiana 1994), pp. 57 ff.

[5] Cf. Suraiya Faroqhi *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich. Von Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1995), pp. 242-244.

[6] *Ibid.*

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Istanbul in 1070/1660 (53a).[1] There is also a note in prose on a comet (*saçlı yıldız*) which appeared on 1 Zilḥicce 1091 (23 December 1680) and remained visible during the rest of the month (5a). Most chronograms lament the death of well-known personalities, mostly poets or, to a lesser extent, the completion or restoration of public fountains or mosques.

The closure of coffee houses, without doubt irritating to our poets who may have held gatherings in such places, is here attributed to the sultan's imām, and cynically seen by both the anonymous poet and Niṣārī as stimulating the equally forbidden smoking of tobacco :

> The tyranny of the *imam* is such on high and low
> Forsake the lawful and take a fancy to what lies outside the law
> Hurry oh coffee shop keeper and become a private host
> We, too, adapted ourselves to the *imam* with tobacco[2]

The fragment by Niṣārī reads as follows:

> High and low have begun to smoke in their privies
> And found a strange hidden place to drive away the smell of tobacco.[3]

Another straightforward piece of poetry is the chronogram on the fire of Istanbul. Here events were caused by the wrath of God rather than the wrongheaded folly of humans :

> The sea of fire of God's might
> Boiled over, bringing forth waves
> (...)
> From a tiny spark Istanbul caught fire
> It burned from one end to the other, alas ! alack!
> (...)
> I listened — a voice from heaven said a chronogram
> 'The sighs of the wretched ones have burned down Istanbul'[4]

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[1] Cf. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, III, p. 428; the fire destroyed at least a third of the old city between 24 and 26 July.

[2] *(hezec) İmāmuñ cevri bu kim ḫāṣṣ-u 'āmma/ḥalāli terk edüb meyl et ḥarāma/yüri ey ḳahveci mihmāncı ol/tütünden biz daḫi uyduḳ imāma.*

[3] *(remel) Müsterāḥ içre içer oldı duḫām ḫāṣṣ-u 'āmm/büy-i tütün def'i na maḫfī 'aceb yer buldı.*

[4] *(remel) Baḥr-i nār-i ġaẓab-i ḳahr-i ḫudā/cūş edūb mevcler etdi peydā (...) Şemmesinden ṭutuşub İstanbul/ser-te-ser yandı dirīġā ḥayfā [...] Āgāh [?] oldum dedi hātif hātif tārīh/yaḳdı İstanbulı āh-i fuḳarā.*

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As we saw above, both Yaḥyā Efendi and Ṣıdḳī contributed to the series of chronograms. The year in which the former completed the Dīvān, he commemorated the death of Aḥmed Efendi in Persian (34a):

> Aḥmed Efendi has departed for eternity
> There was no limit to his knowledge
> (...)
> This chronogram Va'dī for him said:
> 'Dürrīzāde, Aḥmed is dead'[1]

From the next year (1076) dates a chronogram of his on the death of his fellow-poet 'İṣmetī (33a):

> "İsmetī who for many years himself did make
> An exalted cypress in the garden of excellence
> Eventually the wind of death did make
> him tremble and flutter like a leaf
> (...)
> In order to announce his death the cherubim
> Oh Va'dī, called out in this way
> It was this chronogram without fault or seam :
> 'İsmetī's spirit soared away'[2]

Ṣıdḳī contributed a not very remarkable chronogram on the birth of Prince Muṣṭafā in 1074/1664[3] (7a):

> The Prince came into existence, matchless
> All, rich and poor, rejoiced
> I spoke the chronogram of his birth, oh Ṣıdḳī
> Sultan Muṣṭafā has become a hope for felicity[4]

Under the words of the last hemistich have been added the ebced numbers, adding up to the correct 1074.

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[1] *(ḫafīf) Kard Aḥmed Efendi 'azm-i baḳā/ki nabūdash be-'ilm ġāyat-u ḥadd (...) Guft Va'dī barāy-i ū tārīkh/fawt shud Dürrīzāde Aḥmed.* I have not been able to identify this person, cf. J.R. Walsh, 'Dürrīzāde' in *EI*.

[2] *(remel) 'İṣmetī kim bāġ-i fażla niçe yıl/kendüyi serv-i ser-efrāz eyledi/āḳibet bād-ı ecel lerzān edüb/ hemçū berg uçmaġa āġāz eyledi (...) Fevtini kerrūbiyān iṣ'ār içün/Va'dīyā bu resme āvāz eyledi/bī-bahāne bī-bedel tārīḫdür/ İṣmetī'nüñ rūḥi pervāz eyledi.*

[3] The prince later became Sultan Muṣṭafā II, born 5 June 1664, cf. A. D. Alderson *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), p. 105 and Table xxxviii.

[4] *(remel) Geldi şehzāde vücūde bī-şebīh/şādumān oldı ḳamu bay-u gedā/Ṣıdḳīyā tārīḫ-i mevlūdın dedüm/oldı Sulṭān Muṣṭafā devlet-ricā.*

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Va'dī, finally contributed a chronogram on the completion of a fountain commissioned by Muṣṭafā Paşa (53b). This happened in the same year he finished the Dīvān (1075).

As the Pasha, lord of the world, with kindness
That king built a new fountain for the town
Va'dī, thirsty of heart, drank of its water and then and there
Said for it, by way of a chronogram: 'the source Kevşer'[1]

Remzī also composed a chronogram for the same fountain (56b). He mentions that Muṣṭafā Paşa was both *ḳā'immaḳām* and *ḳapudan*. It is very likely, therefore, that the later Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Paşa, a scion of the Köprülü dynasty, is meant. He became admiral in 1072/1661 and *ḳā'immaḳām* in 1073/1663.[2] The fountain, if built in Istanbul, does not seem to have survived.[3] The manuscript also contains an (anonymous) chronogram on a fountain built by another Muṣṭafā Paşa in 1046/1637-8 who was also a *ḳapudan* (8a). This was Siliḥdār Muṣṭafā Paşa, a boon companion of Sultan Murād IV.[4] This fountain, erected in Tophane, has also disappeared.[5]

Much more interesting from a literary point of a view are the poems which respond to other poems. As an example I will quote a *naẓīre* by Yahyā Efendi in response to a ġazel by Naẓmī (or perhaps the other way round: the manuscript is not explicit on this point, 3b). Naẓmī's poem reads as follows:

Those two locks on his cheek, here and there
[It was as if] two Hindus had appeared in Rūm, here and there
To that prince's face, that is, as the sun and moon of felicity
The brows are the cipher-like beauty, here and there
I looked at the pure, treacherous dawn of that bewitching beauty
Which appeared to have become a fragrant hyacinth flowering, here and there
Does not Adam bring shame upon the face of Paradise
So that it is filled with moles one after another, here and there?
Really, a strange beauty and radiance it gave, Naẓmī,
To that rose garden, the jasmine-smelling down, here and there[6]

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[1] *(hezec) Paşa-yı ḫudāvend-i cihān lutf-ile çünkim / bir 'ayn-i cedīd etdi binā şehre o dāver/ābından içüb Va'dī-yi dil-teşne o demde / tārīḫ içün aña dedi çeşme-yi Kevṣer. Kevṣer* (Kawthar) is the name of a river in Paradise.

[2] Cf. C. J. Heywood, 'Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha' in *EI.*

[3] Cf. İzzet Kumbaracılar, *Istanbul sebilleri* (Istanbul 1938), p. 27.

[4] Cf. Meḥmed Süreyyā *Sicill-i 'osmānī (SO),* IV (Istanbul 1315), p. 785.

[5] Cf. Kumbaracılar, *İstanbul sebilleri*, p. 23.

[6] *(mużāri') Ruḫsāri üzre ol iki gīsū ṭaraf ṭaraf/gūyāki çıkdı Rūm'a Hindū ṭaraf ṭaraf/ol şāh-i meh-sitāre vü ḫūrşīd-tal 'atuñ/ṭuġra-veş [?] ḫüsnidür ebrū ṭaraf ṭaraf/ ṣubḥ-i ġadār-i pākına baḳdum ol āfetüñ/olmış şigüfte sünbül-i ḫoş-bū ṭaraf ṭaraf/ Ādem bihişt rūyım etmezmi ār-nümā/ kim dāne dāne ḫāl-ile memlū ṭaraf ṭaraf/ ḫaḳḳā ġarīh revnaḳ-u fer verdi Naẓmīyā/ol gülzāra ḫaṭṭ-i semen-bū ṭaraf ṭaraf.*

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Va'dī composed the following *ġazel* in the same metre and with the same rhyme :

This down which became the face's new desire, here and there
Even Abyssinians spoke [about it], flatteringly, everywhere
Of the bewitching beauty's drunken eyes' splendour's royal falcon
Those two brows are the pinions and wings, here and there
In order to watch the beloved's moving body, the cypresses
Stood still in the rose garden, every one of them yearning, here and there
The silvery dawn took, it seemed, the fragrance of his locks
The sweet scent perfumed the world, here and there
The description of his teeth, of Va'dī, is on the poem's string
They were like pearls in the shoop of my heart, here and there[1]

Both poems teem with the clichés of traditional love poetry. In both poems the setting is the no less traditional garden, which in Naẓmī's ġazel is compared to Paradise (fourth couplet). The central motifs of the subsequent distichs in both poems are the, again traditional, elements of the beloved boy's beauty: his locks, brows and youthful down. Naẓmī also praises his hair (hyacinths). Va'dī has separate couplets on his body ('stature') and teeth. Both poets compare the boy in the second couplet to a prince (*şāh*) and royal falcon (*şehbāz*), which figure as symbols of power: that is, over the heart of the poet. Both poems are strangely sterile and lack the element of tragedy caused by the unfulfilled yearning of the poet which is often most powerfully expressed in the last couplet of *ġazel*s. The authors content themselves with observation. 'I looked at his beauty...', says Naẓmī (third couplet).

More accessible to our taste perhaps than these exercises in complex imagery are simpler fragments which reflect the homosexual ambience of Ottoman poetry.[2] An anonymous fragment on the title page (1a) from the first associates love with boys:

So what if the love for beauties is visible all around
And the inner court of a mosque becomes a boy's playground?[3]

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[1] *(mużāri') Ol ḫaṭṭ ki oldı nev-heves-i rū ṭaraf ṭaraf/ Ḥabeş Ḥabeş der etdi tek-a-pū ṭaraf ṭaraf/şehbāz-i ḥüsn-i çeşm-i siyeh-mest-i āfetüñ/ bal-u peridür ol iki ebrū ṭaraf ṭaraf/reftār-i ḳadd-i yāri temāşāya servler/gülşende durdı şevk-ile her ser ṭaraf ṭaraf/ almış şemīm-i kākülini ṣubḥ-dem-i sīm/etdi mu'aṭṭar 'ālemi ḫoş-bū ṭaraf ṭaraf/dendāni vaṣfı rişte-i naẓm üzre Va'dīyā/ dükkān-i dilde oldı çū lü'lü ṭaraf ṭaraf.*

[2] For a brief discussion of this subject, hitherto surrounded by a mist of taboo, see Silay, *Nedim*, pp. 90 ff.; see also my *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims. A Study of Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's* Künhü l'aḫbār (Leiden 1992), pp. 266 ff. and İsmet Zeki Eyuboğlu, *Divan Şiirinde Sapık Sevgi* (2nd. impr. without place or date), pp. 107 ff.

[3] *(remel) Yine de olsa nola cilve-i 'aşḳ-i ḫūbān/ḥarem-i cāmı' olur şu'bede-gāh-i ṣıbyān.*

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The manuscript contains a series of fragments on baths, the traditional place for flirting and sex with boys. Some of these were written by Yaḥyā Efendi. Thus, on f8a:

> My friend appears to have been offering his goods for sale these days
> He had them wrapped in a towel, I saw them in the bath today[1]

And (39a) :

> I kept insisting on sacrificing heart and soul
> In the Pederasts' Bath that sweetheart again I saw[2]

The same bath occurs in another fragment by the copyist (54a) :

> The sodomist made his butt swell in a cubicle on lust's path
> Therefore they called this bath the Pederasts' Bath[3]

In the same way, Yaḥyā Efendi 'explained' the name of two other baths (39a) :

> It cures the heart-sick when they see that heart-soothing one in it
> They call this bath the Full Moon Bath.[4]

The full moon was the traditional metaphor for the face of a beautiful boy. In a second two-liner, he mentions the 'Speckled' or 'Variegated Bath' (*Alaca Ḥammām*, 39b), so-called because it coloured the sweetheart's face partly vermilion, partly pink. Another four fragments of this type, all rhyming *dil-ārāmı* with *ḥammāmı* as in one of Yaḥyā Efendi's verses quoted from f39a, are found on the same page. They are by Meḥmed Aġa,[5] Ḥāletī Efendi, Neşāṭī and Edīb, and they explain the 'Thunderbolt Bath' (*Yıldırım Ḥammāmı*, where the sweetheart's beauty strikes the eyes of the visitors); the 'Sufis' Bath' (*Ṣūfīler Ḥammāmı*, where it was, ironically, impossible to meet the sweetheart in private); the 'Pit' or 'Anus Bath' (*Çuḳur Ḥammāmı*, where it was impossible to pick up a sweetheart); and the 'Michael Bath' (*Miḥal Ḥammāmı*). 'Michael' here reflects the presence of Christian boys in baths, cabarets and other meeting places. (This is also documented in other texts.[6])

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[1] *(remel) Satılıḳ etmiş metā'ın yār bu eyyāmda/ peştemāle baġlamış gördüm bu gün ḥammāmda*

[2] *(hezec) Eline [elbette?] naḳd-i cānı vermege eylerdüm iḳdāmı/varub Oġlanlı Ḥammām'a gördüm ol dil-ārāmı.* A reference to this bath is also found in Vehbī's *Şevḳ-engīz*, cf. my 'Sünbülzāde Vehbī's Şevḳ-engiz; an Ottoman Pornographic Poem', in *Turcica*, XXV (1993), pp. 9-37, 25.

[3] *(hezec) Ḍomaldı ḫalvet içre lūṭī kūn-i şehvet-āşāmı/bu ḥammāma anuñçün dediler Oġlanlı Ḥammām'ı*

[4] *(hezec) Şifādur ḫaste-dil görse içinde ol dil-ārāmı/bu ḥammāmı dediler nāmına Mehtāb Ḥammāmı*

[5] Possibly identical with the poet 'Ārif of Bursa, d. 1088/1677, cf. *GOD*, III, p. 510.

[6] Cf. my 'Fazıl Beg Enderuni, Social Historian or Poet?', in Caesar E. Farah (ed.) *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire* (Kirksville, Missouri 1993, pp. 183-192, 187, and chapter 2, below.

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Those asses of rivals saw that heart-soothing one with an infidel
Therefore they called this bath the Michael Bath[1]

The series closes with a final verse by the copyist explaining the 'Paupers' Bath' (*Faḳīr Ḥammāmı*, where visitors give all that is requested by their sweethearts).

Erotic and pornographic fragments do not always refer to homosexuality. These lines occur on f2a:

You are my master, my sultan, but I am ashamed to say
All I can offer you is a peach to take away[2]

Peach in this context may either mean a kiss or, more likely, breast or vagina.[3] On the same page is an anonymous *ḳıṭ'a* with a *müstezād* by 'Ārif elaborating on the theme of battering the gate of the Maiden Tower (*ḳız ḳulesi*), which obviously refers to sexual intercourse.

5. Nef'ī's Satirical Verses

Many and varied references to sex are furthermore found in satirical verses of our *mecmū'a*. The largest number of quotations in it are drawn from Nef'ī's *Sihām-i ḳażā* ('Shafts of Doom'), a notorious collection of satirical verse. Nef'ī's satire, as has been observed by Gibb, was 'scurrilous and obscene abuse flung at whatever person chanced to incur the writer's displeasure' and 'filthy and foul-mouthed "abuse"[4] rather than an exercise in subtle derision. Consequently, both Hammer and Gibb were reluctant to quote examples from his work; Hammer explicitly tried to avoid offending public propriety.[5] Akkuş's edition in Latin script (of 1998) seems to omit some of the most offensive verses and is also riddled with dots indicating where syllables, words and even whole lines have been omitted. Satire, in fact, was the cause for the poet's execution in, probably, 1044/1635.[6] I take the opportunity here to give some, I confess, disproportional, attention to the great poet's until recently direly neglected work. This is not an easy task, because the satirical verses are full of obscure reference, which perhaps could only have been fully understood by contemporaries.[7] His vocabulary is often as puzzling as it is dazzling.

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[1] *Görüb aġyār bir ḫar-i kāfir* [= probably *aġyār-i ḫar bir kāfir] ile ol dil-ārāmı/bu ḥammāma anuñçün dediler Miḥal Ḥammām.*

[2] *Efendümsin sultanunsın uṭanurım demege/ben saña vereyim ki bir şeftalı vermege.*

[3] Cf. Hulki Aktunç *Büyük Argo Sözlüğü* (Istanbul 1990), p. 252.

[4] HOP, III, p. 256.

[5] Cf. *HOP*, III, p. 273; *GOD*, III, p. 241.

[6] Cf. *HOP*, III, pp. 253-254.

[7] Cf. F. Babinger, Nef'ī, in *EI*; Babinger also was of the opinion that the poet's satire had 'little value as evidence of his poetic gifts', but one wonders how it is possible to fully appreciate the literary merit of verse, the underlying meaning of which might well escape one's grasp.

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The first quotation concerns Fā'iżī, the author of the Dīvān which forms the main part of the *mecmū'a*, (4b).[1]

Inform us of your person's excellence, oh Ḳāfoġlı, let us hear
Let us know your pedigree and tell us how grand it is
If you were to say 'I am the son of Ḳāf', rather keep quiet, because if your rear
Were he Mountain Ḳāf, our bird would be 'Anḳā[2]

The 'Anḳā was a fabulous bird, as Ḳāf was the name of a fabulous mountain. The underlying meaning points to coition: mountains in pornographic verse often mean buttocks, and the bird stands for the penis.[3] According to Hammer, Fā'izī was '*ein Liebeverwundeter Nafiis*'.[4]

Curiously, on the same page we find a poem on the poet 'Anḳā, or 'Anḳā-yi 'Acem', a certain Molla Ḥusayn of Shīrāz who died in Cairo in 1025/1616.[5] This man, in Nef'ī's eyes, was bad and his eyebrows not the only crooked thing about his personality; he only just escaped from being accused of Shiite (*ḳızılbaş*) treason and he looked like a disreputable gypsy.[6] The other quotations on this page are aimed against Nev'īzāde 'Aṭāyī, Ṭiflī, Riyāżī and Çeşmī. In particular Nev'izade (d. 1044/1634-5), a scholar, biographer and author of a 'Quintet' (*Ḫamse*) in *meṣnevī* rhyme which also contains some pornographic passages,[7] became the target of extremely vicious abuse, as the following quotation (4b) shows:

Nev'īzāde, how long yet will you molest our prick
I don't care a fuck for silvers coins, no I don't, that is my last word
What is this haste you show in offering us your bum
Don't think that everyone we fuck becomes, like Ṭıflī, a poet[8]

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[1] The poem is not printed in Akkuş's edition, but it, as well as all other quotation from Nef'ī's work in the manuscript, does occur in both the Leiden University Library MSS of the *Sihām*, Or. 662, f. 19a, and Or. 870, f. 17b.

[2] *(remel) Şeref-i zātini bildür bize ey Ḳāfoġlı/bilelüm rütbe-yi aṣluñ ne-ḳadar a'lādur/ibn-i Ḳāfum deriseñ bu sözi ḳo kim götüñ/kūh-i Ḳāf ise bizimde ḳuşımız 'Anḳā'dur.*

[3] Cf. also Aktunç, *Argo Sözlüğü*, pp. 182-183.

[4] *GOD*, III, p. 235.

[5] *GOD*, III, p. 159.

[6] '*bu ḳiyāfetle gören der ... 'Acem'üñ çingenesidür bu ḳızılbaşi degül*', cf. MSS Or. 662, f. 27b; Or. 870, f. 26b; Akkuş's edition, p. 247.

[7] Cf. *GOD*, III, pp. 246, 268.

[8] *(remel) Nev'īzāde bu kaşınmaḳ niçe bir kīrimize/ sikmezin sikmezin aḳçeyi hemān söz bir olur/ ne bu tedbīr-i şitābuñ bize göt vermekde/şanma her sikdügimiz Ṭıflī gibi şā'ir olur;* cf. MSS Or. 870, f. 19b, which has the important variant '*ey püşt seni*' (you, catamite) for '*aḳçeyi hemān*'. (Not in Akkuş's edition.)

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Riyāżī, whom Nef'ī accused of having treated him unjustly in his biographical dictionary,[1] is scolded for being a deaf catamite whose ear/arse the poet will pierce with his satire/penis. A longer piece of 21 couplets occurs on ff37b-38a.[2] Here it is Nev'īzāde who is again taken to account:

Why do you behave so distractedly towards us?
Listen to us as others do when we discuss fucking you
Who would fuck a monster like you, let donkeys fuck you![3]

In the fourth couplet, the attention shifts again to Fā'iżī, who had been one of Nev'īzāde's *medrese* teachers.[4]

Although Ḳāfoġlı is a boy in his stupidity
He is as great a scoundrel of whoring temperament as you [Nev'īzāde], so listen
What if he is impotent, he knows it as does his wife
He really is like you, a hesitating empty vessel, so listen[5]

Both men were accused of submitting to penetration in all circumstances, which was considered to be the nadir of humiliation and shame. Fā'iżī, the poem continues, was neither a good scholar, nor a good ḳāżī or poet, but only a despicable schismatic: a vulgar 'Rāfiżī [dervish] with a demon-face'[6] and 'a scabby devil fit for slaughter, a hypocrite'.[7]

Finally there is a poem on Veysī Efendi (fifteen couplets, 38a).[8] He was a *ḳāḍī* of Üsküb (Skopje) but better known as a brilliant prose writer who produced a famous life of the Prophet and was also the author of a *Dīvān* (d. 1037/1628).[9] In the first couplets of Nef'ī's satire he is chiefly reproached for being a boorish Turk.[10] (He was born in Alaşehir, western Anatolia). It begins:

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1 '*ḍoḳunub teẕkiresinde bize ...*'

2 MSS Or. 662, f. 11b, Or. 870, f. 8b; not in Akkuş's edition.

3 *(remel) Nev'īzāde bize bu şīve-i ḥayrāne neden/ seni sikmek bize eller gibi maṭlab diñle/ kim siker sencileyin dīvi eşekler siksün*

4 Cf. *GOD*, III, p. 244.

5 *(remel) Gerçi Ḳāfoġlı sefāhetde ġulemdür ammā/sen ḳadar mey-dihed-ü fāḥişe-meşreb diñle/ nola 'innīn ise ol kendü bilür ehli ile/ hele bir sencileyin cilf-i müẕebẕib diñle*

6 '*... Rāfiżī-yi mübteẕel-i çīn-peyker*'

7 '*küştenī bir uyuz iblīs-ü münāfıḳdur...*'

8 Cf. Sıdkı's edition, p. 48.

9 Cf. HOP, III, pp. 208-218.

10 The abuse of individuals traditionally took the character of ethnic and racial defamation, cf. my *Pure Water*, p. 272-273.

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Good God, well done, may His power to Heavens reach
What is this, this Turk of false words and quaint speech?[1]

Would it not be better, Nef'ī continues, if the hand of such a loquacious Turk held a mace (*zer-deste*) instead of a pen, if he took an old sack (*eski çuval*) with him instead of a book purse (*kīse-yi defter*)? In fact, God had forbidden the Turks admission to the 'source of understanding'.[2] He was a *ḳāḍī* who acted like a tax farmer and led the life of a robber.[3] He was an ignorant mufti, a poet who resembled a baker (*ḫabbāz*) or a greengrocer (*baḳḳāl*),[4] an arranger of would-be pearls that were only glass beads praising scoundrels but making him rich. The poem ends:

He is like an importunate mendicant by nature who has gambled away all
Yet he snatches and begs from travellers in the city of the meaningful.[5]

6. Other Satirical Verse

The *mecmū'a* contains satiric verse not only by the great master but also by lesser known contemporaries of the copyist. The first page (1a) contains an (incomplete) four-liner again on Fā'iżī by, probably, Ṣıdḳī — the poem is surrounded by his signatures. Although the final pun is lost in a defective last distich, one poet seems to contrast his target's pen-name indicating excellence or blessing (*fayż*) — the word is used in the third line — with the meaningless (*mühmel*) character of his verse. I suspect there is also a reference to his supposed homosexuality; the word *oġlan* (boy) occurs in the last incomplete distich.

More substantial satires are attributed to Niṣārī, Nā'ilī and Meḥmed Aġa. These verses continue the tradition of obscene mud-throwing (or of what was understood to be such by contemporaries). They are no less problematic for the modern reader than those of Nef'ī and remind us yet again of the fact that we are still in the painful 'deciphering phase'[6] of Ottoman literary scholarship. For instance, Niṣārī, addresses a certain Fedā'ī Beg (37a) in lines which begin thus:

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[1] *(remel) Bāreke 'illāh zehī ḳudret-i Ḥaḳ celle celāl/nedür ol Türk-i müzevver-süḫen-i ṭurfa-maḳāl;* cf. Akkuş's edition, p. 186.

[2] *'Türk'e Ḥaḳḳ çeşme-yi idrākı ḥarām etmişdür ...'*

[3] *'ḳāżī-yi mültezim-aṭvār-u ḥarāmı-sīret...'*

[4] This term is used in a verse not found in our manuscript.

[5] *Reh-nişīn müflis-i cerrār gibi ṭab'i velī/rev-i şehr-i ma'ānīde eder cerr-ü su'āl*; cf. Akkuş's edition, p. 187.

[6] Cf. Silay, *Nedim*, p. xiii.

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Why is it, Fedā'ī, that you avoid us
We are not a pole for your urine
If you are afraid of being fucked
We are knowledgeable and don't fuck donkeys[1]

On f 39[b], we find a lengthy satire by Nā'ilī on an unidentified gentleman ('Çelebi'). It begins thus:

He is neither sober-minded, nor drunk on wine, our Chelebi
But he is intoxicated by drinks of folly, our Chelebi
He is fucked by the great but does not offer his bum to paupers
He is a unique sweetheart of exalted rank, our Chelebi[2]

His selective submission to pederasts (*muġlım*) and sodomites (*kūnī*) is considered unwise. He is like a gazelle chased by dogs and his aloofness makes him often indulge in masturbation (*calḳ*). Many of his problems would have been solved if he had opened his trousers 'to the tongue/heart (*dil*) that gives satisfaction/serenity (*ṣafā*)'. The last part of the poem elaborates this point and repeats the word '*ẕelle*' — it is vowelled in the manuscript so that it is not mistaken for a word with similar spelling such as *ẕille* (abasement) — which means first of all 'slip [of the tongue]', but in this context seems to mean 'arse'.[3] To satisfy the beloved, or rather sex-maniac, the arse — if that is what is meant — should be pure and brilliant, and should not be, among some other things here described, the 'silvery dewlap of the catamite'[4] or like a wide vulva that needs neither soap nor saliva.

Different and more jocular in tone is a *terci'-i bend* (a poem with a recurrent couplet at the end of each stanza) by Nāzī (40a) which on closer inspection seems to consist of the repeated addition of a sarcastic refrain to traditional stanzas on the theme of the love-sick lover. The target of this satire was a certain 'Djinn's Son' (Cin-zāde) who is also mentioned in the heading. The first line is:

Oh mad lover do not fall in love, do not become depressed
Do not in your rapture drink bitter water, do not drain a cup of poison[5]

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[1] *(ḫafif) İctinābuñ Fedāyī aṣlı nedür/çişüñe biz senüñ degek degüliz/ḫavf ederseñ eger sikilmekden/'arifiz bir eşek siken degüliz*

[2] *(müctess) Ne hūşyār ü ne mest-i şarābdur Çelebi/mey-i sefāhet-ile nişve-pāydur Çelebi / ekābire sikilür heb faḳīre göt vermez/ yegāne dilber-i 'alī-cenābdur Çelebi*

[3] The word also occurs in the margin of f 57[a]: '*ẕelle-i dilrübā berā-yi muġlim...*' (a heart-rending arse for the pederast); cf. Edith Ambros, *Candid Penstrokes. The Lyrics of Me'ālī, an Ottoman Poet of the 16th Century,* (Berlin 1982), p. 304.

[4] *ġabġab-i sīmīn-i şāhid...*'

[5] *(hezec) Ey 'āşıḳ-i şūrīde ne dil-beste-i teng ol/'aşḳ-ile ne talḫ-ābe keş-i cām-i şereng ol*

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The refrain which uses the same rhyme and a rather *recherché* vocabulary is this:

> If you want to seduce, then perform your hilarious tricks for catamites
> Be a cuckold and buffoon, do as the Djinn's son![1]

One wonders how those to whom such poems were addressed reacted, if they were still alive and the satire was not taken to be just a game. One form of reaction, which fellow-poets perhaps expected or hoped for, was a *naẓīre* or a counter-attack (*redd*, 'refutation'). A rather feeble example occurs in the *mecmū'a* (53b). Meḥmed Aġa addresses a certain Pervāne-zāde ('Son of the Moth — the moth was a traditional metaphor of the beloved who kills himself in the flame of passion) :

> Do not think, Pervâne-zāde, that I am grieved
> It is the custom that whatever, happens, happens through fate (...)
> Shit can be eaten,[2] they say, with appetite[3]

The reaction of Pervāne-zāde was:

> Even if they say that shit can be eaten with appetite
> Whatever happens, happens, and one keeps quiet[4]

5. Conclusion

I have quoted some examples from our manuscript, in order to give an impression of the poetical discourse as it is reflected in a small Ottoman *mecmū'a* of the mid-17th century. I have laid emphasis on the hitherto unknown work of Va'dī/Ḫālī and Ṣıdḳī as well of some of their rather obscure contemporaries, some of whom might also have been friends. Their verse, perhaps, was not of great quality but the notebook demonstrates that poetry was alive in bureaucratic and academic circles in Istanbul at the time. Yaḥyā Efendi and his fellow-poets appreciated a wide range of genres and were, apart from the classic *ġazel*, especially interested in what I have called responsive genres such as chronograms and satire. They also had a healthy, or perhaps not so healthy, but certainly traditional, interest in sex and its expression in verses of a more or less pornographic character. The juxtaposition of poems of

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[1] *Meyl eyleye derseñ hekizāna şelleleng ol/cin-zāde gibi masḥara yāḥud pezeveng ol*

[2] That is, to resign oneself to the inevitable, see Aktunç, *Büyük Argo Sözlüğü*, p. 58.

[3] *(remel) Şanma kim Pervāne-zāde çū ki maḥzūn olam/'ādet oldur her ne olursa ḳażā-yile olur/ ... Poḫ yemek zīrā ki derler iştihā ile olur*

[4] *(remel) Gerçe derler poḫ yemekde iştihā ile olur/her ne olursa yine ammā rıżā ile olur*

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various type, partly interactive and almost all written by a group of contemporaries inhabiting the same city, suggests poetic gatherings, possibly in coffee shops (as long as these were tolerated). Regrettably our *mecmū'a* does not provide any direct proof of such happenings which were popular among Ottoman intellectuals, as is known from other sources.[1] The seemingly hasty jottings of the additions as well as the tattered outward aspect of the manuscript give the impression that it was a 'working copy'. It certainly did not go unused even if we do not know exactly how it acquired its final form and contents.

[1]Poets' biographies in particular describe such gatherings, cf. my *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims*, p. 12, *passim*.

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2. FĀŻIL BEG ENDERŪNĪ, SOCIAL HISTORIAN OR POET?*

Introduction

The work of Fazıl Beg Enderuni, a civil servant and poet who died in 1224/1809-10, has been little studied. The author and his work are discussed in general works on Ottoman poetry such as J. von Hammer's *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst* (4 vols., Pest, 1836-38) and E. J. W. Gibb's *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (5 vols., London, 1900-9), but I have not found any recent monographs or articles on the subject although some attention has been paid to the art history aspect of the illustrated manuscripts of his work.[1] Nevertheless, the work of Fazıl Beg, although lacking in literary quality, is judged to be highly interesting for its realistic aspects. The work, it has been maintained, could be regarded as a valuable historical source and would have fared better if it had been cast in the medium of prose.[2] Reading through the work, I have come to the conclusion that this judgement is questionable, for the reasons discussed below.

Life

Of Fazıl Beg's life not much is known. We are provided with some data by historians and the author himself. The most important facts are: Fazıl Beg came from an Arab family of Medina. His grandfather Tahir Beg, as governor of 'Akka (Acre) and Safad, was able to maintain a semi-independent state in the area, but his domain was subjected to the Porte (central government) in 1090/1776-77 by Gazi Hasan Paşa. During the fight Tahir Beg was killed, and his son, the father of the poet, was killed a year later. Fazıl and his brother were transported to Istanbul, where they were taken into the palace as slaves of the sultan. Fazıl Beg left the *saray* in 1198/1783-84 after a disastrous love affair, and became administrator of the Rhodos (Rhodes) pious foundations (*evkaf*). Not long afterwards he ran into trouble, probably after the fall from grace of his protector, *Reisülküttab* Ebu Bekr Ratip Efendi, and was temporarily banished to Rhodos (1214/1799-1800), where he suffered from

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[1]Cf. Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts, a Catalogue and Subject Index of Painting in the British Library and British Museum* (London, 1981), 39-40. I am indebted to Prof. Barbara Flemming of Leiden University for this reference.

[2]E. J. W. Gibb. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 5 vols. (London, 1900-09), 4: 237.

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blindness. He returned to the capital, Istanbul, and lived there for another ten years, mostly in ill health (perhaps caused by sexual disease), in Eyüp and Beşiktaş.[1]

Work

Fazıl Beg's legacy consists of five poetical works:

(1) a *Divan* of diverse poetry
(2) the *Huban-name* (*Book of Beautiful Boys*) of 1207/1792-93
(3) the *Zenan-name* (*Book of Women*)
(4) *Defter-i aşk* (*Register of Love*) of 1210/1795-96
(5) the *Çengi-name, also named Rakkas-name* (*Book of Dancers*)

Judgement

The realistic qualities to which I refer above have been particularly attributed to the last four works mentioned. Apart from The Register of Love, they were written in the tradition of the *şehr-engiz* popular among the Ottomans, who wrote some fifty such works, from the poet Mesihi (d. 1512) onwards. Poems in the genre had some common characteristics: they discussed the amorous qualities of a number of pretty boys (rarely women) of a certain town, or belonging to various nationalities; the central element, as well as the artistic amusement, of such poetry was the invention of puns on the names of the boys (girls). The poetry has received a certain socio-historical interest because the boys (or girls) figuring in it belonged to the lower classes of society or the ethnic/religious minorities of the empire, hardly highlighted in other sources.[2] On the other hand, the literary vagueness of the poems restricted the scope of such data, which often do not go beyond the name of the profession or ethnic/religious group of the boy (girl) in question. The genre, like the works of Fazıl Beg, has been little studied because of the embarrassing undisguised homoerotic theme of it.[3]

What were the realistic, socio-historically interesting points attributed to the work of Fazıl Beg? There were, according to Gibb, (a) autobiographical data, particularly about the author's life in the palace;[4] (b) details on folklore;[5]

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[1]Ibid., 4: 220-2.
[2]Ibid., 2: 235.
[3]Yanco Baskov, "Zum Problem des Objekts der Liebe in der osmanischen Divan-Poesie," in XVIII. *Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vorträge, ZDMG*, Suppl. II (Wiesbaden, 1974), 124-30, 128.
[4]Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 4: 221.
[5]Ibid., 4: 223: "a veritable treasure of folklore."

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(c) "a clear amount of nationalities;"[1] and (d) familiar and colloquial language.[2] On the whole, "vagueness" and "conventional generalities are avoided."[3] Gibb also differentiates between works in which the author has a respectable attitude for his love object (*Register of Love* and *Book of Beautiful Boys*) and those in which the low attitude of the "lecher" is revealed (*Book of Women* and *Book of Dancers*). This last aspect was most evident in Fazıl Beg's Book of Dancers, which was rejected on moral grounds, typical for scholarship of the Victorian era. It was qualified as "offensive", "afford[ing] a view of the darkest phases of life in Eastern cities," "worse than worthless," and "poor pleasantry in the vilest taste."[4] Let us examine how realistic or offensive his works really are.

Realistic elements

I restrict this discussion largely to two of Fazıl Beg's works, those in which the author pretends to present the reader with facts based on his own experience: his *Register of Love*, which was an amorous autobiography, and *Book of Dancers*, a description of the public dancing boys of Istanbul. In the following I will discuss autobiographical data, the concrete details of time, place, and the names, characteristics, and the activities of the dancing boys.

In *Register of Love*, we find concrete autobiographical data. The author relates how he was conveyed "from Arabia to Rum in 1190," and was enrolled in the *hazine ocağı* of the saray.[5] The author mentions the names of two of his four lovers: Süleyman Beg Bostancızade,[6] and a certain İsmail, a gypsy and dancer of Galata.[7] He does not wish to disclose the name of his first love,[8] and his third lover was a "singer" of the palace (*hanende*).[9] The author also tells the years of these affairs: the first one lasted one year (1190-91) the second, another year (1191-92); the third, three years, to 1198;[10] and the fourth took place after he had left the saray, in 1199, and lasted six or seven months.[11] At one point the author refers to his difficulties with the Turkish language upon his arrival in the *saray*, pronouncing "çelebi" as "yā shalbī."[12]

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[1]Ibid., 4: 223, 230.
[2]Ibid., 4: 237.
[3]Ibid., 4: 223.
[4]Ibid., 4: 236; the four mentioned works were regularly suppressed by the Ottoman censor during the nineteenth century.
[5]*Defter-i aşk* (Istanbul, 1253/1837-38), 2-20, 7: 10-11.
[6]The second affair, ibid., 9: 19.
[7]The fourth affair, ibid., 13: 20.
[8]Ibid., 8: 25.
[9]Ibid., 10: 15.
[10]Ibid., 13: 2.
[11]Ibid., 19: 11-12.
[12]Ibid., 7: 14.

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What these affairs consisted of, apart from yearning and suffering because the author was unable to find fulfilment, is unclear. Only in the third and fourth affairs does Fazıl Beg give some interesting details about the circumstances under which things took place. He relates that the singer of the palace came under the influence of an "old man,"[1] and between them a *lala-acemi* relationship sprung up, "according to the customs of the palace."[2] This meant that the boy was always accompanied to the music room by the man, who was also described as *başçavuş* (sergeant-major) of the *dilberan* (heart-captivating ones),[3] so that the author never found the opportunity to come near him.

Fazıl Beg had fled or was thrown out of the palace — it is not clear what exactly happened[4] — and he turned his steps toward Galata.[5] Wandering along the taverns, he saw İsmail, the gypsy dancer. He made appointments, which the boy did not keep.[6] Fazıl Beg, unhappily roving about, also saw the boy occasionally in the Balat Quarter where he danced, was offered wine,[7] played the *çarpare*, and said to "rivals," who solicited his favours, "come, go!" (*gel, çık*). In the last part of the poem, Fazıl Beg tells how the boy's father went to Edirne, where he arranged a marriage for his son. The wedding festivities are then given a broad but mostly vague description, although we find a few realistic details, such as a catalogue of the various foodstuffs served at the banquets,[8] parts of the exotic wedding ceremony (such as the pretended knifing of the daughter by her father), and a graphic, albeit metaphorical, description of the consummation of the marriage.[9] Six years later in Haydarpaşa, the poet came across the boy, who to the author's horror had changed into a hideous "snake-faced" (*mar-sima*), "monster-bodied" (*heyeti-gul*) creature.[10] Such were the tricks of fate![11]

The conventional pretence of ideal, platonic love, as contrasted to the objectionable worldly quest for sexual fulfilment, as it was maintained in one of the introductory parts of the *Register*,[12] is abandoned in the Book of Dancers. Fazıl Beg, as is clear from the above, had come to know the low-life

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[1]Ibid., 11: 1.
[2]*Mu'tad-i saray*, ibid., 11: 15-16.
[3]Ibid., 11:18.
[4]Ibid., 12: 18-19.
[5]Ibid., 12: 19.
[6]Ibid., 13: 11.
[7]Ibid., 14: 16.
[8]Ibid., 16: 19-17: 8
[9]Ibid., 17: 12-22; 18: 10 ff.
[10]Ibid., 19: 17.
[11]Ibid., 20: 4.
[12]Ibid., 3-5.

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of Istanbul after he had left the palace, and in the *Book of Dancers* he aims to give a description of it.[1]

It is interesting to note that during the same time that Fazıl Beg wrote his *Book of Dancers*, in 1799, Joseph Hammer, the author of a famous history and the above-mentioned *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, came to Istanbul as *Sprachknabe* in the Austrian diplomatic service. In Hammer's memoirs he dedicated a short paragraph to the same subject as presented in Fazıl Beg's poem and wrote: "once, during the night, in order to convince myself of the unbelievable, I visited a tavern in Galata, where Greek boys, the spectators of whom were Janissaries and sailors [*Galiardschi;* in Turkish: *Kalyoncus*], executed dances. The whole company, with the exception of some foreigners, consisted only of three classes: catamites [*Lotterbube*], who were paid by their lovers, men who misused them, and old men who paid to be misused by them."[2]

In the introductory part of *Book of Dancers* (17-70), which consists of some 234 verses,[3] the author relates that he is summoned to a tumultuous gathering (*meclis*), consisting of *kadis* and *mollas*, stupid and clever, who discuss the qualities of the dancers of the town. The author, who is known to be experienced in the matter, is asked to take the role of a guide, and sketch the real qualities of the boys. This topos-like setpiece is more a fictionalized autobiography than reality. It opens with a description of forty-three dancer-whores. In the poem itself, Fazıl Beg explicitly refers to this association with some of the dancing boys. Of a boy called "Cinnamon Rose" (*Darçin güli*), he says that he "had smelled his full meadow" (*kokladum pür çimeni*, 131). Of

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[1] We find also reference to Galata taverns in the *Book of Beautiful Boys* (*Huban-name*, Istanbul, 1253/1837-38), 22-55; cf. the chapter on the Greeks. In his discussion of the "tavern waiters" (*muğpeçegân*) of the quarter (40: 18 ff.) we find the lines :

Let him turn, this waiter, like a turnstile
Let him move his body like quicksilver
Let him dance on his beloved
Then sit on his knee
Let him mincingly sing a song
Is there a difference with the western sun?"
(döne ol mugpeçe dolab gibi
teni heb oynaya simab gibi
gahice raks ede dilcu üzre
otura gahice zanu üzre
okuya gahice zanu üzre
okuya naz ederek bir şarkı
mihr-i garbiden olurmı farkı; 40: 23-25).

[2] *Erfinerungen aus meinem Leben, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. Österreichische Geschichtesquellen. Zweite Abteilung, Diplomataria et Acta*, vol. 70 (Vienna: Leipzig, 1940), 42. Cf. also Arslan Yüzgün, *Türkiye'de Eşcinsellik* (*Dün, Bugün*) (Istanbul, 1986), 118-20; 127-29. The phenomenon of boy dancers is still known in modern Turkey, cf. ibid., 124-29.

[3] With the following numbers I refer to the lines of the Istanbul edition of 1253/1837-38. The less reliable Istanbul edition of 1255/1839-40, has a number of variants as well as two *beyt*s which do not occur in the earlier printed edition. They are a sequence to 170 in the earlier edition and are marked here as 171* and 172*.

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Paneli, that he was madly (*deli)* in love with him (173). Of another boy, nicknamed "Small Disaster" (*Küçük Afet*), he says that he had been his "dear one" (*canum*, 209) and had been made his slave forever (*beni ta haşre dek eylerdi esir*, 213).

What realistic details do we find, then, in the description of the dancing boys? The poem hardly contains any indications of place and none of time. As regards the former, we find the description of the house of a fifty-eight-year-old unbeliever called Tuduri (Theodor — he is compared to a greying Venetian ambassador [81], perhaps he was an Italian), which functions as a brothel (*karhane*, 79, 85). Of "Girl" (*kız*) Mehmet is said that he offered his services in caravansarays (*hans*, 149).

Concerning the dancers, we find some realistic indications, relating to: *Names*. The forty-three boys are mentioned by name, but most of them are only indicated by nicknames, such as "Small Disaster," mentioned previously. Thirteen names could have been real names, and give an indication of the religious/ethnic origin of the boys in question. We find: Yoraki (a Croatian, 28, 91), Mişun (a Jew, 29), Tuduri (79, cf. above), Antun (probably a Christian, 97), Panayurt (a *kafir*, probably a Greek, 107, 157), Shawqi (a Jewish Egyptian, 115), "Kız" Mehmet (obviously a Muslim, 149, cf. above), Yorgi (161), Pandeli (Greek or Croatian, 173), Istveri (183), Küçük Antun (probably a Christian, 185), Shakir (a *kafir*, probably an Arab Christian, 197).

Nationalities/Ethnic Groups. There are sixteen explicit indications of a religious/ethnic type. We find six Armenians (including one with "gypsy looks"), one converted Armenian, three Jews (one from Egypt), one Croatian, one Greek, and three non-specified unbelievers (*kafirs*).

The categories to which these people belonged were generally negatively valued. The Jew Mişun and the Croatian Yorgaki are said to be tight-fisted; other nationalities of ethnic groups are said to be unreliable, or are ascribed corpselike bodies, too filthy to touch.

Further Characteristics. We find references to the physiognomy of the boys, especially the way of moving about, but they are mostly vague or stereotypic. Attractive boys, apart from being "nice" or "beautiful," are said to have a body (*beden, ten, kamet, kitaa*) that is "fresh" (*taze,* 27), "pure" (*pak, saf,* 34, 57, 127, 165), "graceful" (*nazik*, 97, 126), "regularly built" (*mevzun*, 127; also *tenasüb*, 111), "soft" (*penbe gibi*, 128; *yumuşak*, 205), "submissive" (*mülayim,* 200). Positively valued are also a "pleasant voice" (*latif avaz*, 36), "sweet speech" (*tatlı söz, şirin eda*, 75), black eyes, brows, and hair (*gözi kaşı kara,* 159, *çeşm-i siyah kaşı siyah*, 211) or "a dark attraction" (*cazibe-i esmer*, 110); and a "slim waist" (*ince bel*, 169).

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We find also the opposite, negative characteristics, mostly given to infidel boys: "unclean" (*na-pak*), "filthy" (*mürdar*, 82, 114, 185; *çirkin*, 114), "irregular" (*na-mevzun,* 105), "dry" (*kuru,* 161) bodies, often compared to "skin-and-bone" (*üstühan üzre deri,* 154), "carcasses" (*cife*, 118, 156; *ashab-i kubur*, 154; *mürde*, 161), "(*wine-*) barrels" (*şarab-fuçısı*, 82, 172), or to that of an (Armenian) "verger" (*zangoç*, 186), "sour-faced" (*eksidür çehresi*, 171), with "stinking skins" (*kokmuş deri,* 81), or "a yellow complexion" (*sarılık, sararmış*, 167-68). Their limbs are too "compact" (*mücmel*, 140), their looks "out of order" (*na-beca*, 186), their beards have begun to grow: ants have fallen on his "sweet tulip" (*lali şirine karınca düşmüş*, 99), their face, brows, or limbs are too hairy (78, 80, 83. They are "stupid" (*nadan*, 109), their speech is "coarse" (*tekellümde fazahetleri var*, 116; *hücnet*, 212), or "maddening" (*cünun-aver*, 120), their "language precocious" (*şivede fenlenmiş*, 102). One boy does not speak at all (175-76).

Their behaviour, nature, and especially way of moving (*reviş, cünbiş, reftar*) are likewise positively, or negatively, but always vaguely, characterized. It is either "nice" (*hoşça*), "gracious" (*zarif, nazikane, çalak*), or their opposites.

There are only two concrete references to clothes: a shalwar (113) and a fez (121) are mentioned.

Professions. Apart from the fact that we have to do with dancers in all classes, we find no further specifications of a professional nature or class background of the boys. The spectators/clients, we remember, were said to be *kadi*s or *molla*s. Of Yorgaki, the Croatian, it is said that his nation has brought forth mercenaries (*soltats*), gardeners, and day labourers (96).

Language. In a few cases we find quotation of direct speech. In the *meclis* scene, the tumultuous conversations are represented: "there was someone [crying] come here in the group, no there, come, quick!" ... others said: "My God," "God Lord" (*meclis içre öte git gel biri var ... kimi vallah dedi billah*, 22-23). "Mısırlı" ("Egyptian") Shawqi is ascribed the obscene exclamation in Arabic: "You, sir, [come] under and over me" (*anta ya sayyidi tahti [wa] fawqi*, 116).

References to Sex and its Paraphernalia. It is especially here — but the references are not many — that we realize that we have to do with Istanbul lowlife. Categories mentioned specifically, but mostly in an indirect, metaphorical way, are:

Prostitution: The hands of one boy are called "rapacious" (*yağmager*, 30); we also find references to clients (*müşteri*, 40 102), money (*nakd*, 40; *rub'iya, nısfiya*, 103-104; altın, 106), "the profit to prostitution" (*kahbenün hasili,* 150), brothel (85), "pimp" (*kahbe gidi*, 87), "catamite" (*puşt*, 115).

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The Clients: They are further specified as "adulterers" (*ehl-i zina*, 85), "sodomites" (*ehl-i levat*, 85; *lûti,* 152), "pederasts" *gulampareler*, 90).

Genitalia: Mentioned are the penis (*kir*, 86), buttocks (*kun,* 90, 128); *göt*, 123, 128), winds (*zurat*, 86). Most references are metaphorical. The genitalia in general are called "the fruit of union" (*meyve-i vasl*, 193). The penis is compared to a "silver mine" (*gümişdir maaden*, 27), a "lancet" (*neşter,* 48), "staff" (*dik*), "nose" (*burun*, 94), "bird" (*kuş*, 100; *insanun kuşı*, 146), "bird of paradise" (*hüma*, 118), "cannon" (*top*, 124), "tail" (*kuyrık*, 141), "candle" (*mum*, 148). The glans is compared to a "rosebud" (*gonça*, 95 188). Testicles are called "stones" (*senger,* 182). Sperm is compared to "silver" (*ibid.*, 27), "thick cotton" (*gür pamuk*, 28), "blood(-tears) (134, 188), on the "cotton of union" (*kale-i vuslat*, 182). The anus is named a "love-target (*puta-i aşk*, 27), the "entrance" to a "barrel" (*medhal, fuçı* — only said of an older man, 171; cf. 82, 172*).

Sexual Activities: We find "the secret of level with the earth" (*yerle beraber sırrı*, 32), "someone who makes a small boy of him" (*anı oğlancık eden bir biri*, 85), "the moment of wedding" (*vakt-i düğün*, 93), "union" (*vuslat*, 104, 172, 199), the unfastening of trousers (*şalvarı çözdür*, 113), the invitation 'to come over or under me" (116, cf. above), "he has his buttocks prepared for his lovers" (*göti uşşâka olur hazırlaylub*, 123), "to graft young shoots" onto a fresh sapling" (*ana filiz aşla, tâze fidan*, 133), to "enter" (*gir*, 171*), to "enter the barrel" (*fıcıya sokul,* 172), to "sin" (*füsuk et*, 206).

Sexual Disease: There is one reference to "the Frankish trouble", syphilis (*Freng ẓahmeti*, 79).

In the above I have highlighted some of the more concrete aspects of the *Çengi-name*, but in order to complete our picture of the poem, we should also consider the more purely literary elements.

Literary Elements

Conceptual Metaphors. The poem is full of metaphors, most of which were adopted from the centuries-old canon of the high-style "Divan" literature. This is particularly the case in the description of the boys. We find the "intoxicating glance" (*ğamze-i âyyaş*, 55), "rose-coloured cheeks," or "rose cheeks" (*ruh-i ziba*, 55, 160; *gül ruhsarı*, 77), "lily cheeks (*ruh-i nulifer*, 168), "silver body" (*sıme benzür o vücud*, 91, 123), "the crescent of his brow" (*hilal-i kaş*, 129). More original: "brows like the bow of the cotton fluffer" (*kavs-i hallac gibi kaşları*, 206), the "erect" or "tall" cypress of the body (*serv-i sehi,* 131; *serv-i bülend*, 203), "hyacinth hair" (*saçı sünbül*, 132), narcissus look" (*nergis nigehi,* 132), the "ambergris lock" (*türre-i anbar*, 136), the "moon face" (*kamer çehre*, 143, 221), or "halo face" (*çehresi hale gibi*, 143), "cherry lips" (*kiras lebler,* 170).

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Other conventional metaphors are: the "burnt heart" (*yanmış cangah*, 24), and the "burning body" (*yangı ... cisminde,* 38) of the lover; the beloved is compared to a sun, at which it is impossible to look (195); the beloved is compared to Alexander (İskender), a tyrant or a sultan, sitting on the throne of the lover's heart (98, 174, 184, 204). The poet is compared to a piaster (61-62), and Fazıl Beg compares himself with the Imam Ali, the "Lion" (*hayder*), and the pen his sword *Zulfikâr* (215-16).

Antithesis. A favourite literary procedure is that of the antithesis. It most frequently occurs in the description of the apparent beauty of boys as contrasted to their real ugliness. It is also applied in punning on the boys' (nick-)names. We find sun-mud (*afitab*, which is also a nickname, *balçık*, 46), sweet-sour (*helva, turşı*, 47), sensible-mad (*ehl-i şuur, ehl-i cünun*, 50), sugar-poison (*sükker, zehr*, 50), the wilted rose (*gül ruhsarı solmış iken*, 77), the jasmine that has become thorny (*dikenlenmiş yasemin*, 101), the shrouded narcissus field (*nergis çimeni kefenlenmiş*, 100), defective beauty (*hüsni nakıs*, 105; Hüsni is also a name), the eclipsed moon (*tutılmış ay*, 129), gold-silver (*altın* [also part of a nickname] *gümüş*, 123), the wilted lily cheek (*saramış ruh-i nilufer*, 168), sapling-firewood (*fidan, odun,* 193), wrath-mildness (*ġazab, zat-i halim*) — "Wrath" is also a nickname (199) — blackness-lightning (*siyah, barika*, 211).

Punning on Names. In the gathering, sketched in the introduction, someone warns the company to be careful with the boy called "Jasmine"; this is expressed as: "Do not alight on the jasmine" (*yasemine konma*, 31). The boy "Cinnamon" (*Darçin*) is associated with "stomach medicine" (*mide tashihine*, 33), "Altın top" ("golden ball"), which means "pretty, healthy child," with wine (top means also "round," and refers to the glans, 39), and "canon" (his penis, 123). The "gold", is contrasted with his "silver body" (123). "Pistachio" (Fıstık), is associated with pastry (*kurş u tensuh*, 40); his character is that of the "seller of nuts" (*fındıkçı*, 163); his eye is compared to the "almond" (*badam*), his glance "cracks walnuts" (*koz kırar*, is indiscreet, 164). "Curly boy" (*kıvırcık oğlan*) is associated with the goat (*keçı*), which also means pederast, 45), the ram (*koç*), the water buffalo (*manda*, 189), the lamb (*kuzu*), and the sheep (*koyun*, 190). "Outcry" (*velvele*) "honours the moaning of love" (*nâle-i aşka sezâ,* 210). A rhyming pun is made with *zelzele*, "earthquake," which characterizes his wild dancing (202).

A similar rhyming pun is made on the name of Punayurt (also Punayurt): "he did not let me have a place (*yurt*) in the house of his heart" (107), and "he is a mad wolf (*kurt*), like a fox," or "like Fox" (108; cf. for Fox, 43, 109). "Canary" (*Kanarya*) perched on the sapling, is compared to the preacher on his pulpit (44). He is further associated with the nightingale (*bülbül*), 145), the "human bird" (*penis*, 146), who was forced to sing in a cage (147-48). Shakir, the canary, is said to have the looks of a crow (*karga*), and an infidel owl (*baykuş*, 197).

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Sometimes, names are used in sayings and proverbs, as in "the caravan will not depart if there is no full moon; "Full Moon" is also the name of a boy (*mehtab olmasa karban gitmez*, 42). Of "Fox" is said that he is unwise, and "an animal that will lose his sin"; that is: lose his position or life (*postı elden giderür heybandır*, 109).

Original and Graphic Images. In a few cases, we find original, sometimes crude images, that give an unexpected, seemingly realistic turn to the survey of the dancers. The old Tuduri is compared to a "dog who entered a tannery" (*debbâg-haneye girmiş köpek*, 84). Of his house, it is said: "Shack, shack with the prick and the noise of the winds, you would think he had a carpenter in his house" (*şak şak kir ile avâz-i zurât — hanesinde şanasın dülgeri var,* 86). Of the same man, we read: At the banquet of his union [he serves] helva with honey, but don't enter his barrel, there are bees! (*sofra-i vuşlatı helvâ-yi asel - fıçıya pek de sokulma arı var,* 172). Of an Armenian boy, we read: "What is this, this cotton-like cupola of buttocks, you would think he had a cushion on his back" (*nedir o penbe gibi kubbe-i kun — arkasında sanasın minderi var*, 128).

Also original is Fazıl Beg's wordplay with the motives of pen, ink, and writing in the epilogue. His writing is compared to a wedding party, where various foods are served, games are played, and the pen is itself a dancing boy. The paper is associated with yoghurt, and the ink with walnut sauce (*terlatori = taratorı* 225-26). The dancing begins when the pen, compared to the trumpet (*surna*), begins to play (227). The paper is the "wedding field" (*düğün sahrası*, 228). The pen is moved by playing the "cord game" (*kaytan oyunı*, 229) and the "Arab game" (232).

Conclusion

The *Book of Dancers*, then — and the same is also true for Fazıl Beg's other work in the *şehr-engiz genre* — contains realistic elements, refers indeed, at least partially, to a historical reality. But this historical element is limited. The autobiographical parts are on the whole vague. We do not really get to know Fazıl Beg's amorous life, apart from the fact that during several periods of his life, if true, he was in love with a number of boys, and probably frequented Galata and Balat taverns and brothels. The folkloristic element, on the whole only vaguely described, is limited to a few verses in the *Register of Love*. Neither are we very well informed, apart from the rather coarse prejudices held against all infidels, about the lower classes of Ottoman society and the minorities. Specimens of colloquial speech also are rare. Nor do we get to know many concrete, historical facts about the world of Istanbul lowlife: Fazıl Beg hardly informs us where things took place, what exactly happened,

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who participated, what the background was of the spectators/customers and the dancers. The pornographical element, though found most frequently in the *Book of Dancers*, is not absent from the other works, not even the "respectable" *Register of Love* and *Book of Beautiful Boys.*[1]

The dominant characteristic of Fazıl Beg's work is literary and poetic: if the metaphors, punning, wordplay, the comic obscenities, the striking and often original contrasts between the elements of the high Divan poetry and low, realistic details were eliminated or cast in the form of dry prose, not much would remain of his work, and its interest would be completely lost. We should, in short, value the work, primarily for what it is and what it doubtlessly was meant to be by the author: a work of entertaining, comic literature. Thus, Fazıl Beg's work was far less of an exception in the *şehr-engiz* tradition than has been suggested in the past.

[1]See, for instance, *Huban-name*, 29: 12-21, the tale of the miller's son of Kufa who went to Baghdad and made of his buttocks a mill (*göt geçer bunda degirmen yerine*).

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3. SÜNBÜLZĀDE VEHBĪ'S *ŞEVḲ-ENGĪZ*, AN OTTOMAN PORNOGRAPHIC POEM[1]

Introduction

Ottoman pornographic literature[2] has hardly been the object of scholarly attention in modern times.[3] Despite its popularity in the pre-modern period — the number of manuscripts of the work I will analyze in this article seems to be enormous — the influence of prudish, nineteenth-century Western culture caused the genre to go more or less underground after the 1850s.[4] Modern, both Western and Turkish, scholars either expressed their disgust at it, or else they almost completely ignored its existence. In an age where, at least in the West, a prudish and moralistic attitude with regard to sexuality and writings on that subject are disappearing in enlightened circles, the times has come to also study the Ottoman aspect of this fascinating phenomenon.[5]

The poetical œuvre of Sünbülzāde Vehbī (d. 1809) was highly estimated by Ottoman contemporaries and early nineteenth-century critics[6], but was not equally appreciated by Western scholars. Vehbī is now regarded as a,

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[1]I am indebted to the Republic of Turkey for giving me permission to consult manuscripts in the libraries mentioned below, and to Dr. Abdülkadir Gürer and Aykut Cantürk for helping me to solve some of the lexical and literary difficulties encountered in the poem. Originally published in *Turcica* XXV (1993), 9-37.

[2]Pornography has been defined as the writing which has the power or the intention to act as an anaphrodisiac, that is, to excite sexual passions or desires. cf. H. Montgomery Hyde, *A History of Pornography* (London, 1964): 1. Although it is debatable whether, or to what extent, the pre-modern oriental, including Ottoman, erotic literature had this 'aphrodisiac' effect, I will use the term here in a broad sense to indicate literature which has as its main subject the description, metaphorical or otherwise, of pudenda and sexual activities.

[3]There does not seem to exist a single monograph which covers the subject. The most detailed general history of pornographic literature is still Paul Englisch's *Geschichte der erotischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1927), which also very briefly deals with Arabic and Persian erotic literature, 668-675. Much more restricted in scope are the aforementioned study of Montgomery Hyde and Patrick J. Kearny, *A History of Erotic Literature* (London, 1982), which mainly deals with the Classical, Anglo-Saxon and French literatures. Useful for its analysis of a situation in some ways comparable to the pre-modern oriental one is Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears. A Study of Pornographic: Obscene and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1979).

[4]Hellmut Ritter has pointed out that the Arab littérateurs — he refers to al-Jāḥiẓ — would recommend that relief from the seriousness of their studies should be sought in joking and nonsense, including the composition of verse about sex and metabolism, cf. his 'Philologika xiii: Arabische Handschriften in Anatolien und Istanbul.' in *Oriens* 2 (1949): 236-314, 271.

[5]See also my 'Faẓıl Beg Enderūnī, Social Historian or Poet' where I discuss Fāżıl Beg's *Çengīname*, a poem of erotic content contemporary with the *Şevḳ-engīz*, chapter 2, above.

[6]Cf. Ali Canib Yöntem, 'Sünbülzâde Vehbi', in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, I (1946-1947): 81-104, 81.

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perhaps interesting, but certainly second-rate poetaster; the British scholar E. J .W. Gibb who, as far as I know, was the first Western Orientalist to pay substantial attention to Vehbī's œuvre, characterized his work in his still authoritative *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (HOP) as technically accomplished, even 'ingenious' but on the whole 'not beautiful[1].' The highly rhetorical value of Vehbī's work, which was probably the very aspect which earned its early Ottoman appreciation, was not enough for the, essentially romantic, Western taste which looked for emotional content. Later scholars followed in the steps of Gibb's judgement.[2]

Paradoxically, Gibb also classified Vehbī, together with his contemporaries Fāżıl Beg and Sürūrī (both of whom also wrote pornographic verse), as representatives of the 'Romanticist Movement' who broke through the strict canons of 'Classic' Ottoman poetry. They were said to have revolted against traditional authority, asserted their individuality and local colour, and distinguished themselves by 'unbridled licence alike in matter and in manner[3].' This assertion of personality is, according to Gibb, particularly conspicuous in Vehbī's work where outstanding subjects are 'pleasure' and the author's 'own adventures[4].' Particularly in 'the witty shameless pages' of his *Şevḳ-engīz* ('Mirth-' or 'Desire-Provoker'), the object of this article, the 'master passion of his nature... riots' and the 'fantastic imagination of the Eastern voluptuary revels unrestrained.'[5] The modern Turkish scholar Ali Canib Yöntem, who, like Gibb, found the moral quality of Vehbī's *Şevḳ-engīz* dubious[6] also pointed to the 'local colour', the picturesque elements (*'tipik taraflar'*) in his (Vehbī's) work: topographic particularities, the mentioning of all kinds of boats, textiles, and clothes as well as anatomical details. Ömer Faruk Akün again pointed to this aspect: the playful use of local language and expressions borrowed from daily life, as well as the mentioning of distinct things, places and individuals interspersed with allusions of a sexual nature.[7]

How then, should we judge Vehbī's poetry, in particular his *Şevḳ-engīz*? Was it no more than a showpiece of ingenious rhetoric? To what extent is it 'romantic' and informative in terms of autobiography and local colour? To what extent was it traditional and did it follow earlier examples? And, first of all, how (objectionably) pornographic was the *Şevḳ-engīz* really? Before analyzing some aspects of the poem's contents in detail however, I will pay some attention to the author's biography and work.

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[1]HOP IV (London, 1905): 260.

[2]See, e.g. Walther Björkman, 'Die klassisch-osmanische Literatur,' in *Philologiæ Turcicæ Fundamenta* II (Wiesbaden, 1964): 457, who characterized Vehbī as *'ein Lebemann und Gelehrter'* not so much as a great poet; Alessio Bombaci, *La Letteratura turca con un profilo della letteratura mongola* (Rev. ed. Milan, 1969): 387, characterized his work as: *'un vero e proprio repertorio di figure retoriche che non valgono certo ad accrescerne i meriti.'*

[3]Gibb, HOP IV: 220.

[4]Gibb, HOP IV: 247.

[5]Ibidem.

[6]*'... bu uzun mesnevi basit ve kabaca bir hikâyedir,'* 'Vehbī': 102.

[7]Akün, 'Sünbülzâde Vehbî,' in *İslam Ansiklopedisi.*

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The Author[1]

Vehbī was born before 1719 to a member of the class of scholars, *'ulemā*, a certain Reşīd or Rāşid Efendi of Mar'aş. (His penname 'Vehbī', was not a *muḫlaṣ* chosen by himself, but was given to him by his father in honour of the latter's former superior, the Cadi of Aleppo, Seyyid Vehbī.) He was educated at the local *medrese*, but he soon travelled to Istanbul where he acquired fame in the highest circles as the author of *ḳaṣīdes* and chronograms. This reputation made it possible for Vehbī to join the *'ilmīye*; he was appointed as *müderris* and later as cadi in several places in Rumeli, among these Iasi and Bucarest. His striking literary gifts resulted in 1768, after seventeen years in Rumeli, in his appointment as bureaucrat in the Ottoman capital. He became writer of official letters in the chancery (namely *ḫāce* at the *ḳaġıd-i bīrūn emāneti* and at the *mevḳūfāt ḳalemi*, roughly equivalent to our Foreign Office and Exchequer). Because of his thorough knowledge of Persian he was appointed special envoy to the court of Zand Karīm Khān in Isfahan after the latter had lodged a complaint at the Porte about the aggressive policy of the Ottoman governor of Baghdad, 'Ömer Paşa, who had besieged Basra. This mission brought Vehbī, who was then on very cordial terms with Karīm Khān, into great trouble. Complaints directed by the Ottoman Governor to the Sultan, 'Abdülḥamīd I (ruled 1774-1789), in which the poet was accused of high treason and unacceptable, licentious behaviour (drinking and adultery), resulted in a death sentence. Thanks to the influence of his most faithful patrons in Istanbul, the sentence was annulled, but Vehbī remained jobless for seven years. In 1787, he was, through the influence of a newly-appointed grand-vizier, appointed cadi at Rhodes, afterwards at Eski Zaġra (the present Stara Zagora, in 1788-89). In the last-mentioned place he was assisted by his friend, the *nā'ib* Sürūrī. Also here Vehbī, together with Sürūrī, got into trouble, probably again because of his licentious way of living. His possessions were confiscated and he had to spend 45 days in prison. In the last period of his life, during which he does not seem to have changed his habits, he enjoyed the protection of Sultan Selīm III (ruled 1789-1807), to whom he dedicated his *Dīvān* (completed in 1807). Meanwhile Vehbī continued to compose chronograms for, among other things, the adornment of public buildings and we find him serving as cadi at Manisa, Sīrūz (modern Serrai), Manastir and Bolu. After a long sick-bed, which apparently lasted for seven years, he died on April 29, 1809, more than ninety years old, of gout (*nıḳrīs*), an illness typical for drinkers in a time when wine contained an unhealthy percentage of lead. Vehbī's debauchery, which is supposed to have influenced the contents of his work and to have contributed, in Gibb's view, to its 'romantic' character, is hardly further specified in the sources. Yöntem quotes one *ḳıṭ'a* by Sürūrī:

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[1]The sources for Vehbī's biography are, as usual in the pre-modern period, histories — the most substantial description of his life is found in Şānīzāde 'Aṭā'ullāh's *Tārīḫ* (4 Vols. Istanbul, 1284-1291) I: 196-199 —, *tezkires*, references in Sürūrī's *Hezeliyāt*, the Commentary by Elbistānlı Ḥayātī Efendi on Vehbī's *Tuḥfe*, and his own work. See also the already quoted studies by Gibb, Yöntem and Akün.

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Old Vehbī spent his money
For jollity and drinking on fresh girls.[1]

In the *Şevḳ-engīz*, the poet explains that the idealization of boys was characteristic for both Persian and Ottoman poetry, and that the mentioning of female persons by himself ('*bu naẓmı yazan*') and Nedīm (the most famous Ottoman poet of the early eighteenth century) was generally regarded as unacceptable.[2] This, according to Yöntem, would seem to confirm the author's heterosexual tastes.[3] He might be right.

VEHBĪ'S ŒUVRE

Besides the afore-mentioned, voluminous *Dīvān*, Vehbi wrote a smaller Persian *Dīvān*; a didactic poem titled *Luṭfīye* written for his son Luṭfullāh; two rhymed dictionaries: the *Tuḥfe* (based on the example of the early-sixteenth-century *Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī*) and the *Nuḥbe*, treating, respectively, Persian and Arabic vocabulary; the *Şevḳ-engīz*; and a collection of letters, *Münşe'āt*, only of which fragments have come down to us — the manuscript was burnt during the author's lifetime.

Besides the *Şevḳ-engīz*, the two rhymed dictionaries are particularly interesting (and deserve to be further studied). They apparently were popular text-books used for the study of Persian and Arabic. These dictionaries have the following structure: a long introduction (in *meşnevī* form); a long series of *kıṭ'as* — these are ordered alphabetically according to the rhyme — in which the selected vocabulary, beginning with the word 'God', and not only comprising nouns and verbs, but also declined forms of the verb, conjunctions, pronouns etc. is treated; a *meşnevī* in which specific expressions (*iştilaḥāt-i 'Ajam, amthāl al-'Arab*) are discussed; and a short epilogue. I will quote two examples from these works.

From the *Tuḥfe, kıṭ'a* no. 3[4]:

(remel -v--/-v--/-v-)

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[1] Yöntem, 'Vehbī', 85, n. 5.

[2] *Şevḳ-engīz*: 437-439 — in the following I quote, unless otherwise indicated, from the printed edition (Istanbul, 1253/1837-8): 112-143, of the *Şevḳ-engīz* (ŞE); numbers refer to the subsequent distichs.

[3] Yöntem, 'Vehbī': 85, n. 5.

[4] (Istanbul, 1263): 8.

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1. bana *marā* saña *turā* siz *shumā*
   ben *man* ve biz *mā* ve aña *marwarā*

   'For me' is *marā*, 'for you' is *turā*, you [pl.] is *shumā*
   'I' is *man* and 'we' is *mā* and 'for him' is *marwarā*

2. sen *tū maruw* gitme *binishīn* otur
   ar birawī gider iseñ gel *biyā*

   'You' is *tū, maruw* is 'do not go', *binishīn* 'sit down'
   ar biraw is 'if you go', 'come' is *biyā*

3. böyle *chunīn* öyle *chanān chūn* gibi
   chīst nedür *ān* o niçün *chirā*

   'So' is *chunīn*, 'in that ways' is *chanān, chūn* is 'like'
   chīst is 'what is this', *ān* is 'that', 'why' is *chirā*

Linguistically more interesting are the parts of the *Tuḥfe* and *Nuḥbe* in which specific expressions are explained. I quote from the final part of the *Nuḥbe*, where expressions concerning sexuality are treated.[1]

(*ḫafīf* -v-- /v-v-/ vv-)

1. *mithlu tays banī Ḥimmān* deme hem
   pek keşīrü l-cimā' olan ādam

   The expression 'like the billy goat of the Banū Ḥimmān'
   Means a man who copulates much[2]

2. hem ṣarīr *al-maḥāmil* oldı o ḥāl
   işidilmek mulā'abāt-i viṣāl

   When a 'squeaking of the camel-litters'[3] occurs
   One hears the play of lovers' union

3. şol *abū irb* eden ziyāde cimā'
   anı ol ẕevḳ etmeye işbā'

   But to this 'father of the vulva' who copulates too much
   This pleasure will not satisfy

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[1](Istanbul, 1310): 144-145.

[2]The commentator, Yayaköyli Aḥmed Reşīd Efendi, explains that the billy goats kept by this tribe were so randy, that they were able, even after castration, to top seventy nanny goats, *Şarḥ* (Istanbul?, 1259): 408.

[3]*maḥāmil* is explained by Reşīd Efendi as meaning 'the vessels and the skin at the root of the organ of reproduction', and thus the expression alludes to the sound caused by the moving penis during copulation, ibidem.

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4. nükte-i *shahwat an-nabīdh* demek
keyf-i tefḫīẕ birle añlanmak

When one makes the subtle point of 'desire for date wine'
One understands that the pleasure of copulating between the thighs is meant

5. göz göre *ankaḥ min al-aʿmā*
naṣb-i ʿaynı cimāʿ ehl-i hevā

To be openly 'more inclined to marriage than a blind man'
[Means] that the libertine's object in view is copulation

6. *majmaʿ al-mīm bi-l-qalam* denme hem
muġlim etdi demek televvuṭ kim

When one says 'the union of [the letter] *mīm* with the pen'[1]
It means that a pederast practised sodomy

7. deseler *alwaṭ min ar-ruhbān*
şolki kāfirce faʿil-i ġilmān

If they say 'more Lot than a monk'
[They mean] someone does it, like an unbeliever, with boys[2]

8. bunı īhām edübde baʿż-i ḫabīr
muġlime *rāhib* etdiler taʿbīr

When some well-informed persons suspected this
They called the pederast 'a monk'

The Şevḳ-Engīz

In the final part of the *Şevḳ-engīz*, Vehbī wrote:

This Vehbī wrote in Manisa
The words unbounded but their meaning simple[3]

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[1] According to Reşīd Efendi, the pen stands for the pederast's penis, the *mīm*, 'with its round head' for the buttocks of the boy who offers himself to him, *Şarḥ*: 409.

[2] Reşīd Efendi remarks that pederasty belonged to the respected, if revolting habits of Christian monks, *Şarḥ*: 409.

[3] *maʿnī sāde* (in the Istanbul University Library MS T 2693, which was corrected by the author) for *Maġnisa'da*, rhyming with *Maġnisa'da* in the first hemistich.

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When men full of wit read this
And laughingly find pleasure
Maybe they say what a beautiful, nice poem
This witty old man of youthful nature has written
It words and contents are wonderfully amusing
It would be suitable to call it 'Şevḳ-engīz'[1]

Thus, our poem must have been written between 1789 — Vehbī, characterizing himself as an 'old man', was cadi in Manisa between 1789 and 1802 — and 1798-9 (the dating of the oldest manuscript I have seen so far).

The poem is a long *meṣnevī* consisting of, in the printed version, 777 distichs. Apart from minor variants, the manuscripts[2] show small differences in the number and identity of distichs; thus the authorised version, MS T 2693, for instance, has 775 distichs, of which five do not occur in the printed version whereas seven others occurring in this version are missing in the manuscript. The order of the verses also is at some places dissimilar (and further study may well reveal groups of manuscripts which similar ordering). The printed version as well as some manuscripts are provided with chapter headings in prose. A number of manuscripts contain marginal explanations[3], which vary greatly in number and scope among the manuscripts of this type, ranging from a few, simple translations of Persian words to lengthy historical or zoological commentary. It is possible that many of these explanations were already provided by the author himself; a great many occur in MS T 2693 which was corrected by the author. Some of these were copied in other manuscripts of this type. We also sometimes find references here to Vehbī's dictionaries.

The metre is *remel* of the type *fa'ilātun fa'ilātun fa'ilun*. A number of verses show a defective metre (sometimes the last long syllable is missing) or a deviating one (occasionally the first or second short syllable of the second foot has been replaced by a long one).

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[1] ŞE: 774-777.

[2] I was able to consult the following MSS: (1) Istanbul University Library (hereafter IUL), T 2693 (collection of İbnülemīn Maḥmūd Kemāl (İnal), copy corrected by the author, 1213/1798-9; (2) Ankara, National Library (*Millî Kütüphane*, hereafter ANL), A 446, 1219/1804-5; (3) IUL, T 9491, before 1220/1805-6; (4) Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 1452 (2), 1225/1810; (5) ANL, A 2517/3, before 1227/1812; (6) ANL, A 3947, 1233/1817-8; (7) Ankara University Library, İsmail Sa'ib 1.878, 1250/1834-5; (8) IUL, T 1949, 1250/1834-5; (9) IUL, T 5701, 1276/1859-60; (10) IUL, T 565, 1284(?)/1867-8; (11) ANL, A 403, undated, (12) ANL, A 641/2, undated; (13) ANL, A 2796, undated; (14) ANL, A 3023/2, undated; (15) IUL, T 4005, undated; (16) IUL, T 5700, undated; (17) IUL, T 5750, undated.

[3] Namely MSS T 2693, A 446, T 9491, A 3947, T 565, A 2796.

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The content may be summarised as follows:

1-8	Introduction: the two protagonists, or rather interlocutors, debauchers from Istanbul, are introduced
9-106	A characterization of the behaviour of the first interlocutor: a lover of woman (*zenpāre*) with the telling name of Ṣuyolcızāde, 'the son of a man responsible for the maintenance of water conduits'[1], water conduit alluding here to the female sexual organ
107-200	A characterization of the behaviour of the second interlocutor: a pederast (*ġulāmpāre*) with the no less telling name of Ḳazıḳçı yegeni: 'the nephew of a swindler'; *ḳazıḳ*, meaning literally, 'pole', which alludes to the male sexual organ — it also is a wrestling term, meaning 'putting one hand deeply into the opponent's shorts'
201-209	Introduction to the following discussion
210-335	A monologue by Ṣuyolcızāde, singing the praises of women and sex with women
336-449	A monologue by Ḳazıḳçı yegeni, singing the praises of boys and sex with boys
450-532	Criticism of Ḳ. by Ṣ., censuring boys and sex with boys
533-623	Criticism of Ṣ. by Ḳ., censuring women and sex with women
624-777	The colloquy halts; the two protagonists turn to an old sage (*pīr*) and ask him his opinion on their behaviour; the old man answers that only spiritual love provides deliverance; the two debauchers repent; colophon by the poet containing his pen-name, a *captatio benevolentiæ* and an explanation of the poem's title

The language of the poem is Ottoman-Turkish with a few Arabic and Persian expressions. The poem contains, besides a number of personal and geographic names (see below), a rather great percentage of specialized, occasionally even obscure — obscure also for Ottoman readers —, and foreign idioms, some items of which are explained in the marginal glosses of some manuscripts and in Vehbī's dictionaries. These were doubtlessly inserted in order to heighten the comic effect and certainly contributed to the 'un-Classic' character of the poem. Thus we find many specific, technical terms concerning types of money (*kāsid*, 'not in demand', but here also with the meaning of 'false asper', 699; *ḳalp akçe*, 'a false asper'[2], 746); types of ships (*çifte ḳayıḳ*, 'double-oar rowboat', 64; *zevraḳçe*, 'small boat', 64; *başṭarda*[3], 170); music (*būselik* = 'the note b♭', 'a certain musical mode' but also 'worth a kiss', 386); titles of state officials (*ser-i bāzār*, 'market director', 199; *ser-bostānī* = *bostāncıbaşı*, 'commander of the Imperial Guard', 381); illnesses and sexuality (see below).

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[1]For the translation of Turkish words I have mostly used the *Turkish-English Lexicon* by J.W. Redhouse, both the Ottoman (Istanbul, 1890) and *Modern Turkish* (Istanbul, 1974) editions.

[2]MS A 2796, 17b.

[3]'The name of a kind of ship of an old type, of which only one or two still remain in the Ottoman Empire,' marginal gloss in MS A 446, 38a.

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A particular category is that of textiles, dress and shoes. Clothing and footwear play, of course, a remarkable role in arousing erotic feelings, and the description of dress and shoes, particularly the way in which these are donned or taken off, therefore plays an important role in pornography. Women attract the attention of men by their veil (*ḳız yaşmaġı*), and are kissed by them on their slippers (*peşmak*, 68) — particularly her feet are stimulating: when the lover sees her 'heel tinged with henna,' his mouth flies open like a 'shoe' (*pāpūş*) and he cries for her 'slippers' (*terlik*) (53). Men get very excited by her 'tightly fitting trousers and dustcoat' (these women being *ṣıḳma ferāceli*, 66); her 'striped shalwar' (*altunoluk şelvarı*, 290), especially if she unknots it (563). A woman wears a 'gold embroidered' dress (*elbise-i zerkārī*, 246; *cāme-i zerkārī*, 318), a 'shawl with stripes in six colours' (*altıparmaḳ şālı*, 318), but these splendid clothes often turn out to be no more than a 'ragged night-gown' (*yırtıḳ gecelik*, 596). In the bathhouse she is wrapped in a bath cloth (*meyzer*[1], 304). Men don turbans (*telli ṣarıḳ*, 'gold- or silver-wired turban,' 35; destār, 34, 133; *ḳavuḳ*, 'quilted turban,' 133) sometimes with a 'pennant' (*çekme servī*, 34) or a 'precious stone' (*ṣarı*[2], 133), or fezzes (64); boys 'fezzes without a turban' (*ḍalfez*, 390) — when they throw them of and scatter their curls, 'you would think that the Kingdom of Morocco (*millet-i Fez*) is shattered' (390). Pederasts wear a girdle (*ḳuşaḳ*, 134) with a knife (*bıçaḳ*, 135 — it clearly alludes to the penis) around their middle; their crotch is wrapped in a linen cloth (*kirpās*, 136). Pederasts try to feel inside the boys' 'short sleeved robes worn at play' (*mil'abe*, 140, cf. 714), and are excited by their 'trouser' (*çaḳşur*[3], 470, cf. 482). Sailors wear a 'well-cut short braided waistcoat' (are *kesim fermeneli*, 419).

Among the poem's foreign vocabulary, we find, apart from the aforementioned *başṭarda, pişṭov* ('pistol', 496) and *amore*[4] ('love,' 445).

In order to obtain further insight in the poems' content and rhetoric, I will analyzse some of its most outstanding features.

Sex and Eroticism

Superficially, the poem perfectly reflects the conventional views maintained in 'serious literature,' namely that sex, outside the limits posed by religious law, was sinful. The main message is that frequent (122, 137, 521) and indiscriminate copulation — indiscriminate in regard to class and age (155, 159) — leaves the lover unsatisfied (124). Despite this apparent negative judgement of sexual dissipation, a large part of the poem is dedicated to the eulogy of attractive women and boys, and sexual acts with them.

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[1] 'A large bath towel (*ḥammām peştemāli*) made of a kind of silk thread (*ibrişim*), with which mostly women cover their front part,' MS T 2693, 10b.

[2] 'A stone [attached] to the upper part of a quilted turban (*ḳavuḳ*),' MS T 9491), 139a.

[3] "Trousers secured round the waist in folds, and sewn to light leather boots at the ankles', Redhouse, *Dictionary* (1974): 237.

[4] A marginal commentary in MS A 446, 44b, says that 'Franks also describe women in their poetry,' and explains' amore' as a Frankish term for '*mu'āşaḳa*,' 'mutual love.'

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The ideal woman should be a virgin (214, 225, 269, 324, 345), her body well-proportioned as an Arab mare (225-226). To come into contact with her is equal to foretasting the *ḥūrīs* of Paradise (217). A perfect woman is endowed with a number of features that make her attractive to a man: her red cheeks (244); her curved eyebrows (247); her dark eyes tinged with kohl (249); her pointed eyelashes (253-254); her beauty spot (*ḫāl*, 255, 258); her dark curls (259-261, 264) ; the lobe of her ear (259); her pearled earrings (265-266); her full, red lips (267-270); her diamond necklace (271); her pearled waist-band (272-274); her breasts (275-280-282); her silvery bosom (282, 328, 330, 332); her golden bracelet (276); her arm and hand (277); her fingers (279); her navel (283); and her vagina (285-289). Women are also praised for their graceful, swaggering gait (292-294); their sweet words (222, 598). After all, what is more natural than a man being attracted to women, as a male animal is attracted to a female one (227)? The pre-eminent objects in the sky, moreover, are female: the sun (the word *şems* has the female gender in Arabic, 114); the constellation of Gemini looks like a girl wearing earrings (229); the planet of Venus (*Zühre*), of course, is also a woman, that 'most coquettish daughter of the firmament' (*duḫter-i pür-nāz-i felek*, 230). The character of a woman also is attractive to men; in contrast with boys, women are compliant (241-241). Especially attractive are female slaves (*cevārī*) because of their skill in seducing their masters by their different — different because they are of different nations and speak different tongues —, but always gentle manners (233-236).

From the point of view of the pederast things are different. Ḳazıḳçı yegeni argues that intercourse with boys is 'suitable' (*sezā*, 341); only cowardly ruffians (*ḫuẕele*, 538; *baldırı çıplaḳlar*, 539) do it with women. Even women are attracted to young men and are ready to lift their veils for them (342-345). A virgin — and this is another indication of how things really stand — is called *ḳız oġlan*, literally 'girl-boy' (345). Did Alexander ever ruin his manhood by an affection for women (541)? A boy is capable of refreshing and enriching the heart of a old man (346, 353). Boys are easily available, both at home and on a journey (341). The poets of Persia and the Ottoman Empire (*Rum*) always eulogised boys and — the exceptions were Nedīm and Vehbī himself — were ashamed to mention girls (432-439). Arabs and Franks praised women in their poetry, but what did the black, Arab Bedouins (*çölde gezen ḳara ʻArab*) know about 'silver bodies' and 'jollity and drinking' (*ʻayş u ṭarab*, 444)? Their uttering were unmanly, 'some of them being hermaphrodites (*ḫunṯā*), others [poetesses such as] Khansā'[1]. (443). Franks, of course, were unbelievers and the less said about them, the better (446). The attractive qualities of boys are many: their black hair that does not,

[1] A marginal gloss in MS A 446, 44b, explains that the author meant the Arab poetess here.

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as in the case of women, need to be combed or artificially curled (355-356); their ears which are unburdened by earrings (359); their red cheeks, free from rouge (360); their black eyes, free from kohl (361), their pointed eyelashes (362); their dark, curved eyebrows, not tinged with indigo (363); their beauty spot, not applied by a hairdresser (364), their silver or crystal breast (371, 398), their moon-like, bare face (380, 415); their silver neck; the soft down on their cheeks (*nev ḫaṭṭ*, 405, 410); the four fresh curves of their brows and beginning moustaches (*çār ebrū*, 409); their buttocks, perfectly rounded as two silver cupolas or snowy mountains[1] (423-428); their little hairless 'circle' (*ḥalḳa*) or 'boy's eye' (*çeşm-i ġulāmī*) (493-494).

In the discussion between Ṣuyolcızāde and Ḳazıḳçı yegeni, criticism of, respectively, homosexual and heterosexual activities are voiced. The latter argues that illegitimate intercourse with women causes impotence (*derd-i ʻucūz*, 29, *ʻinnīn*[2], 99) and confronts a man with the frigidity in older women (29). Women seldom give satisfaction; the best ones are those rare specimen who are voluptuous, *rabūḫ*[3] (97), although women with big vaginas (*ġażeng*[4], *tınbrīz*[5], 96) will do as well. More disturbing are women who never have enough and suffer from the illnesses of *rāʻūnā*[6] (94) and *ḥikkatü l-ferc*[7] (95). Even worse are vaginas that are too narrow for sexual intercourse (*retḳā*[8]), and by being split open by force, cause hernia in the male scrotum (*ʻillet-i fatḳ*)

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[1] A marginal gloss to distich 424 (*yañ yaña iki gümiş ḍaġ*, 'two silver mountains, side by side') in MS A 2796, 10a, explains: 'meant is a well-known privy part.' Elsewhere, boys' buttocks are named after the Jabalay Nu'mān (195), 'two symmetrical mountains, side by side, in Arabia, through whose valley a wind is always blowing; later, the rare pederasts among the Arab poets compared them to the two buttocks of a boy,' MSS A 446, 38b; T 2693, 7a; somewhat shorter in MS T 565, 141b.

[2] '[It] is said of a man whose penis does not become erect and is unable to copulate, and of a woman who does not find enjoyment in coition,' MS A 446, 36b; cf. MS 3947.

[3] 'A woman whose cunt is very hot and tight; while being overcome by a desire to copulate and most eager to have sexual intercourse (*muvāḳa'a*), during intercourse she reaches a state resembling an epileptic fit after her climax and faints, not returning to her senses as long as she has not copulated once again ... Some [of these women] even suck the penis like a tit,' MSS A446, 36b; T 2693, 4a.

[4] 'A big and round cunt,' MSS A 446, 36b; A 3947, T 565, 139a; T 2693, 4a; and T 9491, 138a.

[5] 'A big and wide cunt,' MSS A 446, 36b; A 3947; T 565, 139a; T 9491, 138a; 'a broad, soft cunt, swollen on two sides,' MS T 2693, 4a.

[6] An illness affecting women 'who continuously want sexual intercourse and are somehow never satisfied by a penis; it is comparable to priapism in men,' MSS A 446, 36b; and T 2693, 4a; a marginal gloss in MS T 9491 explains that the lust of a woman suffering from this disease increases by copulation so that she will not allow the penis to be drawn back from her vagina.

[7] An illness whereby 'the cunt of women is always itching and is not at ease as long as it is not touched.' MSS A 446, 36b; T 2693, 4a; and T 9491, 138a.

[8] This term is briefly explained in glosses of MSS A 446 and T 2693.

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(92), or priapism (*fırismos*[1], 93). The general result is an 'impotent-looking hunchbacked' cripple (*puluç-çehreli ḳanbur*) who needs the stimulation of the *saḳanḳur*[2] (100). In his frustration about his impotence, a man might even have recourse to a 'bird-' (= penis-) 'raiser' (*ḳuş kaldıran*[3], 101). Intercourse with women is very expensive, and may well ruin a man (30, 576). Courtship drives a man to strange behaviour and turns him into a dandy (*telli bebek*, 32 — also *ḫanım ignesi* occurs, 64), wearing extravagant clothes and jewellery, and applying effeminate make-up (31-45). But women are very difficult to approach (612). A man rarely comes into contact with a virgin (599), and most women ready for sex are large, with sagging breasts (*saḥḥāqa*, 600), are bad-tempered bath-attendants (*nāṭura*, 601), hermaphrodites (602) or lesbians (*ṭabak-zen*)[4], wearing a dildo (*zībıḳ*) like a donkey prick (*kīr-i ḫar*) at their waist (603). Fornication with a woman is like slipping into a pit of moist dung (567); the male partner becomes stained by blood (579-580, 585), vaginal juice (lit. *ṣu*, 'water', 584), and urine-soiled sweat (586). Intercourse with women gives the additional trouble of repeated abstention: during the '*iddet* ('the space of time within which a woman may not remarry') and the monthly menstruation (581). After a night of pleasure with a woman, there is the chance that she may become pregnant (597).

Women who give themselves to men outside the respected bonds of marriage, are ascribed all kinds of bad qualities. They are dangerous swindlers, enchanters (104) and witches, smelling from the mouth (588), who put free men in irons (105) and teach them depravity (106). They are adulterous (610-611). Their attractiveness is built on gold and jewellery (587), make-up (557, 591-595), and smelly perfume (589). Women drive men crazy, as did Laylā to Majnūn (544), or they make them work to death, as did Shīrīn to Farhād (545). Most women are credulous (561), and have a deficient intelligence (706).

Ṣuyolcızāde, in turn, argues that boys are unreliable. If they are still children, they play games with their lovers (456). When the lover becomes serious, they drop their nice, coquettish airs (458) and turn against him, spitting in his face (460), or kick like horses approached from behind (462).

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[1]'A disease whereby the patient's penis remains erect like a tree, and cannot come down however much he copulates,' MS T 2693, 4a; 'a disease whereby the human member always remains as a pole (*ḳazıḳ*),' MSS A 446, 36b; T 565, 139a; T 9491, 137b.

[2]'A species of newt or spawn of the crocodile burrowing in the sand (when held in the hand it is said to be a stimulative to venery),' F. Steingass, *A Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1892): 687. Cf. MS A 446, 36b: 'it is a kind of fish, mostly found in the River Nile... which does not become too big; experience learns that the male member of someone who takes it into his hand erects itself immediately...'

[3]This somewhat obscure term is obviously related to the common expression *kuş kalkmak*, 'to get an erection.'

[4]Explained in MSS T 2693 and A 446 as a Persian term for *sevici 'avrat*.

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Boys betray their lovers (566), offering their behinds to other men (470), and despite their denials, let themselves be fucked by many 'ringed snakes' (*ḳara yılan*, 473). You are never able to keep a catamite for long (468-469), he passes from hand to hand (503). Boys are soon too old and desperately try to feign that they are still beardless by shaving and removing hairs with surgical pincers (*cinbistre*, 488). The cult of the youthful beginnings of the heard (*ḫaṭṭ*, lit. 'lines,' and *çār ebrū*, 'four eyebrows') is ridiculous if the boys in question already have full, 'twisted' (*burma*) moustaches and plucked eyebrows (491-492). And how ridiculously the pederast behaves if he only detects one little hair near the boy's anus or on his scrotum and turns away in disgust (493-494)! A boy-lover soon goes downhill; his behaviour ruins his reputation (126, 461), and costs a lot of money (126-127, 464-465). He becomes completely confused (129-130), no longer takes care of himself: his hair and heard begin to show utter disorder (131), he begins to speak incoherently (131), his clothes become threadbare, messed up, discoloured and greasy (132-134). He becomes dirty and stinks (136-137). This development is also caused by the disturbance in the balance of his tempers (*mīzāç*, 517) due to frequent copulation for which saliva is used to lubricate the 'dry pit' of the catamite (528). Losing moisture (125) and saliva (516), the pederast become full of dark phlegm and viscous spittle (125, 517, 524). This and the copulation itself causes piles (475, 525), the 'catamite ailment' (*ibne renci*[1], 477), short-windedness (*żayḳ*), and coughing (518). The evil smell of farts corrupts the brain of the pederast (529) and the filth resulting from a continuous contraction and loosening of the bowels ruins all pleasure (530). Only despicable persons become involved in such an 'unnatural business' (*ters iş*[2], 532).

The description of loved ones, be it appreciative or disapproving, is nearly always vague and allusive. Some historical specification of nationality, class, category or age is found in a few distichs. We come across Armenian (72) and Greek girls (the Island of Chios is also mentioned, 237-238); Ethiopian women (240); Greek boy waiters (the name of Yanaki occurs in association with 'fire,' *yangı*, and *fenar*, 'lantern'/Fener (the Greek quarter in Istanbul), 151-152); barber boys (*berber-oġlanı*, 168, 515) ; a negro (*seyyidī*, 170); a 'stern mariner' (*ḳıç levendi*[3], 171); a doorkeeper boy (*ġulām-i derbān*, 241); a Janissary boy (*ocaḳlı maḥbūb*, 415); and a sailor (*ḳalyoncı*, 419). It is clear from the context — we find many references to money, trade and procuring (197-199, 478, 482, 548) — that the loved ones, or rather sex-partners, are mostly whores, female as well as male — there occur two

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[1] I could not find any reference to this term.

[2] *ters* also means 'backside' or 'excrement.'

[3] *ḳıç levendi* they say of a disgusting member of a ship's crew.' MS A 446, 38a; *ḳıç* means both 'buttocks' and 'stern, poop.'

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specific references to boy dancers (*tavşan oġlanları*, 156; *çengī*, 391). There are also a number of references to pimps (*gīdī* 7, 8, 24, 155, 522, 632, 687; *ḳayyād*[1], 509; *ḳayyāde*[2], 105; and *defkeş*[3], 391, both meaning 'a procurer of women;' and *gūh-dellāl* (199), 'procurer of boys'[4]). The ideal age of a boy is fourteen years (367-368), when he changes from a child (*ṭıfl*) into an adolescent (*bāliġ*), and his torment of the lover should turn into faithfulness to him (401-402). Finally, we find a few (nick-) names of people who were known in Vehbī's time. We find Diboġlı ('Bottom Boy,' 155) '*a famous*, old, filthy, roguish and rich Jew much satirized elsewhere by Efendi Vehbī[5],' 'an old unbeliever who often visited Vehbī Efendi ...[6];' Ḍayaḳçı Efe (184), 'a famous *ḍayaḳçı* ('worker whose job is to shore up ships'[7]) ... during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd (1730-1754) and Imam at the Şehzāde Mosque, famous for a thousand adventures relating to *ḍayaḳçılıḳ* ('fucking'[8]);'[9] Çekmeceli[10] (576), 'a famous harlot in Vehbī Efendi's time...;'[11]' and Timbūz (621), 'a well-known brothel keeper (*kārḫāneci aġa*), may God forgive him![12]'.

The background of seduction and intercourse is mostly kept vague as well. The lover of women is described as peeping through a hole in a wooden partition into the harem of his neighbour (25-26). We also find him as a visitor to brothels (27) and roving through Istanbul: mentioned are Ḳızṭaşı (21); Çatalçeşme (23), the Zenneciler ḳapusı[13] (49), the At meydānı (57),

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[1] 'In the meaning of pimp (*pezeveng*),' MS T 2693, 16b.

[2] '*pezeveng-i 'avrat*,' MSS T 2693, 4b; T 9491, 138a — it apparently also meant 'woman's buttocks,' MS T 565, 139a.

[3] '*'avrat pezevengi*,' MS T 2693, 13a; also 'a little window or peephole in a woman's department,' Steingas, *Persian-English Dictionary*: 529; more sense seems to make — the description is of a dancing scene — *eyler def keş*: 'the drum makes [him] mad.' which is supported by the same marginal gloss which says that 'here the literal meaning (*laġvīsi*) is intended.'

[4] '*oġlan pezevengi*,' '*oġlan pāzenegi*, MSS A 3947 (refers to the *Tuḥfe*); T 9491, 140a; 'this is a Persian term which means procurer of excrement (*necāset dellāli*),' MSS A 446, 39a, T 2693, 7a.

[5] MS T 9491, 139b.

[6] *Vehbī Efendi ile berāber oturar ḳalḳar idi*,' MS A 446, 38a.

[7] A marginal gloss in MS A 2796, 5b, explains that *ḍayaḳçı* is a term for *ḳalyoncı* ('sailor').

[8] *ḍayaḳ* literally means 'beating' but is used here in the forms of *ḍayaḳlamaḳ* (185), *ḍayaḳ vurmaḳ* (186), *ḍayaḳçılıḳ etmek* (522) and *ḍayak yemeḳ* (522) to indicade anal intercourse with boys.

[9] MS A 466, 38b; shorter also in MS T 2693, 6b.

[10] The nickname is part of a *jinās with cekmezseñ eli* ('if you do not give [her] up') in the second hemistich.

[11] MS A 446, 48a.

[12] MS T 2693, 10a.

[13] 'The name of one of the gates of the Covered Market in Istanbul is *Zenneciler kapusı*, because women go shopping there (*zenānuñ alīşverisi anda olur*),' MS A 446, 45b.

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Eyyüb (59), Kaġidḫāne (62), Ḳaragümrük (65), Ḳızḳule (80), Çatalca[1] (83), Ḫatunili (83), İncirli (88), Ḳumḳapu (161), the Oğlanlı bathhouse[2] (165), Gökṣu (379), — less specific are the gold-smiths' market (*sūḳ-i zerger*, 47), the quarter of the handkerchief dealers (*semt-i yaġlıḳçı*, 50), the shoemakers' market (*sūḳ-i ḫaffāf*, 52), the quarter of carriages (*ḳoçılar semti*, 58), and the milkmen's side (*südcüler yañı*, 61). A mirror shop (*āyīneci dükkānı*) is the backdrop for flirting women (613-616). Elsewhere, Vehbī describes how a woman becomes even more attractive in the bathhouse, where, as a result of hot water, perfumed soap (310), and scrubbing with a bath glove (309) and palm fibres (311), her breast becomes shining like crystal (300), the rose of her face begins to glow and to scatter pearls of perspiration (315), and her skin becomes soft as cotton (321), so that men can no longer resist her temptations.

Boys were seduced at circumcision parties (148); at the gate of schools (149-150); in taverns (162); in bathhouses (166-168; 513-515), where the pederast let himself be scrubbed by 'white-bodied masseurs' (166) whom he strips by yanking their waist cloth away from them (166-167); at the fleet (170-173); in the house where he stays as a guest (187-188); at the porch of a neighbour (189-190); or during a boat trip on the Bosphorus (377-381), which is followed by a picnic in a garden and goes together with exuberant wine-drinking, drum-beating, singing and dancing (381-400).

For both lechers, for the rest, the main preoccupation is the most straightforward form of sex, namely coition with a female partner (as in, e.g. 'At many places he found fissures (*fürce*) and entered them / Don't ask me how hard he attacked with his penis (*kīr*),' 84) or anal intercourse with a boy (as in, e.g. 'He [= Ḳazıḳçı yegeni] was a dervish in the tekke of Götçi[3] Beg / His big job was to enter the circle,' 110). In the last case, the lecher, mostly pictured as a pimp, might play both an active and a passive role in anal intercourse: 'Sometimes the intimacy with a boy was uppermost / With the pleasure of being at the bottom and being on top / The procurer of excrement (*gūh-dellāl*, cf. above) was the master of his market (*ser-i bāzār*, cf. above) / His work being now sewing (*dikiş*), now weaving/hitting (*ṭokuş*)[4]' (198-199).

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[1] Marked in MS T 9491, 137b, as a placename; *çatal*, lit. 'fork,' is also used here for 'penis.'

[2] 'Oğlanlı is the name of a bathhouse...', MS A 446, 38a.

[3] Lit. 'someone professionally occupied with buttocks.'

[4] 'That, is, the head of the pederast's market acted as a procurer of boys and made them sew and other times weave (*hit*), that is: he sometimes was the active partner (*fā'il*), sometimes the passive one (*mef'ūl*),' MS A 446, 39a.

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As is clear from these examples, much of the fun of the poem derived from ingenious, multifarious allusions to, or metaphoric descriptions of, the genitals and their interaction. These could be rather obscure, as is confirmed by a number of marginal comments. The expression '*bir ṭasam var*' (lit. 'I have a bowl,' 73), said with regard of copulation with Armenian girls, is explained as an amphibology (*īḥām*) of *am* ('cunt')[1]; *ṭasam* also means *ṭas ḍoldur* 'fill up completely[2];' the expression thus 'points to a vagina (*ferc*) which is being filled up to the brim[3].' Intercourse is sometimes, as in modern vulgar usage, compared to eating. Thus we find 'If the pander found himself at a banquet / All that he ate was *ḳadınbuḍı*[4]' (24), or 'He had chestnuts (*kestāne*) as an hors d'œuvre' (89), *kestāne* meaning a woman[5]. A pederast is represented as addressing his victim: 'Come into my arms, my little lamb...,' and 'He ate his fill from its plain-boiled meat (*sürgüş*)' (145); but this last word also hints (*īmā eder*) at 'the raping (*sökme*) of boys by the pederast[6].' Most directly obscene perhaps is the verse: 'Full of lust he busied himself with fucking and copulating (*gānişi kūnişi*)[7] / Dedicated himself to onanism (*celd-i 'amīre*[8])' (174) — this last actively also occurs as *istimnā* (178). In many verses coition is pictured as an act of war: the besieging of fortresses whose gates are forced open with battering equipment (22 ff.), as in: 'Prodding with spear and pike / He (= the pederast) made his (= the catamite's) head bend downwards by beating (=fucking) him / He sometimes tucked up his garments for intercourse (*miyān-pāçe*[9]) / At others he sank (into the catamite) in total submersion (*ġarḳ-i perān*[10])' (182-183). Sometimes *coitus interruptus* was practised, for which the term '*azl* was used, explained as 'to take the male organ out during seminal effusion[11],' or 'to move the penis out of the vagina before seminal effusion[12].'

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[1] MS T 565, 138b.

[2] MS T 2693, 3b.

[3] MS A 446, 36a.

[4] 'Meat-balls with eggs and rice,' but lit. 'woman's thigh.'

[5] MT T 9491, 137b.

[6] MS A 446, 37b.

[7] Equated with *sikiş ḳarış*, (*fırış*?) in MSS T 2693 ('this is a Persian term'), 6b; T 9491, 140a; 'one says of offering one's bum to be fucked,' MS T 565, 140a.

[8] Explained as *calḳ* (onanism) in MSS T 2693, 6b; T 9491, 140a.

[9] 'Introducing the penis into the boy's well-known part, his loins (*bil*), by rubbing it slowly and gently (*sürişdürmek*), MS T 2693, 7a; cf. MS A 2796, 5b.

[10] 'A Persian term [meaning] to penetrate in one go, that is, to insert by rubbing slowly and gently,' MS A 2796, 5b; 'this means planting [the penis] up to the 'tail' (*dünb*) into the well-known spot,' MS T 2693, 7a; cf. MS T 565, 141a. '*Coitus perfectus totum immittendo membrum*,' Steingass, *Dictionnary*: 885.

[11] MS A 446, 48a.

[12] MSS T 2693, 18b; T 9491, 150a.

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Other obscure terms which are explained are *peçebāz* (158), 'a Persian term for pederast[1];' *sürīn* (176), 'the buttocks of a man[2],' *ifżāt* (565), 'to penetrate the vagina of a woman with a big penis...[3];' *çārmīḫ* (724), 'a perpetrator of disgusting sodomy (*livāṭa*)[4].'

Apart from straight-forward coition or masturbation, men are also pictured as playing with the beloved's breasts, 'caressing and squeezing every part of her body' (275), and kissing her cheeks and neck (334*)[5]. Pederasts also kissed the bodies of their boy lovers, particularly their behind (*maḳ'ad*, 196). The moving body of a dancing boy sparks off the pederast's lusts: 'Kissing and embracing will cause flood / A wave of passion will turn into a sea of destruction / Drunken, you tear his shit apart / You will kiss his breast and neck' (396-397).

Contrasting with these lowly lusts is the ideal of Platonic love as sketched by the shaykh who, at the end of the poem, is consulted by the two lechers. Lust (*şehvet*) is characteristic for animals (697), is a devilish insinuation (700), and to give in to it leads to exclusion from Paradise, and thus, paradoxically, from eternally enjoying houris and boys (698). One should be content with four wives (711); one will never — this is a chemical law — find satisfaction in adultery (711). In the same way, the corruption of children and 'mischievous urchins' (*ḥācīyatmaz*, 715) is improper (718) and makes God's throne tremble (720). Instead of earthly pangs of love, the shaykh points at the blessings of spiritual love (728-729), when one finds in the face of the beloved a mirror of comforting, divine light (730-733). Pure love for either a male or a female beloved gives a real fulfilment of desire (750-751) and eternal life (740).

Comparisons and Metaphors

The poem thus offers, apart from the rather meek and obligatory conclusion on the advantages of spiritual love, graphic descriptions of sex and sexual organs, straight-forward or metaphorical, and these descriptions seem, for someone used to the conventions of 'serious' pre-modern Ottoman 'Dīvān poetry,' to be highly original, and apparently even difficult to understand for a

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[1] MS T 2693, 6a; shorter in MS A 446, 38a; MS T 9491, 139b, with reference to the *Tuḥfe*.

[2] MS T 2693, 6b.

[3] MS T 2693, 18b.

[4] MS T 2693, 23a; 'this means sodomy,' MS T 565, 150a.

[5] *Būs edüb geh ruḥ u geh gerden,*' MS T 2693, hemistich occurring after 334 of the printed edition.

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contemporary Ottoman reader. Nevertheless, this originality is not maintained throughout the poem; we find also a great number of conventional comparisons and metaphors, 'images,' which had long since become threadbare through ages of use in the same 'Dīvān poetry.' In order to give a more balanced insight into the rhetorical inventiveness of the poet, I will give a further survey of Vehbī's 'images,' original and traditional. The most important ones deal with water, animals, trees, flowers, and fruits.

Water

The concept of 'water' occurs frequently in our poem, and is mostly associated with body juice secreted because of sexual excitement or during sexual intercourse. Vehbī uses the term *āb-i neşāṭ*, 'the water of exultation' (570). Of a man who sees a woman, it is said that 'his mouth fills with water' (*aġzı ṣulanur*, 571). These juices are ignited from the heart by passion (394); the water 'catches fire like a lime storehouse' (570). At the apex of ardour, it causes a flood in which the lover threatens to be drowned by the waves of his passion (395-396, cf. also above). From this maelstrom, this 'whirlpool of sin' (759), man can only save himself by not entering it and passing by the bridge with two arches over it (one arch being a coquettish girl, the other a loveable boy) (753-759).

'Water conduit' we find in the very name of first protagonist, Ṣuyolcızāde (10 ff.); we also find *mecrā*: 'Thereupon Ṣuyolcızāde began to shout / And poured out this censure in his way' (*bu mecrāda*, lit. 'by this conduit') (533). His name is explained in the beginning of the poem. Fearing that he would dry up, he left his native Bolu, following in the steps of his father, as maintenance man of water conduits and began to look for 'water' (12). Having found his pond (the female sexual organ), he 'filled it with his fountain' (13, cf. also 574). But the hyperbole is prolonged : 'If he had found his way to the waters of the Mediterranean (*Aḳdeñiz*, lit. 'White Sea') / He would have admired the jellyfish' (*küs-i deryā*, lit. 'sea cunt'[1]). He became as the proverbial Janissary 'water carrier' (*saḳḳā*) who did it with the wife of an Istanbul Jew[2] (15).

Arguments connected with water often crop up in the discussion between the protagonists. Ḳazıḳçı yegeni warns against intercourse with whores whose 'second-hand water' (*mā-i müsta'mel*) cannot be clean (550). Do not slip into a pit full of dung (*şekke-i āb*, 567)! In the same imagery, the

[1]Explained by the more current *deñiz amı* in MS T 9491, 135b; a more detailed, zoological explanation in MS A 446, 34b.
[2]Cf. explanation in MS A 446, 34b.

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lower part of the female body is called a 'water palace' (*ṣulu sarāy*), in which the man is guest during the night (22), a spring (*çeşme*), from which man drinks his fill (23), and the 'water gate' (*ṣu ḳapusı*, 80) of the 'girl tower' (*Ḳızḳule*[si][1]) or 'girl fortress' (ḳızderbendi, 82) which — we have returned to the imagery of besieging — is forced by the pole (*ḳazıḳ*, 80) and from which man retreats with a 'bloody spear' (*ḳanlı mızrāḳ*, 81). Finally, the vulva is equated with a 'crack of sumac tears,' from which the 'ax handle' should be kept distant (564).

Animals

Animals (including, particularly, birds and insects), had been used for ages as metaphors. Most well-known, perhaps, were the nightingale and the moth, standing for lovers striving for mystical unity with their beloveds (God), represented, respectively, by the rose and the candle. Thus, the shaykh's statement in the poem's conclusion: 'It was love... that has brought honour and fame to animals as well / Nightingale and moth are notably mentioned' (743). The nightingale and the rose occur at several other instances in the poem (235, 351, 384); the moth and the candle on one other occasion (416). Birds in general, too, are used for various metaphors. The lover's bewilderment is pictured as birds flocking to his head (102). The weeping heart of the lover is said to be a bird that has become ensnared in the curls of the beloved (257). The bird is also used for the male member (cf. above). More ambiguous is the verse attributed to Ḳazıḳçı yegeni; 'Do not listen to their words when they say she is a parrot[2] / It is another bird, the bird which knows his heart (or: her tongue, *dilini*)' (549). Parrots also appear elsewhere as female beloveds, conventionally described as pecking at sugar (sugar = sweet words) (222) or as possessing a mirror (by which, in the traditional conception, they were taught to speak 223). Of adulterous women it is said that in their 'nests' many other 'birds' have alighted (568).

Apart from the nightingale and the parrot, we find other birds specifically mentioned. Of the gait of a beautiful woman, heading for the bathhouse, it is said that it was more elegant than that of a mountain partridge (*kebg-i derī*, 293). The flirting dandy, described in the beginning of our poem, is called Burnaz Beg, literally: Mr. Hawk-nose (40). The pederast is represented as a vulture (*ṭavşancıl*, 158), a kite (*çaylaḳ*, 519) or compared to the owl

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[1] 'Tower of Leander at the juncture between the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara, 'Redhouse, *Dictionary* (1974): 661.

[2] The parrot often represents the beloved, sweet of speech; 'what the Easterns associate with this bird is, firstly, its faculty of learning human speech, and, secondly, the beauty of its plumage,' Gibb, HOP I (London, 1900), 214n.

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(*būm*), awake until dawn (520). His victim is, apart from being addressed as 'little lamb' (cf. above), also compared to a pigeon (*kebūter*, 146), or a decoy-bird (*peftere*) which is hit by arrows from the eyebrow of the lover (501). Most boys are said to be 'more prostrate than a hoopoo' (esced min hüdhüd[1], 463). The pederast uses a 'bird fancier' (*ḳuşbāz* = pimp) in order to catch his 'female owl' (*dişi bayḳuş*) for his 'bird,' 'because men catch birds with birds' (507-509).

Sometimes the penis is represented as an atherine (*gümiş balığı*, lit. 'silver fish') that sinks into the 'black sea' (the anus) (172-173). Of much-used women it is said: 'How many fishes did not lie in the great deep of their sea / Against how many shields (*ḳalḳan — ḳalḳan balığı* means also 'turbot') did they not knock?' (569).

Gazelles belong to the more traditional animals occurring in Ottoman poetry, often associated with musk perfume — musk was obtained from a fluid contained in a cyst or gland near the navel of the musk-deer[2] — and a fortiori with the beloved's hair. Thus, we find the verse: 'If it had known what this musky down (*ḫaṭṭ*) was / The Chinese gazelle had shed his navel' (407). The complex discussion of the protagonists is compared to the ramified antlers of a gazelle (643). Gazelles also stand either for the female (218) or male beloved (410). The eyes of Laylā are called 'gazelle's eyes' (251).

Men and women are imagined as 'pure-bred Arab horses' (*küḥeylān*) and 'mares' (*mādiyān*) (226). The pederast is a swift horse (*raḫş*, also the name of Rustam's charger), when a young boy has mounted him (*ney-süvār iken*[3], 349). The beloved boy, as mentioned above, is a horse and well able to kick his lover, if approached from behind (462). Women are said to feed on 'the marrow of donkeys' (= semen, 612). To finish with the poem's livestock, there is the ox: 'When the beasts are harnessed to the plow, do not let the semen-scattering / 'ox-head' (*gāv-ser*, is also' 'Farīdūn's mace') sow on the land of women' (448). Tough men, 'lions' (*şīr-i nerī*), become rhinoceroses (*kerkedān*, 620), or 'rams' (*ḳoç Yigitler* — the combination also means 'handsome and brave young men 621'), wearing 'horns' with which they butt each other.

Unreliable boys are 'Tatar foxes' (*ḳarşaḳ*) who open their trousers for strangers (470). The hare (*ṭavşan*) stands for the beloved boy, as in *ṭavşan oġlanı*, 'dancing boy' (156). The pederast in this imagery is a worn-out horse-rider who chases hares (156).

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[1] 'Is said of a vulgar boy who constantly sells his bums,' MS A 2796, 12b; 'This is a proverb which applies to... catamites because the hoopo bird always lays his head on the ground and raises it again,' MS T 2693, 15b.

[2] Cf. Gibb, HOP I, 294n.

[3] Lit. 'cane-rider;' 'a Persian term, said of a very small loved one; the reason behind it is that boys play riding a horse on a 'tree' (*aġaç*),' MS A 446, 42b.

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With dogs, reptiles and insects, the poet brings us to very nasty spheres in the world of evil. The catamite is represented as a tail-wagging dog (371, 472), so that the 'tail' of the pederast is often erected (472). Contacts are made on 'the market where 'tails' are sold' (197). The catamite sometimes is a snake (*yılan*) that 'eats eels (*mārmāhī*);' 'Many grass snakes (*ḳara yılan*) slipped into his hole' (473). The same imagery is used for a fornicating woman who 'eats snakes'[1] (619). The fornicating man looks like a scorpion (*'aḳreb*) that pinches a woman with his 'prong' (*çatal*) (85). The pederast is once unfavourably compared to a 'beetle' (*ḫunfüsā*, 527).

Trees, Flowers and Fruits

Traditional in Ottoman poetry are motifs related to the (idealized) garden, the orchard or 'meadow' (*çimen*, 235, 347). A boy is described as 'A tender sapling in the meadow of beauty / A refreshing bud in the garden of reunion' (347). The motif of the 'sapling,' standing for beautiful young boy, also crops up elsewhere in the poem (116, 185, 400). The boy's face with his '*çār ebrū*' is compared to the tuberose (*şebbū*) amidst a 'fourfold garden' (*çār bāġ*[2], 409). Traditional is also the use of the motif of the 'cypress' (the stature of the beloved boy, 373-374, or beloved, woman, 610) and that of the (red) 'rose' (the beloved boy or woman, or their cheeks or lips, 235, 244-245, 301, 348, 360, 372, cf. also below). A woman's 'rose-face' (*gül-rūy*, 315) which, having become heated in the bathhouse, scatters 'rose water' (*gülāb*, 317). A boy has 'rose jam lips' (*gülşeker lebler*, 376), and kissing the lips of a woman, a man tastes 'rose jam' (*gül-be-şeker*, 270). We also find the 'rose shirt' (*gül pireheni*), worn by a woman, and 'rose-coloured wine' (383). The shaykh who is requested to solve the protagonists' problems, is asked to help them with raising a 'green [or 'fresh'] rose' (679). More obscenely, the lips of the vagina are described as 'two fresh rose petals,' the woman's legs as the stems of that red rose (287).

But we find other flowers in the Ottoman garden. The rouged faces of both the flirting dandy and the hussy are compared to the poppy (*gelincik*, 33, 594) under which a pockmarked skin (*çiçek bozġunı*, 594) is hidden. The dark curls of a woman are, again very traditionally, compared to hyacinths (260), or to 'tuberoses' (*şebbū*) in a 'jasmin shrub' (*yāseminlik*, 261), which stands for her neck. Her mouth is a 'bud' (369), as is that of the catamite, which opens if he begins to sing like a nightingale (384). Her colourful lips are the envy of the 'pomegranate flower' (*gülnār*, 268). Her fingers are 'like jujube' (*'unnāb gibi*, 279).

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[1]The printed version has *pelān*, which does not seem to make sense, for *yılan*, which occurs in the Leiden MS, Cod.Or. 1452(2) — the verse does not occur in MS T 2693.

[2]'Name of a celebrated royal garden in the environs of Ispahan; also near Delhi...,' Steingass, *Dictionary*: 384.

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Her 'dewlap's apple' (*sīb-i ġabġab* = chin) is the fruit of the lover's heart (268). The small breasts of girls are like 'oranges' (*portaḳal*, 238) or 'Seville oranges' (*turunç*, 282, 598). Those of women made pregnant become 'citrons' (*aġaçḳavunı*, 598). At the banquet, which takes place at İncirli (*incir* = fig, but also: 'vulva'), the lecher 'swigs (the verb is *çekmek*, which also means 'to mate') the grape's daughter (*bintü l-'ineb*, = wine, 88).' The wordplay is continued in the following: 'He pushed back the veil from the grape's daughter (*duḫter-i-rez*) /The fruit he liked was the idol's face (*rūy-i nigār*, means also 'a light pink coloured grape'[1])' (90). When trying to climb the neighbour's wall, Ṣuyolcızāde's outstretched arms are compared to 'a grape vine' (*tāk*, 25). The catamite is endowed with two 'tulip bulbs' (*piyāz-i lāle*), the 'bud' of which, when touched, fills with 'dew' (*jāle*, 429). His body is a 'hazel-nut' (*fındıḳ*), his eyes are 'almonds' (*bādem*), and the boy, in sum, is a 'hazel-nut-seller' (*fındıḳçı*, 465). A woman is compared to a 'chestnut' (*kestāne*, 89, cf. above).

Conclusion

If we return now to the critical judgement of the scholars mentioned in the introduction above, we may say the following. Although it is debatable whether the poem was 'not beautiful' — this of course depends upon the appreciation of the individual reader —, we are certainly able to affirm Gibb's statement on the high rhetorical content of the *Şevḳ-engīz*: the poem is crammed with metaphor and allusion, mostly, as may be expected from a pornographic work, of an erotic nature. Vehbī's rhetorics seem to be ingenious, but not all rhetorics are original, some of the imagery is even very traditional. It is more difficult, though, to subscribe to its ' romantic' character, 'romantic,' of course, in the sense which Gibb gave to the adjective. It is impossible to say whether the poem is autobiographical, and there is no indication in the poem itself that the pleasures, erotic or otherwise, describe or hinted at in it had been experienced by the author. 'Local colour,' another aspect of this 'Romanticism,' is found in the form of personal and geographical names, but most of these seem to have primarily been introduced for the sake of wordplay. It is questionable whether many of the other specific terms from the field of money, navigation, music etc. may be reckoned to be 'picturesque' and indicative of 'local colour.' A number of these must have been obscure to contemporaries, and perhaps more indicative of Vehbī's taste for exotic vocabulary and rhetorics than of his 'Romanticism.' 'Local language and expressions borrowed from daily life' seem to restricted to the purely bawdy and pornographic, and equally serve, mostly complicated, rhetorical effects.

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[1] Cf. also gloss in MS T 9491, 137b: 'The name of a beloved woman and a grape, and [means] a very beautiful face.'

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We should conclude, then, that the realistic, if one wishes' 'romantic,' aspects of the *Şevḳ-engīz* — and this seems also true for other poems of the genre — are quite limited. It is an allusion to think that one would obtain much concrete historical information, for instance, on the sexual mores of Ottomans living around 1800, from a work such as the *Şevḳ-engīz*[1]. The literary-historical background of the genre was not very favourable for the development of realism as we understand it. Vehbī's poem was, as is clear from the title, one of the last products influenced by the age-old Persian-Ottoman *şehr-engīz* genre, in which towns and their inhabitants are playfully described ; the background and the protagonists of the poem, as far as that is made explicit by the author, are Istanbul and its inhabitants. This genre in itself, and also some other aspects of the *Şevḳ-engīz* in particular, such as its dialogue structure, went back to elements already found in the earliest Arab literature.

We might point in this respect to a work written some thousand years earlier by the Arab poet al-Jāḥiẓ (777-869), the (*Kitāb*) *Mufākhara al-jawārī wa l-ghilmān* ('The Contest in Glory of Girls and Boys')[2] which resembles in many aspects the *Şevḳ-engīz*. It consists, apart from a series of bawdy jokes (56-74)[3], of a discussion between an admirer of girls (*jawārī*, which means also 'female slaves') and a lover of boys (*ghilmān*, which also has the meaning of male slaves) (15-55). The discussion is in prose, and is often interrupted by quotations from *ḥadīth* and poetical fragments by famous and less well-known authors. A number of the themes and arguments found in the *Mufākhara* also occur in the *Şevḳ-engīz*.

The pederast reasons that beauty *tout court* is represented by boys; even of an attractive woman it is said that she is 'like a boy' (*ka'innahā ghulām*) (15-16). He quotes a *ḥadīth* which pretends that only 'beardless persons' (*al-amrad*) can enter Paradise, which is confirmed by the fact that

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[1]See also my article of Fāżıl Beg; for the same reasons Danuta Chmieloska's study on Turkish women in the work of Nābī, Vehbī and Vāsıf (*La femme turque dans l'œuvre de Nābi, Vehbī et Vāsif*, Warsaw, 1986) does not, despite suggestions to the contrary, add anything to our knowledge of eighteenth-century Turkish women. (Of Vehbī's work, she uses the chapter *Der emr-i izdivāc* from his *Lutfīye*, 45-47, in which verses occur that are identical with those in the *Şevḳ-engīz*).

[2]The work has been edited by Charles Pellat, Beirut, 1957 — references are to the pages of this edition. The introductory paragraphs have been partially translated by the same scholar, see *Arabische Geisteswelt. Ausgewählte Texte von al-Ǧāḥiẓ* (777-869) (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1967): 434-435 — Pellat explains that he did not dare to translate passages of the essay itself because his decency forbade him to do so, ibidem: 435.

[3]These 'offensive stories', as Pellat calls them, are mostly of a very coarse nature. In one story, for instance, figures a woman who fucks a passive homosexual (*muḫannath*) with a dildo (*wa-hiya tanīkahu bi-kandīj*); when the woman is found out and is beaten by the governor (*wālī*) of Medina, she shouts that it is a shame: 'you [men] fuck us always, but if we fuck you only once, you kill us!' (71-72).

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women are especially attracted by beardless men (18-19). A disadvantage of a woman is that she is adulterous (20) and tortures her husband when he becomes old and disabled (23). An advantage of intercourse with boys (male slaves) is that it is free from the impediments surrounding that with female slaves, who can only be enjoyed after purchase (25). Only the uncivilized, coarse, bedouin-poets of the *Jāhiliyya* sang the praises of women, whereas the refined, modern (Abbasid) wits, of course prefer boys. These old poets did not know the joys of the 'pleasant life' (*'aysh*) and the world (44-45). The pederast at this point cites Abū Nuwās, who praises the fact that boys do not need kohl to tinge their eyes ; like Vehbī this poet also used the metaphor of the 'sword,' standing for the penis, and of 'hills' for buttocks (26-30). Other poets of that period compared the anatomical configuration of boys to a 'lantern', the female sexual organ, on the contrary, to a 'scorpion's nest' — a man becomes impotent at the mere thought of copulating with a woman! Men are moreover able to commit adultery without having to fear punishment; boys moreover do not menstruate or become pregnant (33-40). Intercourse with persons of the same sex has also the advantage of stimulating the fighting spirit and courage (48-49).

These arguments are disputed by the whoremonger. The Creator has blessed women with a number of privileges that confirm their superiority: they are better protected by law than men (their condemnation requires more witnesses for the prosecution than that of men), they smell better, they walk more elegantly, their voice is more refined, and they know better than a boy how to charm the heart (16-18). It is a well-known fact that Muḥammad, but also previous prophets, especially Dāvud and Yūsuf, loved women (19). Sodomy is not less liable to punishment than adultery: the Caliph 'Alī, for instance, had pederasts (*lūṭī*) thrown from a minaret — during the Omayyad period, pederasts were no less stoned to death than adulterous women (21-22). The prophet censured effeminate men and viragos[1] (22), and advocated marriage (23-25). It is not known that a poet ever died for love of a boy, but there are many examples of the reverse situation — an example is the case of Majnūn who died for love of Laylā (26). As regards the arguments derived from poetry: it is more characteristic for Abū Nuwās as a singer of the praises of women than an encomiast of boys[2] (31-33)! The modern, obscure, poets adduced as proof, moreover, are unimportant compared to the great, early, poets, and as regards the lessons taught by Koran and *ḥadīth*: we only have to recall what God said about the people of Lot (40-43)! And then there is

[1]This seems to be a direct reference to the caliphal court where male slaves behaved as much as possible like girls, whereas female slaves did their best to look like boys, cf. Arie Schippers, 'On-islamitische uitingen in de klassiek Arabische literatur,' in *Sharqiyyāt*, 2 (1990): 324-351, 337-338.

[2]This is untrue, cf. Schippers, 'On-islamitische uitingen:' 338.

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emotional satisfaction: one is well able to enjoy a female slave for forty years on end, enjoy her soft, round, buttocks (when practising *tafkīdh*), her soft breasts (when practising *'ināq*), her unctuous vagina (a boy is dry and can only be approached in an unclean manner), her smooth skin, her tender limbs, her compliance, her nice scent, her swinging gait and her slender stature. On the other hand, a boy remains only beautiful for ten years, after which his beard starts to grow and he becomes refractory or begins to walk in an effeminate manner and apply mascara. Neither are eunuchs a solution: they unite the bad qualities of both sexes in themselves (49-55).

Although both *Şevḳ-engīz* and *Mufākhara*, superficially, seem to have a pronounced didactic-moralistic content, in the case of the first work explicitly telling its readers that the crude gratification of lowly lusts is sinful and that only pure, spiritual, love may redeem man, this moralistic tendency seems largely a cover-up for a mass of erotic, if not outright obscene, descriptions and allusions. That the *Şevḳ-engīz* was primarily a pornographic work — *şevḳ* means, among other things, 'desire' — was understood by its readers: it inspired one of them to the following bawdy verse:

(remel -v-- / vv-- / --
vv--/ vv- / / vv-)

Ṣuyolcızāde fucked Vehbī's wife
Ḳazıḳçı yegeni did a good turn to his son's ass (*püşt*[1])
He wrote it down for them, composed his *Şevḳ-engīz*
He is the old pander of the world, he loves his prick so much[2]

(*Vehbī'nüñ 'avratını sikdi Ṣuyolcızāde*
oġlı püştini ṣıraya çekdi Ḳazıḳçı yegeni
ḫaṭṭ edüb anlara naẓm eyledi Şevḳ-engīzi
ḳoca deyyūṣ-i cihāndür sever öyle sikini)

We should also remember that the poem was primarily meant to be humorous, as the author himself stated in the epilogue of his poem: the writer intended to make his readers laugh — *şevḳ* in the title also means 'mirth.' Thus, the poem might well be compared to the English seventeenth-century poem *Erotopolis*: *The Present State of Betty-Land*, which combined topographical features with elaborate, erotic, metaphors but was in essence no more than a 'bawdy joke[3].'

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[1] *püşt* means both 'back' and 'catamite;' a commentary in the margin of MS T 2693, 6b, explains that it means catamite (*hīz oġli*) because such a boy is 'worked upon from the back side.'

[2] MS T 2693, la; MS A 446, 34a.

[3] Cf. Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*: 190-194.

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4. THE POET MEḤMED EŞREF BETWEEN SULTAN AND SHAH[1]

Introduction

The subject of this article is a *ḳaṣīde* ('ode') entitled *'Şāh-u pādişāh'* by the poet Meḥmed Eşref who lived between 1847/8, perhaps 1853/4 — the year is uncertain[2] — and 1912.

I became intrigued by this poet when I first came across him in the diaries of the German scholar Karl Süssheim (1878-1947),[3] in fact on the very first page of the first volume. There we read under 30 August 1908 - Süssheim was on his way from Cairo to Istanbul:

> "In İzmir there lives a Turk called Şā'ir ["The Poet"] Eşref who has again started to write for the newspapers. He is a very clever satirist. He left the *Ḳantar* which was published in İzmir and fled to Egypt four years ago. His satires directed against 'Abdülḥamīd, and, recently, the Shah of Persia, were so well-done that he was continually surrounded by people in the [Cairo] Splendide Bar, busy copying [his verses]. On disembarkation in İzmir, one of the passengers who sat in my rowboat looked into the newspapers and said: "Ah, Eşref has started to write panegyrical poetry." Eşref had left Egypt some days before me and had already arrived in İzmir."[4]

Eşref was a popular poet, and still enjoys a reputation today as is confirmed in articles, memoirs and anecdotes on the poet and his work collected by Hilmi Yücebaş.[5] Already during his lifetime his verses were savoured as inspiring and risqué by young intellectuals who lived during the reign of Sultan 'Abdülḥamīd II, but also later, and even today, Eşref's work is quoted and imitated, and anecdotes about him are still being repeated in the columns of the *Cumhuriyet* and other critical periodicals. Many people were, and still are, of the opinion that Eşref is the greatest satirical poet in Turkish literature; he has even been compared to Aristophanes. Nonetheless, an edition

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[1]This article was published in Dutch as 'De dichrer Mehmed Eşref tussen sultan en sjah' in Sharqiyyat (Nijmegen) 2/3 (1990), pp. 167-80.

[2]Cf. Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, 'Eşref Üzerine Notlar', in *Türk Dili* 27 (1977), pp. 229-33, 229-31.

[3]See the Introduction and Part Four of this book.

[4]Berlin, State Library, *Veḳāyi'-i rūzmerrem* III, Hs. or. 1135, f. 2a.

[5]In *Şair Eşref. Bütün şiirleri ve 80 yıllık hâtıraları*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul 1984, HY hereafter). In the following, biographical data are based on this book, unless indicated otherwise.

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of his work does not exist — some of it was never even printed — and literature on the poet and his work is fragmentary and, at most, restricted to articles in encyclopaedias, handbooks, journals and newspapers. In part, this situation may be explained by the fact that Eşref's work essentially was tuned to special occasions and responded to events of the day. It was also autobiographical and critical of abuses, imaginary or real. It was not highly polished or abstract, more 'popular' than 'literary', despite its reluctance to indulge in popular prosody (see also under 4, below). Because of the topical aspect of the poet's work and the *ḳaṣīde* in particular, some insight into the historical background of his work would be useful. In the following, therefore, I will focus on (1) the poet's biography; (2) the political circumstances to which Eşref reacted in his *ḳaṣīde*; and (3) the place of the poem in the poet's work as a whole.

2. Eşref's life[1]

Mehmed Eşref was born in Gelenbe (district of Kırkağaç, province of Manisa) around 1850 — I already mentioned the uncertainty of the year. He was the son of Uṣūlīzāde (Ḥāccī) Muṣṭafā and ʻĀrife Ḫānım. It is not known what his father did for a living, but it seems likely that he was one of the local notables. Intellectuals like the 18th-century mathematician Gelenbevī İsma'īl Efendi and the 19th-century philologist Yayaköyli Ahmed Efendi, who wrote a commentary on Sünbülzade Vehbī's *Nuḥbe*, are reckoned among his ancestors.

The poet received a traditional education. He frequented a local primary school (*mekteb*), and learned Arabic and Persian at an academy for religious studies, the *Ḫatunīye medresesi*, in Manisa, where he was taught by Köse Süleymān Efendi, an assistant-librarian of the local Çeşnegīr Mosque. He was also taught mathematics and history by a private teacher. He seems to have learned the Koran by heart within half a year.

During most of his life Eşref was employed as an official in Anatolia and was active as editor and contributor to a number of rather obscure satirical periodicals, among them one which bore his own name. We already came across the *Kantar* mentioned in Süssheim's diary.

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[1] Succinct biographies, or data of the poet's life, and references to, often obscure, secondary literature are found in: Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Osmanlı mü'ellifleri* II (Istanbul 1338), p. 88; İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal (İnal), *Son Asır Türk Şairleri* (Istanbul 1969), pp. 334-44; Mustafa Şatim, *Meşhur Eşref in Hayatı* (Izmir 1943); Kenan Akyüz, 'La littérature moderne de Turquie', in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II* (Wiesbaden 1964), pp. 563-4; Cevdet Kudret, *Eşref. Hayatı, Sanatı, Eseri* (4th ed. Istanbul 1977), pp. 5-8; Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, 'Eşref Üzerine Notlar', in *Türk Dili* (27 (1977), pp. 229-33; and in varous contributions to HY.

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Eşref began his official career as an assistant (*mülāzim*) in the administration of the province of Manisa in August 1870. After that, he changed post once every one or two years, first becoming head of the finance office (*māl müdürü*) at Akḥiṣār (August 1874), then head official (*ḳā'immaḳām*) of the district of Alaşehir and later of Fatsa (in June 1879) after he had passed examinations in Istanbul — during his first visit to the city — in January 1878. In the same year he wrote his first verses. In the following years, until December 1902, he again was head official in at least eleven different districts, mostly in the province of Aydın, but also in northern and eastern Anatolia. These postings actually were meant as punishment and exile for incompetence, absenteeism and carousing — when he was in function in Aydın one could often find him in the taverns of İzmir. Causing offence to local authorities in a stream of satirical poems as well as breaking censorship rules caused a series of dismissals and banishment from his beloved land of birth to far-off places, and from there to places even farther-off. In the late 1890s, for instance, his posting to Daday, province of Kastamonu, was the result of a report from an informer (*jurnalcı*), Muṣṭafā Bey, on his possession of prohibited, Young-Turkish, papers published in Europe and obtained through the British consulate at İzmir.

Eşref, and with him a number of other young critical intellectuals, were lucky enough to profit from the protection of Meḥmed Kāmil Paşa (1832-1912), the former (and future) grand vizier who himself had been banished to İzmir as governor (*vālī*) of the province of Aydın in 1895. The latter's cordial relations with the minister of the interior, Rıżā Paşa, made it possible for him, Kāmil Paşa, to have Eşref appointed time and again to posts in the province.

The poet's career was temporarily halted on 12 December 1902, when he was dismissed as head official of Gördes (or Gördüs). On 3 December he was arrested in the *tekke* of the Mevlevī shaykh Nūrī in İzmir where he was a frequent visitor — Eşref himself had joined the Bektaş order as *murīd* of shaykh Rūḥī Baba. After ten days of detention he was sent to Istanbul on board the *Pandelion* in the company of his friends Tevfīk Nevzād, a lawyer and owner of the periodical *Ḫıẓmet*, and Ḥāfiẓ İsmā'īl. His house in Gördes was searched and the poet was locked up in a dark cell in the *Tevḳīfḫane-i żabtīye* in Istanbul where he was subjected to continual interrogations — the poet described his experiences in detail in his *Deccāl* ('Anti Christ', cf. below). After three months his detention was officially justified on the grounds *fesād fi'li*, subversive acts, based on article No. 58 of the Penal Law. As it appeared from the interrogations, the police had been set on his trail through the prosecution and trial of people completely unknown to the poet.

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After another four months, Eşref was condemned to imprisonment on the grounds of ownership of 'damaging documents' (*evrāḳ-i mużırre*) found in his house which were not tolerated under the rules of the severe Hamidian censorship. The poet suspected that the real reasons for his condemnation were his correspondence with Prince (*Dāmād*) Maḥmūd Paşa (1853-1903) who, not much earlier, in 1899, had fled to Europe and had joined the Young Turks in Paris. Later, Eşref was moved to the Mehterhane prison where, it appears, he was allowed a certain degree of freedom and was able to receive and openly talk with other prisoners who, he heard, had often been condemned on the most trivial grounds. During one such conversation a preacher (*ḫaṭīb*) told him that he was forced to remain in jail for seven months because he had forgotten to mention the word *ġāzī* ('fighter on the path of God') and honourific epithet of the sultan in his Friday sermon. Experiences like this and his own must have contributed to a growing feeling of bitterness against the authorities and inspired him to compose more critical verses against the sultan and the Palace clan who governed the land and tortured innocent people like himself. On 20 December 1903, the poet returned to İzmir, the more bitter for the fact that he had been obliged to pay his own travel expenses as well as those of the policeman who had been escorting him home.

In İzmir, where he was avoided by old friends and remained under police surveillance, he was not able to stay for long. In August 1904 he departed — this was punishable in default of an official permit — to Cairo. There he worked for a while at the printing shop of the *İctihād* Press, but was also supported financially by Aḥmed Celālüddīn Paşa, mentioned in our *ḳaṣīde*, who had formerly been chief of the Ottoman secret police (*ser-ḫafīye*) and had married into the ruling Khedival family. Eşref remained in Cairo until after the Young-Turkish revolution of July 1908. Even after that dramatic event, he hesitated to return home out of fear of the sultan's revenge; 'Abdülḥamīd after all had not abdicated. During this period of exile the poet seems to have visited Paris — where he came into conflict with the ambassador, Ṣāliḥ Munīr Paşa — Switzerland and Cyprus; these journeys were funded by his patron. His impressions were not favourable. Paris was not suitable for older people, and he was not impressed by Switzerland; he found the scenery in Kasaba (Turgutlu, province of Aydın) much more attractive than that of the Alpine Republic.

In September 1908, Eşref returned to Istanbul, where he took lodgings in a coffee house in Sirkeci, whose windows were covered by rags. Shortly afterwards he resumed his official career, but not for long. He was appointed head of the district of Kasaba and assistant governor (*vālī mu'āvini*) in Adana. In July 1909, 65 lunar years' old, he retired with a pension and settled in Kırkağaç.

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About three years later, on 22 May 1912, Eşref died of tuberculosis and the damaging effects of a life of hard drinking. The community of Kırkağaç erected a tombstone for him on the Akhisar road. The poet had been married four times and left a son by this third wife Ḫatice, Meḥmed Muṣṭafā Şatim. This son later, in 1943, published a biography of his father. Eşref also seems to have had a son called Remzi as well as two daughters. The daughters did not survive their father.

Eşref must have been an impressive personality, an individual *sui generis* (*nev'i şaḫsına münḥāṣır*)[1], afraid of no-one, who openly vented his spleen on authorities, and a lively entertainer with a great sense of humour. A large part of his life was spent in the company of an extended group of friends, intellectuals and fellow-poets, in the coffee houses and taverns of İzmir. Favourites were the beer-house, '*Brasserie Viennoise*', owned by the Austrian Kraemer,[2] the *Café de Paris*, both on the seaside boulevard, the *Kordon*, and the 'Army coffee house' (*'Askerī ḳirā'atḫāne*) in the military barracks opposite the government offices (*Konak*). Apart from these, a number of Greek taverns were frequented, among them a place called 'Miço'.[3] In Istanbul Eşref was often seen in the station restaurant at Sirkeci and in the offices of the Sublime Porte.[4] In Cairo, Eşref frequented the *Café Splendide* opposite the Opera house. Finally, the poet often visited the *tekkes* of Nūrī and Rūḥī Babas, was often in the offices of various satirical periodicals in the editorial boards of which he sat or to which he contributed, or was found in the homes of his friends — he seems to have been too stingy to entertain at his own house —, while *rakı*, substituted by beer during *Ramażān*, copiously flowed.

In İzmir, the aforementioned Tevfiḳ Nevzād and İsmā'īl Ḥāfıẓ could be reckoned among his most cordial friends. Later he befriended the young Ḥüseyn Rif'at, from 1894 editor of *Ḫizmet*, and the young exiled student of the school for civil servants (*mülkīye*), Ermenaklı Ḥasan Rüştü (1869-1936), a poet and later teacher of philosophy and literature at Konya. The latter was freed from imprisonment in İzmir by Kāmil Paşa and offered a job as teacher in a local secondary school. Both Ḥüseyn Rif'at and Ḥasan Rüştü wrote lengthy memoirs about our poet in, respectively, *Vakit* in 1944, and the *Yeni Anadolu Gazetesi* in 1932. Ḥasan Rüştü described his first meeting with Eşref as follows:

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[1] İnal, *Türk Şairleri* I, p. 336.

[2] A picture of the establishment is found in Mert Sandalcı, 'Bira', in *Tombak, Antika Kültürü Koleksiyon ve Sanat Dergisi* 14 (1997), pp. 6-18, 14.

[3] Cf. Karl Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern. Handbuch für Reisende*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig 1914), p. 333.

[4] Cf. İnal, *Türk Şairleri*, I, p. 337.

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"It seemed that Eşref Bey was district head in almost every village in the province of Aydın. When I first met him, he was *ḳā'immaḳām* in Bayındır. Of every three days the great poet was staying in the district of which he was prefect, he spent five in Izmir ... Once, when I was sitting in the military coffee-house opposite the *Konak* with [Zeytinzāde] Remzi Bey [Eşref's friend and secretary], Eşref spotted us, came over, and sat down. He took a piece of paper from his pocket. "I have made a good chronogram for someone, but I am lacking five. This irritates me endlessly," he said. Eşref had heard — I do not know from whom — that I had been exiled because of some verses I had composed. He read out the chronogram. I have forgotten what it was about. In the chronogram, the word *eyledi* occurred. Eşref had spelled the word as *ildi* [ایلدی]. According to the orthography of that time, one was allowed to put a *he* before the suffix if the last letter (consonant) was followed by an *e* [ایله دی]. I said: "I beg your pardon, Bey Baba, your chronogram is correct and not defective, but you wrote a letter too few. The word *eyledi* is written with a *he* which is worth five according to the numerical value of the alphabet." Because Eşref, however, had not yet accepted this spelling, he did not pay attention to my words. He did not believe that the chronogram was complete. At that moment Şekib Bey and Nevzād Bey saw Eşref and joined us. Eşref told them about me: "I just showed this nice young man a chronogram. I told him it was defective. He then said to me that, according to the new spelling, I should write a *he* after the *lām* of the word *eyledi*, so that the chronogram would be correct. What would you say about that?" "Yes, what he told you was right", they answered ... Eşref turned to me and said: "I heard that you have been exiled to İzmir and asked what you looked like. Because I saw you walking about in great confusion and clad like a *softa* [student of theology, fanatic], I said to myself: why did the police take so much trouble to banish such a disorderly figure. But now I know that the government had been absolutely right..." Thereupon, Eşref came to see me every day and showed me every poem and every word he had been writing."[1]

Among the other personalities with whom Eşref was befriended in İzmir were the civil servant, editor of the *Mīzān*, and author of a history of Turkish literature, 'Abdülḥalīm Memdūḥ (1866-1905), who had been spared exile to Tripoli by the influence of Kāmil Paşa, and the poet, mentioned in the quotation above, and later parliamentarian, Tokadīzāde Şekīb Bey (1871-1932). Upon a report by the double-agent Muṣṭafā Bey on the drunken conversations held during many tavern séances, not attended by Eşref himself, most friends disappeared to Bitlis in exile.

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[1] Ḥasan Rüştü, 'Şair Eşref'le beraber geçen hayatımız; o devre ait hâtıraları', in HY, pp. 133-85, 141-3.

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In Cairo and Paris, Eşref became acquainted with the young poet Yaḥyā Kemāl (Beyatlı, 1884-1959); the freethinker, founder of the Young-Turkish movement and founder of the aforementioned publishing house *İctihād*, Dr ʻAbdullāh Cevdet (1869-1932); the oppositional journalist ʻAlī Kemāl (1869-1922); Ḥüseyn Kāmī; and many others, and he paid visits to Avram Galanti, editor of *Le Progrès*. His friendship with ʻAbdullāh Cevdet, however, seems to have soon come to an end. Eşref was employed at the *İctihād* Press (where our ode was printed as a small booklet on 15 December 1906), but broke off relations and found other printers for his later work in Egypt. He began to insult Dr Cevdet in lampoons and to ridicule, in particular, the way he looked, his pockmarked skin and dress. In a crude satirical poem Eşref described him, referring to the toupee he was rumoured to have sported during his Viennese period,[1] as follows:

Whatever costume he dons, they all have something strange
He is a living scarecrow without a trace of seriousness
If one sees a hat on Doctor Cevdet's head
It looks like a wild mushroom on a ripe turd, no less[2]

In Istanbul, the poet was acquainted with the historian İbnülemīn Kemāl (İnal, 1870-1957) and the latter's father; the writer Süleymān Naẓīf (1870-1927); the young poet Midḥat Cemāl (Kuntay, 1885-1956); the Young Turk and journalist Yūnus Nādī (Abalıoğlu, 1880-1945); and the poet Neyzen Tevfīḳ (1879-1953). In Adana, Eşref befriended, among others, the poet ʻAlī ʻİlmī Fānī.

3. The Times: the absolute rule of Sultan ʻAbdülḥamīd II

In the above, I have mentioned exile, censorship informers, and secret police. The period experienced by Eşref between, roughly, the age of twenty-five and sixty, was that of the reign of Sultan ʻAbdülḥamīd II (1842-1918, ruled 1876-1909), soon known as one of despotism or absolutism (*istibdād*). The picture sketched in at least part of the secondary literature of the day, in both the west and in the Empire, is that of a country suffering from a bloody régime exercised by a tyrant who became madder every day. In a well-known

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[1] ʻAbdullāh Cevdet was employed as physician at the Ottoman Embassy in Vienna between 1899 and 1904 after a reconciliation with representatives of the [Sultan in Geneva where he had been living in exile — this had been regarded as treason by the Young Turks — cf. Karl Süssheim, "Abd Allāh Djewdet' in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Supplement).

[2] *Ne ḳostüm giymiş olsa her birinde bir ġarābet var / Vücūdī ḳorkuluḳdur reng-i ciddīyet yok üstünde/ Görünce, Mösyü Doktor Cevdet'in başında bir şapka/ Yaban manṭarında beñzer yetişmiş bir boḳ üstünde*, quoted in Cevad Ulunay, 'Şair Eşref'ten anılar', in HY, pp. 211-3, 212.

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work about the period by the French journalist Paul Fesch, for instance, we read that the Bosphorus was no longer the "beautiful canal" that reminded one of the Italian Lakes, but had degenerated into a '*grand égout collecteur, le cloaque sanglant qui ramasse sur son passage et charrie dans son rapide courant les innocentes victimes des haines d'un tyran maniaque atteint du délire de la persécution.*'[1] The sultan, '*méchant de nature*', only became more so when he committed crime upon crime, suppressed the freedom of expression and '*comme il tua les journaux, il tua les hommes.*'[2] In order to stay in power, he sacrificed province after province of his Empire, and his paranoia '*le poussa aux massacres d'Arménie*'. The rise of the Young-Turkish movement drove him crazy. Buried behind the triple walls of the Yıldız Palace, he almost stopped eating and drinking out of fear of being poisoned. Like the Emperor Tiberius, he scorned wine because he preferred blood![3] The picture thus painted in harsh colours of '*Le Sultan Rouge*' (Albert Vandal) — the epithet '*Ḳızıl Sulṭān*' occurs in our ode — or 'The Great Criminal' (Gladstone), hardly to be taken seriously for its strident propagandistic colour, however became widespread. Meḥmed Eşref seems to have shared these ideas and the clichés found in this type of literature are also part of his work.[4]

Today, about a century later, historians agree that despite the problems with which the Ottoman Empire had to cope during the Hamidian era, among them the devastating wars, the shrinking of its territory, the economic exploitation by Western capitalists supported by the Great Powers, with hindsight perhaps no more than a prélude to the disasters of the Young-Turkish dictatorship and the First World War, cannot simply be explained by a character deficiency of a sultan. 'Abdülḥamīd is nowadays even judged as a one of the better rulers in Ottoman history: he was a hard worker, a sly negotiator who did everything in his might to stem the rapacity of the Powers; he strove to soften the growing antagonism between minorities, tried to reduce the state debt inherited from his predecessors, and modernize the infrastructure of the land.

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[1] *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdul-Hamid* (Paris 1907), p. vi.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 73.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 74.
[4] See also İsmail Hâmi Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* IV (Istanbul 1972), pp. 286-9. Halid Ziya (Uşaklıgıl) a contemporary of Eşref's, notes in his memoirs that everyone, both sufferers and those who profited by the régime, agreed that all disasters by which the Empire was hit during that time, somewhow were related to the inauspicious personality of the sultan, *Kırk Yıl* (Istanbul 1969), p. 455. Eşref is not mentioned in this work, although the poet must have known him from the literary scene in İzmir which they both frequented. It is possibled that Halid Ziya had become a victim of Eşref's sharp wit, and, offended, refused to mention the poet.

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The fundamental mistake the ruler made, however, was that he tried to do everything on his own and sent the Parliament home in an early stage. (He had the right to do this according to the Constitution). After a mock trial in which Midḥat Paşa, the popular grand vizier and president of the Council of State, who had been the *auctor intellectualis* of the Constitution of 1876, was accused of the murder of Sultan 'Abdül'azīz he was shipped off to the Hijaz. (He was killed during his exile). The sultan tried to smother criticism through censorship laws elaborated down to the smallest details[1] and an extensive network of secret agents and informers. This made him particularly hated among intellectuals. Sanctions imposed were on the whole not, as was suggested by Fesch and other contemporaries, the death penalty, but the relatively mild measure of exile; we have come across examples above. 'Abdülḥamīd was not a Stalin. The government, which became largely centred in the Palace at the cost of cabinet and parliament, increased the Sultan's isolation and this, in turn, enhanced his tendency to suspiciousness. Being, moreover, a bad judge of people, he began increasingly to rely on devious personalities like 'Arab 'İzzet, his private secretary, and Fehīm Paşa (1873-1908), son of his 'milk brother' 'İşmet Bey and head of the secret police, who did their utmost to extend the power base of the Palace to the benefit of, in the first place, themselves. Both men are infamously referred to in our ode. The Sultan himself, embittered, dismissed all accusations of criminal behaviour in his memoirs, written in 1917 after his abdication. There we read:

> "From the moment I was removed from the throne and up until the present day a series of articles and a great number of books have been written against me. Blood drips from the pen of my enemies. What have I not done, to what evil have I not subjected our enlightened spirits! ... It is said that someone who has fallen has no friends. Indeed, I do not expect anyone's friendship. I am supposed to have been the enemy of intellectuals. So they shamelessly write... But if I had been the enemy of spirit and learning, would I have founded a university [*Dārü l-fünūn*], an academy for civil servants [*Mülkīye-yi şāhāne*], or schools that were to educate scientists? ... It is easily said: "'Abdülḥamīd had young people drowned in the sea". But can they prove that I ever had one single young man thrown into the sea? Nonetheless this is what they continue to claim... Let me note down another thing that comes to my mind: my enemies always complained about my censors. I was supposed to be living in constant suspiciousness and fear... Untrue. In the same way in which I took care not to become suspicious, I avoided slackening my attention..."[2]

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[1] The mention of words like 'dynamite', 'uprising', 'constitution', and even, absurdly, 'nose', became illegal; 'nose' of course was supposed to imply deprecation of the sultan's not unrespectable olfactory organ; news about the formation of an assembly of representatives and the adoption of a constitution in Persia in 1906 could therefore not be published, cf. Fesch, *Constantinople*, p. 54.

[2] İsmet Bozdağ, *Abdülhamid'in Hatıra Defteri* (*Belgeler ve resimlerle*) (Istanbul 1975), pp. 85-6, 90, 104.

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4. Eşref's work

To a large extent Eşref's work was devoted to the description of abuses of the Hamidian régime and the great disappointment that followed: the failure of democracy in the post-1908 period. Eşref's political ideas before 1908 were not unlike those of the Young Turks: the troubles experienced in the Ottoman Empire were supposedly caused by the untrustworthiness of Abdülhamid, or perhaps worse, by the nefarious influence of the palace clan with which the sultan surrounded himself. The only hope for the future was the removal of the Sultan and the reinstatement of the parliament which had not been convened since 1878. Themes in the politically inspired part of Eşref's work were, consequently, the denunciation of oppression, banishments, censorship, secret agents, imprisonments, murders, confiscations (which struck all refugees, including the poet himself), corruption, bad government, religious fanaticism (and backwardness in general), and, on the other hand, the defence of liberal values like fundamental rights for citizens, freedom of the press, democracy, Western education, reforms, the emancipation of women, and so forth. The remainder of his work consists of poetry written for special occasions and of a more personal nature, autobiographical impressions, petitions, and even panegyric pieces dedicated to banished officials like Mardinī Yūsuf Ṣıdḳī (1816-1903) who had been exiled to Bitlis because of his translation and commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā al-'ulūm*, or to patrons like Kāmil Paşa. Eşref also wrote poems on commission; these were mostly elegies with chronograms. I have already given an example.

Most of his work consists of short poems; favourites were the 'fragment' (*ḳıṭ'a*) and the short lyrical *ġazel*. Eşref stuck to the traditional verse forms, metre, and prosody like antithesis, hyperbole, and allusion, but the language on the whole is not too complicated, although the vocabulary is often *recherché*, but rather 'unclassical', that is, not conforming to the canon of the court poetry of the mediaeval and pre-modern periods, as was the case in most poetry of the time. Satire (*hicv*) looms large, and in this the author consciously followed the tradition of Nef'ī, Sürūrī, and Żiyā Paşa — Nef'ī is mentioned in our ode. Characteristic here are direct insults, the contrast between the elevated literary Ottomans and spoken Turkish, animal metaphors, and the use of bawdy language. Eşref liked to present himself as the average man and was regarded as such by many of his readers (and audience), but this was misleading; how many average Ottomans were able to understand his language? This impression was nurtured by the poet when he ridiculed the 'New Literature' (*Edebīyāt-i cedīde*), the refined lyrics inspired by the French Parnassians in journals like *Ṣervet-i fünūn*. The following story is attributed to Remzī Zeytinoğlu:

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"One day Tevfīḳ Nevzād, Ḥāfıẓ İsmā'īl, Eşref and I were sitting in the Military Coffee house. While Tevfīḳ Nevzād was talking about the New Literature, someone said to Eşref: "You won't understand this anyway." At that moment Nevzād Bey went away to eat something. Eşref said to Ḥāfıẓ İsmā'īl: "Note down these verses which I saw in the new issue of *Ṣervet-i fünūn*, and read them to us. Eşref then said the following lines":

"Yesterday I fell asleep in a meadow
I had a green dream, suddenly I woke up
A yellow bird on a jasmine twig
In wonderment I submerged into this vision"[1]

Ḥāfıẓ İsmā'īl noted them down and went away. Somewhat later Nevzād Bey came back from his meal. As soon as he was seated with us, Ḥāfıẓ İsmā'īl again entered. "I read this *ḳıṭ'a* in the *Ṣervet-i fünūn* which had just arrived at the library," he said, took a piece of paper from his pocket, and read out the aforementioned *ḳıṭ'a* of Eşref's. When Eşref asked: "What does that mean, 'a green dream'?", Nevzād answered: "Don't you understand, the greenness of the dream is caused by his lying down in that meadow. Such nuances simply don't get through to your thick farmer's head!" Eşref could hardly wait until Nevzād Bey had stopped speaking, and burst forth: "You idiot! May God call you to account for this: I made it up myself!"[2]

The 'popular' image of Eşref's poetry was emphasized by the way in which he performed in public and which did not fail to greatly impress his contemporaries: his ability to instantly react to daily events in double two-liners, and his brilliant conversation. These qualities were in line with the classical ideal as known to us from the biographical (*teẕkire*) literature of the 16th century. Thus Mehmed Zeki Pakalın remembers that

"When the satirical poet Şā'ir Eşref was assistant *vālī* of Adana, he asked a striking figure from İzmir who visited him in his house how things were going in İzmir. The visitor said: "Some sort of poet has appeared who is called Kāmil Efendi. Unashamed, he writes pieces that are hostile towards you although everyone knows your qualities. Immediately Eşref wrote this *ḳıṭ'a*:

"If a lowly figure appears and is against me, what does it matter?
How many dogs do I not know that bark against the moon?
I am the Kaaba towards which the compass of scholars is directed,
Eşref
How many donkeys do I not know that can't grasp my powers?"[3]

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[1] *Dün akşam ḥāba dalmıstım çimende/ Yeşil rü'yā görüb birden uyandım/ Ṣarı bir ḳuş nihāl-i yāsemīnde / Taḥayyürle anı ben seyre daldım.*

[2] İrfan Hazar, 'Remzi Zeytinoğlu (Dede) anlatiyor', in HY, pp. 205-10, 208.

[3] *Bir denī çıḳsa 'aleyhimde bulunsa çoḳ mu/ Ḳamere av'ave eyler köpekler bilirim/ Ka'be-yi ḳıblenümā-yı ẓurafāyım Eşref/ Bilemez ḳadrımı ḥālā ne eşekler bilirim.*

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Thereupon the guest from İzmir and the student Ḳıbrıslı Meḥmed Bey, who was also there, burst out laughing...[1]

Another example of his occasional poetry is the following. Hasan Rüştü writes that

"Eşref was continually moved from one post to another in the province of Aydın because of his drink abuse. Eventually Kāmil Paşa ordered him to let the *rakı* alone. Eşref promised accordingly. He did so, but then turned to brandy. A part of his *ġazel*s refers to this:

"O Eşref, I had been drinking pure wine but repented
All that I drink now is English cognac"[2]

Eşref seems also to have been able to compose chronograms very quickly. Hüseyin Rif'at has told the following anecdote.

"Once when we had come together somewhere in İzmir — this was during the time of 'Abdülḥamīd — we read that the owner of the paper '*Ma'lūmāt*', Baba Ṭāhir, had been beaten up in Taksim Square in broad daylight and had his nose broken. The late Eşref immediately reacted with the following *mısrā'*:

"Finally Ṭāhir's nose is broken"[3]

The poet meant by that that Ṭāhir had got a good beating and at the same time implicated that his proverbial haughtiness and arrogance had been punished. The numerical value of the chronogram, however, was too high, thereforee, it was necessary to deduct the excess value by a *ta'mīye* [riddle]. If I remember well, 'Abdülḥalīm Memdūḥ found two *ta'mīy*e words, but Eşref disapproved of both. Before some minutes had passed, Eşref completed the chronogram with this *ṭa'mīye*:

"I got a thrashing and said this chronogram:
Finally Ṭāhir's nose is broken"[4]

"In this way, Eşref not only showed with extraordinary subtlety and dexterity that Ṭāhir had received a blow but also that the numerical value of [the word] "thrashing" [*dayaḳ*] had to deducted[5] from the total value of the second line."[6]

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[1] Eşref'in hicveden âkibeti ne olurmuş?...', in HY, p. 65.
[2] *Eşrefā artıḳ şarāb-ı nābe oldum tövebkār / Şimdi içtiklerim hep İngiliz konyaġıdır.*
[3] *Ṭāhir'iñ burnu ḳırıldı 'ākibet.*
[4] *Bir dayaḳ çektim tārīḫini söyledim/Ṭāhir'iñ burnu ḳırıldı 'ākibet.*
[5] The expression in Turkish is *dayaḳ çekmek*, literally 'to draw a thrashing'; the verb *çekmek* also means 'to deduct'.
[6] 'Şā'ir Eşref', pp. 117-8.

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Eşref liked to pretend that he never wrote down any of his verses, but this was boasting. A large part of his longer works were already published during his lifetime, a smaller part were recorded by contemporaries and also published in newspapers. Some have been preserved in manuscript form. He also wrote prose: often texts, of a dominantly autobiographical nature, that connect verse fragments, provide commentary on poems, or consist of anecdotes. There is also an unpublished play. Eşref's works of a larger format than a single, short poem, are the following.

1. *Deccāl* ['The Anti-Christ'] I. Cairo 1904. (Memoirs of his life in prison, his trial, and his flight to Egypt, including a great number of digressions on the political situation under 'Abdülḥamīd II, in prose and poetry.)
2. *İstimdād* ['A cry for help']. Cairo 1906. (A *muḫammes* in 23 couplets with vitriolic criticism of 'Abdülḥamīd).
3. *Şāh u pādişāh* ['The Shah and the Sultan']. Cairo 1906. (An annotated *ḳaṣīde* of 132 distichs with criticism of 'Abdülḥamīd and praise for Muẓafaraddīn Shāh of Persia who had accepted a constitution and had allowed the election of a parliament.)
4. *Deccāl* II. Cairo 1907. (It consists mostly of critical verses and includes a 'description of the situation' [*taṣvīr-i ḥāl*] in eighteen quatrains, as well as a part entitled 'the sword of the tongue' (*şimşīr-i zebān*] which is a series of *ḳıṭ'a*s with a few anecdotes in prose.)
5. *Deccāl* III. Cairo 1907. (A continuation of the first two parts, in prose and poetry, Published in HY, pp. 291-309.)
6. *Ḥasbiḥāl yaḫud Eşref ü Kemāl* ['A friendly chat, or rather Eşref and Kemāl']. Cairo 1908. (It consists of a *naẓīre* [parallel poem] on Namık Kemāl's 'Ode on Freedom' [*Ḥürrīyet ḳaṣīdesi*], followed by a long annotated *ḳaṣīde* entitled 'A particle from the history of the life of 'Abdulḥamīd II' [*'Abdülḥamīd-i ṣānī'niñ tārīḫ-i ḥayātından bir nebze*), as well as an 'appendix' [*lāḥika*] of various verses, among them chronograms on the death of Dāmād Maḥmūd Celālüddīn Paşa and 'Abdülḥalīm Memdūh Bey.)
7. *Īrān'da yangın var* ['There is a fire in Iran']. Cairo 1908. (A series of *ḳıṭ'a*s in which the author criticizes Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī for his attack on the Persian Parliament in 1908).
8. *Ḳuyruḳlu yıldız* ['The comet']. 1910. (A piece of prose with short poems on the collision between the comet of Halley and the earth, expected on 8 May 1910. Published in *Vaḳit*, 1929).
9. *Eşref'iñ rü'yāsı* ['Eşref's dream']. 1911. (A *muḫammes* of 21 couplets which criticizes the disastrous politics of the Young-Turkish, *İttiḥād ve Teraḳḳī* [Unity and Progress Party], ministers.)

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10. *Meclis-i meb'ūṣān* ['The House of Representatives']. 1911. (A series of short poems satirizing the low capacities of the Ottoman parliamentarians. Published in *Vaḳit*, 1928.)
11. *Bergüzār* ['The Gift']. 1911. (41 *ḳıṭ'a*s offering good advice to the son of the poet, Muṣṭafā Şatim. Published in *Vaḳit*, 1928).
12. *Tercümān-i millet, yaḫud ḳaṣīde-yi ḥürrīyet* ['The interpreter of the nation, or an ode to freedom']. 1911. (A ḳaṣīde on political abuse and reigning injustice. Published in *Vaḳit*, 1928).
13. *Dayaḳlı çavuş* ['The guard with the stick']. Date unknown. (A play in prose and poetry of four acts on the repressive régime of 'Abdülḥamīd. unpublished.)

5. The *ḳaṣīde*

Before the full translation of the ode, which is the subject of this article, I will discuss some aspects of it. The poem, as said above, was published in Cairo in 1906. It consists of 130 distichs and a *ḳıṭ'a* of another two, all ending in the *redīf* rhyme-*ānī*. The metre is *hezec*.

The poem shows the same political concern as that encountered in his other works: strong criticism of 'Abdülḥamīd's criminal behaviour which contrasts sharply with that of the benevolent Shāh Muẓaffaraddīn (1896-1906) who, shortly before, had bestowed a parliament on his people. This was quite beside the truth, but it is the question whether the author wanted to admit that; it would ruin the antithetical structure of his poem. In fact, the Shah was, as is clear from the historical record, a sickly, spendthrift weakling who aimlessly travelled around — he visited Istanbul in 1902 — and was in no way comparable to the sly politician 'Abdülḥamīd; he did not bestow, but was forced, as was his Ottoman counterpart in 1908, to allow an encroachment on his absolute powers by allowing the convention of a parliament.[1]

The orientalist Arminius Vambery (Ármin Vámbéry, 1832-1913) was friends with the Shah who visited him in Budapest in September 1900. The scholar recorded that he found the ruler much declined since 1862 when he had first seen him: "I found him now sickly and quite broken down... [He is] bodily and mentally weak, for he suffers from three diseases, each of which would suffice to kill a man, his illnesses being bladder, kidney and heart disease..." He also remarked that the prince was an involuntary tool in the hands of his intriguing grand vizier. The rumour was circulating in Budapest that the Shah, after he had entered a shoe-shop, could not make a choice and eventually decided to purchase the complete stock of 600 pairs, and Vambery was presented with some of the bills after the Shah had departed.[2]

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[1] Cf. Alessandro Bausani, *The Persians* (2nd impr., London 1975), pp. 170-1.
[2] Lory Alder & Richard Dalby, *The Dervish of Windsor Castle. The Life of Arminius Vambery* (London 1979), pp. 341-3, 435.

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Shortly after the publication of our ode, the Shah died. According to an anecdote, Ḥüseyn Kāmī once asked Eşref, when they met in the Splendide at Cairo, why he never had written a panegyric poem. The poet, reportedly, answered: "My satires actually are prayers; any man, whomsoever, I ridicule lives long and makes promotion." When the news of Muẓaffaraddīn's death became known, Eşref supposedly stormed into the bar and shouted; "Now you see, you said I have never praised anyone... Once I praise the Shah of Persia, and the next moment he is dead!"[1] (Refi' Cevād (Ulunay) alleges that Eşref sent the ode to Iran by post in the hope of obtaining a salary from the Shah.[2] This is not confirmed by any other source, but it may have been true; our ode contains a passage in which the poet hints at volunteering as a court poet. (But it, again, may also have been inserted for the stylistic effect of contrast.)

The *ḳaṣīde* has the following parts:

1. Praise of the Shah of Iran who granted freedom to his subjects and who would be a better caliph than 'Abdülḥamīd (1-4).
2. Criticsm of 'Abdülḥamīd's politics: the dismissal of the Ottoman parliament; the murdering of subjects, Armenians in particular; the employment of secret agents, his interference with the marriages of subalterns; protection of criminals; multiple banishments; the rotten state of the Ottoman Fleet; absurd Pan-Islamic propaganda; the prohibition of the right of assembly; the murdering of Jamāladdīn al-Afghānī; injustice; the stripping of the population; the prohibition of foreign travel; the weak response to Bulgarian aggression. (5-58)
3. Praise of the Shah; in his great wisdom, enhanced by his travelling, he bestowed a parliament upon his people so that the prosperity of his realm became guaranteed. (59-71)
4. Criticism of 'Abdülḥamīd: decay of his administration; the sell-out of treasures and territory; exiles; bad schools; a network of informers. (72-95)
5. An appeal to the Shah and a veiled request to be accepted as his court poet. (96-106)
6. A prayer to God, in which Eşref begs to be given a part in the destruction of Yıldız Palace. (107-120)
7. Epilogue, in which the poet takes leave of the reader and calls for God's blessing on the Shah of Iran. (121-132).

The format and style of the ode is, as the poet says himself, traditional and in the line of the *Dīvān* poetry (*ṭarz-i dīvānī*, 122), combining exaggerated panegyric with vituperation. Traditional rhetorical tricks are word-play involving names (e.g. play with the name of the lunar months, 14); antithesis (e.g. *nāṭıḳ* [talking] contrasting with *dilsiz* [mute], *Nāṭıḳ* also being a personal name); animal metaphors (76, 93-4, 109, 120); serialisation of related metaphors (e.g. on the theme of nakedness, 43-5); the use of sayings

[1] 'O, büyük bir vatanseverdi', pp. 42-3.
[2] 'Şair Eşref'ten anılar', in HY, pp. 211-3, 213.

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(e.g. the expression *ayranı ḳabarmaḳ*, to boil buttermilk, meaning to get angry, which contrasts with *sütsüz* [milkless], which means 'indifferent'). The humoristic effect is increased by the use of Western (French) loan-words and names, like Mikado and Bismarck, which are unexpected in the Ottoman context of traditional prosody and, often, far-fetched Persianite vocabulary.

The Turkish text

[hezec u - - - / u - - - / u - - - / u - - -]

Padişāh-u Şāh[1]
(1) Naṣıl medḥ eylemez insān cenāb-i şāh-i Īrānı
'Umūmen nā'il-i ḥürriyet oldu zīr-destānı
(2) Anınçün bir hilāfet 'arż ederdim üste memnūnā
Degişse şāh ile Īrāniyān 'Abdülḥamīd Ḫānı
(3) Telāşa düşmesin Türkler ṣaḳın bu aḫz u i'ṭādan
Degişmezler mükerrem bir melekle öyle şeyṭānı
(4) Büyükdür ḳadrı insānīyeten esbāb-i 'umrānı
Vücūdi oldu çūnki mülkünüñ esbāb-i 'umrānı
(5) Bizimki ehl-i ḫayrıñ yapdıġı ḳānūnu tehī etdi
Vücūdu oldu mülk ü milletiñ bādī-yi ḫusrānı
(6) Bizimki ḳanlı bayrām etdi her rūz-i dil-efrūzı
Şehīden bir buçuḳ milyūn müsülmān oldu ḳurbānı
(7) Ḫafīye olmayanlarca belādan ḳurtuluş yoḳdur
Deñizde boġdurur yā ḥabs eder erbāb-i vicdānı
(8) Yetişmezmiş gibi be-l-vāsıṭa ẓulm ve ta'addīsi
Aḫīren üçyüz on biñ Ermenī'ye atdı ṭırpānı
(9) Geçenlerde Bedirḫānzādeler'den ḳızdı bir ferde
Be-ġayr-ı ḥaḳḳ perīşān etdi yüzlerce Bedirḫānı
(10) Cihānda kendisinden başḳa yoḳken āmir-i mücbir
Naṣıl nefsile hem-ḳudret ṭutar merdān-i Kürdānı
(11) İrāde-yle çıḳar bir zevce bir zevciñ nikāhından
Madam Jan'i görürseñ bir gün olmuşdur Madam Yanı
(12) Madam Nāfiẕ beş on gün ṣoñra olmuşdur Madam Rāmiz
Boşanmış bā-irāde Zeyd'e varmışdır Madam Gānī
(13) Boşatırdı ḳarıyı ba'ż-ı begden ba'ż-ı paşadan
Tirampa etdi bir yāver Melek Ḫanım'la Kezbān'ı
(14) Geçen Ẕīlḥicce'de verdi Muḥarrem Beg de bir jurnal
Receb Beg'den boşatdırdı Rebī'a bint-i Ṣa'bānı
(15) Madam Nāṭıḳ boşandı bā-irāde aldı bir dilsiz

[1]The Turkish text is a transcription of the original text, published in Cairo in 1906. A somewhat corrupt version in Latin script without annotations is found in HY, pp. 272-80.

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O dilsiz-de gömüldü bir ṭaḳım esrār-i ḫāḳānı
(16) Beşikṭaş'de dili ol bī-zebānıñ kesdirilmişdi
Ġanī Beg'di kesen me'mūr-ı maḫṣuṣ-i cihān-bānī
(17) Güzelse zevcesi sürgün olur bir gün anıñ zevci
Ḳarıyı żabṭ eder ṣoñra Fehīm Paşa'nıñ a'vānı
(18) Neler var böyle ammā ḫāme yazmaḳdan ḥayā eyler
Anıñçün ḳala almaḳ istemem hīç Ermenistān'ı
(19) Bu gün dest-i hümāyūna gelüb bir tek sinek ḳonsa
Ḳırar evvel be-evvel bal veren bir başḳa ḥayvānı
(20) Yarın enf-i hümāyūnı ḳażā-rā bir eşek depse
Buda ḥayvān diye itlāf eder bir çoḳ küḥaylānı
(21) Işırsa bir budundan bir köpek ma'fū olub ṣoñra
Ma'īyetde olur en gözde bir kelb-i cihānbānī
(22) Begoġlun'da çıḳıbda bir şaḳī ḳatl-ı nüfūs etse
Ṭutulmazsa nihāyet hīç utanmaz 'afv eder anı
(23) Olur bir żābıṭa me'mūrı ṣoñra bir de ol cānı
Bu ṣūratla bizimki gözleder zu'munca iḥyānı
(24) Bu böyle oldu̇ġu ḥālde dönübde ṣoñra mektebde
Barutdan baḥṣ ederlerse sürer Beyrūt'e ṣıbyānı
(25) Yarış etmek içūn tersānede bir tek ḳayıḳ yoḳdur
Yetişmişken alaylı bir ṭaḳım baḥrīye erkānı
(26) Boy ölçüşmek diler ba'żen deñizde İngilizlerle
Degil insānları bu güldürür ormanda ṭavşanı
(27) Sebebsiz ba'ż-ı 'asker sevḳeder ser-ḥadd-ı Īrān'a
Ehālī-de ḳarışdırmaḳ içūn Cizüvitçe ezḥānı
(28) Mikado müslümān olsaydı caydırmaḳ ḫuṣuṣında
O sā'at gönderirdi Ṭoḳyo'ya Midḥat'la Ṭurḫān'ı
(29) Degildir müslümānlıḳ mes'ele ḥavf-ı ḫilāfetdir
İmām-i evvel eyler yoḳsa ẓālim İbn-i Süfyān'ı
(30) Zamān-i pādişāhī ṣanki bir 'aṣr-i ġarā'ibdir
Şaşırdır yapdıġı işler yazı yazmaḳda insānı
(31) Sürerlerken edildi bir ṣıfat üstādı istizān
Dedi olsun mühendis ḳahveci Bitlisli Dīḳrān'ı
(32) Sürerlerken yine Baġdād'a Erzincanlı bir ḥammāl
Ẓuhūr etdi doḳtordur diye bir emr-i sulṭānī
(33) Yazıb jurnalcılar üç ẓāta bir cerm etseler isnād
Ḫalīl 'afv edüb sürgün eder Aḥmed'le Oṣmān
(34) Rodos'dan afv olunmuş ba'ż-i İstanbul'lı menfīler
Beş on gün ṣoñra boylar sāye-yi lutfunda Fīzān'ı
(35) Kimiñ bir kerre ismi mimlenirse ġayrı ḳurtulmaz
Sürerler posta posta gāh-ı berrī gāh-ı 'ummānī
(36) Dışarda şöyle ḍursun 'aḳd-ı cem'īyet ehālīce
Perīşān eyledi meyḫānelerde bezm-i rindānı
(37) Cemā'atsız cevāmi' āşiyān-ı 'ankabūt oldı

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Namāzdan ḳaldırub nefy eyledi bir çok müsülmānı
(38) İçince sāye-yi Luṭf-ı hümāyūnunda bir ḳahve
Cemālüllāh'ı seyr etdi Cemālüddīn-i Efġānī
(39) Çogaldıḳça meẓālim Şām'lı 'İzzet olmıyor kāfī
Ederdi ṣadr-ı a'ẓam bulmuş olsa şimdi Hāmān'ı
(40) Bunuñ yapdıḳları taṣvīr olunmaz 'abd-i 'ācizce
Degil ben seyyi'ātı lāl ederdi belki Ḥassān'i
(41) Ḳalır yanında ehven ẓulmınıñ ḥükm-i ḳarakuşī
Baḳanlar cem'-i ażdādıñ olur baḳdıḳça ḥayrāni
(42) Ḫulāṣa ders tīmārḫāne-yi ẓulmında manṭıḳ yoḳ
Yapar fetvā emīni görmüş olsa şimdi Mervān'i

* * *

(43) Meẓālim-le ehālī zīr-ü bālādan ṣoyulmaḳda
Silen bir kimse yoḳdur dīdeden eşk-i yetīmāni
(44) Ḳırıldıḳça ḳırıldı ḳaldı ancaḳ altı milyon Türk
Acırdı görse çıplaḳ Muṣṭafā bu ḳavm-ı 'uryānı
(45) Ne gömlek var ne ḍon ṣoydı ehālī ḳaldı çır-çıplaḳ
Şehīd olmaḳ içūn bīçāreler bekler zimistānı
(46) Ne derlerse desinler bilmeyenler ḥaḳlıdır ḥaḳlı
Bize ḳarşı Japon ẓann eyleyenler Bulġaristān'ı
(47) Behāyimle degil milletde insānlarladır baḥṣım
Ḥisābe ḳatmam öyle bir ṭaḳım ṭafra-fürūşānı
(48) Ta'addiyāta ḳarşı böyle sütsüz ẓann olunmazken
Niçūn bilmem otuz yıldır ḳabarmaz Türk'üñ ayranı
(49) Tiyatro perdesi var[d]ı hemān açdı ḳapattırdı
Gece saġdan geri 'arş etdi meb'ūṣānı a'yānı
(50) Degersiz bir hedīye olsa-da evvel verib ṣoñra
Dönüb almaḳ elinden bīḥużūr etmez-mi insāni
(51) Ḫuṣūṣ-ile 'Alī'niñ verdigi şeyi Velī ḳapsa
Ṣıḳılmaz-mı külāhi ḳapdıran bir kimseniñ cānı
(52) Bizimki biz uyurken çaldı ḳānūn-ı esāsīyi
Ṣabāḥa ḳarşı rü'yāmızda gördük ṣanki cānānı
(53) Çıḳan yoḳ gölgesinden ḳorḳusundan şimdi mehtābe
'Umūmuñ añdırır vaż'īyeti şām-ı ġarībānı
(54) Ḫaberleşmek yasaḳ dāḫildeki ehl-ü 'iyālıñ-la
Başılmışsa dışarda yaḳdırır v'Allāhi ḳur'ānı
(55) Ehālīniñ içerden çıḳması şiddet-le memnū'dur
Bıraḳmaz Miṣr'a gitmek üzre 'ādī bir bezirgānı
(56) Bu memnū'īyetiñ zu'munc esbāb-ı siyāsīsi
Ṣunūf-ı seyyi'āt-ı dāḫiliniñ ḫavf-i i'lānı
(57) O rütbe uġramış-kim beyni istilā-yı evhāme
Ḫużūrında ḳaşınsa öldürür maḫdūmı Bürhān'ı

(58) Ḫaberdār olmalı aḥvāl-i ʻālemden ḥükümdārān
Manastırlarda ḥattā istemem merdüm-girīzānı

* * *

(59) Gezib dünyāyı gördü añladı ol şāh-ı dānışmend
Otuz yıldır bizimki görmedi ḥālā Emirgān'ı
(60) Ṭalebkār olmadan millet o iḥsān etdi ḥürrīyet
Anıñçün adl ile āfāḳı ṭutdu şöhret-ü şānı
(61) Çıḳardı ḫārice İblīs-i istibdādı mülkinden
Bu himmet şāh-ı vālācāha bir ilhām-ı rebbānī
(62) Büyüklük bir ḥükümdāra göre böyle olur işte
Deyib faḫr-u mübāhāt eylesin ʻuḳbāda Ḳā'ānı
(63) Büyüklük bir ḥükümdāra göre böyle olur işte
Deyib faḫr-u mübāhāt eylesin ʻuḳbāda Ḳā'ānı
(63) Uṣūl-i meşveret olmasza bir devlet baḳā bulmaz
Serkāre geçenler olsa-da Bismarck'ıñ aḳrānı
(64) Teraḳḳīyat-i mülküñ rūḥu serbestī-yi maṭbūʻāt
Demişdir eñ büyük milletleriñ erbāb-ı ʻUrfānī
(65) O-da ehl-i kemālīñ oldıġıçūn şāh-ı ẕī-şānı
Hemān taṭbīḳına etdi taʻalluḳ emr-ü fermānı
(66) Miṣāl-i emṣāl oldu ḥükümdārān-ı İslām
Büyük Şāh Muẓaffer'lik-le meşhūr oldu ʻunvānı
(67) Yazardın nāmını altun ḳalemle ʻarş-ı aʻlāya
Eger pervāza olsa ḳudretim bā-iẕn-i Yezdānī
(68) Ḫaṭardan devleti ḳurtardı etdi milleti mes'ūd
Vaṭanca derd-i taḳsīmiñ bulundu işte dermānı
(70) Bedīhīdir uṣul-ı meşveretde menfaʻat zīrā
Taʻarruż az olur çoḳ olsa bir mülküñ nigehbānı
(71) Müyesser oldu Īrānīlere teʻmīn-i istiḳbāl
İlā yevmü l-ḳıyāme ḥıfẓ ederler ḥükm-i ḳur'ānī

* * *

(72) Çıḳıb Şehnāme yazsa bizde bir Firdevsī-yi Ṭūsī
Şaşardı yıpramış gördükçe ẕeyl-i āl-i ʻOṣmānī
(73) Görenler ḫastaḫane ẓann ederler Bāb-ı ʻalīʻyi
Ḍalıb bir ḫābe çekmiş başlarına hepsi yorġanı
(74) Bilinmez kim bu-da maṭlūb-ı ʻālī olduġundan-mı
Devā'irde bozuḳ her hey'etiñ ādāb-u erkānı
(75) Ḳoyulmuş cemʻ-i emvāle müştīrānı vezīrānı
Görünce nefret eyler milletiñ ḥāl-āşināyānı
(76) Merātib ehlini ʻAbdülḥamīd'iñ etseler taṣnīf
Ögüz bālām ḳaṭır ūlā eşekdir mīr-i mīrānı

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(77) Bulunsa içlerinde çoḳmu sehven bir iki insān
Demişdir ḥükm-i küll ekṣer içündür Molla Gürānī
(78) Otuz yıldır eylerler Avrupa sür'at ḳāṭār-ıla
Maẓālimdan yazıḳ Türkīye'nin ḥāl-i perīşānı
(79) Muḳaddes bir ṭaḳım ḳıymetli ḳıymetli emānetler
Ṣatıldı oldu ḥıfẓ-ı ẓulm ve istibdādıñ eṣmānı
(80) Ehālī memleketlerce becāyiş oldu menfīyen
Görenler Arnavudluḳ ẓann eder şimdi Lazistān'ı
(81) Sürüldü oldu İstanbul'lular Ḳasṭamonu ḫalḳı
Bugün İzmir'lilerce oldu Bitlis belde-yi ṣānī
(82) Ṭarabzon ẓann eder Şām'ı görünce şimdi bir insān
Çırıl çıplaḳ sürülmüş bir ṭaḳım fındıḳçı gülḫānī
(83) Yazıb çizmek bilen mektebli Türkler şimdi Baġdādī
Ḥamīyetmend olan 'askerler olmışdır Ezirgānī
(84) Mevālīden sürülmüş Ḳūds'a öyle mollālar var kim
Papaslar-la ḳaranbol eylemekde dīni īmānı
(85) Bu tebdīl-i mekānıñ ardı gelmez böyle ṣaymaḳla
Degişmişdir ḫulāṣa her maḥalliñ eski sükkānı
(86) Uzun müddet ne ḥācet 'ilm-ü fenn taḥṣīli mektebde
Sürülmekçün vaṭanda bellemek kāfī Gülistān'ı
(87) Yazıb çizmek bilenler ekṣerīyetle temizlendi
Raḳamdan anlayanlar ba'demā seyr eylesin Van'ı
(88) Ḥükūmetçe mühimdir ġālibā ta'ṭīl-i ẕikr Allāh
Sürerler şeyḫi ol tekkeden ṣoñra mürīdānı
(89) Be-ḥaḳḳ-ı ism-i a'ẓam başḳa taḥḳīḳāta ḥācet yoḳ
Eder bir tek ḫafīye jurnali insānı Ḥavrānī
(90) 'Aṣā elde ehāli-yi memālik cümleten seyyāḥ
Ederler ātiyen hicret içūn gūyā bu ezmānī
(91) Naṣıl ḥasbülḫilāfe hicret etdirmez ehālīyi
Bu sünnetle mükellef ẓann ederken her müsülmānı
(92) Tunis mıṣrā'-ı ṣānī oldu Mıṣr'a ġarb uṣūlunca
Fıransız İngiliz birleşdi taḳsīm etdi 'Arabānı
(93) Girid aġdan çıḳıb bir duḫter-i baḥrīye dönmüşdür
Ki Balḳan'dan ḳaçıpda olmaḳ ister şimdi Yunānī
(94) Ḳaṭır-ken ṣatdı Ḳıbrıs ḫalḳını eşek behāsı-yla
Ḳarınca lānesinden farḳı yoḳdır ṣandı Sūdān'ı
(95) Otuz yıldır unutduḳ Bosna'ya sā'ir gidenler-le
Alışdı bekliyor millet yeñi bir devr-i hicrānī

* * *

(96) Muhācir olmadan Īrān'a hicret eylesem ben-de
Gidib Şīrāz'a etse ṣadā-yı 'andelībānī

(97) Esāsen maḳsadım Īrān'a istīzān-i hicretdir
Gönül seyr etmek ister Isfahān'ı bir-de Ṭehrān'ı
(98) Ḳabūl eyler-mi bilmem ki cenāb-ı şāh-i vālācāh
Vaṭan ḥasretkeşī bir ben gibi bīvāye mihmānı
(99) Mey-i ḥürrīyete gösterdigiñ meyl-i muḥabbet-le
Bıraḳdıñ heb geri dünyādaki 'ālī-cenābānı
(100) 'Umūmen ehl-i İslām'ıñ ümīdi sende ḳalmışdır
Bu 'aṣrın varsa sensin ḥażret-i sulṭān Süleymān'ı
(101) Benüm Ḥāfıẓ ile Sa'dī'ye borcum var birer Yāsin
Ödetdir borcı boynumda bıraḳma ey keremkānī
(102) Sen ol şāh-i mu'aẓẓamsın-ki nāmıñ yāda geldikçe
Ḳulūb-i ehl-i İslām'a gelir bir şevḳ-ı rūḥānī
(103) Degil Īrāniyān elṭāfıña dilbeste olmuşdur
Öperler elleriñden rub'-i meskūnuñ müsülmānı
(104) Alışmış bir ḥükümdāra ḳolay-mı terk-i istibdād
Saña etdi cenāb-i kibriyā bu luṭf-u iḥsānı
(105) Miḳado varsa-da aḳsā-yı şarḳda ḥüccetülaḥrār
Anıñ şanlı degildir böyle meşrūṭīyet i'lānı
(106) Cenābıñ māddeten ma'nan sezāvār oldı tebrīke
Bu devlet bes-ki ḫoşnūd eyledīñ şāh-i şehīdānı

* * *

(107) alsın-da elinden mülki versin ehl-i inṣāfa
Ya ıṣlāḥ eylesin ḥaḳḳ ba'demā 'Abdülḥamīd Ḫān'ı
(108) Görülse böyle derdi şimdi şā'ir ḥażret-i Nef'ī
Binā' Allā'ı hedm etmek revā-mı böyle bir [cā]nī
(109) Gören bir ḳanlı pençe ẓann eder ṭuġrā-yı ġarrāyı
O pençe yıḳdı pek çoḳ ḫānumān-ı derdmendānı
(110) Yapışmış muttaṣıl çarḫı çevirmekde Ḳızıl Sulṭān
Ṣanır bir giyotin şimdi görenler taḫt-ı sulṭānı
(111) Ṭarafderān-ı İṣlāḥātdan Aḥmed-i Celālüddīn
Ki dā'im ḥüsn-i ḥāli bī-ḫużūr eylerdi ḫāḳānı
(112) Dirilsem şimdi çıḳsam rū-yı dünyāya kefen-ber-dūş
O-da gelse benimle 'askeriñ olsa ḳumandanı
(113) Alıb fetvāsını evvel-i emirde Ḫoca Ḳadrī
Ehālīye ederdik vech-i ātī üzre i'lānı
(114) Yaḳıñ sālnāmede mevcūd olan eşḫāsı petrol-le
Delüb geçsin dumanlar dalġa dalġa 'arş-ı raḥmānı
(115) Benim ol ẓārıb-ı bāb-ı 'aẓāb-ı secn-i istibdād
Saġ olsam ḫāk ile yeksān ederdim cümle zindānı
(116) Ṣu'ūd etsin ḳıvılcımlar ṣaçıb dūdı semāvāta
Dibinden yıldız ister böyle bir dehşetli volḳanı

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(117) Yarılsın gök yüzü insin yere bir baḥr-ı bī-pāyān
Temāşā etsin ʿālem yıldızıñ üstünde ṭūfānı
(118) Bu esnada sarayından çıḳıb eyn el-mefer derken
Elimde pādişāhıñ çāk-çāk olsun girībānı
(119) O vaż'īyetde yapsın resmini ressām Ġalıb Beg
Ki olsun seyr edib rūḥ-ı Refā'il āferīn-ḫānı
(120) Ḳoşub maẓlūmlar el çırparak gelsin temāşāya
Tekerlensin o hāy-u hūydan ürkünce ḥayvānı[1]

* * *

(121) Yeter ey ḫāme taṭvīl-i maḳāle ġayrı ḥācet yoḳ
Duʿāya başlasın terk et silāḥşōrāne meydānı
(122) Degildir söz zamānı şimdi faʿālīyet isterler
Uzatma diñlemezler böyle eski ṭarz-i dīvānī
(123) Ḳıyāmet ḳopsa-da Īrān'ı vīrān eyleme yā rabb
Ehālīniñ tekessür eylesin ʿumrānı sāmānı
(124) Derūn-ı memleketde nefʿı ḳalsın imtiyāzātıñ
Gelib ġażb etmesinler ecnebī sermāyedārānı
(125) Muẓaffer eyle her yerde livā'-i şīr-ü ḫūrşīdi
Bulundurduḳça dünyāda ilāhī şems-i tābābī
(126) O şāh-ı ʿādile olduḳça pīr ve ḥüsn-i nīyetde
ʿUmūmen maẓhar-ı tevfīḳ ola ḫīşān-ı ẕī-şānı
(127) Ḳolayliḳ-la olur her ber ümūrında Muẓaffar Shāh
Duʿā bilmezken Eşref çūnki oldı bir duʿāḫānı
(128) Niyāzı şöyledir-ki bāb-ı dergāh-ı ilāhīden
Nedīm-i ḫāṣṣı dā'im ṣıḥḥat olsun neş'e derbānı
(129) Duʿāsı böyledir-kim ḥażret-i şāh-ı dil-āgāhıñ
Taʿālī eylesin gitdikçe mebʿūṯānı aʿyānı
(130) Mışır'da ḳıṭʿa-yı ātīyeyi vird-i zebān etdi
Duʿā bilmez demişsem-de bilirmiş işte bürhānı

ḳıṭʿa
(131) Naṣıl taʿyīn-i müddet eylerdim taḫdīd-i maḳṣad-la
İlāhī sence var-ken her müḥāliñ vech-i imkānı
(132) Vefāt-ı ḳābıżulervāḥ'dan ṣoñra uzun müddet
Bu ʿālemde göñül ṣaġ görmek ister şāh-i Īrān'ı

[1]Both hemistichs show an irregular metre.

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Translation[1]

(1) How could one fail to praise his Majesty, the Shah of Iran?
After his subjects had obtained their freedom, all to the last man?
(2) Therefore I would gladly offer him a caliphate
If the Iranians would exchange the Shah for Abdülḥamīd Ḫān
(3) But don't get alarmed, Turks, about such a deal
They will not exchange a revered angel for such a devil
(4) The qualities of the famous Shah are great, even for a man
His existence, indeed, is a condition for the prosperity of his realm
(5) Ours wrecked the law which had been made by brave men[2]
And became a devastating wind for land and people
(6) Ours made every life-enhancing day into a bloody feast
One and a half million Muslims were sacrificed as martyrs[3]
(7) For those that were not secret agents there was no escape from this disaster
Men of conscience he had drowned in the sea or put in prison
(8) As if so much injustice and cruelty meanwhile had not been enough
He eventually exterminated 310,000 Armenians[4]
(9) He became enraged by a scion of the Bedirḫāns once in the past
And unjustifiably ruined hundreds of Bedirḫāns[5]
(10) There is no extortioner on earth like he
How could the Kurds withstand his might on their own?
(11) By decree he abducts a wife from wedlock with her husband
One day you see Mrs Jeanne, next she has become Mrs Yanı[6]

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[1]I do not try to 'poeticize' my translation; even if I could imitate the format of the original, it would always fall far short of the effect which the original must have made on Eşref's readers and audience, if only by the repeated sonourous metre and the brilliant display of the endless number of, never identical, rhyme words.

[2]The Ottoman Parliament was dissolved by the sultan on 18 February 1878 although the constitution (*ḳānūn-ı esāsī*) of 1876 was not formally abolished.

[3]Meant here are probably the number of Muslims who were either killed in wars or were involuntarily exiled because of the loss of Ottoman territory; during the Hamidian period about two and a half million Ottomans came to live outside the Empire because of the redrawing of borders, cf. Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* II. *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge 1977), p. 239.

[4]The Hamidian period saw an increase in ethnic violence; acts of terrorism by Armenian organisations were countered by violent actions of Ottoman police and troops, particularly during the 1890s, when, in 1893, the town of Sasun near Muş was razed to the ground, and in 1895-6, when Armenians were massacred in Istanbul after the Sublime Porte had been attacked by Armenian demonstrators.

[5]According to a note in the original edition, the scion of this Kurdish family (see also the next line) was 'Abdurrezzāḳ Bey who was suspected of the murder of the mayor (*şehr emīni*) Rıżvān Paşa; he was condemned to death, and his sons and grandsons imprisoned or exiled.

[6]*yanı* = complaint, curse.

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(12) Mrs Nafiz has become Mrs Ramiz after fifteen days
Divorced by decree, Zayd has now been joined by Mrs Gani[1]
(13) He separated the wives from some beys and pashas
An aide-de-camp exchanged Melek Hanım for Kezbān[2]
(14) Last Zīhhicce Muharrem Bey handed in a report
And he had Rebi'a daughter of Şa'ban divorced from Receb Bey[3]
(15) Mrs Natık was divorced by decree and a mute took her
Quite a few sultanic secrets lay buried in this mute[4]
(16) The tongue of this tongueless one was cut off in Beşiktaş
The one who cut was Gani Bey, a private agent of the Sovereign[5]
(17) If his spouse is pretty, her husband is exiled one day
And Fehīm Paşa's assistants later arrest the man[6]
(18) How many things of this kind happen, beyond description
Therefore I give up and do not want to take on Armenia
(19) If today a fly alights on the Sultan's hand
He rather crushes another honey-giving creature first
(20) If tomorrow a donkey kicks the sultanic nose by chance
He says, it is only an animal, and kills some pure-bred horses
(21) If a dog bites him in his thigh, it is pardoned later
And it becomes the favourite Imperial Dog in his retinue[7]
(22) When a robber appears in Beyoğlu, starts killing people
And is not caught in the end, he shamelessly pardons him[8]
(23) Later the good soul becomes a commissioned officer
In this way our man keeps an eye on, what he calls, his brethren

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[1] *gānī* = whore.

[2] *melek* = angel; *kezbān* = liar

[3] Zīlḥicce, Muḥarrem, Receb, and Şa'bān, are the names of, respectively, the twelfth, first, seventh, and eighth lunar months of the Islamic year.

[4] According to a note in the original edition, the major general (*mīrlivā*) Nāṭık Paşa's wife was divorced from her husband on orders of the Sultan and married to a mute (*dilsiz*) of the Palace.

[5] Ġanī Bey, an Albanian Palace guard (*mābeyn tüfenkçisi*) had, according to another footnote to the original edition, cut out the poor man's tongue, and was later killed by Cāvīd Bey, son of Ḫalīl Rif'at Paşa. According to 'Abdülḥamīd's memoirs, this man, Ḥaydār Ġānī Ṭopṭānī, a brother of Tiranlı Es'ad Paşa, was employed by the Palace in 1886, so that he could be watched; he had been involved in various murder cases and was later himself killed by a certain Bursalı Ḥāfız, cf. *Hatıra defteri*, pp. 121-13.

[6] Fehīm Paşa (1873-1908) was a son of 'Abdülḥamīd's 'milk brother', the *eşvābcıbaşı* (keeper of the wardrobe) 'İşmet Bey. He became the Sultan's aide-de-camp and head of the secret police (*başḫafīye)*, and became notorious because of his violence against Ottoman civilians. After complaints by the British and German ambassadors, he was banished to Bursa, and later lynched by the inhabitants of Yenişehir, cf. 'Oşmān Nūrī, *'Abdülḥamīd-i ṣānī ve devr-i salṭantı, hayāt-ı ḫuṣūṣīye ve siyāsīyesi* (ON) 3 Vols. (Istanbul 1327), II, p. 554 ff.

[7] 'Abdülḥamīd was rumoured to love animals and kept cats and dogs in his Palace; they were also used to test his food, cf. ON II, pp. 482, 487.

[8] This probably refers to Fehīm Paşa, who was rumoured to have one night killed a group of non-Muslims in Beyoğlu and robbed them; an innocent drunk was held responsible, cf. Eşref's *Ḥasb-i ḥāl*, p. 34n; Fesch, *Constantinople*, pp. 116-22; ON II, p. 554 ff.

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(24) Being as this may, if his boys come back and speak about
Gunpowder [*barut*][1] at school, he exiles them to Beirut
(25) There is not one boat at the dockyard to do the race
Although a ridiculous[2] squad of navy staff has been made ready
(26) He sometimes wants to compete with the English at sea
Let alone human beings, he makes hares in the forest laugh
(27) Without any reason he drives some soldiers to the borders of Iran[3]
To confuse the minds of the population in a Jesuitical manner[4]
(28) If the Mikado[5] had been a Muslim, he would immediately have sent
Midhat and Turhan[6] to Tokio in order to change his mind[7]
(29) But Islam is not the point here, but fear for the Caliphate is
And whether he appoints the First Imam or the tyrant Ibn Sufyan[8]
(30) The period of this Sultan is like era of curiosities
The things he has done astonish mankind beyond description
(31) While they were banishing him, a qualification assessment was requested
And he said, let the coffee-shop holder Dikran of Bitlis be engineer
(32) While they were banishing, in turn, a porter from Erzincan
An Imperial Decree was issued, "He is a doctor".
(33) If three informers report that three persons have committed a crime
He pardons Halil but banishes Ahmed and Osman
(34) Some exiles from Istanbul are pardoned in Rhodes
Five or ten days later, thanks to his favour, they end up in Fizan[9]

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[1]To print the word was prohibited by the law.

[2]*alaylı* also means 'spectacular' and 'officer'.

[3]Cf. *Ḥasb-i ḥāl*, p. 26n. The Ottoman Empire was involved in a chronic border conflict with Iran; in the year in which our ode was published, the Hamidian Guard, consisting of Kurdish horsemen and founded in order to police the Anatolian countryside, organised a raid ('*strooptocht*') into Iranian territory, cf. the report by the Dutch ambassador Van Limburg Stirum at Pera of 10 August 1907, The Dutch General State Archives (The Hague), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Reports 1871-1914, 188.

[4]The 'Jesuitical' may refer to the common knowledge that 'Arab 'İzzet Paşa was reported to have visited a Jesuit College in Beirut, cf. ON II, p. 501.

[5]Title of the Japanese Emperor, often encountered in publications at that time. His star clearly rose after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 when most spectacularly and for the first time a Western Power was 'humiliated' and the Russian Fleet was destroyed in the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905. Among a small group of South-East-Asian Muslims a conviction began to take root that the Japanese Emperor, after an, by now, almost logical, and thus inevitable, conversion to a militant religion like Islam, would be better able than the Caliph in Istanbul to drive away Western colonialists.

[6]According to a note in the original edition, Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi (1844-1912), popular publicist and special protégé of the Sultan, and Ṭurḥān Paşa, Minister of Religious Endowments.

[7]Namely, of the Mikado, so that he accepted the Caliphate, cf. the following lines, and, doubtless, in order to reinforce the powers of Pan-Islamism.

[8]Meant are the Imam 'Alī and the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiya; their struggle for power was decided in favour of the latter in 660; 'Alī was killed in 661.

[9]Meant is probably *Fezzān*, an arid region in south-western Libya.

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(35) Whose name is only once marked down is never safe again
They banish him from post to post, on land or on the seas
(36) Not only on the streets did he scatter gatherings of men
In the taverns too did he rout the banquet of vagabonds
(37) Mosques without the faithful turned into spiders' nests
Many a Muslim was taken away from prayers and exiled
(38) Drinking coffee in the benevolent shadow of his Majesty
He saw God's grace, Jamal ad-Din Afghani[1]
(39) Shamlı Izzet[2] committed atrocities time and again, it was not enough
He would have made Hamadan[3] grand vizier had he found him
(40) The things he did cannot be described by this helpless slave
His evil deeds would not have me, but Hassan[4] too, rendered silent
(41) His arbitrary judgement will be reckoned among the lesser of evils
Observers will become confused by the compilation of contradictions
(42) The lesson, in short, is: in the madhouse of his tyranny there is no reason
He would have made Marwan[5] *fetva emini*[6] if he had seen him

* * *

(43) By his evil deeds the population is stripped from top to toe
There is no-one who does not wipe orphans' tears from his eyes
(44) Crushed time and again only six million Turks remain
Had Bare Mustafa[7] seen this naked people, he would have shown compassion
(45) They have no shirt, no underpants, he stripped them, stark naked they remain
The poor devils only await winter to become martyrs

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[1]Jamāl ad-Dīn Afghānī (1838/9-1897), famous Pan-Islamic theoretician and politician who came to Istanbul at the invitation of Sultan Abdülhamid; he was being held as a prisoner after he had refused to accept an appointment as *şeyhülislam*. He died of cancer, but rumours had it that he, apparenty under medical care, had actually been willfully left to languish, or was poisoned by the sultan's intimate, shaykh Abdülhüdā, at the latter's house in Nişantaşı, or even, according to a footnote in the original edition in Yıldız Palace where he had been invited for coffee, cf. J. Jomier, 'Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* second edition (*EI*^{2}).

[2]This is the aforementioned Arab İzzet Paşa, second secretary at the Palace; he is extensively deprecated in Eşref's *Deccāl*; see for a biography, ON II, pp. 501-9.

[3]According to the Islamic tradition, Hamadan was a vizier of Pharao, prototype of a tyrant.

[4]Ḥassān, poet and companion of the Prophet who praised him, Muḥammad, in countless poems.

[5]The last despotic caliph of the Umayyad dynasty.

[6]Head of the fatwa office under the shayk al-Islam.

[7]According to a note in original edition, he was a well-known Istanbul exhibitionist.

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(46) Whatever ignorants say, who is right, is right
Those who take Bulgaria[1] for Japan that is against us
(47) I am not talking about these beasts but the people of the nation
I do not take into account such a bunch of braggarts
(48) Although one can hardly deem them indifferent to these hostilities
I do not know why the buttermilk of the Turks has not boiled up in thirty years
(49) He owned a theatre[2], raised the curtain, and instantly let it down again
At night it was 'right about face, march!' for deputies and senators
(50) Even if it had been a worthless present, giving it first, then
Turning and taking it back again, does it not make people frustrated?
(51) Particularly if Veli snatches away a thing given by Ali
Would not a person be annoyed who had been thus deceived?
(52) Ours stole the constitution while we were asleep
While near dawn we had seen him in our dream as our lover.
(53) There is now no way to the full moon, away from his shadow, from fear of him
The destitution of all reminds one of a supper for the poor outcasts
(54) To exchange news with compatriots and your family is forbidden
If it is printed outside the country he, God forbid, even has the Koran burnt
(55) It is strictly forbidden for people to travel abroad
He does not even let an ordinary merchant go to Egypt
(56) According to him these prohibitions have a political reason:
The fear of publicity about all kinds of evil practices in the land
(57) This has reached such a level that his brain is occupied by suspicions
If his son Burhan[3] skratches himself in his presence, he will kill him
(58) Rulers should be informed about the state of the world
Even in monasteries I do not want misanthropes

* * *

(59) He wandered, saw and understood the world this learned Shah
In thirty years ours has not yet seen Emirgan[4]
(60) Without the nation asking for it, he gave it freedom
So he became known for his justice, acquired world-wide fame

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[1]From the 1890s in particular, Bulgarian underground organisations became active in Macedonia.
[2]The Sultan had a theatre in Yıldız Palace; here it refers to parliamant, soon closed after its first opening (cf. above).
[3]Prince Burhānuddīn was Abdülhamid's fourth and favoured son.
[4]A quarter of Istanbul on the Bosphorus.

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(61) He drove away the Devil of suppression from his realm
Concern came to the high-ranked Shah as a divine inspiration
(62) This is exactly what greatness means in rulers, therefore
Let him make the Khan a source of pride and contentment even after he is gone
(63) If the principle of consultation is ignored, a state cannot survive
Even if those who pass on the helm be the equals of Bismarck
(64) The spirit of a realm's progress is the freedom of the press
So said the scholars of the greatest of nations
(65) Because he was a great man, a Shah of famed renown
He immediately applied these wisdoms by issuing orders and decrees
(66) He became the outstanding example for the rulers of Islam
And has become known by the epithet 'the Great Shah Muzaffar'
(67) I would like to write his name with a golden pen on the Most Elevated Throne
If God permitted me the power to fly so high
(68) His existence has become an object of pride for the Muslims
The pure spirit of this king of brave men has spread delight and happiness
(69) He saved his nation from danger, made it happy.
Thus it found a medicine against the pain of division
(70) The usefulness of the principle of consultation is clear, because
There will be little opposition if a nation has many watchmen
(71) The future has been rendered safe for the Iranians
Until the Youngest Day they will preserve Koranic jurisdiction
(72) If a Firdawsi of Tus would appear among us and write a *Shahnama*
He would be astonished when he saw the worn-out remnant of the Ottoman dynasty
(73) Observers would think that the Sublime Porte was a hospital
Sunken asleep, every one a quilt drawn over their heads
(74) Don't they known that this is exactly what is wanted from on high?
In the offices the morals and men of every department are depraved
(75) Ministers and viziers are busied with the gathering of goods
When they see it, those sympathetic to the nation are disgusted
(76) If one were to classify the hierarchy under Abdülhamid
One gets oxen on top, mules in the middle ranks, and donkeys as provincial pashas
(77) If by mistake one or two humans were found among them, that would be much
Molla Gurani[1] already said: power over all is for the majority

[1]Scholar and shaykh al-Islam (1410/1-88), cf. J.R. Walsh, 'Gūrānī', in EI[2].

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(78) Since thirty years Europe has developed with the speed of trains
What a shame, this rotten state of Turkey, caused by injustices!
(79) Some utterly priceless sacred trusts were discarded[1]
What she got back were continuous tyranny and the benefits of suppression
(80) Populations had to change country as exiles
Observers would think that Lazistan had become Albania
(81) People from Istanbul were banished and became inhabitants of Kastamonu
Today Bitlis has become a second home for people from İzmir
(82) He thinks it is Trabzon when a man sees Damascus today
A bunch of naked exiles, nut-sellers and bath-stokers
(83) Educated Turks who know how to write and draw are now Baghdadians
Patriotic soldiers have become Erzinganians
(84) Mollas have been exiled to Jerusalem, and there are among them
Who put their faith and religion at risk in the company of priests
(85) There comes no end to counting the changes of place
In short, the old inhabitants of each quarter have been replaced
(86) What use is there since long for teaching science and art at school?
In order to be banished one need only learn the *Gulistan* by heart
(87) Those who know how to write and draw have mostly been eradicated
Those who know how to count will later go and watch over Van
(88) For the government a suspension of glorifying God is important
First they banish the shaykh from his *tekke*, later his novices
(89) 'In the name of the Highest' is enough, no other justification is needed
One single secret agent or informer makes a man a Hawranian
(90) With a stick at hand the peoples of the land have all become travellers
(91) How would he not as a Caliph let his people emigrate
While he thinks that every Muslim is bound to this religious practice ?
(92) Tunis became the second tune to Egypt's first in West's melody
The French and the English united and divided the Arabs[2]
(93) Crete escaped from the net, turned into a daughter of the sea
Having fled from the Balkans, she now wants to become Greek[3]

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[1]According to a note to the original edition, holdings of Istanbul museums were given away as presents, among them the sword of Sultan Selīm I, donated to the German Emperor.
[2]Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1881; Egypt had become a British one, contrary to what is suggested here, a year later in 1882.
[3]Crete was granted autonomy within the Ottoman Empire and became *de facto* part of Greece in 1897 after it had been occupied by Greek troops.

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(94) Although a mule, the sold he people of Cyprus for the price of a donkey[1]
He thought that Sudan was not different from an ants' nest[2]
(95) Since thirty years we have forgotten Bosnia and all who went with her[3]
The nation has become used to that and awaits a new era of migrations
(96) What if I emigrated to Iran without becoming a fugitive
Went to Shiraz and listened to the sound of nightingales?
(97) My purpose really is to ask permission for my emigration to Iran
My heart wants to see Isfahan and, if only once, Tehran
(98) I do not know whether the high-ranked Shah will accept
A man like me, suffering the pangs of homesickness and destitute
(99) With this sympathy you showed towards the wine of freedom
You have left behind the noble-hearted ones of the world
(100) On you, on the whole, the hope of Muslims remains fixed
If there were a Sultan Suleyman in this century, it is you
(101) I am indebted to Hafiz and Sa'di a Yasin prayer each
Let me pay this debt, do not let it weigh down on me oh mine of generosity!
(102) You are this formidable King; when your name comes to mind
A spiritual ardour comes over the hearts of the Muslims
(103) Not only the Iranians are ravished by your favours
But all Muslims of the inhabited quarter of the world want to kiss your hands
(104) Is it easy for a ruler, used to it, to relinquish oppression?
You did grace the Almighty Lord with this favour
(105) Even if the Mikado be the champion of the liberals in the Far East
He is not famed for such a proclamation of the constitution
(106) You Lord deserve congratulation materially and spiritually
Enough is it that You have made happy the martyrs' Shah over this prosperous state
(107) O let he take the realm from his hands and give it to fair men
And let Him then reform Abdülhamid Khan!
(108) If the great poet Nef'ī had witnessed all this
He would have said: is it not right to destroy this creature, such a criminal?
(109) An observer would think that the brilliant Imperial Cipher was a bloody claw
This claw has already destroyed many unhappy families

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[1]Cyprus came under British rule in 1878 in exchange for military assistance in the case of a Russian attack against Anatolia.

[2]Sudan became independent under the Mahdi from 1883-5; the country was reconquered by British and Egyptian troops in 1896-8, and became an Egyptian-British condominium in 1899.

[3]Bosnia-Herzegovina was occupied by Austria in 1878, and annexed in 1908.

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(110) The Red Sultan sticks continually to he wheel and turns it
Observers would think the Imperial Throne has now become a guillotine
(111) It was Ahmed Celāluddin,[1] one of the supporters of reform
Whose good conduct always irritated the Emperor
(112) If I would be revived and appear on earth, in my shroud
And he would come with me and become commander of the army
(113) We would first get a fatwa from Hoca Kadri[2]
And would proclaim it to the people in the following way:
(114) Burn those persons found in the yearbooks
And let the smoke-clouds smother wave upon wave the Throne of the Compassionate
(115) It is I who knock on the gate of torment, dungeon of tyranny
If I had been strong enough I would have razed to the ground all prisons
(116) Let the flames ascend and scatter clouds over the heavens
The star [*Yıldız*] needs such a fearsome volcano from below
(117) Let the sky be torn, let an endless sea descend on earth
And let the world observe this deluge upon the star [*Yıldız*]
(118] Then he will come out of the Palace and say, where can I fly?
And the Sultan's collar in my hand will creak and crack
(119) Let then the painter Galib Bey[3] make a picture of me
And may the spirit of Rafael watch and sing its praises
(120) Let the suppressed rush and come to watch, hands clapping
And let the beast die, terrified from the uproar
(121) It is enough, oh pen, there is no need to prolong my speech
Commence the prayer and leave the field to the armed guards
(122) This is no time for words, one wants action now
Don't go on, they do not listen to old-fashioned poetry
(123) If all hell breaks loose, do not destroy Iran oh Lord
But increase the prosperity and well-being of its people
(124) May the concessions in the interior remain profitable
May foreign capitalists not come and usurp [the riches]
(125) Let the banner of the lion and sun be triumphant everywhere
As long as God lets the sun shine on earth
(126) As long as He leads the righteous Shah in good faith
His illustrious relations will be a universal manifestation of success

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[1] Aḥmed Celālüddīn Paşa was the first *ser-ḥafīye* under 'Abdülḥamīd, but he was a supporter of the Young Turks, came into conflict with the sultan and was exiled seven times; he became a supporter of Eşref during the latter's sojourn in Egypt, cf. ON II, pp. 496, 511.

[2] Ḫōca Ḳadrī Efendi, according to a note in the original edition, was an accomplished liberal scholar who had fled to Paris; he wrote, among others, a book entitled *İstinṣāf* ('A call for justice').

[3] According to a note to the original edition, he was a fashionable expatriate painter of the time, a scion of the Köprülüzāde family, who had regular exhibitions in Europe.

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(127) There will always be lightness in his affairs for Muzaffar Shah
Because Eshref says prayers for him even if he is ignorant of prayers
(128) He only begs that from the gate of the divine palace
Health will come to his private companion, joy to his doorkeeper
(129) His prayer is this: that He will ever more
Promote the parliamentarians and senators of the prudent Shah
(130) In Egypt he has constantly repeated the following fragment
Even if he said that he does not know prayers, he does know what it means

Fragment

(131) How could I determine time with any precision
O God, while for you there is possibility in every impossibility
(132) We would like to see his soul alive here on earth
Long after his demise at the hands of the Angel of Death

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Part Two
Historiography

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1. THE EGRI CAMPAIGN OF 1596: MILITARY HISTORY AND THE PROBLEM OF SOURCES

In this article[1] I would like to call attention to a small complex of military events: the siege by the Ottoman army of the Habsburg border stronghold Eger (Erlau in German, Agria in Latin, Egri in Turkish). I will henceforth refer to the place by its Turkish name; Egri is situated in Hungary, 130 km north-east of Budapest, and the battle in the plain of (Mezö) keresztes (*pugna Crestiana* in Latin, battle of Haçova or Maḥacova in Turkish), 40 km south-east of Egri, was fought between the Ottoman and Habsburg armies and their allies after the last castle in the city had surrendered to the Sultan. I shall discuss these events because I think they are interesting in themselves, but also because they lend themselves well to illustrate problems which the historian interested in reconstructing the events of this period encounters. The late 16th century is richly documented, literally, historiographically, and even visually,[2] not the least cause being the ample commissions by the Ottoman court. Quite a few poets, such as the *şehnāmeci* Ta'līḳīzāde (d. 1599),[3] Sa'du'd-dīn (d. 1599),[4] famous historian and personal instructor (*ḫōca*) of the

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[1]I would like to thank Prof. Dr. B. Flemming for letting me use her microfilms of some manuscripts and for her suggestions for improvements in the final text. I am also grateful to Dr. Filiz Çağman who gave me access to the Topkapı manuscripts used for this paper. First Published in Andrias Tietze (ed.), *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen,* Wien, 26-30. September 1983. Colloque sous le patronage du Comité international des études pré-ottomanes et ottomanes (Vienna 1985), 127-44.

[2]The miniaturist Naḳḳāş Ḥasan, who accompanied the Sultan on this campaign, made, among other things a miniature of the battle in the plain of Keresztes for the *Şehnāme-i sulṭān Meḥemmed-i Ṣāliş*, written in commission by the court-poet Ta'līḳīzāde, which deals mainly with the siege and battle I mentioned. The miniature is painted on fol. 50b-51a of the manuscript kept in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi in Istanbul (Hazine 1609, F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul 1961), No. 741, I, 244. See: D. Halbout de Tanney, 'La Miniature Ottomane, source iconographique', in: *Anatolica* IX (1982), 133-166. In the photo of this miniature (p. 160) left and right are exchanged. See also *Anadolu Medeniyetleri* III, no. E. 188, 255 (Istanbul 1983) and Géza Fehér, *Türkische Miniaturen aus den Chroniken der ungarischen Feldzüge*, (Wiesbaden, 1978), pl. I L.

[3]The function of the *şehnāmeci* was to praise the deeds and personalities of the Ottoman sultans in verse, following the example of Firdawsī's *Šahnāme*, see: C. Woodhead (ed.), *Ta'līḳīzāde's Şehnāme-i hümāyūn: a History of the Ottoman Campaign into Hungary 1593-94* (Berlin, 1983), the introductory part.

[4]See: Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches (GOR)*, (Pest, 1827-1835), IV, 266. I have not seen the *ḳaṣīde* he wrote on the occasion.

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Sultan; Emīnī Çelebi;[1] Dervīş Aġa (d. 1648),[2] the father of the famous traveller and scholar Evliyā Çelebi — all of them in the retinue of the sultan — and Nev'īzāde 'Aṭā'ī,[3] known as biographer, dedicated their verse to the events.[4] Short reports of eyewitnesses, such as those of the British ambassador to the Porte, Edward Barton (d. 1597),[5] and Claudio Cogonara de Parma[6] survive and historiographic material abounds, written by various historians, sometimes also eyewitnesses, ranging from the sober and matter-of-fact Peçevī (or better: Peçuyī) and Selānikī to literary historians like Muṣṭafā 'Ālī and Istvánffy. Finally there exists archival material which can shed light on this period; although I was not able to use any of it for this article, I am convinced it may be of importance; future research may perhaps bring to light some of the documentary material that was used and sometime quoted by the historians.[7]

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[1]This poet is recorded in Riyāzī's *Riyazu'ş-şu'arā* (ms. Hazine 1276 Karatay no. 1223, I, 402-405), fol. 18a, where it is stated that he was a *sipāhī* with the name of Muṣṭafā Beg, the son of *kāġid emīni,* Ḫızır Çelebi (:15-16). His poem on the capture of Egri is to be found in: Selānikī, *Tārīḫ* (ms. Revan 1137 in the Topkapı collection, Karatay No. 735, I, 242-243), fol. 317b:19-318a:2.

[2]He had several functions at the Court of Istanbul and accompanied many sultans, possibly to begin with Sultan Süleymān *Ḳānūnī,* on their campaigns. Cf. M. Cavid Baysun, 'Evliya Çelebi', in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (*İA*), V (1945), 400. According to Selānikī, he was during this time *mirāḫōr-i ṣaġīr*, of the Sultan (*Tārīḫ,* Revan 1137, fol. 317b:8). A short poem on the occasion is quoted in the same History (*ibidem*, fol. 317b:8-19). Evliyā Çelebi remembered his father when he visited the battle-ground in the next century: "God be praised that my father was present during this battle; he buried many martyrs with his own hands" (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, VII (Istanbul, 1928), 182-6.

[3]He wrote a *dāsitān-i ġazā-yi Egri* that is found in a ms. of 'Ālī's *Künhü'l-aḫbār* (III. Aḥmed 3083, in the Topkapı-collection, Karatay, No. 729, I, 240, fol. 546a: 14-547a:22).

[4]These are only the poets I came across during my research; there may be more.

[5]Barton, who followed the Sultan on the campaign, directed two letters to Sanderson, the British consul at Aleppo, not long after the events. These were printed in S. Purchas B. D., *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* etc., VIII (Glasgow 1905), 313-320.

[6]Cf. Lajos Tardy, 'Spanyol szemtanu Eger ostromaról (1596)', in: *Magyar Namzet* (1977). I was not able to consult this article. This person was probably Claudius Cogoranus, mentioned by Istvánffy, *Regni Hungarici Historia* (2nd edition, Cologne 1635), 499, the architect who accompanied the mission of September 10th sent by the Archduke to assist in the defense of Egri (cf. p. 3).

[7]We find an interesting *ferman* on our episode, reported by the historian Hasan Begzāde who, as secretary of the grand vizier, was administratively involved in the matter. The day before the main battle started, the frightened Sultan wrote a *ḫaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* (a royal rescript) — it was also a *fermān* — to the Grand vizier İbrāhim Paşa, in which he asked if it were not better if he went back to Istanbul and left him (İbrāhīm Paşa) in command. The text is quoted: '*sizi ser'asker edüb alıkosam ve ben bu menzilden İstanbula gitmem olmaz mi deyü'*. The answer (and refusal) in the form of the *telḫīṣ* directed by the grand vizier to the Sultan, was actually written by Ḥasan Begzāde. He ('this humble slave') was ordered to write that if the sultan would go away his soldiers would follow him, which involved the risk of a murderous pursuit by the Christians, *Tārīḫ-i āl-i 'Oṣmān,* ms. *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,* Vienna, H.O. 19, fol. 259a-259b (G. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.u.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, II (Vienna 1865), no. 1046, 255). Cf. O. F. Köprülü, "Hasan Beyzāde", in: İA, V, 334.

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First of all I will give an outline of what actually happened in Hungary in the fall of 1596 as far as that can be ascertained. The confrontation to which I refer formed the culminating point in the third campaign season of the long drawn-out Ottoman-Habsburg war which lasted from 1593 to 1606. It was one of the last expeditions in which the Ottoman troops were commanded by the Sultan in person.

Meḥmed III's army arrived from the south in the plain of the Tisza below Egri on September 21st. This small town and its fortifications formed a somewhat southwardly directed spearhead in the chain of small border fortifications in the hills of Upper Hungary, ranging from Esztergom as far as Kosice in Slovakia. The communication lines between Austria and Transylvania (which was then Austria's ally) were now threatened with being cut off and the Ottomans thought that if they captured Egri they would in fact hold "the lock and keys to Vienna"[1] in heir hands. The main Habsburg army commanded by the Archduke Maximilian was in the meantime waiting near Vác on the Danube, some 120 km to the west, not knowing where the Ottoman armies would strike first. These immediately laid siege to Egri which was defended by some 4500 German and Wallonian mercenaries, most of them sent in at the last moment by the Archduke to reinforce the garrison. (Each of the Ottoman and Habsburg main armies counted some 60,000 fighting men.)[2] The Ottomans bombarded and mined the walls of the city and its inner fortification on several occasions and after 18 days — with no hope of relief from the main Habsburg army which was almost immobilized on roads muddy from heavy rains — the garrison retreated to the "inner castle" of the fortifications and opened negotiations with the enemy, following intimidation of their unwilling commanders whom the mercenaries even threatened to kill. They got a written promise of safe-conduct from the Sultan in person but when they opened the gates most of the men were massacred by the Janissaries in revenge for the murder of the Ottoman garrison of the town of Hatvan by Christian troops on September 3rd. The commanders were locked up in the castle or transported to Belgrade.

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[1] Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, *Nuḫbetü't-tevārīḫ ve l'-aḫbār* (Istanbul 1276), 185.

[2] All narrative sources are highly unreliable as regards dates and figures and tend to overestimate the numbers of troops participating in the struggle and of the killed and wounded, especially of the enemy. Both sides thought or pretended to think that the army of the opponent numbered 300,000 men. See for example: Istvánffy, *Historia,* 452 and ʻĀlī, *Künhü'l-aḫbār,* IV, f 537b (ms. III. Ahmed 3083). On the other hand their own armies would have numbered 70,000 (Istvánffy, *Historia,* 452) and 50,000 men (İbrāhīm Peçevī, *Tārīḫ*, Istanbul 1281-1283, II, 202). The last-mentioned numbers seem to be closer to the truth compared to what we know from archival sources; the main body of the Ottoman army, the troops paid directly by the Porte, numbered some 30,000 (active) men: between 7000 and 8000 Janissaries, 17,100 horsemen (*süvārīler)*, 3000 *cebecis* (armorers), 1452 *topcus* (cannoneers), 591 *toparabacıs* (drivers of cannon-carriages) and 500 *lagımcis* (sappers) in this time (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları* (Istanbul 1943-1944), I, 482; II, 214, 3 (n), 70, 107, 132). We have to add, to course, the provincial and Tatar units, for which I have no figures.

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About a week later, on October 18h, the army of Maximilian that had moved east with much effort and loss of men and material, made contact, near Tokay, with the Transylvanian main force commanded by Sigismond Báthory and both armies moved from there in the direction of Egri. On October 22nd they encamped in the plain of Keresztes, some 40 km from there, on the banks of the Csincse, a small tributary of the Tisza.

The next day the first confrontation with the vanguard of the Ottomans who had been informed of the arrival of the Infidels by spies (*dil* as they were called in Ottoman sources: native peasants or soldiers captured for information and mostly killed afterwards) took place. After heavy losses this small Ottoman force had to retreat under cover of night. In the Ottoman headquarters near Egri it was then decided that the moment had come that the army personally commanded by the Sultan should engage the enemy forces on the field of battle, and the Sultan, who suggested a retreat, was urged by *ḫōca* Meḥmed Sa'du'd-dīn to show courage.

By daybreak the Ottoman army, reinforced by Tatar units commanded by Feth Giray, moved from Egri to the plain of Keresztes. The same evening the courage of the Sultan failed again in the face of the enemy who was entrenched behind wagons (such a "wagon-fortress" is called *ṭabur* or *iṣṭabur* in Ottoman sources) on the other side of the marshy area through which the Csincse flowed. He asked the grand vizier, İbrāhīm Paşa (who got quite upset), if it were not better that he (the Sultan) return to the capital.[1]

The following day both armies tried to make their way to the central position of their enemies across the small passes through the swamp, but without success. The Ottoman and Tatar troops were held at bay by superior Christian artillery (one of their cannon-balls nearly hit the Sultan mounted on his white horse amidst his men and surrounded by his cavalry squadrons) and the main attack of the Habsburg forces failed when they fell into an ambush of Ottoman and Tatar skirmishers posted behind the ruins of a chapel at the entrance to one of the main passages through the swamp.

On the following and last day of the battle, the 26th of October, the Christian forces had more success. German and Hungarian troops firing from their *ṭabur* succeeded in repulsing the Ottomans who had found the passages unguarded and had crossed to the other side. There followed a chaotic pursuit back again across the marshes, and a large part of the Muslim troops fled in panic. Victory seemed certain and the Christian forces invaded the Ottoman encampment and started to plunder the tents of the Sultan. At this moment the famous scene between the Sultan and his *ḫōca* Sa'du'd-dīn must have taken

[1] See also above.

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place in which the *ḫōca* again encouraged the trembling and crying Padishah to keep up his spirits and make a firm stand. The turning-point came when the household slaves of the Sultan saw themselves forced to fight for their lives with anything (axes and halfburnt sticks) they could lay their hands on. This un-expected reaction confused the greedy and disorderly soldiers, who found themselves trapped in the labyrinth of tents. When Çiġalazāde Sinān Paşa, the fourth vizier (after the battle promoted to grand vizier) arrived with his troops, panic broke out among the plunderers who fled and tried to get back to their *ṭabur*. A chaotic massacre followed and many Christians perished in the swamp. The Archduke was obliged to retreat to Miskolc, 45 km to the east, leaving all his possessions to the enemy.

Thus the battle ended quite unexpectedly in victory for the Ottomans but it did not bring them any clear-cut advantage over their opponents in the long run. The whole struggle, which lasted about a month, cost the lives of several thousands of soldiers.[1]

Descriptions of this episode, like the one I gave above, exist already in the historical literature, e.g. in the general history of the Ottoman Empire by Joseph von Hammer and the chronology by İsmail Hami Danişmend,[2] but in order to open the field to more specific or detailed research and to break away from *idées reçues* often based on only a part of the source material, we have to go back to the sources, preferably to all of them. For the reconstruction of the actual course of events these are in the first place the narrative sources.

The problem, especially as regards the Ottoman side of the matter is that many of the relevant works have not been edited in a satisfactory way and exist only in manuscripts scattered over many libraries and therefore not easily accessible.[3] Often we do not even know the exact extent of the corpus of these texts, as is the case, e.g., for the famous *Künhü'l-aḫbār* by ʿĀlī (d. 1600). I myself discovered in a Leiden manuscript what is probably the only complete

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[1] As with the numbers of living soldiers, the sources tend to overrate the numbers of dead and wounded, especially of the enemy, probably inflated by a factor 6 to 10. Istvánffy and Ortelius stated that the confrontation cost the life of 20,000 Turks and 10,000 to 12,000 Christians (Istvánffy, *Historia*, 456 and Ortelius, *De Chronycke van Hungarie etc.* Dutch translation by Petrus Neandrus (Amsterdam 1619), 215). Peçevi stated that 50,000 men alone were killed during the last phase of the battle (*Tārīḫ*, II, 201). The rather unhistorical official *Feṭḥnā*, contains in the Leiden manuscript a marginal note in which it is stated that the war cost the lives of 470,000 Christians, arranged according to nation and sometimes, unit (Leiden, University Library, Cod.Or. 1090 (1) Warn., fol. 51a (R.P.A. Dozy, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae (CCO)* I (Leiden 1851), No. cccx, 181-182.

[2] Hammer, GOR, IV, 264-273, and İ.H. Danişmend, *İzahli Osmanli tarihi kronolojisi,* 2nd printing, III, 167-177.

[3] See on this problem especially: B. Kütükoğlu, *Kātib Çelebi "Fezleke"sinin kaynakları* (Istanbul, 1974), vii-viii.

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"author's preface" to this universal history that survives[1] and in these interesting five folios ʻĀlī gives us his justification for writing this part of his History and discusses some of his sources. His version of the Egri campaign is also rare and only extent in a minority, as far as I can see, of three manuscripts that contain the last chapters of the book.[2]

Apart from these, strictly speaking, philological questions a second problem is the literary and/or religious-political character of the Ottoman histories, which tend to blur or even distort the facts. Very obviously this is the case in a propagandistic work like the "Letter of Victory" (*Feṯḥnāme*) written by the chancellor (*niṣānci*) Lām ʻAlī Çelebi in commission of the Sultan right after the events[3] "to be made public and read out in Istanbul, Galata and Üsküdar, in all cities, marketplaces and quarters...".[4] Historians of repute like Naʻīmā used phrases from works like this one to embellish their prose and used them in a more general sense as a source.[5] We come across the

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[1] *Künhü'l-aḫbār*, IV, ms. Leiden University Library, Cod.Or 288, fol. 4a-8b (P. de Jonge and M. J. de Goeje, CCO III (Leiden 1865), No. dcccl, 28). An edition of this part with transcription and translation was published by me in 1987.

[2] These are: mss. Revan 1118 (Karatay, *Yazmalar,* No 714, I, 236-347), III. Ahmed 3038, both in the Topkapı Library, and Halet Ef. 598 (*Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarih-Coğrafya Yazmalar Kataloğları* (TTY) (Istanbul 1943 ff), No. 8 (3), 20-21, in the Süleymaniye Library. Atsız based his not very exact *sadeleştirilmiş* version of this part of the *Künh* on this manuscript. (Atsız, *Âlî Bibliyografyası* (Istanbul 1968), 94-112, see esp. note 1, p. 94).

[3] Muṣṭafā Selānikī, *Tārīḫ*, ms. Revan 1137, fol. 313a. The first part of the *Feṯḥnāme* is printed in: Ferīdūn Beg, *Mecmūʻa-i münşeʻāt,* 2 vols. (Istanbul 1274-1275), II, 100-101. Several texts exist of the whole work in manuscript, included in *inşā* works (collections of letters) and the History of Selānikī (ms. *Revan 1137*, fol. 312 b:18 - 317b:20). G. L. Lewis thinks that its text in the *Mecmūʻa* may represent a different second version, not written by Lām ʻAlī Efendi. Although there are sometimes considerable differences, a comparison between the various manuscripts and the printed shorter version shows that in all cases we have to do with basically the same text (see: "The Utility of Ottoman Feṯḥnāmes", in: B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, *Historians of the Middle East,* London, New York, Toronto, 1962, 192-196 and 193). In the complete versions of the "Letter" it is in fact stated in the text itself that Lām ʻAlī Çelebi was the author of the work, e.g., Selānikī, *Tārīḫ* (the same ms.), fol. 317b:26. The other texts I could see were the already mentioned Leiden ms., f 50b-52a and the Ms. or. fol. 3332, fol. 187b-189a kept in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften* IV, Wiesbaden 1979, No. 305, 291-292). Götz calls the pamphlet a private letter (*Privatschreiben*) which it definitely was not. His statement that the work is not to be found in the *Mecmūʻa* is also (partly) incorrect.

[4] *Feṯḥnāme* (ms. Leiden), fol. 52a:3.

[5] At the end of the battle many Christians perished when they were pursued by the Ottomans. The *Feṯḥnāme* concludes: "... *biñ* (?) *nüfūs-i menḥūs cüz'ī zamānda menkūs olmaḳ ṣunʻ-i beşer ile müyesser ü mutaṣavvir deġüldür deyü ... bu ġazā-yi ibret-nümā ... Mohaç ve Caldıran muḥārebelerinden ... ziyāde olmaġın ... ta'ayyün olınmışdur" (Feṯḥnāme*, the Leiden ms., fol. 52a). In Naʻīmā we read: "... *cüz'i zamānda bu ḳadar nüfūs maʻdūm u menkūs olmaḳ ṣunʻ-i beşer deġüldür deyü ... bu ġazā-yi Egri Mohaç ve Caldıran muḥārebelerinden ziyāde idüġin işbāt ḳıldılar*". (Naʻīmā, *Tārīḫ* I (Istanbul, without date), 162. See also Naʻīmā, *Tārīḫ*, 147:21 - 148:8 where the *Feṯḥnāme* is quoted literally and the source is (partly) mentioned, cf. the Leiden *Feṯḥnāme*, fol. 51a.

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same rhetorical figures and techniques of description in this "letter" and in a "literary" History like the *Künhü'l-aḫbar*. To give an example: in the *Fetḥnāme* we read that when the Ottoman army came near Egri to lay siege to the city, the men were quite impressed by what they saw. The fortications of the town soared to heaven in the distance "like the Demawand mountains" and its "towers reached the heaven of the Zodiacal signs". "When [the mythical bird] ʻAnḳā would hover over its heights which were as if on the [fabulous] mountain Ḳāf, its wings would wail in fright, and when the [mythical royal eagle] Humā would fly over its summits, it would flutter its feathers in sheer despair ...".[1] ʻĀlī wrote in a like spirit and used comparable metaphors: "Its [i.e. Egri's] strength was like that of steel fortresses ... Its towers rose to the same level as the Pleiades, that is, the nine-fold vault of heaven ... Its slender turret reached higher that the sun ..."[2] This type of description which we encounter in a more or less exuberant form in all Ottoman histories, seems ridiculous when we learn from the Austrian archives that Egri was not much more than a small "double fortress on a mountain" under normal circumstances occupied by a garrison of hardly more than a thousand poorly paid and clothed soldiers.[3]

In this case it is rather easy to sift fact from fiction because we are able to use archival data to "scrape off" the literary layer. Historical criticism becomes more difficult when we are confronted with easily recognizable figures of speech and facts that cannot be corrected by sources reliable beyond doubt: when we, in short, try to reconstruct the general course of events.

Let us take as an example the last crucial hours of our battle on the afternoon of the 26th of October, when the famous scene between the Sultan and his *ḫōca* is reported to have taken place. Let us first follow the accounts of Peçevī (d. 1650?), Topçılar Kātibi, ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir Efendi (d. 1645?) and Ḥasan Begzāde (d. 1636) who served in the campaign; Peçevī did field service under the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia, Lālā Meḥmed Paşa,[4] ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir participated in the campaign as secretary to the regiment of cannoneers,[5] and Ḥasan Begzāde was secretary to the commander and Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Paşa.[6] Peçevī writes: "They (i.e. the Christian troops who penetrated the Ottoman encampment) put their cursed banners in front of the treasure-chests and some unbelievers climbed on them and started to dance [*ṭanca oynamaġa*]

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[1] *Ibidem*, fol. 50b.

[2] *Künhü'l-aḫbār IV* (ms. III. Ahmed 3083), fol. 586a.

[3] See: A. H. Loebl, *Zur Geschichte des Türkenkrieges von 1593-1606*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1899 and 1904), I, 28-33.

[4] This is clear from several passages in his History, e.g. II, 193.

[5] Cf. M. Köhbach, "Der osmanische Historiker Topcılar Kātibi ʻAbdu'l-qādir Efendis Leben und Werk", in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, II, (1981), 78-79.

[6] See also above.

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on them. It is reported that (*menḳūldür ki*) when the Sultan, generous as the sun, saw this, the *ḫōca efendi* was there in his presence ... He [the sultan] said: "Efendi, what must we do now," [He answered:] "My Padishah, you must stand firm on the spot. This is war, and this has happened often during the wagon-fighting in the times of your great forefathers. With the miracles of the Prophet, unto Him be peace, and if God wishes it so, luck and victory will fall to the people of Islam..." With these words he encouraged him, and really, the powerful spirit and firm belief of the *ḫōca efendi* are worth their weight in gold!" (Thereupon Peçevī described a painting he saw the following year in which this scene was represented by an Austrian artist: the shocked Sultan on his horse, and the *ḫōca* next to him at his stirrup, his arms raised in supplication). Already a group of *içoġlans* had begun to flee and the rumour circulated that the Sultan himself had already left the field in a wagon (*koçı*). This induced a large number of the Ottoman troops to follow their example, but then, as we saw, the tenacious self-defence of the harem slaves turned the tide.[1]

The second possible witness, ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir Efendi, tells in his History that 60,000 Christians succeeded in penetrating the Ottoman encampment. The soldiers of Islam saw that the Sultan wept bitter tears and prayed to God and the Prophet. Thereupon God sent "holy spirits" and the "harem servants" appeared as if by miracle from the tents and the unbelievers were defeated.[2] There is, surprisingly, no mention of Saʻdu'd-dīn here, although earlier that day he had read the *Fāṭiḥa*, the first chapter of the Koran, for the troops when "they made the Sultan mount on his white horse".[3]

When we turn then to the History of Ḥasan Beġzāde, the third potential witness, we find to our surprise no mention at all of either the Sultan or of his *ḫōca* in his description of the final hours, except for the fact that the Sultan on this day had remained behind in his tent with his personal servants! We read: "When they [i.e. the Muslim soldiery] saw the *içoġlans* with their tasselled caps on the field outside the tents of the army of Islam, and thought that the Padishah of mankind had taken flight as well, many soldiers of the believers ran away ..." (Then he describes briefly the decisive intervention of the harem servants).[4]

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[1] Peçevī, *Tārīḫ*, II, 200-201.

[2] ʻAbu'l-ḳādir, *Tārīḫ-i āl-i ʻOṯmān* (ms. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Mxt. 130), fol. 79b (Flügel, *Handschriften*, II, no. 1053, 260-261).

[3] *Ibidem*.

[4] Ḥasan Begzāde, *Tārīḫ* (the Vienna ms.), fol. 260b.

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That is all.

Another contemporary historian, Selānikī (d. after 1599), who was bookkeeper in the administration of the pious endowments of the Sultan in Istanbul at that time[1] and based his version of the campaign on letters that were periodically sent from the Ottoman headquarters to the capital by special couriers, wrote: "The unbelievers, miserable as the earth, entered the tents which had been pitched during the night in an irregular way ... Everybody despaired and feared for their lives ... The Sultan called for his *ḫırḳa-i şerīf*[2] and prayed to God and the Prophet. Sa'du'd-dīn remained calm and resolute and spoke many virtuous words. Ġażanfer Aġa [the *aġa* of the Porte] too did not yield an inch. But then appeared İbrāhīm Paşa [the grand vizier] and when he had arranged for the Padishah to leave ... Çiġalazāde Sinān Paşa [the fourth vizier] arrived just in time and said: "O, tyrant (*ẓālim*) [you are unjust] to His Majesty and this idea of yours is pure madness ... Let our Padishah not leave, but make him stand firm and he will be victorious if God wishes it so ..."[3]

So here a somewhat analogous scene is depicted but with more *dramatis personae*. The role of Ġażanfer Aġa instead of Sa'du'd-dīn (who is not mentioned) is only confirmed in one other work: the *Ġażānāme-i Muḥammediyye*, an anonymous religious tract in prose and verse dedicated to the Sultan.[4] There it is reported that Ġażanfer "courageous like a lion and strong like Rustam" admonished the Sultan to show courage like his forebears. Inspired by these words the Sultan took the sword, called *Ẕū'l-fiḳār* (it had belonged to 'Alī), and victory was certain.[5] But the historicity of this work is very dubious.

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[1]To be exact: *evḳāf muḥāsebecisi* at the *rūzname-i hümāyūn ḳalem*, see: "Selānikî", in: İA X, 350.

[2]This was the famous *burda* donated by the Prophet to Ka'b b. Zubayr. It fell into the hands of the Ottoman dynasty after the annexation of the Hejaz by Selīm I. See: K. Kufralı, "Hırka-i Şerîf", in: *İA*, V, 450-452.

[3]Selānikī, *Tārīḫ*, (ms. Revan 1137), fol. 316b-317a. Cf. the Vienna mss. (H.O. 57), fol. 311a (Flügel, II, 246) which has a slight variation.

[4]The manuscript is kept in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi 1414 (Karatay, *Yazmalar,* no. 741, I, 244). The main subject of he work is the holy wars fought by the Prophet and bis companions, and it concludes by eulogizing the heroic deeds of the Sultan during our campaign as *ġāzī* and worthy successors and, indeed, namesake of the Prophet, and justifies his conduct in terms of the Muslim Tradition. The massacre of the Christian garrison by the Janissaries after the surrender of Egri, for example, was seen as no more than an act of faith, and a comparison was made to the Battle of Badr 972 years before, where 70 men had been taken prisoner. It was not deemed proper for a prophet to take prisoners from among the unbelievers; 'Umar told Muḥammad that it was better to annihilate Infidels than to take them prisoners. Their example would terrify the survivors who would then be more ready to pay the *cizye* in obendience to their Muslim overlords (*Ġazānāme*, fol. 210a).

[5]*Ibidem,* fol. 213a-215a.

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ʿĀlī gives us in his *Künhü'l-aḫbār*, in my opinion, the most dramatic version of them all; there is now only one actor: namely the sultan himself, while Saʿdu-d-dīn is not much more than an extra: "The polytheists spread over the encampment of the Sultan, pillaging and killing... until the moment came that the Padishah, the pivot of the Word, who was sitting in his tent, planted his horsetail and standard in front of himself and arranged his regiments in battle order ... They [i.e., the Ottoman troops who had already decided to flee] saw that the great Padishah ... was praying on his rug ... Before him stood his reading-stand with the Koran, and on his knees lay the sharp sword, the *Ḳażīb* of the Prophet. [cf. the *Gazānāme!*] ... He resembled a mountain and implored: "O God, let not the community of Muḥammad perish!" He did not move for a moment from the place where he was ... The eminent *vekīl*s [viziers] and Mevlānā Saʿdu'd-dīn, already *ḫōca* of his deceased father, sultan Murād Ḫān, who were at his side ... started to praise the sultan in verse when they saw that he in his greatness, though crying and imploring, did not give up ... [A long *ḳaṣīde* (ode) is now cited, of which the first distich reads:]

O prince, master in the declaration of war,
O Ardashir of the field of battle, o ferocious lion of war."

Thereupon the Sultan commanded his *içoġlans* to chase the infidels. The harem slaves knocked down the marauders and Çiġalazāde Sinān Paşa finished them off.[1]

An even more heroic (and less historic) role is played by the Sultan in the *Feṭḥnāme* and here there is no place for even the slightest hesitation: it seems as if his only thought was to murder as many unbelievers as possible and purposely lure the greedy and drunken Christians away from their wagon-fortress into his tents, so that they could be slaughtered with more profit, especially by Çiġalazāde Sinān Paşa!

Which version is to be believed? Ottoman historians of later generations like Kātib Çelebi (d. 1657) and Naʿīmā (d. 1716), who based themselves mainly on writers contemporary with the events like Peçevī and Meḥmed b. Meḥmed (d. 1640)[2] and were followed in the 19th century by Hammer, sacralized the scene, so to speak, with Saʿdu'd-dīn in a leading role. In the *Feẕleke* by Kātib Çelebi we read that when the Sultan was praying on his prayer-rug amidst the pillaging infidels, "Saʿdu'd-dīn made [him], the asylum of the Faith, don the *ḫırḳa-i şerīf* and spoke the words: "Victory

[1] *Künhü'l-aḫbār* IV (ms. III. Ahmed 3038), fol. 452a-543b.

[2] See: Kütükoğlu, *Kaynaklar*, 17 and L.V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima* (New York 1972), 135-149. The History of Meḥmed b. Meḥmed contains a version analogous (but shorter) to that of ʿĀlī (*Nuḫbet*, 189-190).

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comes with patience, for things become easier after many difficulties", and he [the Sultan] became unyielding like a house". Again the turning point came when the harem slaves, "stable-boys and cooks, camel and mule-drivers" as they are described in almost all sources, started to strike back.[1]

All these contradictory accounts must make us suspicious. Did our scene in fact take place at all, and if so, how and involving which *dramatis personae*?

One of the potential witnesses, Peçevī, was not too sure of this, a second, ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir, gives a more sober and also different account of the events, and the last one, Ḥasan Begzāde, does not mention such a scene. Two of them (Peçevī and Ḥasan Begzāde), moreover, report that the rumour had spread that the Sultan had fled. Was this in fact only a rumour? Or did he actually flee? This would be not to improbable if we remember his faint-hearted attitude on earlier occasions in the struggle. Contemporary Western historians like the "Hungarian Livius" Nicholas Istvánffy (Isthuanffius) (1581-1608), a participant in the war,[2] and Hieronimus Oertl (Ortelius),[3] who were perhaps not unprejudiced, were sure that this was what happened. Istvánffy, for example, wrote: "When our army got ready to cross [the marshes; the Archduke had, under pressure of his commanders, given permission to pursue the apparently defeated Turkish army], Mehemetes [Sultan Meḥmed] sat outside the encampment under his small tent which used to be carried along for his use by a camel. He sat with crossed legs on a low folding stool, lost in thought, waiting for news about the outcome of the battle. His white horse [this horse we already met in the account of ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir and on the painting Peçevī saw a year after the events] stood near him, ready, its tail and legs above the hoofs were coloured saffron-yellow. Cicala [i.e. Çiġalazāde Sinān Paşa] came galloping along and said that the enemy was coming over the swamp. Right then he [the Sultan] mounted his horse and took flight with his "praetorian guard" [the *içoġlans* mentioned by Peçevī and Ḥasan Begzāde] of about six thousand horsemen, most splendidly clothed and armed, leaving all the others behind, and without pausing during the night, they reached Szolnok [100 km to the south] in the middle of the next day. The garrison-commander [*praetor*] and some citizens of Szeged could see him and they were instructed by Ibraimus [Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Paşa], one of their leaders who had fled, to bring them freshly baked bread, grapes and similar fruits..."[4]

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[1] Kātib Çelebi, *Feẕleke* (Istanbul 1286), 90.

[2] For biographical details, see: I. A. Fessler, *Geschichte von Ungarn* IV (revised edition edition, Leipzig 1877), 33-36, and Loebl, *Zur Geschichte*, I, 2.

[3] See: Loebl, *Zur Geschichte,* I, 3.

[4] Istvánffy, *Historia,* 454.

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His account, which follows, of the plundering Christians and the fatal defensive reaction of the remaining "Turkish guards" who struck with "swords, poles, beams and half-burned pieces of wood" while the dead bodies of young eunuchs, deaf-mutes and falconers were lying between the tents of the Sultan,[1] is not unlike those we have already mentioned. In the chaos "Talismani [*dānişmends*] & Hogiae [*ḫōcas*] & Dervisii [*dervīşes*] as their priests [*sacerdotes*] are called, cried out in despondency, and tore out their beards, imploring God, eyes raised to heaven".[2]

Were *ḫōca* Sa'du'd-dīn and/or Ġażanfer Aġa among them, or even the Sultan, we are tempted to ask? Was this the factual nucleus from which the more acceptable story of the catharsis of the Sultan later grew?

We cannot be sure. Although a definite reconstruction of our scene seems impossible, there are grounds, on the other hand, to discredit the story of the Sultan's flight because it is not confirmed by all Western sources. Istvánffy wrote that ambassador Barton, a (potential) witness, fled with the Sultan,[3] but according to one of Barton's own letters, he departed only three days after the battle in the retinue of the Sultan in the direction of Istanbul, where he arrived safely on the 12th of December.[4] Barton wrote in the same letter that the Sultan, encouraged by his "officers", let his "Banners Imperial" march against the Christians in the heat of the crisis, that he then even personally shot three Christians with his bow and arrow, and that he after the events finally took a rest of three days in his "Pavilion".[5] In an entry of some days later in the same letter, Barton even confirms the positive influence of the "School-master" (*ḫōca*) on the, indeed, very frightened Sultan, and the heroic role of Çigalazāde, but these facts may have been based on Ottoman information supplied after the events.[6]

One thing that is certain is that battles were almost always scary and very chaotic affairs for participants and witnesses,[7] and it must already have been difficult for contemporaries to unravel the truth. Not very long after the

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[1] *Ibidem*, 455.
[2] *Ibidem*.
[3] *Ibidem*, 449.
[4] Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 319-320.
[5] *Ibidem*, 318-319.
[6] *Ibidem*, 320. Barton certainly used Ottoman histories for his account of the events communicated to Moryson three years later, see: *Shakespeare's Europe, unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson, Itinerary etc.* (Ed. C. Hughes, London 1903), 46.
[7] See for example: J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (Penguin Reprint, London 1983), 35-45, where descriptions of the battles of Albuera (16 May 1801) by Sir William Napier, of Balaclava (25 October 1854) by Peter Young and of Eylau (8 February 1807) by David Chandler are analysed.

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events the Spanish ambassador in Prague, Guillén de San Clemente (d. 1608), wrote, puzzled, on 9 December of the same year to Martin de Sdiagez in Madrid: "*He procurado con todo el cuidado del mundo saber la verdad del ... sucesso de Ungria porgue es estrano y pocas vezes visto que dos exos huyessen en una batalla sin que el uno se sequiesse el otro ...*"[1]

Secondly, we must realize that battles have often been subject to inflated rhetoric and panegyrical descriptions, especially if national or dynastic personalities participated in them. Was Napoleon, to give an example, really the ever-present master-mind in the battle of Marengo on 14 June 1800, as some historians would have us believed? Did he encourage his troops with the words: "*Enfants, souvenez-vous que mon habitude est de coucher sur le champ de bataille?*" Probably not, and in this case the fraud is quite transparent: the story was made up by himself in the official *bulletin* of 1803 (which should remind us of the similarly official *Fetḥnāme*). Napoleon in reality almost lost this battle because he came too late and had too few troops in the field. Only the arrival, at the last moment, of General Desaix, who was treacherously calumniated by his master in the same bulletin, forestalled an almost certain defeat at the hands of the Austrians.[2]

Particular for many of the Ottoman historians we quoted (and this makes our case more complex) is, that most of them extended their eulogy (and possibly myth-making) also to the secondary characters around the Sultan. Six writers: Peçevī, ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir, Selānikī, the anonymous author of the Ġazānāme, ʻAlī and Lām ʻAlī Çelebi, all give us a more or less elaborate version of the scene and ascribe glorious roles to Saʻdu'd-dīn, Ġażanfer Aġa, God,[3] and/or Çigalazāde Sinān Paşa, while Selānikī, moreover, gave İbrāhīm Paşa a disreputable part. Now we know that Saʻdu'd-dīn and the not less influential maecenas Ġażanfer Aġa were friends and supported the candidacy of Çigalazāde for the grand-vizierate right after our battle and opposed İbrāhīm Paşa, who was subsequently deprived of the *mühür* (seal). We also know that at least Selānikī, ʻĀlī and Lām ʻAlī Çelebi (we know nothing of our anonymous author) were supported, patronized or directly employed by this same court faction around Saʻdu'd-dīn and Ġażanfer Aġa, and that, on the other

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[1] *Simancas Estado,* 703 (*sin. fol.*). I am indebted to Dr. Jan Niederkon for this information.

[2] See: J. Presser, *Napoleon, Historie en Legende*, 2 vols. (4th printing, Amsterdam 1963), II, 441-445.

[3] Cf. the account of ʻAbd'l-ḳādir, above, p. 10. Peçevī stated explicitly that only God had made victory possible for the Muslims (*Tārīḫ*, II, 203). Cf. also the *Dāsitān* of ʻAṭā'ī: when the Christians penetrated the encampment: "the subjugating force of God made itself visible and his emulation threw all plans at once into confusion ... so that the wicked people took to flight". (ms. III Ahmed 3083, fol. 546b: 26-27).

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side, Ḥasan Begzāde served the demoted İbrāhīm Paşa.[1] Thus the same three (possibly four) authors eulogized one or several of their patrons or employers as the decisive moral props behind the almost faltering sultan: for Lām ʻAlī Çelebi, as we saw, the faint-heartedness of the Sultan was only a stratagem — and the fifth (Ḥasan Begzāde) — who was connected with the opposite faction — keeps silence. A sixth, Peçevī, and a seventh, ʻAbdu'l-ḳādir, who had, as far as I can see, no direct connections with any of the mentioned officials,[2] seem not to proffer their opinion about the role of the secondary characters, and none of these last three writers mentions the final heroic action of Çiġalazāde. Thus none of our writers wrote (or cited sources) disinterestedly; they all give us versions of the battle, which, to say the least, are not contrary to the interests of their patrons or employers of themselves — the Western writers, such as Istvánffy, who stood outside the all-pervading Ottoman system of patronage (*intisāb*), I leave aside, although Barton may have been influenced by Ottoman points of view. Another factor of importance in this respect is that the first four partial historians wrote their versions shortly after the events took place and were still directly influenced by motives of personal politics at that time: the History of Selānikī ends with the year 1599 and the author died probably not many years later; ʻĀlī wrote the contemporary part of the *Künh* apparently between 1596 and 1599, and Lām ʻAlī Çelebi wrote the *Fetḥnāme* while still in the field, whereas our last three authors: Peçevī, ʻAbdu'l-kādir and Ḥasan Begzāde (their Histories conclude with the years 1639, 1644 and 1623) certainly wrote many years later.

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[1] Immediately after the battle, the newly appointed Grand Vizier Çiġalazāde planned to expropriate the timariote troops and 30,000 Janissaries who had not shown up in the campaign (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* III (2) (Ankara 1954), 356). Selānikī was charged with executing these measures and was in this way directly employed by the grand vizier who had the support of Saʻd-dīn and Ġażanfer Aġa ("Selânikî", İA X, 350). ʻĀlī was patronized by both Saʻdu'd-dīn and Ġażanfer Aġa. The latter even paid him a salary during the two years work on his *Künh* (See: C. H. Fleischer, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî Efendi, 1541-1600. A Study in Ottoman Historical Conciousness (Unpublished Dissertation, Princeton University 1982), 308-309). Of the *nişāncı* Lām ʻAlī Çelebi it is known that he was dismissed after the fall of Çiġalazāde and Saʻdu'd-dīn, 45 days after the battle, on the charge of having praised him, Çiġalazāde, too much in his *Fetḥnāme* (Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, III, 178). Ḥasan Begzāde, as we saw, was secretary to the Grand Vizier and dāmād, İbrāhīm Paşa, and later to Saṭurcı Meḥmed Paşa who was appointed by the same İbrāhīm Paşa as commander in one of the following Austrian campaigns (Babinger, *GOW*, 174).

[2] As we saw, Peçevī served under Lālā Meḥmed Paşa, the *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, who was probably a cousin of the former Grand Vizier Meḥmed Paşa Soḳollu (d. 1596) (Uzunçarşılı, *Tarih* III (2), 361). Peçevī himself was also related to the Soḳollus (Babinger, *GOW*, 192). This would indicate that he belonged to the Sokollu party at court, which was opposed by the group, headed by Saʻdu'd-dīn and Ġażanfer Aġa, but we must keep in mind that he wrote his history long after the death of Meḥmed Paşa and his former master, who died in 1606. Of ʻAbd'l-ḳādir nothing is known, except what he writes of himself in his History, and we cannot define his relations to any of the factions.

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This knowledge brings us no nearer to the facts (in our test-case: the personal facts) of our battle, but we must remember that reconstruction is almost always a hazardous task. Our example illustrates again clearly the truism that we must handle our sources with caution. After having mastered the philological and literary difficulties of the relevant texts, we have to take into account the distance of the historian from the events and his personal and professional relation to the personalities he describes in his work.

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2. MUṢṬAFĀ ʿĀLĪ OF GALLIPOLI, A MORALISTIC LITTÉRATEUR ON HISTORY AND THE CONTEMPORARY OTTOMAN WORLD

1. Introduction

This chapter intends to highlight some aspects of the work of the brilliant polymath Mustafa ʿĀlī of Gallipoli.[1] I will focus my attention on two themes, that of history and in particular the history of the contemporary Ottoman world, as seen through the eyes of the author. Relatively much has been published on this fascinating figure of the post-Süleymanic 16th century, although only a few texts produced by him have been satisfactorily edited or translated into modern Turkish or other languages. This is a pity, because ʿĀlī's *œuvre* belongs, with, perhaps, the works of his near-contemporary ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi (d. 1572) and, living a century later, Evliyā Çelebi (d. 1682), to the brilliant monuments of (often quoted) Ottoman ornate prose. Editions and translations of their work are equally either lacking, or incomplete and/or inadequate. The same is true, alas, for the first two volumes of a recent edition of ʿĀlī's *chef d'œuvre*, the 'Essence of Histories' (*Künhü l-aḫbār*),[2] which is based only on a limited set of manuscripts, ignores important publications on the textual history of the work, and limits itself to a transcription in Latin script. Who was Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī?

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[1] The following is based on a number of my earlier publications: 'Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī van Gallipoli, een Ottomaans historicus over zijn eigen tijd', in *Midden Oosten en Islam Publicatie* 12 (1984), pp. 65-77; 'Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli (1541-1600); an Ottoman Historiographer on Egypt' (lecture for the Dutch Institute at Cairo, 1986), 23 pp; *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Künhü 'l-Aḫbār and its Preface According to the Leiden Manuscript* (Istanbul 1987); book review of Andreas Tietze, ed. and transl., *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlīs Description of Cairo of 1599,* and his *Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581,* in *Oriens* 31 (1988), pp. 335-9; 'Some Remarks on the Textual History of a Famous Late Sixteenth-Century World History: the case of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's *Künhü 'l-aḫbār*', in *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3 (1988), pp. 69-72; *Pure Water for Thirsty Muslims. A study of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli's* Künhü l'Aḫbār (Leiden 1992).

[2] Ahmed Uğur, Mustafa Çuhadar et alii, *Kayseri Raşid Efendi Kütüphanesi'ndeki 901 ve 920 No.lu Nüshalara Göre Kitâbü't-Târiḫ-i Künhü'l-Aḫbâr*. 2 Vols. Kayseri 1997. It comprises the first part of the fourth volume ('pillar'), roughly covering the history of the Ottoman dynasty until 1520.

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2. Biography[1]

Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmed b. ʿAbdülmevlā was born in 1541 as the son of a well-to-do merchant with a special interest in literature and books and who saw to it that his son received the best possible education available to a young man in a provincial town. Through his father, Muṣṭafā came into contact with literature early in life, which in those days meant mainly Persian poetry. When he was fifteen years of age, Muṣṭafā began to compose verse of his own, and adopted the pen-name of "Ālī', "The Sublime". Soon afterwards he went to Istanbul for further studies, and there he met some of the great scholars and poets of the late years of the reign of Sultan Süleymān, among them Muṣṭafā Celālzāde, Meḥmed Ramażānzāde, both chancellors (*nişāncı*) and historians, and Bāḳī, perhaps the most famous Ottoman poet of all.

ʿĀlī concluded his studies in 1560 which theoretically entitled him to a career in the learned hierarchy and administrative-jurisdictional institution of the Ottoman Empire (*ʿilmīye*). But he preferred to by-pass this long and cumbersome path, which could have led to a professorship in one of the schools of higher education (*medreses*), eventually in the most prestigious one of them all: the *Saḥn-i ṣemān* ('Court of the Eight Colleges') in Istanbul, where he himself had studied, the office of judge (*ḳāżī*), and finally that of chief jurisconsult (*şeyḫülislām*). Instead, he tried his luck at the court of Prince Selīm, who was to succeed his father Sultan Süleymān in 1566, in Konya and Kütahya, presenting his first collection of Persian poems, *dīvān*, to the prince, with the aim of obtaining a direct appointment as *ḳāżī*, or even as court poet, through his influence. When this did not happen, ʿĀlī turned to the Istanbul court, but with similar negative results. Instead, he had to be content with the humbler post of clerk in the prince's administration. Soon afterwards, he put himself under the protection of Muṣṭafā Paşa (d. 1580), a former private tutor (*lālā*) of Prince Selīm. He became the pasha's private secretary and remained in that function until his patron's death some twenty years later. ʿĀlī followed his master to the latter's various postings as governor (*beglerbegi*) or military commander throughout the Empire. Thus he followed Muṣṭafā Paşa to Aleppo, then to Damascus, to Egypt, and again Damascus. In 1568 ʿMuṣṭafā Paşa became involved in a serious conflict with Ḳoca Sinān Paşa (d. 1595), the deputy military commander in Egypt, and the latter's patron, the Grand Vizier Soḳollu Meḥmed Paşa (in office 1565-79). Under the influence of Selīm, now Sultan (1566-74), Muṣṭafā Paşa was soon rehabilitated and promoted to *muṣāhib* (intimate companion) and vizier of the

[1]The standard monograph on Muṣṭafā ʿĀli is still (and will be for some time to come) Cornell H. Fleischer's *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton 1986), on which I largely rely for the following biographical data.

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Council of State (*Dīvān*). Possibly as a result of this conflict, in which he was also partly involved as secretary, ʿĀlī could not profit from his master's move to Istanbul, and a period of estrangement between him and Muṣṭafā Paşa followed, most of which he spent in Bosnia as a timariote horseman (*sīpāhī*) and secretary to the *sancaḳbegi* (district governor) Ferhād Paşa. After this 'exile', and after several appeals to the court, in 1578 ʿĀlī was again appointed secretary under Lālā Muṣṭafā Paşa, who meanwhile had become commander-in-chief in the war against the Persian Safavids. During the following years, ʿĀlī followed him to the Caucasus front and eastern Anatolia.

After Muṣṭafā Paşa's death in 1580, ʿĀlī was forced to seek the protection of other highly placed courtiers and statesmen; without the right contacts (*intisāb*) it was difficult to get anywhere in the Ottoman social and bureaucratic system, particularly if one, like ʿĀlī, was not born within the inner circle of the ruling élite. Time and again he succeeded in obtaining favours from various figures, among them notably the *Ḫōca* Saʿduddīn Efendi (d. 1599), historian, *şeyḫülislām*, and private tutor to several sultans, and the Chief White Eunuch Ġażanfer Aġa (d. 1603), both members of a group who tried to curb the influence of the aforementioned Soḳollu Meḥmed Paşa. Mainly through their influence, ʿĀlī was favoured with a number of bureaucratic appointments outside the capital. He first obtained the post of registrar of provincial fiefs (*tīmār defterdārı*) in Aleppo, and some years later, in the mid 1580s, he was director of the treasury (*defterdār*) at Erzurum. Considering the income which the last posting brought him, 140,000 *aḳçe* per annum, this was perhaps the best post he ever had. None of these functions lasted very long, or even materialised: it often happened that appointments were cancelled before the incumbent was able to reach his destination. Owing to the increased penury of the central government, official functions were often sold or farmed out to the highest bidder in Istanbul without the knowledge of the (less influential or wealthy) appointees. The only thing ʿĀlī could offer was his wit and his literary works, and these, he more than once had to bitterly conclude, were less appreciated than a bag of gold.

During the 1590s, ʿĀlī spent most of his time in the Ottoman capital, unemployed but working hard on his 'Essence of Histories', although he spent several short periods in Anatolia as secretary to the Janissary Corps (*yeñiçeri kātibi*) and district governor (*sancaḳbegi*). Finally, after three years without an official position, he was appointed district governor and 'trustee' (*emīr* and *emīn*) of Jidda, the seaport of Mecca. In July 1599, he left Istanbul for the last time and travelled to Egypt, not without hope, however, of becoming governor of this richest and most important of Ottoman provinces. After having visited the Holy Places in Mecca, ʿĀlī died during the first half of 1600 at his post on the Red Sea.

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3. Works

Muṣṭafā ʻĀlī was the author of, as he wrote himself, sixty-four works in prose and poetry, but not all of them are extant.[1] Until recently, his fame as a critic of his times largely rested on his voluminous universal history, the 'Essence of Histories', mentioned earlier, which was written — but could not be completed[2] - at the end of his life during the years 1591 to 1600. This was unjustified; not only in the 'Essence of Histories', but also in some of his other, longer, prose works ʻĀlī quite frankly speaks his mind about the contemporary world: that of the Ottoman Empire, which the author knew well through his extensive if enforced travel from post to post, and all these are fascinating reading (and procured him many enemies during his lifetime). The Empire was going through difficult times and suffering from continual warfare on two fronts. The treasury became depleted and 'scarcity and high prices' oppressed the population. Economic recession, combined with a lack of leadership, seemed to be eroding the foundations of state and society. The author saw it all happen and personally experienced the consequences of the frightening 'disruption' of the traditional and sacrosanct 'world order'. Indignant and concerned, not in the least for his own and his family's welfare, ʻĀlī felt the irresistible need to analyse the situation — he was not the only Ottoman writer to do so — to denounce the culprits personified in greedy courtiers, many of them in the author's eyes unworthy upstarts who were moving in the orbit of the weak sultans who succeeded Süleymān the Magnificent, and to suggest reforms. These took the form of urgent advice to these sultans, particularly Murād III, to return to the path of their forefathers, at the same time suggesting that an alert and experienced official such as he himself be promoted to a worthy posting.

The first work in which ʻĀlī took contemporary society, its government and its evils as his sole subject, was his *Nuṣḥatu s-selāṭīn* ('Counsel for Sultans'), written in 1581 (and admirably edited and translated by Andreas Tietze[3]) when the author, forty years old, and bereft of Lālā Muṣṭafā Paşa's patronage, found himself in the lowly position of *tīmār defterdārı* under the governor of Aleppo, Aḥmed Paşa, despite his good education and great literary talents: he had already written a complete *dīvān* and a considerable number of prose works on several subjects. ʻĀlī continued to add chapters to the 'Counsel' until the year 1585/6 when he served as *defterdār* in Erzurum, and later in Baghdad. Most probably a copy was offered to Sultan Murād III in the same year with the expectation of a better job.

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[1] For details, see: Hüseyin Nihal Atsız, *Âli bibliyografyası*. Istanbul 1968.

[2] Cf. my *Pure Water*, pp. 3-4.

[3] *Muṣṭafā ʻĀlī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften* Vol. 120, Vienna 1979 & 1982. Hereafter quoted as *Nuṣḥat*.

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The title suggests that the work belonged to the time-honoured genre of the 'mirror for princes', which was to become popular with the Ottomans in the following century when the evils of the times only seemed to have increased. The author's view on society and the inevitable way things should be taken in hand by its highest authority was, when he expressed himself in general terms, a traditional conservative one. But the 'Counsel' was more than the humdrum repetition of the moralistic phrases encountered in the classical works of the genre. As Fleischer has demonstrated,[1] 'Ālī's lively personal and practical approach to the details of the contemporary Ottoman government and administration, the unsuitable innovations and the harmful activities of its officials, and his criticism in general of the political, social, and economic life of his time — this has been substantiated by Fleischer for the cases that can be checked against archival sources — sets the 'Counsel' apart from the genre. 'Ālī's 'great candour', the 'wealth of details that we cannot get from other sources', and 'the vividness of representation' give the work its real value, as Tietze has pointed out. The work concludes with the story, characterised by a mixture of self-abasement, arrogant boasting, and self-commiseration, of the author's own life and sufferings during an age which "prepared me a bed of burning fire and clothed me in fetters of pain and vexation."[2]

In a long series of sections of varying length which are only loosely connected with the conceptual framework consisting of two prefaces, four chapters (the last of which treats the author's life and frustrations), a conclusion, a supplement, and an appendix, such divergent subjects as the selfishness of viziers and petty officials, the scarcity of good scholars, the deterioration of the Ottoman currency and public institutions, alternate with sections on the waste of money at court, the ruses of women and their unbecoming interference in the affairs of state and, finally, his own endless disappointments and difficulties with the high and mighty, among them the Grand Vizier Sokollu Meḥmed Paşa and the Imperial Companion Şemsī Aḥmed Paşa, of whom he wrote: "I never saw any gain in him but the gain he has from filling his pockets."[3] The descriptive parts are interspersed with advice on possible solutions for current abuses such as his proposal that the Sultan should personally examine the *ʿulemā* who come up for appointments year by year.[4] This advice did not always imply the return to practice as it was supposed to have existed in an idealised past.

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[1] *Bureaucrat and Intellectual,* pp. 95-105.

[2] *Nuṣḥat* II, pp. 49/176.

[3] *Nuṣḥat* II, pp. 87/215. It is likely that 'Ālī was prejudiced against the man, who had done nothing to promote his career, but, on the contrary, had poked fun at him and ridiculed his pretentious pen-name during poetic séances at his house in Üsküdar, cf. *Nuṣḥat* I, pp. 132-3/44-6.

[4] *Nuṣḥat* I, pp. 77/177.

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All through the book, as indeed in 'Ālī's best works, we get precious glimpses of unexpected aspects of the daily reality of the time. We learn, for instance, how the soup-kitchens and charitable establishments in Rumelia, founded by a legendary commander under Sultan Orḫan, were run, what their budgets were, what food and what fodder were distributed on which occasions — 'Ālī spoke from his own experience — and we learn that their orderly state contrasted sharply with the shameful disorder which reigned in such institutions founded by Ottoman sultans in Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa.[1] In a further chapter we hear the words, albeit 'translated' into rhymed prose, which were spoken by the brutal second vizier, Ḫādım ("the Eunuch") Mesīḥ Paşa, to the author when the latter, unjustly pressed to restitute a sum of several hundred gold pieces to the treasury, demanded a decision of the 'Divine Court' first: "Did they first ask the Divine Law before they removed my testicles?",[2] and we are able to feel something of the painful embarrassment that 'Ālī must have felt on the occasion.

During the last decade of 'Ālī's life, the 'Counsel' was followed by more works, nearly all of them dedicated to his influential protector, the Chief White Eunuch of the Palace, Ġažanfer Aġa, or the Sultan, Meḥmed III, himself. The description and critique of the contemporary state and society continued to play an important role in them, and through them 'Ālī again hoped to obtain an appointment to a high position. In the fourth, Ottoman, volume of his 'Essence of Histories', discussed in the next section, there are a great number of chapters and passages that could have belonged to, or are literally copied from the 'Counsel'.[3] In 1596 the 'Beauties of Polite Observance' (*Muḥāsinü l-ādāb*) appeared. It was an elaborate translation of the Arabic *Kitāb at-Tāj*, ascribed to al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), one of the first 'mirrors for princes' of Islamic literature. 'Ālī added a number of chapters containing criticism of Ottoman affairs. The person of Şemsī Aḥmed Paşa is again singled out for severe rebukes. The book was followed by the 'Chapters on Sovereignty' (*Fuṣūlü l-ḥall ve 'aḳd fī uṣūli l-ḥarc ve n-naḳd*) of 1598-9 on the decline of thirty-two Islamic dynasties with an appendix on the threatened extinction of the House of 'Oṣmān. The 'Description of Cairo' (*Ḥālātü l-Ḳāhire mine l-'ādāti ẓ-ẓāhire*)[4] was written in 1599. The 'Tables of Delicacies regarding the Principles of Literary Gatherings' (*Mevā'idün n-nefā'is fī ḳavā'idi l-mecālis*), discussed in section four, below, was created in the same year.

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[1] *Nuṣḥat* II, pp. 27-8/145-6.

[2] *Nuṣḥat* II, pp. 31/149.

[3] An example is the story of the refusal of Luṭfī Paşa to accept 'Alī Çelebi's offering of his *Hümāyūn-nāme*, *Nuṣḥat* II, pp. 74-5/202-3, which occurs also in the 'Essence', fourth pillar, period of Sultan Süleymān, section on '*ulemā*, the biography of Mevlānā 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ.

[4] Edited and translated by Andreas Tietze as *Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's Description of Cairo of 1599. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Vol. 120 (Vienna 1975). Hereafter quoted as *Ḥālāt*.

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The 'Description of Cairo' was written on the occasion of 'Ālī's second short visit to Egypt when he was on his last bureaucratic posting, that of governor and trustee of the harbour of Jidda, with the hope of finally obtaining the governorship of the rich and prestigious province for himself. (In the 'Tables of Delicacies', written shortly afterwards, he explicitly asked the Sultan the posting.) It was based on the impressions of the country and its population, which, to his dismay, contrasted negatively with what he had seen thirty years before in the retinue of his late patron, Lālā Muṣṭafā Paşa, when the latter had been appointed commander of the Yemen campaign in 1568. Following the preface, 'Ālī describes in the two main chapters of the book the 'praiseworthy' as opposed to the 'unfavourable features' of the country, caused by 'undesirable innovations'. The work consists of 74 short sections, which, as in the case of the 'Counsel', were only loosely connected with the main conceptual framework of the book. In it Ālī describes the features of the land, its capital — we are introduced to its streets and markets — the classes of society, from street-cleaners to members of the military caste, the *jundī* aristocracy, the customs of the population — the book, indeed, might, in agreement with Tietze, be styled a 'Lane'[1] *avant la lettre* — the food eaten and the clothes worn by the inhabitants. The book concludes with an epilogue which contains a summary of the history of Islamic Egypt and an appendix on the misrule and exploitation of the country by the 'eunuchocracy' that had come to dominate the province.

Indeed, the main theme of the book is, again, decay. After thirty years, 'Ālī was struck by the increased greed of the individual governors, the lowered morale of the *jundīs* who fought among each other in the streets for a boy or a horse and "go around bragging, uttering foul language and, in the end, they ... stand up against their commanders",[2] the growing number of upstarts in the administration and the inefficiency of the bureaucracy: one chancery official, a sour-faced ignoramus, a brainless monster, always "followed ... by a broad mouthed lad whose ... ample behind [made] him an object of favour for lecherous panders" was known as "the Thirty-Fiver [*Otuz Beşli*] because "he did not know that the number of months was either thirty or twenty-nine" and repeatedly registered "certain incoming revenues ... as of the 35th of the month".[3] The same personal and practical approach that characterised the 'Counsel' and the following works which treated contemporary life, including the 'Essence',[4] is also the striking feature of the 'Description', which, with its

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[1] E.W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1836.

[2] *Ḥālāt*, pp. 55/135.

[3] *Ḥālāt*, pp. 64-5/148-9.

[4] The 'Essence' contains more information on Egypt, not included in the 'Description', but there is at least one overlap: a passage on the carrier pigeons of Katya found in *Ḥālāt*, pp. 51-2/130, and in the 'Essence', fourth pillar, period of Sultan Selīm I, 11th event.

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wealth of observations, the informative brief history of the country under Ottoman rule, especially important for the brief lives of the Ottoman governors, and its intelligent appraisal of the economic and social situation of the country (in the preface and the appendix) we might well appreciate with Tietze as an invaluable source — late 16th-century Egypt is still a not much studied subject — and work of literature.

Although there is much more to say on the fascinating *œuvre*, particularly also on his minor works, I will concentrate my attention in the following on two of 'Ālī's last books, the 'Essence of Histories' and the 'Table, of Delicacies'.

4. The 'Essence of Histories'[1]

Perhaps 'Ālī's most concise view on how he saw the history and contemporary development of the Ottoman Empire is found in the preface to the fourth volume of the 'Essence'.[2] After a general remark on the contents of the volume, 'Ālī states that he intends to adhere to the tradition of earlier (Islamic) historiography. The book is meant to be a history of the Ottoman dynasty with special reference to the activities of the *'ulemā*. Both points are elaborated in what follows. 'Ālī introduces the most important Islamic rulers of his day, who, if not direct vassals, all recognised the superior prestige of the Ottoman dynasty in his days: the Safavid Shah 'Abbās I (ruled 1588-1629), the Shaybanid 'Abdullāh Khan (ruled 1583-98), the Moghul Emperor Jalāl ad-Dīn Akbar (ruled 1556-1605), the Sharīf Ḥasab b. Abī Numayy (ruler of the Hijāz, 1553/4-1607/8), Ġāzī Giray Ḥassān (ruler of the Crimea, 1596-1608, second period), as well as a curious mixture of infidel princes and nations on

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[1]The work was first printed in the 19th century in five volumes, Istanbul 1277-85 (the four 'pillars' to the reign of Sultan Meḥmed II, history of the Hagia Sophia); see also: Jan Schmidt, *Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's Künhü 'l-aḫbār and Its Preface According to the Leiden Manuscript* (Leiden & Istanbul 1987 the preface to the fourth 'pillar'); Mustafa İsen, *Künhü 'l-ahbâr'ın tezkire kısmı* (Ankara 1994, the biographies of poets of the fourth 'pillar', in Latin alphabet); Ahmet Uğur, Mustafa Çuhadar et al. ed., 2 Vols. (Kayseri 1997, the fourth 'pillar' until and including the reign of Sultan Selīm I, in Latin alphabet); and Nihal Atsız, *Âli bibliografyası* (Istanbul 1968), pp. 52-112 (reign of Sultan Meḥmed III, in Latin alphabet).

[2]Hereafter I follow the text of the Leiden manuscript, Cod.Or. 288, which dates from the early 17th century — it is probably the oldest, if incomplete, extant copy of the fourth pillar — and seems to contain the only full text of the preface; all other hundred-odd manuscript copies I have seen so far as well as the 19th-century lithograph lack a long passage comprising five folios in the Leiden manuscript (ff. 4a-8b), without which the text does not make much sense — the complexity of 'Ālī's prose style has doubtless contributed to the fact that no one has been bothered by the *non sequitur* of the passage in the aborted version. See the Introduction to my *Preface*, in particular p. 19, and *Pure Water*, pp. 404-5. The recent Kayseri edition, mentioned above, regrettably ignores this fact, despite paying tribute to my work, not further specified, in the introduction.

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the borders: the Spanish, the French, the Pope, the Lutherans, the Andi, Georgians, Circassians, Mingrelia, Transylvania, Wallachia, Russians, Moldavia, the Poles, Bohemians, the Emperor, Hungarians, and Germans, while indicating their relations with the Porte. ʿĀlī then moves to the historical expansion of the Ottoman Empire, from one province (*beglerbegilik*) under Sultan ʿOṣmān, to forty of them under Sultan Murād III. Undiluted praise is given to the sultans up to and including the great Süleymān, but then something went wrong. Under Selīm II (ruled 1566-74) the first signs of discomposure were observed because 'his grand vizier, [Soḳollu] Meḥmed Paşa ... advanced his relatives and relations whenever he saw a chance to do so, thus promoting many parvenus and appointing them to lofty positions. Consequently, the ordered system of the affairs of mankind was changed in a way, and many of the great men as well as the common people gulped down bowl after bowl of poison at the banquet of effrontery.'[1] The grand vizier was the sultan's son-in-law and was able to influence the ruler to an extraordinary degree, also because the latter was drinking too much wine. In fact, there were three main elements, cases of disloyalty to upright behaviour in line with the hallowed Ottoman tradition (*ḳānūn*), which were symptomatic of the decay ('disruption', *iḫtilāl*), an illness which threatened to become chronic: (1) the murdering of the (crown-) prince Muṣṭafā (in 1553) which was intigated by Rüstem Paşa (son-in-law of Sultan Süleyman and grand vizier from 1555 to 1561 - this point is also made in the general introduction to the first pillar[2]); (2) the aforementioned favouritism of Meḥmed Paşa; and (3) the pernicious influence of the Sultan's intimate (*muṣāḥib*) Şemsī Paşa, accused of '[filling] Sultan Murād [III] with a longing for bribes.' The growing atmosphere of corruption was first signalled to the Sultan by the poet Fehmī (d. 1591) in a petition. In a following section, ʿĀlī lists the Ottoman historians, among them the aforementioned Ramażānzāde, Celālzāde and Sa'duddīn, and their works in which the glorious deeds of the dynasty had been recorded. Their œuvre and good advice to the sultans contrasted sharply with the ridiculous figures favoured at court in his own time, when viziers were enriching themselves, real *ʿulemā* had retired from public life, and preachers and shaykhs did as they were bidden and worked for a salary. Pseudo-littérateurs and outsiders, that is, men who had not followed a conventional *ʿilmīye* career, obtained the post of court chroniclers (*şehnāmegūy*): Seyyid Loḳmān (of Urmia, d. c. 1601), Ta'līḳīzāde Meḥmed Çelebi (d. 1599), and Nuṭḳī. The first, "a *ḳāżī* of ill-balanced words who ... had no idea what was meant by poetry and prose" but had found favour with the court preceptor and historian (and supporter of ʿĀlī's career) Ḫōca Sa'duddīn. (Appointed by Soḳollu Meḥmed Paşa, Seyyid Loḳmān served from 1569 to 1596; elsewhere in the volume, ʿĀlī wrote that the sultan squandered

[1] *Preface*, pp. 31/55.
[2] Cf. *Pure Water*, p. 287.

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loads of tax-money on a regiment of painters and calligraphers at court to illustrate Seyyid Loḳmān's chaotic poetry and that the Seyyid also was given an income of 100,000 aspers per annum.) Then there was this Nuṭḳī ("the Talker"), "a speaking animal [fool] ... and the post of grand vizier of poets was soiled by the appointment [in, probably, 1599][1] of an infamous person like he was, a congenitally ignominious character, a fake rope-dancer, a so-called story-teller, and a boorish peasant who could be reckoned a Persian [*'Acem*] in all his clumsiness (*'acemīlik*)..."[2] Finally there was Ta'līḳīzāde Meḥmed Çelebi [in fact the second, appointed in 1596], a scion of the Fenārī family — he had been secretary of the Imperial Council — and was, 'Ālī had to admit, basically a writer and poet of distinction. 'Ālī pays homage to him by quoting seven of his Persian and Turkish poems. He closes the preface by stating that after 52 years of aimless wandering, God inspired him to write his history, and expresses the hope that he will find recognition in the world, and, in particular, in the eyes of Sultan Meḥmed and, ultimately, a place in Paradise.

The historical development of the Empire as sketched in the preface is that, as in the 'Chapters on Sovereignty',[3] of growth, decline and threatening fall of a world empire. What is also striking is 'Ālī's professed traditionalism and, again his fierce attacks on Ottoman statesmen and courtiers.

Superlatives have been used, particularly by Western scholars, in extolling the qualities of 'Ālī's history, which was the crown, if not quite completed, on his work. Some scholars, particularly in the West, have argued that 'Ālī was a particularly 'original' or 'objective', or even 'scientific', historian.[4] But if one reads closely through all pillars, one finds it difficult to pinpoint in what aspects the history is different from other Ottoman histories. The work is a world history in the mediaeval fashion and shows the patch-work structure of the traditional chronicle format, covering the time from the creation of the world down to the author's own age, thereby mostly concentrating on events in the Islamic world. Analysing the contents, one finds that 'Ālī cites sources which do not seem to have come down to us and that the work contains a wealth of original material, both of a factual and a more purely literary nature: commentary on sources, comments on historical situations and personalities — the work is rich in biographies - and a presentation of historical comparisons. But 'Āli was not unique in all that. He was on the whole rather conventional, both in methods, handling of sources, 'world picture', and even the dazzling ornate prose, analysed by Andreas

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[1] See *Preface*, p. 14 n.

[2] *Preface*, pp. 38/61. Elsewhere in the pillar, he is said to be a 'Persian Turcoman', *ibidem*, p. 14.

[3] See for a survey of its contents and arguments, *Pure Water*, pp. 145-51.

[4] See for a survey of the reception of the 'Essence', *Pure Water*, pp. 4-20.

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Tietze,[1] for which he is above all famous, rightly so, is lacking in large parts, in fact in almost all parts with the exception of those in which the contemporary Ottoman reality, and indeed the author's own experiences, are touched upon. These passages in fact are not incomparable to similar ones in some of his other works, the 'Counsel' and the 'Description of Cairo' discussed above, and the 'Tables of Delicacies', treated below. Close scrutiny of the texts also makes it obvious that, apart from common themes, there are also textual overlaps,[2] passages literally copied from other works into the 'Essence' without the author indicating the fact — we have come across an example in the above. It was these passage especially, and some new ones specially written for the history, but elaborating the same themes that lay close to 'Ālī's heart, namely those related to the decline of the Ottoman system,[3] which must have earned the author the reputation of 'critical' author, critical, that is, of the contemporary abuses from which he felt he had been suffering himself.

Could one, to return to the qualifications given to the 'Essence' by scholars in the past, maintain that 'Ālī was a particularly original or objective historian? Were the arguments on contemporary decline as put forward in the preface finally not much more than court gossip inspired by jealousy? If so, the fact that the court, and courts in general, were so important for the author was directly based on his belief that the endless rise and fall of dynasties throughout history (as depicted in the 'Chapters') was essentially caused by the behaviour of the élite, the princes in particular, and in this 'Ālī again was completely traditional. The ideal state is ruled by the ideal king — a woman on the throne or in a position of power behind the scenes was already in itself enough to cause the collapse of the respective polity[4] — and if the ruler misbehaves, the state is bound to collapse. 'Ālī was, and this is true for most Ottoman historians until well into the 19th century, first of all a moralist. Was 'Ālī in any way objective, even within the parameter of his traditional world picture and his self-imposed task as moralist and adviser? The question is difficult to answer. As far as the facts can be checked against other sources, one is inclined to say yes: one cannot accuse 'Ālī of blatant falsehoods, although exaggeration plays a part in those passages in which he gave free rein to his brilliant eulogy, or on the other hand and more often, satire. Here is how 'Ālī describes the decadence of the *'ulemā* in the Empire around the year 1002 (1593-4):

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[1] Andreas Tietze, 'Muṣṭafā 'Ālī of Gallipoli's Prose Style', in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 5 (1973), pp. 297-319.

[2] See for a survey my *Pure Water*, pp. 46-52.

[3] See for a survey of passages on Ottoman decay in 'Ālī's work, *Pure Water*, pp. 151-65.

[4] In fact, the killing of Prince Muṣṭafā, according to 'Ālī the first symptom of Ottoman decline, was, according to the same author, ultimately caused by women and a result of intrigues in the Imperial Harem in which Rüstem Paşa had got involved; another historical example of the bad influence of women, defective in intelligence, was the role played by Shajarat ad-Durr, mother of the last Ayyubid Sultan, Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Mūsā (1250-27), then only six year old, described in the 29th *faṣl* of the 'Chapters of Sovereignty', cf. *Pure Water*, p. 149.

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"Finally, they began to don silk, mount Arabian horses, to use in every respect prosperous smooth-faced, boys, to wear coasts of lynx and sable fur, to oscillate in nightly intercourse with wenches, to frequent the mansions of the great by day in order to obtain a means to acquire high posts, to cultivate their bodies by eating fine foods, and were for the same reason unanimous in spreading their beds and enjoying the houris and boys of earthly paradise. Those who did not follow their whims and share their intercourse, were humiliated and met with hostility because they remained 'outside the hundred' [the hundred pleated folds of the *mücevveze* turban worn by pretentious '*ulemā*]. While I am writing this, evidently in the year 1002, the disruption of the circumstances of the 'ulemā has reached such a point that they have become nothing but slim-waisted young men, wearing narrow turbans, tight and short caftans with open-worked sleeves, and particularly sugar-loaf turbans on their heads, even, in order to enhance their number and prestige, children who have not yet reached the age of discretion and have begun to adorn their boots with golden spurs and jewelled tassels, being passionately in love with money and goods and mad for rank and prestige. Even if they did not choose a career as *emīr*, it is clear that they all the same wear brocade, and silver and gold-embroidered silk, adorn the saddles of their horses with golden chains, and in order to gradually attain their goal, they seem to belong to the class of fairy-faced slaves and youths who are the envy of pages and are clothed in brocade, satin, and golden trappings. Reading and writing has become a fault altogether, scholarship has disappeared among them because it has become impossible to require personal qualities, and rotten thinking to appoint excellent men as *ḳāżīs* without asking for a purse. In our time, they obtain a post as molla or judge because they are in the first bloom of their youth, and most of these whose rank is only a fleeting shadow, are themselves sons of such men who, after the highest *medreses*, attain the cadiship [*ḳażā*] of small towns with [a salary of] 70 or 80 aspers and this is an unexpected blow [*ḳāżā*] to mankind...."[1]

The reputation of the 'Essence' mainly rests, one suspects, on brilliant, but somewhat general and vague, passages like the one I just quoted, and is thus based upon literary rather than scholarly, let alone scientific, qualities. The 'Essence', as were many of his other works, is, I am inclined to conclude, the work of a moralistic littérateur.

5. The Tables of Delicacies

Apart from books of advice, partly in the traditional 'mirror of princes' genre, and works of historiography, which, as we saw above in the case of the 'Essence', to a certain extent were also 'mirrors for princes', 'Ālī also wrote

[1] *Pure Water*, p. 247.

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some works on manners and mores in a broader sense in the so-called '*adab*' genre. His best work in the genre is doubtless the 'Tables of Delicacies on the Principles of Literary Gatherings', composed shortly after his 'Conditions of Cairo' in 1599, partly during or after his journey to Jidda. The title alludes to Koran V:114: 'Jesus ... said: "O Allah, our Lord! send down to us a table from heaven, to be to us a festival...". Only two manuscripts of the work seem to have survived. A facsimile edition of one of the manuscripts, owned by Râif Yelkenci, has been published[1] and there exist two translations into modern Turkish.[2] The work was dedicated to Sultan Meḥmed III. By presenting it to him, ʻĀlī hoped that the Sultan would be distracted from his habit of reading drawn-out stories and exaggerated bogus biographies (*menḳabeler*),[3] but a more immediate aim was for the author to obtain the governorship of Egypt, a request for which, as already said above, is found in the introduction.[4] Ḫōca Saʻduddin had encouraged ʻĀlī to write in the elaboration of his earlier *Ḳāvāʾidü l-mecālis*,[5] written in the late 1580s for Sultan Murād III who in his day, according to ʻĀlī, had been wasting his time in the company of singers, mimics and buffoons who were handsomely paid for their services, thereby changing the ways of his forebears.[6]

The work consists of 104 chapters, most of them not clearly related to any other in the book, and some of them only very short. It discusses etiquette and how a civilised man should behave himself, not only in literary gatherings as the title suggests, but also on other occasions. In a certain sense, the work describes the *sunna*, the practices and rules derived from the Prophet's own habits and words. But it is more that. It also presents descriptions, often with moralistic commentary, of the behaviour and manners of various groups of the Empire's population, from sultans down to chicken thieves, from Barbary corsairs to circus artists. The book also treats less classifiable subjects, like the 'slave question' (when purchasing household personnel, a gentleman should not let himself be guided solely by the handsome appearance of a young slave; it may well lead to his ruin!), inebriation and addiction, mansions and vehicles. There is also a description of musical instruments (in Chapter 16 thirty items and their social context are discussed). In some chapters, ʻĀlī offers historical examples and relates anecdotes in order to clarify his point of view. Passages on the decline of the Empire, found in other parts of his œuvre, are not lacking here either.

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[1] Facsimile edited by M. Cavid Baysun, Istanbul 1956. Hereafter referred to as *MN*. Another copy is preserved in the Orhan Gazi Library of Bursa, cf. the introduction to the edition, p. x.

[2] Cemil Yener (Istanbul 1975), and Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul 1978), under the title *Görgü ve toplum kuralları üzerinde ziyafet sofraları.*

[3] *MN*, p. 14.

[4] *MN*, pp. 16-7.

[5] See for the contents, *Pure Water,* p. 216.

[6] *Maḥāsinü l-ādāb,* Istanbul University, *Türkçe* 2547, f. 113a.

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'Ālī himself was highly proud in his achievement and reckoned it to be unique, unequalled by scholars of Arabia, Persia, Turkestan (*Türk*), the Ottoman Empire (Rūm) and Daylam'.[1] Be that as it may, the book, as some of his other works, again documents the author's ideas, his view of contemporary decline, and contains a number of striking autobiographical passages. In this, the work is to a certain extent comparable to the works described above and although the 'Tables' has been compared to Evliyā Çelebi's great travelogue,[2] it is much more a brilliant compendium of *idées reçues* and a vehicle for expressing 'Ālī's frustrations and display of literary skill than a reliable source for Ottoman socio-economic history.

In Chapter 4, where 'Ālī discusses court etiquette and its decay during his life-time, he comes to speak of food preparation and table manners at court. He tells us that he had seen with his own eyes how, on days when the *Dīvān* did not gather, the Sultan was served by unwashed men in dirty clothes. The gold plates were brought in by 'cook's apprentices' (*aşçı şāgirdleri*) with ugly, hideous and polluted faces.

> "Every time I saw the gold dishes in their hands, I thought the viands had been put on a heap of dirt in order to cool, and sometimes, when I looked at their faces and buttocks, I was disgusted, I did not like and grumbled at their unclean figures and physiognomies, until, once, I expressed my annoyance in the presence of the famous chief white eunuch [...] and patron of the eloquent, namely Ġażanfer Aġa, and said: "To God be praise, servants are plenty, dependants whose hands and faces have been washed abundant [...] and in view of the fact that they do not belong to the [group of] halberdiers nor to the watchmen who today are not bound to the pistol and whose repose has been fixed, why does none of the pure, white-hatted and pretty-faced butlers and none of those who, each of them, are outstanding for their pure and chaste nature, hasten to view, or why is it that none of the persons who carry the plates behind the head butler [...], that is, the blessed boys specialised in the service of sweetmeats, appear in view?" "What do you mean?" he answered, "it is not the rule, hallowed as of old"[3] but he justified it by saying it was a useful innovation. "I have nothing to say against what you said, it is true, but if orders are given that what has matured is no longer to be, even if they have many [idle] mornings, they can't be forced." I again protested and could not prevent myself

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[1] *MN*, p. 9.

[2] Cf. M. Cavid Baysun, 'Muverrih Âli'nin Mevâ'id ün-nefâ'is fî kavâ'id il-mecâlis'i hakkında', in *Tarih Dergisi* I/1-2 (1949-50), p. 393.

[3] Cf. K. Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1967), p. 120: during this period the Sultan's table fell under the responsability of the *çeşnegīrbaşı* whereas traditionally it had been the *kilerçibaşī* who was in charge.

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from saying: "How can they refuse to move five or ten steps and resist doing service which [they should regard] as a special privilege?"[1]

The laziness of servants is a recurring theme. Another example in which ʻĀlī's personal experience is presented for justifying his ideas on society is found in Chapter 12, entitled 'On the indispensability of craftsmen'. In it, he tries to demonstrate that shoemakers are particularly useful. Once, the author tells us, he moved from Istanbul to Suez and from there to the Hijaz. After he had arrived in Jidda by sea, the company with which he had been travelling rested for some two months before continuing its journey to Mecca.

> "The inner and outer boots of most people had been reduced to tatters and, by necessity, they were in need of a shoemaker, but there was no-one on the ships who would be called a patcher, and no-one was found ready to mend slippers and shoes or to repair boots, although most of those present had nothing to do. Thus the need of men for patchers became apparent and self-evident, and it was clear that there is a demand for this type of craftsmen and that both nobles and commoners need them."[2]

One of the most personal parts of the book is perhaps Chapter 91, on the determination of identity from the outward appearance (*der taʻyīn-i firāset*) of visitors to bath-houses, which is described as a game among 'vagabonds' (*rind*), a concept derived from mystical poetry, indicating mystics indulging in the wine cult, but here simply young men who are having a good time. It again demonstrates, quite innocuously, how clever ʻĀlī found himself (and why he must have been insufferable to many who met him). ʻĀlī introduces the reader to a bath, an important institution for socialising in the Islamic world even today:

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[1] *ʻher çend ki ellerinden altun ṣaḥanları görürdüm ṣovutmaḳ içün mezbele püştesine ḳonmış aṭʻama ṣanurdum gāh olur ṣūrat ve sünc yañlarına baḳub yigrenürdüm şekl-ü heʼāt-i nāpāklarını begenemeyüp gümrenürdüm ḥattā bir kere ḳapu aġalarınuñ nāmveri [...] destgīr-i buleġā aʻnī behi Gażanfer Aġa ḥużūrında bu rencişümi söylerdüm li-llāhi l-ḥamd ḥizmetkār vāfir eli yüzi yunmış nökerler mütekāṣir ve baltacılerden veyāḫud [...] ol gün ṭabanca muḳayyed olmayub āsūdeligi muḳarrer nöbetçilerden olmaduġı taḳdīrce nedenki aḳ külāhlu ve ḫubrū kilārcılardan ṭāhir ve her biri pāk u pākīze ṭabʻla ṭāhir [= ẓāhir ?] olanlardan mütebādir olmayı dedüm veyāḫud nedenki bu ḥizmet yaʻnī kilārcıbaşı ardınca ṣaḥan götürüb [...] zīr-destindeki neferātdan yaʻnī ḥalvīyāt ḫızmetine maḫṣūṣ olan ġılmān-ı mücibü l-berekātdan ẓuhūra gelmeye deyü söyledüm nedür ki ḳadīmden ḳānūn degüldür // cevābı verildi yaʻnī ki bidʻat-i ḥasenedür deyü cevāz gösterdi ki ṣıdḳ u muḳāleñize söz yoḳdur lākin olagelmiş olmamaġın emr olunsa daḫi nehārları çoḳdur ḥālā ki mülzem olunmadı tekrār iʻtirāz edüb on beş adım yerüñ ḥizmeti nedür ebā edeler ve bu ḥizmet gendülere bir şeref-i maḫṣūṣ iken ḥilāfına gideler sözuni söylemekden firāġat bulmadum', MN*, pp. 32-3.

[2] *ekṣer-i āsuñ mestleri ve müzeleri sökülüb bi-ż-żarūre iskāfe // iḫtiyācı lazim geldi ḥālā ki ol merākibde pīnedüz nāmına kimse bulunmadı ve muḫtāc-i iṣlāḥ-i kefş-ü ḫuff ve mūzeler termīmin tedārik olunmadı egerçe ekṣeri ʻamelmānde oldı ḳaldı feʼammā pīnedūzlara olan iḫtiyāc-ı enām gendin gösterüb ẓuhūra geldi kezālik her ḥirfet ehlinden bu güne bir revāc ve kibār u ṣıġār-ı nāsden anlara iḫtiyāc muḳarrerdür MN*, pp. 59-60.

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"When I was twenty-five years old and a scholar, I entered one of the hot-water baths of Istanbul with some intimate friends. Called to judge the identity [of some men], I was that day able to discover and find out [their] details, although the crowd was far greater than had been hoped and imagined. While seven friends each made known their understanding and insight into three subjects and indicated and explained the characteristics of each of them — wisdom is with God - this humble one, bereft of ability, determined the identity of all three of them. I established that a person sporting a white beard, though fresh and full of promise as well as handsome, was a Circassian boatman, deeply despicable both by his race and his [habit of] drinking. I said that another of them was just a clerk and a tradesman, although he gave the impression of boasting powerful relations. The third of them, however, kept me busy for an hour and I was wholly unable to pinpoint him to a profession, until finally my identity for him was decided upon. This person was the deputy of a judge or an unsuccessful counsellor at law or police agent. When they appeared and sat down, each in his place, and subsequently moved away to don their clothes and turbans, it became apparent that the oldest looked like a Circassian and was a boatman. The metamorphosis [of the second] into a tradesman was, after close scrutiny, also clear and undeniable. But every time the third was questioned and he was asked what sort of man he was, he did not reveal himself, and only replied with the answer: "Why do you ask?" Eventually we said we wanted to establish his identity and made it clear that it was especially this about which we had been talking, upon which he made himself known. He declared that he sometimes was an unjust deputy sent by the *ḳāzī* and at others an agent and fee collector acting for the police at the tile factory in Hasköy. Now the friends began to become suspicious and insisted that I knew the man but when they heard my vehement and forceful denials, they realized that I only had learnt his identity [by studying his appearance]."[1]

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[1] *bu ḥaḳīr bist-ü penç sāl bir dānişmend iken ba'ż-ī ḫullān-la İstanbul germābelerinden birine girdim da'vā-yı firāset bu dakāyıḳı ol gün ıḫtirā'-u īcād ḳıldum ḥālā ki izdiḥām-ı enām me'mūl-ü manṣūr olan mertebelerden efzūn-u tamām idi yedi nefer yārān üçer mādde iş'ar-ı fehm-ü iż'ān ve her biri firāsetini inhā-vu beyān etdükde ḥikmet ḥikmet ḫudādandur ḥaḳīr-i bī-biżā'at üçinde dāhi işābet etdüm bir rīş-i sepīd paydā ve 'arż-ı ṭarāvet-bedāyi' mālik-i şāḥib-i ḥüsn-ü sīmā bir şaḥṣ bir peremeci Çerkes ve aşlında cins ve 'ışreti nā-kes // olmaḳ üzere ta'ayyun eyledüm birisi saḫı kātib ve tācir ve müntenessib-i ḳudret ve ẓāhir idügin söyledüm fe'ammā birinde bir sā'at miḳdarı eglendüm hergiz anuñ üstine bir meslege sülūk devşirmedüm bi-l-āḫire ferāsetüm bunda ḳarār eyledi ki ol kişi nāyib ola yā ḳabl-ı şer'den yā subaşılar ṭarafından vekīl-i ḫāyıb idügi ta'ayyun bula vaḳti ki çıḳub yerlü yerlerine oturdılar ba'dehü cāmelerin ve 'ımāmelerin giyüb gitmege müteveccih oldılar ḳoca Çerkesüñ māhīyetini ma'lūm oldı ve peremeci mefhūm oldı tācirün kesb-i biżā'atı ba'de-t-teftīş ṣubūt-u ẓuhūr buldı fe'ammā her çend ki üçinciye ṣoruldı sen ne maḳule adamsın denildi aṣlā gendüyi bildirmedi ne ṣorarsız ġayr-ı cevāb vermedi 'āḳıbet murādımız işbāt-ı ferāset olduġını söyledük ya'nī ki bir ḫuṣuṣ içün baḥṣ etdügümüzi beyān eyledük andan ṣoñra gendüsini bildirdi Ḫāṣṣköy kiremidliginde gāh ḳāżī ṭarafından nāyib-i bī-'adīl ve gāh subaşılar cānibinden bir muḥaṣṣıl ve vekīl idügin taḳrīr ḳıldı bu kere yārān ḫullān şubhīye düşdi elbette bildügünüz adam olmaḳdur deyü 'ınāda düşdi ḥālā ki īmān-ı ġılāẓ-u şidādumı işitdiler mücerred ferāsetle bildügimi tahḳīḳ etdiler, MN, pp. 221-2.*

The other friends were only able to guess the professional identity of one bath visitor each.

The last autobiographical passage in the book, can be found towards the end of it. In chapter 95, where ʿĀlī discusses various types of ships, he mentions his sea voyages and the fears from which he suffered on board ship. Man is created from earth and should not, the writer maintains, immerse himself into the watery element if he can avoid it.

> "This lowly one full of faults was born at the waterside, that is, I grew up in the pleasant town of Gallipoli on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Five times I was obliged to board ship at the Golden Horn in Istanbul and undertake a sea voyage and on two of these voyages I faced the peril of extinction and fell into the abyss of suffering, carving my heart and soul with the dagger of regret. However, I did not heed this warning and again set out for Egypt [having been appointed to] the governance and trusteeship of the lively Part of Jidda."[1]

Although travelling by land would have brought greater dangers, the sea voyage nevertheless again proved to be awful,[2] particularly the passage along the coast of the Sinai desert, where the army of Pharaoh had once been swallowed by the water, the travellers were threatened by Arab highway robbers, and huge gulls inauspiciously grazed the surface of the sea. The ship, and ʿĀlī with it, almost perished in the waves!

Apart from lively autobiographical passages, we also find quite realistic descriptions of contemporary situations in which the author figures himself, and which must have been based on personal experience. An example is the financial administration of the Empire. In Chapter 94 ʿĀlī discusses the departmental personnel of the *Dīvān*, most of them addicted to opium, whose malversations had also been criticised in his 'Counsel'.[3]

> "In short, the power of the state and dynasty is at the disposal of the officials of receipt and disbursement who are the book-keepers of the

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[1] *bu ḥakir-i pür-taḳṣīr ki sāḥil-i deryāda mütevellid oldum yaʿnī Aḳdeñiz yalısındaki Gelibolu-nām şehr-i dilküşāda neşv-ü nemā buldum ve lā-cerem beş defʿa ḥalīc-i baḥr-ı Ḳosṭanṭinīye'de keştī-nişīn olub deryā seferin etdüm iki seferümde varṭa-yı helāke uġradum ve girdāb-ı ıżṭırāba düşüb ḥancer-i nedāmetle cān-ü çigerüm ḍoġradum yine ʿibret-peẕīr olmayub bender-i maʿmūre-yi Cidde'nüñ emāret-ü emāneti ile Mıṣr'a müteveccih oldum, MN*, p. 234.

[2] A description of the uncomfortable journey experienced by the orientalist Richard Burton is found in his *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah & Meccah* I (London 1893), pp. 186-206. The circumstances in the early to mid- 19th century seem to have hardly been different from those of three hundred years earlier.

[3] *Nuṣḥat* I, pp. 48/137 ff.

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> Supreme Council, and it sometimes happens that they change a one into a ten by [adding] a dot and that, if they perform the subtle trick of silver content that is to be upgraded, they put another dot and indulge their needs, that is, they increase the stock of their shame to a distressing full hundred. In this way they create money where it is owed ... and provide the junior clerks who are their masters with load[1] upon load of silver aspers and even dare to confide [the money] to the table of multiplication and further increase instalments worth ten loads to a hundred loads and see fit to get even with the expense account ..."[2]

There is one aspect, finally, which may strike the reader of this book as curious - it is also conspicuous in many of 'Ālī's other books — namely that of sexuality, homosexuality in particular.[3] Passages hinting at eroticism or describing sex acts, which are found in many of 'Ālī's work, are still often omitted and the offensive words replaced by dots and/or accompanied by deprecating remarks in modern Turkish versions of Ottoman literature. Gökyay's modern version of the 'Table' is no exception; he also refers the reader in these instances to the facsimile edition if he or she really wants to read the three-letter words. This reminds one of the old-fashioned habit in western books, particularly dictionaries, where the words are sometimes explained in Latin terms. Chapter 8 of the 'Tables' is dedicated to the description of 'boys', that is, the catamites of the period, although 'Ālī stresses that it was not based on his own experiences; an open display of personal involvement in homosexual practices — these were after all forbidden in the Koran - was certainly not considered respectable in the upper echelons of society. 'Ālī wrote that the demand for beardless, beautiful boys was greater than for women. This was caused, according to the writer, by the practical fact that social intercourse with girls and women was severely impeded whereas one could always show oneself in public in the company of boys.[4] Further

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[1] *yük*, lit. "load", which is here also he technical term for the counting unit of a hundred thousand.

[2] *muḥaṣṣıl-i kelām devlet-ü ḳudret ḳalemrev-i muḥāsibān-i dīvān olan küttāb-ı der āmed-i sinān [= sitān ?] taḥt-i taṣarrufındadur-ki dem olur bir noḳṭa ile biri on ḳilavuzlar artacaḳ nuḳra nüktsini taḥṣīl ederlerse bir noḳṭa daḥı ḳoyub muḥtācına yüz verirler ya'nī ki māye-yı ḥayāyı mükeddir mi'e-yi kāmileye ergürurler şöyle ki mülzem-i medyūn aḳçesine ḳıya ... ya'nī anlara üstād olan ḥalīfeler yük yük aḳçeler bezl eyleye bu kerre kerrāt ḥısābına taḥmīle boyun ururlar on yük teslīmātını yüz yüke çıḳarub ḥisāb-ı ḫarcla [?] ḥaḳlaşdurmaġa münāsib görürler, MN*, p. 230.

[3] For a good recent survey of the topic, see Sabine Schmidtke, 'Homoerotism and homosexuality in Islam: a review article', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999), pp. 260-6.

[4] Antoine Galland (1646-1715), best known as a pioneering translator/elaborator, and perhaps partly author, of the Arabian Nights Stories, travelled in the Middle East in the 1670s and remarked that, according to some, one of the reasons of the underpopulation of the Levant might have been the fact that Turkish women tended to bathe too frequently, which killed the male semen and also made them stink, and, therefore, unattractive to men, who generally preferred boys anyway: "*Pour les hommes, on leur reproche la communication avec les garçons qu'ils préfèrent à celle des femmes*", Frédéric Bausen, ed., *Le voyage à Smyrne. Un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland (1678)* (Paris 2000), p. 186.

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passage of the chapter are devoted to the qualifications of the various groups of boys. Boys in particular suitable for social intercourse were Arab and Anatolian Turks, sometimes also Rumelians, especially Bosnians and Herzegovinians, who were generally beardless before their thirties, beardlessness being the essential condition for beauty. In contrast to Arabs and Turks, Rumelians also had the advantage of doing exactly as they were bidden. This was also the case with Kurdish boys who 'dye themselves with henna from their middle down to their knees... and are tall and slender. When they submit themselves, they do so with each of their limbs.' In this, they were the opposite of boys from the three major cities: Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa, who pretended that they were willing, but betrayed their master when he meant serious business and were only in for the money. ʻĀlī thus warns against Circassians, Croats, Albanians, Russians, Georgians, and Hungarians. Eventually ʻĀlī remarks that Ethiopians are much in demand in Egypt.

> "The strangeness lies herein that the Egyptian rabble desire Ethiopians and they say that they are mankind's sable for anyone who has been struck by a chill in his private apartments. They are reported, in point of fact, to be skillful in bed service, that is, seem to be vigorously inclined to fumigating things with incense and arranging bed-clothes and cushions. Their virility, reputedly, is well-established in both their males and females and wherever they are conducted, they show their charming nature and gentleness..."[1]

Homosexuality is not always approached in such a detached fashion and, as it were, as an ethnographic phenomenon, and in fact was often used in a pejorative sense to spoil the reputation of men — ʻĀlī followed here an age-old tradition. Certain acts between males were generally disapproved, indiscriminate fornication or volunteering as a passive partner were considered foul habits. This is what ʻĀlī wrote about the Chief Black Eunuch Muṣṭafā Paşa in the 'Essence':

> "There broke forth an ignoramus, conceited but weak-minded and dull, who outwardly seemed to be white [beyond reproach] and captivating with his claims to knowledge, but intrinsically depraved, fetid, cross-looking, haughty and of sour countenance... He had come from the loins of a bastard from the suburb of a fortress called Yaysa [Jajce] on the Bosnian border, that is, of an ignoble, ill-bred, and lowly Turk, and settled in the carcass of a womb of a disgusting, bitchy, idiotic old hag, only fit to be stoned, near the same castle. At the most sinister of

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[1] *ġarābet bundadur ki Mıṣr evbaşları Ḥabeşilere raġbet ederler mābeyne bürūdet düşer her biri insānüñ semmūrıdur derler ḥadd-ı ẓatında ḫizmet-i firāş māhir olurlar imiş ya'nī ki esbāb buḫūrlamaġa ve fīrāş-ü bālīn tertībine cānla māyıl olurlar imiş // erkeginde dişisinde merdümek maḳarrer imiş her ne semte soḳolunsa luṭf-ı ṭab'-la mülāyemetleri müyesser ola, MN, pp. 46-7.*

> hours he left it for the world of life and death, and was raised on abominable, forbidden food. Childhood passed, and when he came of age, many boy-crazed blackguards found the ragamuffin's prickly date palm mightily grown, and though filthy and crooked, one of the scoundrels made him his provision for the road and wrangled as if he were a chicken or a female slave, his penis down to his loins ... [Later he passed on to the household of Maḥmūd Paşa, governor of the Yemen, who] compared him to a fresh virgin and many a time he hit his arsenic kohl-case with his vermilion-coloured stylus..."[1]

Later he came to the Palace and, charged with embezzlement, was dismissed in 1596. The spiritual adviser of Sultan Murād III, shaykh Şücā', one of the evil geniuses of the 'Essence', was accused of sharing his bed with women and young men, "inseparable from them as the stylus from the kohl-case".[2]

Chapters 72 and 93 of the 'Table' are devoted to women. In the first, 'Ālī advises men to watch well over their womenfolk, otherwise their virtue could be endangered. He continues:

> "Wise men agree that not holding them in a tight grip and at the same time expecting chastity from them is like bringing your penis into a vagina and after delightful movements while grunting and snorting, being handed a legal document saying that you should take care not to emit semen..."[3]

The wife who is let loose by her husband, is like a person suffering from thirst who can hardly refuse the water that is offered to him, her in this case, and it is non sense to suppose that "when the woman's irreplaceable vagina looks like yellow amber and the organ of lust manifest itself like a stick willing to act quickly",[4] nothing would happen. In the second chapter dealing with this subject, women are classified as a group to which special consideration is due, like, for instance, prisoners of war and slaves.

> "Women absolutely belong to the class [of people] who are naturally overcome by their spirit of concupiscence and are inclined to sin by their carnal lusts and sensual glances even towards those with whom they are not familiar. They do not partake of worldly offices and

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[1] *Pure Water*, pp. 272-3.

[2] *Pure Water*, p. 266.

[3] *'uḳalā müttefiḳlerdur ki anları żabṭ etmeyüb // yine gendülerden 'iffet ummaḳ żekeri dāḫil-i ferci edüb şaḫīr-u naḫīr-le ḥarekāt-i şekerrīzden ṣoñra ṣaḳın inzāl olma deyü ḥüccet ḳomaḳ gibidür, MN, pp. 189-90;* cf. Tietze, *'Prose Style'*, p. 318.

[4] *fī l-meṣel ferc-i zenān bī-bedel mānend-i kehrübā ve ālet-i şehvānīyet nīyet-i serī'ü l-'amel çöp gibi hüveydā iken ..., MN*, p. 190.

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the share in the delights of intimacy and copulation allowed to men is greater than [that allowed] to them because they [women] are not allowed by law to marry to the fourth degree and to buy and enjoy as many slaves as men can."[1]

Women are imprisoned for life and are not able be active in the army or the bureaucracy and, moreover, risk dying while giving birth. Therefore it is unbefitting for men to torture them unduly. Their greatest fault is not to allow their husbands another spouse or the company of female slaves.

One of the must curious passages found in the 'Table' is that in which ʻĀlī quotes from the work of Molla Siyāhī from Aydın. Chapter 92 is devoted, like many another, to literary séances and ʻĀlī criticises the performance of poets who do not know how to compose good verses. A case in hand is the aforementioned Molla, who undeservedly had become popular for his satirical lines. One of the distasteful things he composed were verses dedicated to his body parts, among these his genitals: "When my prick and two balls were created/ My lust grew hot, the market to its apogee/ In order to know the measures of cunt and arse/ God made my prick and sack weigh a qantar."[2] Such poets were, according to ʻĀlī, a torture to real scholars and serious literature lovers. A séance in which one uses unsuitable words is like an insipid meal or like food soiled by vomit. ʻĀlī hoped that his work would have a better fate, as he wrote in the introduction: "I hope that this pure treatise/ Will resound as far as the east and the west/ That it will sprinkle its salt on each séance/ Its sugar over each conversation."[3]

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[1] *muṭlakā zenān ṣınıfıdur ki bi-ḥasbü l-ḥalḳa nefslerine maġlūbelerdür ḥālā ki nā-maḥremlere meyl-i nefsānī ve naẓr-ı şehvānī ile maʻyūbelerdür menāṣıb-i dünyevīyeden naṣībları yoḳdur ve leẕāyiẕ-i cimāʻ-u ictimāʻ erlerüñ ruḫṣatları bunlardan çoḳdur yaʻnī ki ricāl zümresini ki dört mertebeye deg evlenmege ve ḳādir olduġı deñlü cevārī ṣatun olub ẕevḳlanmaga iẕn-i şerʻī verilmemişdür*, MN, p. 228.

[2] *ḳīrümle iki ḥokkamı ḥalḳ etdükde/ germ oldı benüm nefsüm evcinde bāzār/ amıla götüñ bilmek için miḳdārın/ ḥaḳḳ ḳıldı sikimle ṭaşaġum bir ḳanṭār, MN*, p. 227.

[3] *Umarım bu risāle-yi tāze/ ṣala tā şarḳ-u ġarbe āvāze/ ola her meclisüñ nemek-rīzi/daḥı her ṣoḥbatuñ şeker-bīzī, MN*, p. 10.

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Part Three
Biography and Autobiography

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1. THE HISTORIAN AS BIOGRAPHER: MUṢṬAFĀ ʻĀLĪ OF GALLIPOLI'S BIOGRAPHIES*

The subject I would like to discuss in this short paper is the biographical aspect of the great history of the sixteenth-century author Muṣṭafā ʻĀlī of Gallipoli, the *Künhü ʾl-aḫbār*, the "Essence of Histories". The work which has not as yet found its critical editor is a vast universal history in four volumes, called "pillars", and deals with the history of the world from its creation until the writer's own days[1].

The biographical aspect is of fundamental importance for the *Künh*: firstly, the narrative of historical events and developments is dominated by the personalities of prophets and sultans in particular, and secondly, series of short biographies are added to the narrative in several places in the work and regularly so in its fourth, Ottoman volume. The biographical material offered here is voluminous, especially for ʻĀlī's own sixteenth century; the biographical sections cover from about a third of the chapter on the reign of Sultan Selīm I up to half or more of those on Süleymān and Selīm II.[2] They describe the lives of six-hundred and two men and three women, descriptions which vary in length from one short sentence up to a number of folios.[3]

Biography played an important rôle in Muslim historiography from the very beginning; we might even say: Muslim historiography had its very roots in the closely related sciences of biography and genealogy.[4] In his general introduction to the *Künh*, ʻĀlī justifies the activity of the historiographer by stating that it is a religious duty of mankind to remember the deceased. He compares the historiographer with ʻĪsā who had the gift of reviving the dead.

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[1]There exists an incomplete printed version in five volumes edited by Meḥmed Lebib, Istanbul 1277-1285; see also 2/2, above.

[2]The three periods begin subsequently on fol. 222b, 270b and 423b of *Kühn* IV in the Berlin manuscript Hs. or. quart. 1090 (B) (B. H. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XIII, 1, Wiesbaden 1968, No. 26, 19). The last period ends on fol. 485b. The biographical sections begin on fol. 255b, 357a and 457a.

[3]See, *e.g.*, the lives of 'Mevlānā Şemsü 'd-dīn', Süleymān/'*ulemā*, ibidem, fol. 379b and 'Mevlānā Muhyi'd-din 'Arab', *ibidem*, fol. 383a-385b.

[4]Cf. B. Kellner-Heinkele, "Osmanische Biographiensammlungen" in: *Anatolica*, VI (1977-1978), 171-172.

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By keeping their memory alive, in particular of those who were worthy of honour, such as pious men, scholar, poets, sultans and statesmen, man could continue to benefit from their good example, or on the other hand, learn from their faults and mishaps even after their deaths.[1]

As is clear from the sources he mentions, ʿĀlī followed in the footsteps of the classical historiographers and biographers; he had read the work of aṭ-Ṭabarī and Mirḫōnd, Ibn Ḫallikān and Dawlatshāh, to mention only a few of his most famous predecessors.[2] The sixteenth century moreover was the age in which the Ottoman serial biography, the *teẕkere*, began to flourish and ʿĀlī was fully aware of the works of this type written before the 1590s when he started to write the *Künh*[3]. Moreover, he personally knew some of their authors such as ʿĀṣıḳ Çelebi, Laṭīfī, ʿAhdī and Kınalızāde Hasan Çelebi.[4] In the *Künh*, he discusses their literary merits, applies their methods of literary representation and exhaustively uses their work as sources.[5]

Although the Ottoman biographical dictionaries which contain a wealth of historical and literary material have become the subject of systematic scholarship, this has hardly been the case for the histories which contain such material.[6] This is unjustified, especially for such a work as the *Künh*, which may well be regarded as one of the richest examples of the *teẕkere* genre in itself.

The question now rises: what did ʿĀlī contribute to Ottoman biographical literature apart from copying or elaborating his literary sources? To answer this question we have to direct our attention to the part of the *Künh* where the most original material is likely to be found: the part which deals with ʿĀlī's own age. If we turn to the last systematic biographical sections added to the chapters on the sultans Süleymān and Selīm II, we find that a considerable number of the short lives contain material obtained from oral

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[1] *Künh* I (ed. Meḥmed Lebib), 2-4 and 40-41.

[2] *Ibidem*, 18-19.

[3] ʿĀlī mentions the following biographical dictionaries: the *Heşt bihişt* of Sehi Beg of 1538, the *Şaḳāyıḳu 'n-nuʿmāniye* of Ṭaşköprüzāde of 1558, its continuations, the *el-ʿIḳdu 'l-manẓūm* of Mınık ʿAlī Çelebi, the *şıḳḳu 'ş-Şaḳayiḳ* of ʿĀşık Çelebi, the *Gülşen-i şuʿarā* of ʿAhdī of 1563, the *Teẕkere-i şuʿarā* of Laṭifī of 1569, possibly including its continuation up to 1572/73, the *Meşāʿirü 'ş-şuʿarā* of ʿAşıḳ Çelebi of the same year, and the *Tezkiretü ş'-şuʿarā* of Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Çelebi of 1585.

[4] This is apparent from their short biographies occuring in Süleyman/poets, Selim II/ʿulemā and poets. For Ḥasan Çelebi, cf. C. H. Fleischer, *Gelibolu Âli Efendi, 1541-1600. A study in Ottoman Historical Consciousness,* Dissertation, Princeton University 1982, 66.

[5] With the notable exception of 'Ahdi's *Teẕkere* whose work he nevertheless knew and quoted and is discussed in *Künh* IV (B), fol. 380b-381a and 479a-479b.

[6] On the present state of scholarship, Kellner, "Biographiensammlungen", passim.

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sources or based on the author's personal experience with the men whose lives he described both aspects, traditional to the genre. Particularly these pages are most fascinating to read. ʿĀlī was a poet and scholar by vocation and had an inquisitive mind. Through his upbringing in a literary milieu, his *medrese* training and long if erratic career as a state official, he came into contact with many of the celebrities of his time. To his bitter disappointment, he never was able to obtain an appointment in the highest ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy, but various provincial postings meant that he was obliged to travel a lot and took the opportunity to visit pious men known for their learning, governors to inform him about the past, and literary celebrities to discuss their or his own work or to participate in their literary salons. In this way, he obtained a mass of historical and biographical data which he finally included in the *Künh*. The parts of the text based on these/belong deservedly to the most well-known and the most quoted from his entire work[1].

The part of the *Künh* dealing with the period of the author's lifetime is not exclusively concerned with the great men of his time, but — and this makes the work especially interesting for the social historian — also with persons of lesser rank known to the author who would not normally have found their way into history. Thus, ʿĀlī remembered Şeyḫ Sinān Ḫalīfe, his teacher at the *mekteb* of his native Gallipoli. After having summed up the facts of the latter's *ʿilmīye* career, he writes: "I [lit. this humble one] was taught by him and enjoyed the sweet benefits of logic, of the science of the Koran, and of lexicology. He had a pleasant library surrounded by a priceless garden like Paradise, full of flowers, in summer and winter alike [...]."[2] Although we would like to hear more details, nevertheless our imagination is stirred by this short but scenic addition to the somewhat dry statements on the Şeyḫ's career; we are able to call upon a picture of the boy stooped over his books amid the scent of fresh flowers. The past seems momentarily restored to life.

In 1575/76 (983) when ʿĀlī served as secretary to Ferhād Paşa in Bosnia, he used the opportunity to visit Ḥācī Meḥmed Beg, *dizdār* (castle warden) of Pojega and noted in a postscript to the story of Sultan Süleymān's "German Campaign" of 1532: "I was invited to [Mehmed Beg's] house and was shown abundant hospitality". ʿĀlī was surprised by what he saw. Although Meḥmed Beg "was an old man, ninety years of age at that time, he still was full of life like a young man and a passionate lover of virgin female slaves". Moreover, he continuously entertained a large company at his house and ʿĀlī wondered how a man in his circumstances, living on an income of

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[1] For ʿĀlī's biography and his contacts with contemporaries, see: Fleischer, *Âli,* chapters 1-3.

[2] *Künh* IV, Selim II/*şeḫs*, (B), fol. 470a.

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6000 *akçe* per annum, could afford to employ three to four servants who cost him at least 1000 *akçe* per person, as well as keep an enormous house where he daily gave 20 to 30 banquets abundantly supplied with sweetmeats, while at the same time foddering the 70 to 80 horses of his permanent guests every night. Meḥmed Beg explained to ʿĀlī that before the conquest of Pojega he had been a day labourer in a place near Salonica. "I worked for a salary of about three *akçe* with which I tried hard to make a living. When the Conqueror of Countries Sultan Süleymān undertook the German Campaign, he made me a groom (? *sāyiḳ-i zimām*) in the Imperial Army [...]. [Afterwards], I came into contact with the *Beglerbegi* of Rumeli, Yaḥyā Paşazāde and became his boon-companion [...]. When Pojega was captured, I was appointed castle warden (*dizdār*) there on the latter's request". He further explained that he was very well off because his *timar*-income was enhanced by the profits he made by selling chestnuts grown on a mountain attached to his land in the *vilayet*s of Budin and Tımışvar.[1] Thus, we are taken into the banquet hall of a local, be it perhaps exceptional, military man far away on the Ottoman borders and are able to follow the dialogue in simple and direct speech between the author and his host. We learn of ʿĀlī's curiosity, perhaps not completely free of envy, and the way it led to his obtaining biographical data, the detail of which were deemed worthy of inclusion in his world history.

ʿĀlī was not always so generous with detailed descriptions of the circumstances under which he met contemporaries whose lives he recorded. The majority of the fragments of this type consist of short but often lively and witty accounts of banquets, such as the example given above, and literary gatherings, *meclis*, where he met and competed with his fellow poets. Famous is ʿĀlī's description of his meeting with the biographer ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi in Üsküb where the latter was cadi, probably around 1570/72.[2] ʿĀlī recorded that ʿĀşık received him and feasted him for three days on end. Glasses were raised and ʿĀlī was offered by his host a *ḳıṭʿa* which began with the distich. "Doubtlessly the glass is the most perfect thing for scholars united in a banquet at this transitory pleasure spot..." ʿĀlī eventually found himself quite embarrassed though, when the host had to admit to his guest that he had not mentioned him in his Dictionary of Poets.[3]

The resuscitation of sixteenth-century Ottoman life in ʿĀlī's *Künh* does not only result from memoir-like and autobiographical accounts like the ones referred to above, but also from ʿĀlī's anxious involvement in the disastrous development of the Ottoman Empire after the middle of the century as he and

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[1] *Ibidem*, Süleymān/25th event, (B) fol. 269a-269b.

[2] Fleischer, *Ali*, 92-93.

[3] *Künh* IV, Selim II/poets, (B), fol. 478b-479a. See also: G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Meşāʿir üş-şuʿarā or Teẕkere of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi*, London 1971, xiii and xvii.

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many of his contemporaries saw it, when the corrupt grand viziers and courtiers could no longer be held in check by the weak or confused sultans who succeeded Süleymān.[1] The worst of them was the sinister Albanian "Ḳoca" Sinān Paşa who pushed the Empire during the five periods of his grand-vizierate to the brink of irreparable ruin. His personality dominates the narrative of the *Künh* from the period of the Yemen campaign of 1568 when he managed to rob ʿĀlī's patron and direct employer, Lālā Muṣṭafā Paşa, of his position as campaign commander and vizier, until his death in April 1596. ʿĀlī, who met the man in Cairo during the preparations for the military expedition, gives free rein to his hatred and is especially successful in picturing the man's brutish character in short and venomous scenes. On his way back from Yemen, Sinān Paşa stopped in Jidda, where he was approached by Cadi Ḥusayn, an agent of the Sharīf of Mecca, Abī Numay, who brought with him "a thousand pieces of gilt porcelain and numberless other presents including a cloth with all [the necessities] for a banquet which was laid out before him. But the Vizier, irritated, asked: "Why didn't he come himself? He had his horses trample the porcelain and break it to pieces..."[2]

As grand vizier he was, according to ʿĀlī, especially guilty of involving the Empire in the long and costly war with the Habsburgs at the end of the century. The author contemptuously pictures him, already in his seventies by then, when, having been appointed commander by Sultan Murād, he rode out to the outer encampment in front of the Edirne Gate. "He seemed confused like a moving corps, completely terrorized and dumbfounded as if he were dead and on his way to the grave-yard outside the gate in order to be buried".[3] During his fifth grand-vizierate he died, and the author, and the reader with him, feels relieved that the long story of corruption, nepotism, personal cowardice and murder has at last come to an end. Of the five periods he was in office, "the latter were worse than each one before", ʿĀlī commented. Gradually, he had become more bad-tempered and foulmounthed. To those who came to see him on business, he invariably said: "Go to hell!" and, wrongly despising them, he considered it a waste of time to ask the opinion of philosophers who offered him their knowledge and expertise. Poets commented on his death satirizing his cowardice and filthiness, saying "You Sinān Paşa have now gone to Hell yourself, finding that your abuse has come to be true!"

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[1] The most concise statement on Ottoman decline and the role of the main historical personalities in it is to be found in ʿĀlī's introduction to *Künh* IV, the Leiden manuscript Cod.Or 288. (L) (M. J. de Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduna Batavae* (CCO), III, Leiden 1865, no. de'ccl, 28), fol. 4b-8b.

[2] *Künh* IV, Selim II/3rd event, (B), fol. 446b.

[3] *Ibidem*, Murād III/38th event, (B), fol. 577b.

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At the time of his death it was said that a black crow, his black soul, had been seen flying from his carcass[1].

The Ottoman historian — ʿĀlī, as we have seen was no exception — considered it his task to act as an arbiter of manners, to censure the wicked and praise the virtuous. He was most apt to do so when his personal feelings were or had been at stake, when, as was often the case with an official like ʿĀlī, the subjects of his history, upon whom his postings almost exclusively depended, had promoted, ignored or thwarted him in his career or were still in a position to do so. Although this indeed could result in literature of a dramatic or sardonic quality when the author had been thwarted, as the example of Silān Paşa shows, and although his personal indignation stimulated him to look for ever more brilliant invectives, the characterization of the historical personalities in question tended to become unsubtle if not untruthful. This was the case when they became the object of exaggerated praise or even abject flattery as happened for instance when ʿĀlī, in the final pages of the *Künh*, eulogized the Grand vizier Cigalazāde Sinān Paşa comparing him to the legendary hero Zāl and the beautiful prophet Yūsuf. The Pasha had been appointed after the Egri campaign of 1596, when ʿĀlī was still busy writing his work and the author clearly hoped to obtain a prestigious appointment from him. Most historians nevertheless agree that the man had played a very dubious role in the campaign and certainly had not been the courageous hero ʿĀlī depicts for us.[2]

If the personalities described in his work were not the author's friends or enemies and were not or had not been involved in his official career or literary life, their portraits are mostly of a disappointingly flat character and their natures often briefly qualified as "pleasant" or "respectable". The exceptions here are persons about whom curious anecdotes could be told, preferably in elucidation of freakish but generally innocent character traits.

Of "Şeyṭān" Murād Paşa the Governor of Laḥsā and Basra whom ʿĀlī once had seen in Damascus, he wrote that he was mad and had become the laughing-stock of the populace: he kept in his coffers puppets representing viziers and donned with clothes and many-plaited turbans (*mücevveze*) in his coffers. If a letter came from the Agent of the Porte (*Ḳapu kethüdası*) informing him of the fact that a certain Vizier showed antagonism to him, he immediately produced the puppet which resembled [the Vizier] and took endless trouble in order to chastise it with reprimands and punishments [...]

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[1] *Ibidem*, Meḥmed III/death of Sinān Paşa, (B), fol. 611a-612a.

[2] See: *Künh* IV, Meḥmed III/Egri campaign, in the Istanbul Topkapı manuscript Aḥmed III 3038 (F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961, no. 741, I, 244), fol. 544b-545b.

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and even went so far as to hang and execute it"[1]. The Persian Şeyḫ Ebū Sa'īd who had fled from the *ḳızılbaş* and joined the army of Sultan Süleymān, suffered, 'Ālī wrote, from dirt phobia. When he received a sable fur from his protector Grand Vizier 'Alī Paşa, he felt thoroughly embarrassed and began by hanging it outside in his courtyard so that it should be "washed by rain and snow" After another two months, he let his servant scrub it with a clean handkerchief, but the costly fur "had turned into leather as prepared by the tanner". When the servant touched it, the hair immediately let loose, scattering over the courtyard. One hair already would have sufficed to dishearten him profoundly and now loads of them lay around! "He burst into tears [and] abused 'Ālī Paşa for having sent him such a rotten fur, cursing his fate at the same time ... " The next day, finally, he decided to have fifty day-labourers endowed with sharp eyesight remove every single hair from the courtyard. It took them thirty days to carry out the job. Afterwards, when the Sultan invited him to kiss his hands, he avoided touching him [...] and greeted him by stretching his hand at a distance. "The Sultan, amused, ordered the Grand Vizier to double the *Şeyḫ*'s income in order to cover his expenses for soap and enable him to wash off his dirt phobia".[2]

'Ālī was a most accomplished and versatile littérateur, who was able to apply his rhymed prose to such varying genres as the touching memoir, detailed factual description, sustained historical epic, scathing abuse, high-flown eulogy, and humorous anecdote. But apart from providing sound and entertaining literature which indeed was considered to be first task of the historian and biographer,[3] was 'Ālī able to achieve a balanced and realistic characterisation of his personalities?

Perhaps the most cautious approach to biography in the *Künh* is to be found in the description of the Ottoman sultans. In their case the author tend to a more subtle approach because outright criticism or satire even of already deceased rulers could be dangerous. As recorded in the *Künh*, the poet Bāḳī, whom 'Ālī knew well, was dismissed from his professorship and exiled from Istanbul by Sultan Murād after he had been maligned by a jealous colleague and accused of criticising the previous Sultan Selīm for inebriety in one his *ġazel*s[4]. Sultan Murād, for example, was described as being of a "graceful and a sociable nature, devoting extraordinarily much time to familiar intercourse".

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[1] *Künh* IV, Süleymān/*beglerbegis*, (B), fol. 369a.

[2] Ibidem, Süleyman/*şeyḫs*, (B), fol. 390[a]-390[b]. Ebū Sa'īd's dirt phobia is also described in a more matter-of-fact way in the *'Iḳd'*, printed in the margin of Ibn Ḫallikān's *Wafāyātu 'l-a'yān* II, Būlāq 1299, 401-406.

[3] This is apparent from Alī's introductions to both Künh I and IV as well as from his evaluation of the Ottoman biographers, see also above.

[4] *Künh* IV, Murād III/3rd event, (B) fol. 490a. See also: E.J.W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* III, London 1904, 134.

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At the same time, "he was inclined toward mystical poetry to a degree that exceeded the limit of what would be considered right".[1] Elsewhere ʿĀlī comments that "he had no faults apart from an inclination toward the collection of worldly goods, but this resulted from his genuine wish to expand the treasury of the Muslims".[2] This characteristic markedly contrasted with his inclination toward mysticism. To explain, if not to justify, another of the sultan's defects, his inertia, and his rather unbalanced personality in general, ʿĀlī had recourse to the classical theory of temperaments, which, incidentally at the same time had been revived in Renaissance Europe,[3] connected it with a form of onomancy which ascribed a hidden, mystical-numerical value to letters. Explaining Murād's inertia — the sultan never led a military campaign personally, worse: he never had travelled anywhere at all apart from his journey from Manisa to Istanbul for his accession — ʿAlī wrote: according to some, he suffered from headaches [...] but according to me, his inaction was fated ... I studied the name Murād and found the *rā* and the *dāl*, both pertaining to (the element) of fire. There were none of the aerial letters, one of which at least would be conditional to restlessness and motion [...] Each fire [letter], moreover, is opposed by water so that his behaviour and manners were rather inconsistent..."[4]

The last fragment is revealing for the attitude of ʿĀlī and his age toward the psychology of man, aside from adding another item to our list of genres applied by the author in the *Künh*, that of the scientific essay. It should remind us that ʿĀlī belonged to an age in which, both in East and West, the separation between man and nature and its mysteries had not yet taken place and it brings us as close to what is nowadays called "psychobiography" as we could wish for. We should realize, though, that introspection, so strongly favoured in the West and a dominant feature of its literature since the eighteenth century, was not a valued activity with the Ottomans, who, as appears from ʿĀlī's introduction to the *Künh*, were primarily interested in man's conforming moral behaviour in society for which he would be ultimately accountable to God on the Day of Judgement.

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[1] *Künh* IV, Murād III/introduction, (B), fol. 485a.
[2] *Ibidem*, fol. 486b.
[3] J. Romein, *De biografie. Een inleiding,* Amsterdam 1946, 33-34.
[4] *Künh* IV, Murād III/ summary of conquests, (B), fol. 488b-489a.

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2. OTTOMAN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS BY LĀMI'Ī AND OTHERS IN THE COLLECTION OF TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS AT THE LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

During the past few years I have been busy cataloguing Turkish manuscripts. In the course of this work I have come across texts in many genres. I have always been fascinated by autobiographies and what struck me during my work was how rich Ottoman literature is in this genre. I would like to share some of my experiences in this field with the reader. I will begin by quoting (part of) a sentence from an unpublished work by Lāmi'ī (d. 938/1532), the introduction to his translation of Fattāḥ-i Nishābūrī's *Ḥüsn ü dil*:

"At times... I weighed my melancholy circumstances and the things that were on my mind and I investigated the leaves of the records of my pious deeds... and I regretted and deplored the days of my past and the years that have gone by, and I 'wept..."[1] Lāmī'ī continues — the passage in intricate rhymed prose is too long to quote here at length — that he was steeped in frivolities but repented and decided to "forsake all fame and worldly endeavours".[2] In an introduction to another translation, this time Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, he wrote more soberly:

"It so happened that one day a group of pure brethren and trusted friends - may God bless their exertions and fulfil their desires — came to me and mentioned — one 'subject leads to another — the book *Nafaḥāt al-uns* and demonstrated to me that its translation would mean perfect progress and an increase in carefulness..."[3]

Both passages are taken from the preface sections of the translations and we know that these were specifically used by Ottoman writers to display their literary skill and are nearly always filled, apart from some essential facts, with more or less elaborate literary clichés. Particularly the second case, which makes use of the *topos* 'friends urged me to write this book; I excused myself for being too ignorant/inexpert; but they insisted and I gave in; may God help me with the difficult task etc.' was perhaps the most popular statement an

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[1] Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 14.510, f. 2b*.

[2] See Günay Kut Alpay, 'Lāmi'ī Celebi and his Works', in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35/2 (1976), p. 79.ī

[3] Printed edition (Istanbul 1289), p. 7.

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Ottoman writer could make in a preface. I have encountered decades of them during my work. Could we, then, still call these fragments autobiographical passages, despite their mention of 'I', 'me' and 'my' and, especially in the first case, their show of personal emotion (perhaps never really felt)? What to say, for instance about this passage, not from an introductory section this time, but from Muṣṭafā ʻĀlī of Gallipoli's *Nuṣḥatu s-selāṭīn* (of 1581)? — I quote Tietze's translation :

> "It seems that the clumsy midwife of Time, while I was still a nondescript foetus in the dark depths of the mother, was already waiting with the tub of sorrows for my arrival, having come [there] with a thousand troubles. When, seeing that my food in that thorny bed was the blood of torture and my ever-ready nourishment day and night were the dregs of the cup of headaches, I descended from the hapless womb of my mother and touched the carpet of the surface of the earth, she prepared me a bed of burning fire and clothed me in fetters of pain and vexation..."[1]

Again deep-felt emotions, despair this time, and the indignity of what had been done to him after his birth during his chequered career, are expressed in grandiloquent rhymed prose.

Such emotions remind one of another autobiographical focus point in Ottoman literature: that of the *maḫlaṣ* distichs in *ġazel*s, thousands of which have been composed through the centuries. I give one example from the poet Vālihī (d. 1008/1599-1600), a unique copy of whose *Dīvān* is found in the collection of the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*. Suffering from the infidelity of his beloved, who is described as a rapacious Tatar (*yaġmacı Tatar*), because he stole the poet's heart, the *ġazel* ends:

> "Your sorcerer's eyes made me weak and helpless
> I do not know what to do, you are a wizard I now understand
> You turned away from Vālihī o love, and left him
> You are sick of me, this distressed one, I have come to understand"[2]

Again 'I' and 'me', but we seem to even be further removed from a concrete historical situation than in the previous passages. Less realistic still are *faḫrīye* ('self-glorification') sections in *ḳaṣīde*s. In Sünbülzāde Vehbī's brilliant *ḳaṣīde* on words (with a *redīf* rhyme ending in *suḫan*, 'words'), written for the grand vizier Ḫalīl Paşa in the 1760s, he presents the reader with a 126 distich-long exposé of the decline of Ottoman poetry. There was however one exception: Vehbī himself (I quote from Kemal Silay's translation):

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[1] *Counsel for Sultans* II (Vienna 1982), p. 49.

[2] MS Diez A. 8°. 30, f. 32a The original text reads: (*remel*) "*siḫrle cādū gözüñ ben bīdili ḳıldı zebūn/ çāre bilmem neyleyem saḥḥārmışsın sen añladum/ Vālihī'den yüz çevirüb eyledüñ cānā firāḳ/ benden ol bīçāreden bīzārmışsın sen añladum*. An edition of the *Dīvān* by Edith Ambros and myself is under preparation.

> Let those new to poetry write poems in imitation of me, for every word of mine is a book unto itself full of great words
>
> [...]
>
> In order to prove myself I went to Shīrāz and engaged in a battle of poetry with the boastful 'Urfī
>
> [...]
>
> There Ḥāfiẓ and Sa'dī became my competent witnesses, and it was judged in my favour, that I satisfied the claim to poetic skill
>
> What wonder is it that I am famed as the divine Vehbī; the gifts of poetry to me are the gift of divinely granted talent[1]

It goes without saying that Vehbī never went to Shīrāz nor were the poets mentioned alive in the 18th century. This is not autobiography, despite the repeated 'I'.

It has indeed been maintained by some scholars that 'Autobiography... expresses a concern particular to Western man...' (I quote Georges Gusdorf). So were 'Orientals', to use the somewhat antiquated term, able to become explicit in a serious, as opposed to a purely literary-ornamental, way about their lives at all? I think they did[2] and I would like to illustrate this with a number of texts I found in manuscripts of the Oriental Collection of the Leiden University Library, hitherto incompletely and misleadingly, even disparagingly, catalogued and consequently, I am afraid, unread and unstudied.

Autobiographical passages are sometimes found in places and in contexts where you would not always expect them. On the last flyleaf of a copy of 'Azmī's *Enīsü l'ārifīn*, we read: "I obtained the post of *ḳāżī* of the town of İzmir... on Sunday, 25 *Ẕī l-ḳa'de* 1012 after the hijra of the Prophet [25 April 1604]. My letter with the Sultan's order arrived in the afternoon of the Festival of Sacrifice [10 *Ẕī l-ḥicce*, 10 May] and I took to sea on [the following] Monday. I arrived in Gallipoli... on 2 *Muḥarrem* [31 May]..."[3] This matter-of-fact note is written in Arabic by an anonymous owner of the manuscript, possibly the *ḳażī'asker* Ebūlfāżl Maḥmūd Ḳara Çelebizāde

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[1] *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court. Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change* (Bloomington, Indiana 1994), pp 134-5.

[2] See for a survey of the genre, not acknowldged as such, in Arabic literature, Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie* III/2 (Frankfurt am Main 1962), p. 905 ff.

[3] Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 895.

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(d. 1063/1653),[1] whose inscription is found elsewhere in the same manuscript (f. 2a). He continues by describing how he visited the tombs of Meḥmed Yazıcızāde and Shaykh 'Alā'uddīn and finally arrived, after stopping at the Dardanelles fortresses and Bozcaada, in İzmir on the ninth (7 June). Although autobiographical annotations by owners of manuscripts are not rare, this one is exceptional for its length and its language.

A more obvious source for autobiographical material is histories — a famous case is Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's *Künhü l-aḫbār* which contains fragments similar to the one quoted before from his *Nuṣḥat* — but also in less well-known works. The Library owns what appears to be a unique manuscript of a history of Baghdad during the reign of Sultan Murād IV by an author who uses the pen-name of Şeyḫoġlı - the work contains a number of his poems, mainly *ḳaṣīdes*, inserted into the prose text. In his preface the poet-historian tells us that one day, while he was reading a history book, it occurred to him that he could write one himself, and so he did, namely on the 'indescribable' events that occurred in Baghdad during its siege and occupation by the Safavids (in 1033/1624). The work, written in quite unadorned prose, contains some touching eyewitness accounts. I will give one example. Describing how the besieged town suffered from lack of food, he continues: "One day I came across some Khazars who grabbed a cat by its throat, lit a heap of dry dirt and threw it into the fire. They wanted to cook the cat. However hard I tried, I was unable to free the cat from their hands".[2]

Another unique, probably an autograph, copy (Cod.Or. 801) of what has been described as a history of the Shirvān Campaign of the early 1580s, is in fact a treatise on the religious justification for the war against the Muslim Safavids. The work, entitled *Neşrü l-nāẓırīn ve maḳbūlü l-ḫāṭırīn*, was written by a Seyyid Sa'duddīn eş-Şirvānī of Bëyuk Dakhna (Azarbaijan) in 993/1585. The work contains some lively personal passages which taken together make up a more or less full autobiography. Thus at various places in the work the author writes that he, the son of a shaykh and molla, fled from Shirvān when it was occupied by the *ḳızılbaş* — this must have been in the 1550s — and came to Istanbul to study. His family had suffered a lot in the past: at the appearance of the cursed Ḥaydar who invaded Shirvān three times in the 1480s, twenty-five members of his family had perished, among them his paternal great-grandfather, a molla called Ḳaradaġī Meḥmed. His grandfather Aḥmedüddīn, a scholar and author of a Persian *tafsīr*, had been able to escape the carnage. During his, the author's, student years he lived in a cell of a certain Süleymān Bababaşı near the Süleymaniye, passing the night "on a stone chest covered by a rush mat". Fortunately, he made the acquaintance of

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[1] cf. N. Göyünç, 'Ḳara-Celebi-zāde', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.
[2] Cod.Or. 1278, pp. 11-2.

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Ḫōca 'Abdülmü'min, teacher of Ferhād Paşa, and the *ḫōca* presented him to his patron and the latter's wife Hümāşāh Sulṭān. They agreed to pay for his studies. In 982/1574, he became candidate (*mülāzim*) but waited for eight years before he received an appointment as teacher in a *medrese* and worked hard on a book, *Şifā el-ḳulūb*, a work on *ṣūfī* doctrine, for which he received 50 gold pieces from the sultan. Finally upon the death of the *kāżī'asker* Behā'üddīnzāde Efendi, who successfully opposed his career (which was on the other hand fostered by the *ḳāżī* of Istanbul, Zekeriyā Efendi), he was made *müderris* with a salary of 40 *aḳçe*. He also writes that he stayed for a while in the *ḫānkāh* of Eşrefzāde at İznik, became a shaykh (baba) himself and describes in the book some of the miraculous dreams he had. These passages give us a good idea, as indeed many serial biographies of contemporary *'ulemā*, not only of the problems of patronage and professional insecurity experienced by many of his colleagues, but also of his personality: his strong emotions may be gauged in a sentence where he mentions his enemy Behā'üddīnzāde Efendi, and curses in the same sentence all *ḳāżī'askers* and *ḳızılbaş*. The book was offered to the Grand Vizier Özdemiroġlı Oṣmān Paşa who however died before he could receive the final version. (This may account for the obscurity of the book).

More of a real autobiography as we understand the term — and in contrast to mere autobiographical passages — can be found in an apparently unique but incomplete copy, Cod.Or. 1551, of an autobiography-cum-travelogue by a certain el-Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Vaṣfī Efendi of Ḳābūd, a village in central Anatolia, who, as appears from the text, participated in a number of military campaigns in eastern Anatolia and Rumelia during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd [II, ruled 1223/1808 - 1255/1839]; these are the main subject of the book.[1] Nothing is known about the author apart from what he writes here. He calls it a history, or rather [a series of] 'histories' (*tevārīḫ*) which treat of 'war' and 'death'. No further dates are given in the history itself but, as is explained on the title page (1a), it covers the period between 1216 (1801-2) and 1248 (1832-3). Our copy however breaks off sometime in the early 1820s. It is dated 22 *Ẕī l-ḳa'de* 1249 (2 April 1834, *ibidem*) and may well be an autograph. The text is written in lapidary, colloquial Turkish in an idiosyncratic (phonetic) and inconsistent spelling. The text is adorned with interlinear coloured drawings of a pleasantly primitive type.

At the beginning of the work proper (4b), the author states, rather abruptly, "in the year 1216 [1801-2], when I was eight years old, I left home for strange lands." Home was the village of Kabud near Tokat and he travelled to Erzurum apparently in the company of his father (cf. 43b ff.) who was *bayraḳdār* (standard bearer) in the service of Tokatlı Deli Aḥmed, a *delibaşı*

[1] I am preparing an edition with translation into English; see also the next chapter.

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(leader of irregular cavalry) of Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa (cf. 34a, 37b, 41a). Like his father, he served as an irregular horseman (*deli*) with a monthly salary of 35 *ḳuruş* (15b, 19b) which was supplemented by occasional bonuses, *'baḫşiş'* and he was indeed a member of the same unit ("... I had the intention of going for the infidels. My father brought out his flag and I found myself next to my father under the flag", 43b).

The first part of the history (4b-25a) — the work does not contain any formal divisions — describes a number of campaigns on the north-eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire undertaken from Erzurum under the commanders (*ser'asker*) Baba Paşa and Ḥāfıẓ 'Alī Paşa. Baba Paşa is probably identical with Pehlivān İbrāhīm Paşa, better known as commander of the Dobruja front during the Ottoman-Russian wars of this period.[1] Vaṣfī Efendi gives a lively description of a number of dangerous skirmishes against, particularly, local Kurdish chiefs and Russian border troops. Sometime in 1820 Vaṣfī Efendi moved with his unit to Istanbul (25a-28b).

The second part of the history describes the Rumelia campaign in which the author participated (from f. 28b). The army moved to Yanya (Ioannina), the residence of Tepedelenli 'Alī Paşa, the more or less independent ruler of a large part of Greece, who after a lengthy siege of his citadel was lured to the tent of the commander Ḫurşīd [Aḥmed] Paşa (d. 5 Rebī'ü l-evvel 1238/ 20 November 1822)[2], whereupon his head was cut off and sent to the Sultan (33b-34a).[3] Meanwhile a serious rebellion had broken out in the Peloponnese — 1821 was the first year of the War of Greek Independence - and Ḫurşīd Paşa was appointed *'Moral ser'askeri'* (in Şevvāl 1237/June-July 1822). The author joined the troops under Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa and moved from Yanya by way of Yeñişehir (Larisa), İzdin (Lamia) and Badracıḳ (Ypati), in the surroundings of which a number of villages were subjugated and plundered, women and girls abducted, heads cut off. The author did not come through these battles unscathed: he suffered from frostbite after snow had fallen for fifteen days on end. Two thousand soldiers died but the author was saved because he had the protection of a tent. "When we came to İzdin, I went to a bathhouse and slowly rubbed my feet with pigfat; they recovered, thank God." (39b). Once he was hit by a bullet in his leg and had his head nearly cut off by a "big, black-faced infidel" (44a). From İzdin — the army now consisted of 36,000 foot soldiers and 19,000 horsemen (51b) — the men moved to Levatiye (Livadia) and by way of a pass through the mountains (the 'Mora

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[1] See İsmail Hâmi Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* IV (Istanbul 1972), p. 84, *passim*.

[2] See Mehmed Süreyya (Nuri Akbayar & Seyit Ali Kahraman, eds.) *Sicill-i osmanî. Osmanlı ünlüleri* II (Istanbul 1996), p. 679.

[3] Cf. H. Bowen, "Alī Pasha, Tepedelenli", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.).

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derbendi', at present Dervenakia), to Kördüs (Corinth), fighting 'infidel' rebels all the way down. Vaṣfī Efendi and his father, who had been seriously wounded in the fighting through the pass, decided not to follow the army to the Peloponnese but instead sailed to Ağrıboz (Euboia) where they joined the troops of Çırḳacı (Çarḫacı) 'Alī Paşa (62a), later replaced by ʻÖmer Paşa (84b). Father and son remained on the island for four years (cf. 63b), Vaṣfī Efendi spending his time fighting infidels, or, on the other hand, suffering from long sieges, his father most of the time staying behind in the care of a female slave (*cāriye*) in a house (*ḳonaḳ*) at Aġrıboz (Chalkis) which had belonged to an infidel but had been confiscated by the Pasha's delibaşı Yörük Mūsā, whose standard-bearer was an acquaintance of his father (62b-63a). The following fifty-odd folios are filled with the 'stories' (cf. 64a) of these years and the book breaks off abruptly in the description of a battle between a Janissary regiment, recently sent from Rumelia for reinforcement and approvisioning, and Greek rebels in the mountains near Ḳumīye (Kymi).

Whereas the first part of the work is clearly written in the tradition of the chronicle or, for the descriptions of journeys, of the pilgrimage manual with their dry enumeration of facts such as distances in hours, the second part is increasingly autobiographical: the author and his exploits (mostly sieges, sword fights, plundering of villages and so on, described now in great detail) are central and personal references, including the insertion of dialogues in which the author took part, abound.

Perhaps the most dramatic passage of the book is that in which the author discovers that his father had been seriously wounded in the battle at the Moral Pass. I will translate it, as simply as possible, to give an idea of Vaṣfī Efendi's style at its best. The author writes that he was encamped in the plain of Corinth, and continues (58b-59b): "My father had been wounded in the Moral pass... I had not heard about this [but] after three days in the plain of Kördüs, I found my father, I looked at him. He had been injured in seven places. Before this, when we had launched an attack against the Moral Pass, my father had, before all other flags, planted his flag at the entry to the pass and while he was reading the Muhammedan call to prayer, the infidels [had fired] a bullet into his breast, had hit [with] many sword on his head and had injured [him] in seven places but at the same time my father again had cut [down] one infidel and had fallen into the infidels' trenches, where he had lost consciousness and remained with the infidels. The infidels had dealt many blows with [their] swords and fired many shots but had not cut off a single head [but] had stayed [on]. At that moment, other flags had arrived and soldiers had arrived and had taken the pass. At that time, *delibaşı* Deli Aḥmed had arrived and had found my father. He had looked [and seen] that my father had been injured in five places and had been robbed of his things, weapons and everything he had. The mentioned *delibaşı* had hoisted my father onto a horse

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and had come to the plain of Kördüs. Three days later, I went and found my father under a mulberry tree. My father was naked [*sic*, but cf. below], wounded, giddy and out of his mind. When I saw him in this state at the edge of a stream under a mulberry tree, I went out of my mind and lost control. I left my horse behind and came to my father's side. For three days, my father had been injured and bleeding and all his clothes were stuck to his body with blood. In this state I saw my father; in his head no head had remained, nor a body in his body. In this state I saw my father and I wailed and burst into tears. After a while, my father came to his senses and said: "Muṣṭafā, my son, where are we? What kind of place is this? Have we come through the Moral Pass? Son, why do you cry? Praise to God, we have come through the Moral Pass, we have come here and found safety. Why do you cry? I am well", and saying this he comforted me a little. He lost his senses again, lost consciousness and lay down. I somehow tried to get off his clothes but could not and cut away all clothes that were on him and had other clothes brought." When Maḥmūd Paşa was told what had happened, he gave the wounded hero a horse, a great-coat (*ḳabud*) and 500 gold coins (*Maḥmūdīye altunı*). Later, when he deteriorated, the Pasha saw to it that the private physician of Moralı 'Alī Paşa, an Austrian, present in the camp, was fetched. Having looked at the wounds (60a), the physician deemed them not very serious, apart from a head injury. If, after a tap on his head, blood would pour from his ears the next day, he would live and recover. The test was done, but no blood appeared.

The examples I quoted so far were found in works outside the mainstream of Ottoman literature: by authors soon forgotten because their patron died (as in the case of Seyyid Sa'duddīn), partly perhaps because their works were unpopular or never found acceptance because of their rustic style (as in the case of Şeyḫoġlı and Vaṣfī Efendi). That we possess copies of their work is largely due to the activity of the Leiden collectors in Istanbul, Levinus Warner (in the first half of the 17th century) and Testa (in the 1830s and before), who, as in the case of Şeyḫoġlı and Vaṣfī Efendi, intervened just in time before these works had irretrievably disappeared. This is not to say that many such examples do not exist in better-known works, to the contrary. I have only to mention the names of Evliyā Çelebi or 'Oṣmān Aġa of Temeşvar (Timişoara) whose works, of a dominating autobiographical content, have been translated wholly (as in the case of 'Oṣmān Aġa[1]) or partly (Evliyā Çelebi) into various European languages, belong to the best known of Ottoman literature.

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[1]Recently translated into French by Frédéric Hitzel, *Osmân Agha de Temechvar, prisonnier des infidèles; un soldat ottoman dans l'Empire des Habsbourg* (Arles 1998).

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To sum up. Although Ottoman literature may not be so rich in autobiographical texts as our Western literature since the 18th century (and Romanticism), it certainly did not cut a poor figure. Comparison however is a tricky business, in which I will not indulge in great detail. One should perhaps compare pre-modern, that is pre-1840 or 1850s' Ottoman literature with Western medieval literature rather than with post-Romantic Western literature. Vaṣfī Efendi, although he lived in the 19th century, after all wrote as if he were still in the Middle Ages and led the life of a *ġāzī* in, so to speak, the Wittekian sense of the word. What seems to be the most striking difference between the pre-modern Ottoman autobiography and its, certainly modern, Western counterpart is that authors of the former did not intend their writings to be autobiographical in the way we understand that term now. Vaṣfī Efendi, as you may remember, called his book a history, not an autobiography, written to make readers reflect on the facts of life and prepare themselves for the hereafter. (This is, by the way, another well-worn topos of prefaces.) But this lack of what we may style self-consciousness does not make these texts less interesting. What I have tried to demonstrate in the first place is the rich, variegated, aspect of these texts, examples of which, then, can be found in poetry and prose, in highly literate *Kunstprosa* as well as in down-to-earth colloquial language, in texts ranging from matter-of-fact 'CVs', describing professional careers, to highly emotional outbursts of angry people, texts written by both spiritually-minded scholars and low-ranking soldiers, facts as well as time-honoured fiction. Further cataloguing work — forgive me my solipsism — may well bring more such texts to light and increase our understanding of this fascinating aspect of Ottoman literature as well as the public and private lives of Ottoman men and women.

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3. THE ADVENTURES OF AN OTTOMAN HORSEMAN: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KABUDLI VAṢFĪ EFENDI, 1800-1825.[1]

INTRODUCTION

When I was cataloguing the Turkish manuscripts of the Leiden University Library, I came, in due course, across the apparently unique Cod.Or. 1551. I was immediately struck by the title page with its unusually patterned and coloured frontispiece, its boldly written lines, and, above all, by the interlinear coloured drawings of a pleasantly primitive type. The manuscript, regrettably incomplete at the end, was acquired soon after it had been written by a scion of the Levantine Testa family and was sent to Holland in 1839. Who this Testa was is not clear — documents relating to the acquisition do not seem to have survived. He may have been Gaspard Testa (1770-1847) who was Dutch envoy at the Porte at that period, or one of his many sons. The acquisition saved the work, of which perhaps only a few copies, perhaps only one, were produced, from being lost forever. M. J. de Goeje characterised it in 1873 as a travelogue of scant value.[2] This is somewhat surprising. De Goeje had some good reasons for this judgement, but a close reading of the text soon reveals that the work does contain dry, enumerative, and repetitive description of stages on various roads but that it is much more. It is foremost — and this alone makes the text highly interesting — Ottoman literature is not rich in the genre — an autobiography, an autobiography moreover by a low-ranking Ottoman soldier who calls himself, somewhat incongruously it seems, Ḳābūdlı el-Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Vaṣfī Efendi. Who was this man?

1. The author

We do not know anything about the author apart from what he writes in our manuscript. From the text it is clear that he was a professional cavalryman, a *deli* (mounted scout), and therefore member of a class of soldiers, to which also the infantrymen, *tüfengcis* or *gönüllüs*, belonged, who

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[1] An facsimile edition of the text discussed and translated in the following will be published in *Turkish Sources*, published by Harvard University, USA.

[2] *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* V (Leiden 1873), pp. 191-2.

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hired themselves out to pashas from the early eighteenth century onwards. Units of these cavalrymen, commanded by a *delibaşi*, could comprise hundred to hundred and fifty men but in the eastern provinces their number could be five times as high.[1] All free-lance military groups were suppressed in 1827,[2] a year after the destruction of the Janissary corps. Employment was confirmed by a written contract (*tezkere*, or *ḫarc tezkeresi*), sometimes registered with a local kadi (28b), as Vaṣfî Efendi notes on a number of occasions, and the normal monthly payment was twenty-five to thirty-five *ḳuruş*. To these amounts bonuses (*baḫşiş*) were sometimes added to reward acts of bravery and the like (cf., e.g., 47a). These often consisted of an amount of money but could also comprise a fully caparisoned horse or military cloaks (56a). Sometimes the coins to be given as a prize were heaped on a prayer rug before a battle started (*ibidem*). Over and above this was the occasional booty which included, preferably, female slaves. Vaṣfî sometimes documents his own human trophies: a virgin girl whom he let sit on his horse (38b); a boy, a girl, and their mother (69a); a 'bride' and her daughter (79a) — they were given to his father — another girl and a woman (80a), and yet another woman and girl (113a). What was the fate of most of these women can only be guessed. In one passage Vaṣfî tells us that the arms of captured slaves were tied together, that they were taken to base camp, and handed over to his commander for a sum of money (83b); they were probably sold at a slave market, which still existed at that time and the busiest of which was located in Istanbul.[3] Some of them at least were used as servants; Vaṣfî's wounded father was looked after in Aġrıboz (Chalkis) by a servant girl, but she is said to be 'black' and was probably bought at the market rather than picked from the local population (63a). He beat her with his staff when she did not do her work well. More black slave girls were seen in another town mansion, formerly owned by a Muslim, on the island of the same name (Euboia, Evvia, 81b). Other trophies were body parts severed from enemies on the battle field, particularly heads and, sometimes, tongues (69b, 83a) or ears (95b), which enhanced the soldier's prestige. Vaṣfî tells us he chopped up his first head, for which he received two gold coins from his commander (79b), in a village near Mandūköy (Mandoudi, Euboia). In a later raid he was paid the same amount for the same human trophies (114a).

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[1] Cf. H.A.R. Gibb & Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West. A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East* I, 1, p. 193; see also Virginia Aksan, '*Ottoman Military Recruitment Strategies in the Late Eighteenth Century*', in Erik J. Zürcher (ed.), *Arming the State. Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia* (London & New York 1999), pp. 21-39.

[2] Cf. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1984), p. 210.

[3] Cf. Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression: 1840-1890* (Princeton 1982), pp. 48-54.

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Of primary importance to the *delis* were of course their horses. The cavalrymen probably had to pay for their acquisition and upkeep from their income; if they lost them and were not able to replace them immediately — this happened three times to our author (74b, 83a, 113a) — they were reduced to the status of infantrymen. In the first two cases, Vaṣfi's superiors gave him a new horse. Once the author was given a horse by his *delibaşı* after he had won a game of jereed (42b). During military campaigns, Vaṣfī Efendi mostly slept in a tent. Sometimes the troops were billeted in town houses. Possession of a tent — not all soldiers seemed to have owned one — could make the difference between life and death in winter (39b). Not much else is told about daily circumstances. On one occasion, the author informs us that a ten-day ration of dry biscuit was handed out to the troops (51b). At another the troops reaped grain from a field and ground flour from it (69b) or reaped maize from a field when they had no bread (79a). In one passage, bread and cheese are mentioned (102b). Under siege, soldiers were sometimes forced to live on very meagre rations of bread and beans (98a) or had recourse to their horses, dogs, cats, leaves, grass, and, in the last instance, each other (90a).

Contracts could be rescinded, sometimes because of insubordination (18a). On the other hand, the soldiers were ready to use force to exact payments (15b) or simply deserted from the army (41a). It is also clear that there were periods of unemployment when the soldiers were allowed, Vaṣfī suggests, to roam about the villages of the countryside and live of the land (cf., e.g., 13a). The agricultural classes must have suffered from this, but their view on these matters is not presented. This aspect and the general unruliness of the free-lance forces — this was also true of the Janissaries — must have contributed to their suppression in 1826-7.

The author was born in, apparently, 1206 (1791-2); at the beginning of his autobiography (4b) he writes that he left his native village in 1216 (1801-2) when he was eight years old. This village was Ḳābūd (Kabut), six hours on horseback from Sulusaray near Tokat (4b), and the author travelled sometime during this or the following decade to Erzurum apparently in the company of, or in order to join his father who was *bayraḳdār* (standard bearer) in the service of Tokatlı Deli Aḥmed, a *delibaşı* of Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa (cf. 34a, 37b, 41a). (Deli Aḥmed also figures in the book as Maḥmūd Paşa's *serçeşme*, an officer commissioned to contract irregular troops, 52a.) Vaṣfī Efendi was, at least during the last years described in the book, also a member of the same unit as his father (cf. 43b). For a few months father and son came temporarily under the command of another *delibaşı* called Dumanoġlı who was also in the service of Maḥmūd Paşa (41a, 51b). On Euboia, finally, the author and his father found employment with a *delibaşı* called Yörük Mūsā (63a). The first campaign described and most probably also the first in which the author participated happened in 1231/1816. He was then twenty-three years old. The

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last actions took place sometime in the mid-1820's. There is no indication that the author was occupied with anything else than military tasks and from the language of the book it appears that his education was limited. In the light of this, his name, as given on the title page and in the introduction, is something of an enigma: whereas the author was simply known as Deli Muṣṭafā to his military colleagues (cf. 42b), the more grandiloquent name mentioned earlier makes it clear that by the time of writing the author had adopted the *nom de plume* of 'Vaṣfī' together with the epithets of 'el-Ḥāccī' and 'Efendi'. This suggests that by then he was a member of the commercial or scribal class. Could this point to the possibility that he abandoned his military career in, probably, 1827, undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, and became a shopkeeper or petty official who wrote poetry in his spare time? We will never know, unless more pages from his autobiography come to light in the future.

2. *Contents*

Although the book is an autobiography in which the first person singular and plural are the subject of most of the sentences, it is above all a chronicle in the traditional style. Vaṣfī Efendi calls it in fact a history, or rather (a series of) 'histories' (*tevārīḫ*) which treats the themes of 'war' and 'death' (1a). As is explained on the title page, the work as a whole covers the period between 1216 (1801-2) and 1248 (1832-3). It is dated 22 *Ẕī l-ḳa'de* 1249 (2 April 1834, ibidem). No other dates are provided but circumstantial evidence makes it possible to reconstruct the timeline along which the history develops globally. Our copy breaks off sometime around 1825, at least before 1826 and the abolition of the Janissary corps — Janissaries still figure prominently on the last pages. The main subject of the book is a series of military campaigns in eastern Anatolia and Rumelia during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II (ruled 1223/1808- 1255/1839) — the name of the sultan regularly recurs in the text — in which the author participated.

The first part of the history (4b-25a) describes a number of campaigns on the north-eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire undertaken from Erzurum under the commanders (*ser'asker*) Baba Paşa and Ḥāfiẓ 'Alī Paşa. Baba Paşa is better known as Pehlivān İbrāhım Paşa, famous as commander of the Dobruja front during the Ottoman-Russian wars of this period.[1] The political situation in the Caucasus area, where a power struggle had been going on between the Persians and Russians since the eighteenth century, was highly unstable. The Ottomans were gradually drawn into the struggle after a series of border conflicts provoked by the Russians. War was declared against Persia by Sultan

[1] See İsmail Hâmi Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* IV (Istanbul 1972), p. 84, *passim*.

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Maḥmūd in October 1820, but already before that time the Ottomans were involved in military clashes in the border area.[1] After an attack on Çıldır by Aḥmed Beg, son of 'Maḳtūl', or, as our author has it, Ḥamşīoġlı, Selīm Paşa of Acara (Adzharia), the Sultan ordered İbrāhım Paşa to repress the 'banditry' in the border area. This happened in 1231/1816.[2]

Vaṣfī Efendi, who had moved from Kabut to Erzurum — an itinerary is given on ff. 4b-7b — participated in the expedition. Before his arrival in the town, used as military base for all campaigns in the north-east, the author met Baba Paşa who had been appointed vālī there (5b). The author joined the army under Maḥmūd Paşa which moved to the fortress of Ḫāmerḫāt in Adzharia. Selīm Paşa was forced to abandon the castle and was killed (8b). On its way back, local forces rebelled and the army was besieged in Ardanuç (9b). Some sort of truce was arranged with a local warrior called Ḳara Ḳāżī, upon which Vaṣfī Efendi and his unit were received (and maintained) by a local potentate, *derebey*, in Livane (Artvin), who is actually described as the chief of a band of robbers. During the next summer the author again joined the main army in an expedition against Ahıska (Akhaltsikhe, Georgia). The fortress could not be taken and the army withdrew to Ardahan (11b). Meanwhile Baba Paşa had been dismissed and Vaṣfī Efendi followed Maḥmūd Paşa to Şebin Ḳaraḥisār. Maḥmūd Paşa, however, had robbed Baba Paşa and violated his harem when the latter was on his way to his new post in Diyarbakır. Baba Paşa set up a trap and a local ruler, also called Ḳara Ḳāẓī who had received Maḥmūd Paşa and his followers hospitably, one night turned violently against them (12a). Vaṣfī Efendi and twenty-five of his comrades had to run for their lives and fled to the Kayseri area where they found employment with Memiş Paşa (12b). The author joined him in an expedition against Sivas where a rebellion had broken out and afterwards lived as part of a unit of two hundred men in the surrounding countryside (13a).

The second major border expedition in which the author participated during this early period took place in 1234/1819. It was directed against Meḥmed Derviş Paşa in Van who was accused of conspiring against Selīm Paşa, commander at Muş, thereby acquiring the support of local Kurdish tribes who were on the side of the Persian *sardār* Ḥasan Khān at Revān (Yerevan).[3]

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[1] See for the historical background: Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey II. Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge, London, New York etc. 1977), p.16; David Marshall Lang, *A History of Modern Georgia* (London 1962), pp. 42-69; George A. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule 1795-1828* (Costa Mesa, California & New York 1992), pp. 1-29.

[2] Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet* X (Istanbul 1966), pp. 247-8.

[3] For this rather complicated episode, see Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet* XI (Istanbul 1966), pp. 28-33.

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Vaṣfī Efendi joined the troops under Ḥāfīẓ 'Alī Paşa, the new vāli of Erzurum. After Van had been taken and Dervīş Paşa killed, the army returned to Erzurum (16b). On their way back fighting broke out between the *delis* and a Kurdish cavalry unit, part of the army of Serd Maḥmūd Paşa, which almost cost the author his life (17b-18a).

Dismissal followed but soon afterwards, Vaṣfī found employment with Beylanlı Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Paşa, the governor of Kars (18b). From there, various expeditions were undertaken: a vain intervention with Russian border troops at Gümri (Gyumri) against the deplacement of Armenians from an Ottoman village (20a) and a half-hearted expedition against Kurdish forces who were raiding Ottoman territory from the fortress of Köroğlı in Persian Armenia which almost led to war with the *sardār* (20a-22a).[1] Soon afterwards, the author moved to Sivas. In the spring of 1820 a major military expedition was prepared against Tepedelenli 'Alī Paşa (1744-1822), the more or less independent ruler of a large part of what is at present north-west Greece who was suspected of supporting the Greek movement for independence for his own political aims: the establishment of an independent Albanian-Greek state. Vaṣfī Efendi decided to join (25a). He and a group of his comrades moved to Istanbul (25a-28b) — the route there by way of Ankara, where the *delis* were contracted by Ḳaṣṣābbaşı Ḥasan Paşa, and İzmit is described twice (25b-27b). They were billeted in the fortress of Beyḳoz on the Bosphorus (28a).

The last and most extensive part of the text, then, describes the Rumelian campaign (from 28b). The army moved to Yanya (Ioannina), the residence of Tepedelenli 'Alī Paşa; a detailed itinerary is found on ff. 28b-33a. After a lengthy siege of his citadel 'Alī Paşa was, according to our author at least, lured to the tent of the commander Ḫurşīd Aḥmed Paşa — he was told that his supporter Baba Paşa, actually already murdered by poisoning, was inviting him for a visit — whereupon his head was chopped off and sent to the Sultan (33b-34a). There is no support for this story in other sources which maintain that after 'Alī Paşa had been besieged for over a year, a truce was agreed on, during which his case would be presented to the Sultan. 'Alī Paşa then left his fortress and temporarily settled in the neighbouring monastery of Agios Panteleimon, but when news reached him that he had been condemned to death, he decided to fight. During a final shoot-out, as most sources have it, he was killed by bullets. His head was severed and despatched to Istanbul.[2]

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[1] For this episode, see also *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII (Istanbul 1966), pp. 5-13.

[2] Literature on 'Alī Paşa is extensive; I mention only H. Bowen, "Alī Pasha, Tepedelenli', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.); Aḥmed Müfīd, *Tepedelenli 'Alī Paşa 1744-1822* (Istanbul 1324); William Plomer, *Ali the Lion. Ali of Tebelenli, Pasha of Jannina 1741-1822* (London 1936); Arestotelis K. Stavropoulos, *O thanatos tou Ali Pasa* (Athens 1984); for the final confrontation, see also *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, pp. 42-3.

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Meanwhile a serious rebellion had broken out in the Moral (Morea, Peloponnese) and Greek forces laid siege to a number of fortified castles — 1821 was the first year of the War of Greek Independence.[1] A part of the Ottoman army led by Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa moved to the south-east. Its main objective was the relief of İnebolu (Anaboli, Navplio), the strongest fortress in the Moral. (At the same time a, rather unsuccessful, western campaign was conducted in Epirus.) The author moved with the army of some 20,000 men, including 8,000 cavalry, from Yanya to Yeñişehir (Larisa) in the surroundings of which rebel troops had been plundering, while nearby Badracıḳ (Ypati) and İsdilice (Stilis) were under siege by the insurgents (35a).[2] From Yeñişehir, Vaṣfī Efendi followed Maḥmūd Paşa to Badracıḳ (35b); the fortified town was soon abandoned by the rebels. According to the author, it was winter by then, and he joined a raid against Yediḳule and Kabraniş (Karpenissi) in the mountains farther to the west where rebels had killed the local Muslims (36a-39b). Although the strongholds were taken, the Ottomans suffered heavily from the dextrous guerrilla tactics of the enemy — one of their tricks was to lure the *deli*s by using their womenfolk as bait (38a) — as well as from the cold weather. During this episode, Vaṣfī himself was almost captured, his horse seriously wounded (38a), and his legs were afflicted by frostbite (39b). The author noted that, in all, two thousand soldiers died. He only survived because he had the protection of a tent (39b).

Having returned to base camp near Badracıḳ, the *deli*s were soon summoned by Maḥmūd Paşa to come to the rescue of İzdin (Lamia) which was guarded by only a small Albanian force and had unexpectedly come under siege by the enemy (40b). Bad weather conditions forced the besiegers decide to withdraw after a few days (41a). In early spring, the *deli*s deserted from the army after a conflict over payment with the *delibaşı* Dumanoġlı and the author moved back to the Yeñişehir area, where the horsemen lived off the land in the usual way (41a-b), and seems to have spent part of the time playing jereed (42b). Maḥmūd Paşa had no option but to reach a solution when Bosnalı 'Oṣmān Paşa came under attack at Badracıḳ and a part of the town was

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[1] See for a brief survey of the events, Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence 1821-1833* (London 1973), p. 59 ff. A very detailed description is found in Apostolos Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou Neo Ellinismou*, Vols. E, ST, Z (Thessaloniki 1980, 1982, 1986).

[2] Cf. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, pp. 91 ff; *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, pp. 29-46, 59-69. Both works suggest that these military events took place in 1237/1822 but it is more likely that they occurred during the spring and summer of 1236/1821. The *Tarih*, however, is not completely clear on this point: it rather chaotically presents these events in a chapter on the events of the year 1237, but also mentions the year 1236 at one point (p. 31). From our text it is clear that there was another winter between this campaign and the major battle at the Mora Pass (Dervenakia) which took place on 6-8 August 1822. If this indeed was the case — the author's memory was not faultless and it seems likely that he sometimes mixed up the events of different years — it means that Vaṣfī Efendi was not present at the final showdown at Ioannina.

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occupied by the insurgents (41b). The *deli*s were paid and joined in an attack against the rebels. Vaṣfī's unit succeeded in penetrating into the town but this almost cost him and his father their lives when they got lost in the narrow streets. The author's horse and he himself were hit by bullets and he was dragged away by an infantry officer at the last possible moment (44a-b). The *deli*s were entrapped in a small part of the town and were almost starved to death by the surrounding enemy forces who were continually reinforced and provisioned from the countryside. They were finally saved by the arrival of an Albanian army of ten thousand men (48a-49a).

Meanwhile Çarḫacı — rendered as 'Çırḳacı' in our text — 'Ali Paşa, who had earlier been with the main army under Maḥmūd Paşa, was under siege in İsdilice (Stilis) and the port of Agia Marina somewhat farther east on the coast. The port was used as a supplying station for the insurgents in the hinterland. The army and our hero moved to 'Alī Paşa's rescue and they were able to drive the 'infidels' onto their ships in six days (50b). These then sailed away, but not before they had bombarded the town, reducing it to rubble (51a). Thereupon the Ottoman relief force moved back to a bridge on the River Sperchios near İzdin where they encountered the main army under Ḫurşīd Paşa who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Moral campaign and was heading south. After having rallied an army of 36,000 infantry and 19,000 horsemen (51b),[1] the pasha settled in İzdin, appointed Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa as his deputy, and the army with the author and his father marched south-east through the Fondona defile (where they were attacked by insurgents, 52b), to Levatiye (Livadia) — the fortified town was taken but not without losses (53b) — and the plain of Thebes where a fortified church was captured and all the Christians who had taken refuge inside killed (54b).

The next important event described in the book — it was the first great victory for the Greek insurgents — was the famous Battle of the Moral Pass (Dervenakia), famous that is among the Greeks — our primary Ottoman source, Cevdet's History, glosses over the disaster and merely informs us in a few sentences that panic broke out among the infantry when the first hostile volleys were heard in the pass, ominously called the 'dreadful defile' (*berbād boġaz*) here, upon which they fled, leaving their baggage and horses behind. The shattered remains of the army reached Kördüs (Corinth), but only with difficulty.[2] The pass is situated between Corinth and Argos, but the author gives the strong impression that he places it between Thebes and Corinth (54a ff.). His memory must have deceived him on this point. (He may also have mixed up the events which had taken place in both passes.) What certainly

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[1] *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 60, mentions the number of 40,000 soldiers; Vakalopoulos, *Istoria* E, p. 435, mentions 8000 infantry and 800 cavalry.
[2] *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 68.

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happened, whether or not Vaṣfī Efendi was present, was that the army, having occupied Corinth on 17 July 1822, moved through the pass to Argos which was reached on 24 July. A cavalry unit was despatched to relieve the Ottoman force besieged in İnebolu. Meanwhile the Greeks rallied a large if badly co-ordinated force and occupied the pass where the Ottomans had failed to leave guards. When Maḥmūd Paşa decided to fall back on Corinth — he had run out of supplies — his army was almost completely annihilated in the pass and a part of it only escaped because the enemy was more eager for booty than for a decisive victory; nevertheless only 6000 Ottoman soldiers out of 23,000 survived.[1] According to Vaṣfī, the numbers were 30,000 out of 55,000 (58a). The battle is described on ff. 55a-58a. The author seems to have belonged to an advanced unit which reached the plain of Corinth without much trouble, whereas his father was seriously wounded in the rearguard; the author finally discovered him half-dead under a mulberry tree on the plain and feared he would die but an Austrian doctor who accompanied the troops was able to reassure the anxious son and saw to his recovery (58b-60a). Vaṣfī then goes on to describe the relieve of the besieged Corinth (61a) and İnebolu (Navplio) (61b), which in fact must have occurred earlier.

In the plain of Corinth, the Ottoman troops had a bad time because of the lack of supplies — the Ottoman fleet under Kara Meḥmed Paşa had left earlier for Patras — and 7000 to 8000 men were to die from exposure, lack of provisions, and disease during the following winter.[2] Maḥmūd Paşa died in Corinth in December.[3] Vaṣfī Efendi decided not to remain with the army at Corinth but instead to sail to Agrıboz (Chalkis) on an Austrian vessel.[4] He and his father joined Çırḳacı (Çarḫacı) 'Alī Paşa, by then governor of the island (62a).[5] Father and son remained there for four years (63b), found employment with the pasha's *delibaşı* Yörük Mūsā, whose standard-bearer was an acquaintance of his father (62b-63a) and lived in a confiscated house in the town which once had belonged to a local 'infidel'.

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[1] Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, pp. 96-9; Vakalopoulos, *Istoria* ST, p. 215 ff.

[2] *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 84.

[3] Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, p. 99.

[4] Austrian ship captains played an active role in the Aegean as suppliers of the Ottoman troops under siege and were often able to make a handsome profit from this trade, cf. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, p. 74; a number of Austrian ships called at the port of Corinth in late summer and sold provisions to the Ottomans, cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 69.

[5] A local insurrection, concentrated in Limni and Kymi, had broken out began in the early summer of 1821 and was led by Nikolaou Diamantis and Niklaou Krietzotis. 'Alī Paşa had arrived with 500 men on the island in July 1822, cf. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria* ST, p. 215 ff.

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The following fifty-odd folios are filled with the 'stories' (64a) of a number of military campaigns undertaken on the island of Agrıboz during these years. The first military expedition out of the continually beleaguered town of Agrıboz in which Vaṣfī participated took place in the second summer (cf. 63b-64a) after his arrival, that is in 1824. A small force of about 200 *deli*s was sent to the relief of Ḳızılḥisār (Karistos) on the southern tip of the island which was defended by the local *mütesellim* 'Ömer Beg. They were soon reinforced by 6000 Janissaries who had arrived by sea from Anatolia, and both units, led by 'Ömer Beg, pursued the fleeing besiegers into the mountains, where they were harassed by the guerrilla tactics of the insurgents — Vaṣfī again nearly lost his life (68a) — and later 'pacified' the Ḳumīye (Kymi) area (64b-70a).

A second expedition was directed to the north-west (70a-83b). The *deli*s, including Vaṣfī, under the command of Çarḫacı 'Alī Paşa, joined an army consisting mostly of Janissaries and Albanian volunteers; among the commanders were the already mentioned Ḳaṣṣābbaşı Ḥasan Paşa and Bosnalı 'Oṣmān Paşa, both of whom had formerly been with Ḫurşīd Paşa's army on the mainland. The aim of the expedition was the subjection of the most north-western town of Ṣalāḥūr (Xerochori, modern Istiea). In order to reach it the army had to pass through a narrow defile, the 'Iron Gate' (Temurḳapu) in the Ḳandıl (Kandilio) mountains. Again the soldiers had a bad time at the hands of the insurgents who had dug out trenches and built strongholds in various strategic spots. The situation was made worse by the mutual distrust between the free-lance troops and the Janissaries and, consequently, a lack of co-ordination. The power of the army was further weakened after a part of the Janissary force had been obliged to return to Agrıboz which had again come under siege after thirty-two ships with 10,000 'infidels' had arrived near the fortress. A series of bloody battles, some of them lasting for several days on end, were fought in the mountains and the author lost 200 of his free-lance colleagues as well as his horse after it had been hit by enemy bullets. Finally the troops reached Mandūdköy (Mandoudi) in the plain north of the mountains where the Ottoman troops slaughtered 600 inhabitants and had 70 'priests', more likely monks, impaled. From there, Vaṣfī was sent in a small reconnaissance party of 600 *deli*s to Ṣalāḥūr. Upon their arrival, they met the last locals on the shore busy escaping on ships to Bülbülce (Trikeri) and found the town almost deserted. It was plundered. When later a group of men arrived from Bülbülce, by then, unknown to the author, under Ottoman protection, they were all captured and most of them killed by pikes or otherwise mutilated or enslaved. The army then returned to Agrıboz and moved to the mainland. The expedition brought booty to the troops but little else: Vaṣfī concluded that both the Ṣalāḥūr and İlmıye (Limni) areas had not, in fact, come under Ottoman 'protection' (85a). Back in Agrıboz, Vaṣfī saw himself forced by his father, who was tired of the war and did not want to get involved in action in the Moral, to stay behind in the fortress now under the command of 'Ömer Beg, henceforth 'Ömer Paşa, who replaced Çarḫacı 'Alī Paşa as governor (84a-b).

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At the end of, probably, the same summer (85a) Vaṣfī joined his third main military expedition of this period to the Ḳumīye area, opposite the islands of İşḳoroz (Skiros) and İşḳopuloz (Skiropoula), as part of a cavalry unit of 200 men; it lasted well into the next summer (of 1825) (85a-97a). His father stayed behind. To complicate matters for the Ottomans, the Greek military command in the Moral decided to send expeditionary forces by sea to Agrıboz, Ḳızılḥisār and Ḳumīye at the same time and Vaṣfī's story now switches back and forth between the three theatres of military action. During the winter the inhabitants of Ḳumīye gradually fled to the mountains and communications with 'Ömer Paşa in Agrıboz were cut off. A hostile military force, then, arrived by sea and the Ottoman troops came under siege in Ḳumīye castle and had to withdraw from 'Alavar (Aliveri), a port 'village' on the coast close to Ḳumīye, which was destroyed by a naval bombardment. A small infantry force, however, was able to hold out in a fortified tower there. The beleaguered forces at Ḳumīye, Ḳızılḥisār (where the local bey was captured by the Greeks) and Agrıboz (where enemy troops even succeeded in penetrating into town through the outer stockade), soon began to suffer badly from a lack of provisions. After three months, the troops at Ḳumīye decided to move to 'Alavar and one night 300 hungry men made it to the fortified tower where the army's main stock of provisions was kept; 500 of their comrades meanwhile had perished (91b). The tower soon came under heavy fire from five types of gun which had arrived by ship. Meanwhile and upon 'Ömer Paşa's request, an auxiliary Janissary force was sent from Istanbul to Agrıboz. When 'Ömer Paşa heard of the plight of the Ottoman soldiers in 'Alavar, he himself led a relieving force to the besieged tower. Upon the arrival of the reinforcements, a sortie was launched from the tower and a bloody battle was fought for some days; the author again nearly lost his life in a one-to-one fight; Vaṣfī killed his opponent by stabbing his belly with his sword (95b). The Ottomans were not able to disperse the Greek forces and 'Ömer Paşa had to ask for the assistance of an artillery unit and a long-range battering gun from Agrıboz. The unit was held up in the mountains, however, and 'Ömer Paşa decided to give up the fight and return to Agrıboz. Another expedition had only resulted in useless suffering.

Back in Agrıboz, the town again came under a lengthy siege of nineteen months which was aggravated by Greek reinforcements arriving from 'Alavar (98a). Soon both troops and inhabitants began to suffer from a lack of provisions and 'Ömer Paşa decided to procure supplies by force from the Rumelian (Boeotian) mainland opposite Agrıboz Island. An expedition was organised to raid the region of Ṭalanda (Atalandi). The main force, having crossed the sea on rafts, soon returned discouraged but Vaṣfī, against the will of his father, joined a small group of die-hards under Deli Meḥmed who decided to press on despite all odds: a conspicuous lack of manpower, supplies and ammunition; it is the fourth military expedition of this period described in

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detail (99a-106b). It took place in spring, probably of the year 1825, under contrary weather conditions. The raid was a complete disaster; of the more than fifty men (cf. 99a, 104a) who followed Deli Meḥmed only eight returned, among them the author. Deli Meḥmed was killed. Vaṣfī's legs were swollen and he could not walk for fifteen days. He and his comrades had been forced to abandon all booty of women, girls and sheep.

Meanwhile Agrıboz had remained under siege. To the surprise of the soldiers one day they were treated to a naval battle which developed between the 'infidels' themselves in the straits near the town. The cause was soon known. A small convoy of three Austrian ships, among them two supply vessels, were stopped by the Greeks. The ships were hospitably taken into the harbour and the captain was received by 'Ömer Paşa. Supplies of wheat, barley, coffee, and tobacco were bought and the empty (Jewish) shops in the town replenished. Fire-crackers were ignited on the bastions in celebration (107b-108b). The captain later informed the Sultan in Istanbul, who decided to send reinforcements to the town (which he had thought had already been occupied by the Greeks!). A small fleet of eighteen ships with 6000 Janissaries and provisions was sent, but before it arrived, the 'infidels' had again been able to penetrate into the town through the outer stockade (109b-110a). The Janissaries and the other troops were able to drive the 'infidels' out of Agrıboz. The Janissaries, eager for booty, put pressure on 'Ömer Paşa to allow them to organise an expedition. This he did, and Vaṣfī as part of a *deli* unit of eighteen men, joined the army under 'Oṣmān Paşa in a raid towards Ḳumīye (111b-114b). It is the last expedition described in the book. Again many atrocities were committed: heads cut off villagers, their wives and daughters enslaved, and their cattle dragged off. Soon an angry conflict developed between the Janissaries and the *delis*. In the eyes of the jealous Janissaries, the *delis* being fast and on horseback skimmed the cream off the riches found on the road to the north-east. A violent confrontation followed in which Vaṣfī was robbed of all his belongings, including his horse, a woman, a girl, some mules, and severed heads. (By a ruse he was able to get these back later after he had befriended a Janissary servant and pretended to be a Janissary himself, 113a-b). The book breaks off while the army is engaged in a battle in the mountains near Ḳumīye.

The contents of the book, then, are dominated by descriptions of military events (other sub-genres of the book are discussed under 3, below). These descriptions are all complete stories in themselves. The author does not seem to show any interest in, or indeed knowledge about, the context in which these expeditions took place or, generally, about developments which took place outside the Ottoman Empire. The author's 'world picture' (if one could call it such) which is reflected in the book is, also from this perspective, completely traditional and unsophisticated. The work could indeed well have

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been written, say, by a border *ġāzī* of the fourteenth century or one of the early Ottoman chroniclers. Although the Ottoman Empire was changing and was poised on the eve of even more profound changes traditionally summarised by the term '*tanẓimāt*' (after which term the period of 1839 to 1871 is usually named as well) and had become more closely involved in world politics, no trace of the first internal, particularly military, reforms undertaken from the last part of the eighteenth century is found in our book. (The only indication, apart from circumstantial references such as names and, occasionally, language, that we are not in the Middle Ages is perhaps the mention of a watch on 68a.) The names of only a few non-Ottomans, all minor players on the historical scene, occur in the work: that of Aḥmad Khān, the *sardār* of Revān, that of the 'infidel chief' (*baş*) 'Ḳullı Ḳuṭrān' (Theodoros Kolokotronis, 1770-1843, commander of the Greek forces) and those of a few less well-known Greek warriors, whose names are difficult to identify. Central is the Ottoman Empire, never named as such, and developments are presented as being initiated by the Sultan alone through his *fermān*s. His pashas are either obedient to these orders or resist them (and often lose their heads as a result). The population is divided into two main groups: Muslims and 'infidels' (*kāfir*) who have the benefit of protection (*re'āyet*) granted by the Sultan. The latter group is occasionally specified as *ḳızılbaş* (Shiite), Armenian, Kurdish, Albanian, Jewish, and 'Rūm' (Greek). If they renounce their status of protected rayas, in other words rebel and become enemies of the Sultan, they are routinely (and traditionally) compared to filthy, wine-drinking pigs or dogs. Exceptionally, also 'Lemse' infidels are mentioned. This term, as is clear from the context, stands for 'Nemçe', Austrian. The misspelling clearly reflects the author's ignorance of matters non-Ottoman. These Austrian infidels are, exceptionally, presented in a positive light here because, as we have seen above, they helped the author and his father: an Austrian doctor saw to his father's recovery, an Austrian sea captain helped them to cross the Aegean, and Austrian privateers brought provisions to beleaguered Agrıboz. The military actions described in the book are all, as far as Vaṣfī Efendi is concerned, rooted in this global dichotomy between Muslims and 'infidels'. They are motivated on the Muslim side by the suppression of infidel rebels and their allies, both outside and inside the Empire.

3. Language, style, and genres

The text is written in lapidary, colloquial Turkish in an idiosyncratic (phonetic) and inconsistent spelling which is also found in names, both geographic and personal. The writer, it appears, did not have much knowledge of Arabic; loan-words derived from that language are often misspellt. The inconsistent spelling also makes it possible for the reader to detect occasionally the actuality of an important characteristic of modern Turkish

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phonetics: four-fold vowel harmony instead of the old two-fold one. Although orthographic conventions cover this up, the writer could not help himself and let his pen slip in some places. Thus, for instance, we find phonetic '*ḳolu*' instead of conventional '*ḳolı*' (41a), '*yolu*' instead of '*yolı*' (53a), and '*çoḳmudur*' instead of '*çoḳmıdur*' (55b). By contrast, the word for (modern) '*yalnız*' is, it seems archaically, spelt as '*yalaguz*' (9a, 22a, 63a) but it is more likely that the word was actually pronounced as '*yalağuz*' by the author; it still today occurs as such in some eastern Anatolian dialects. Striking aspects of Vaṣfī's syntax are a prolific usage, often grammatically incorrect, of endless series of gerunds ending in *-ub/üb* and an indiscriminate use of the past perfect in *-mış/miş idi*. The vocabulary used by the author is limited; in no way did he try to avoid repetition of one word or name in the same sentence and of the same short sentences in comparable contexts. In particular he makes prolific use of the adjective *meẕkūr*, 'aforementioned' alongside or combined with the demonstrative '*bu*', 'this/these', which soon, I must admit, gets on the reader's nerves. As far as possible I have tried to leave the term out of the translation. The endless occurrence of the word was perhaps less rooted in colloquial speech than a result of the habit of book-keeping or writing entries in an office-ledger. A loftier style, containing elements of rhymed prose, is used in an elaborate introduction, somewhat unexpected in a work like this, in praise of God and His creation (1b-4b). It contains a series of pious clichés which I did not bother to translate; I gladly leave that to the specialist.

Occasionally the author addresses his audience directly ('dear friends', 4b, 25b) and there are some indications for assuming that he did not write his book himself but dictated it to a clerk of limited literacy: here and there one finds the interjection "now listen", in one instance followed by "he [i.e. Vaṣfī] said..." (57a:1), or a sentence like "let me tell you the story of what happened to us in this Agrıboz castle in full detail" (63b), which is followed by a recapitulation of the previous part. The formula may indicate that a new dictating session had begun. This situation could also have contributed to the inconsistency of the spelling, particularly of words with which the clerk would have been unfamiliar. It also would explain the lack of structure of the work as a whole, perhaps not (re)read by the author, and the endless repetitions of words, sentences, or whole passages. The, often bizarre, spelling as well as the occurrence of words and expressions not found, as far as I can see, in dictionaries (and therefore sometimes difficult to understand), also makes the work an interesting source for linguists. Examples of irregular spelling, exotic vocabulary, and unfamiliar expressions are given in the footnotes to the translation.

Although the text does not show any outward sign of subdivision into chapters and paragraphs, it is possible to dissect it into distinctive parts and genres which make up the whole of the text. Foremost, then, is the

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description of fights, battles, and sieges, an outline of which is given under 2, above. Second come itineraries, including distances in hours, summary characterisations of villages, towns, fortified castles, and physical elements such as rivers, lakes, and mountains. These in particular show a great regularity and repetition of a limited number of set phrases and formulas. Thirdly, at various places the storyline is interrupted by, interestingly, anecdotal asides — these only occur in the first part of the book — and, fourthly, passages of a distinctive autobiographical character. Both show a less repetitive and cliché-ridden style, abound in lively dialogue, and belong to the more attractive passages in the text from a literary point of view.

Anecdotes include a story, or rather an obscene joke, about a pasha and a shepherd (5b); two stories, one concerning a shepherd and another the Prophet Noah, connected with the Sübḥan Mountain near Malazgirt (14a); the description of a snake talisman near Erciş on Lake Van (16a); a story relating the mythical background of a ruined fortress on the Yaġlı (Yağlica) Mountain south of Kars (22a-23a); and another anecdote involving Noah and Mount Ararat (23b), as in the earlier story involving this prophet in an 'explanation' of the mountain's name.

Finally there are the autobiographical passages where the author steps as it were out of the continual military mêlée or pauses on the road to tell something about himself — these indeed give the book its unique character. Apart from highlighting the author's sufferings and feelings, joy contrasting sharply with misery, in particular they bring us close to the reality of Ottoman military life. Here the author is also at its best as a story-teller who is able to hold the attention of the reader (listener) to the end. One could imagine that he entertained his comrades with these or similar tales around a campfire, in a coffee-house, or at home. In one passage Vaṣfī indeed describes how he, returned from a disastrous raid, entertained an audience of officers at his *delibaşı*'s house in Agrıboz with the story of what had happened to him. His success as story-teller may have contributed to the following reward of a horse and a sword (106b).

To sum up, the autobiographical passages describe the author's departure from Kabut as a boy (4b); his find of a bag of money, its restitution, and his stay with a coffee-house keeper in İzmit (27a); the profession of his father (34a); a dangerous raid in which he and five comrades were involved near Kabraniş and which nearly cost him his life (37b-38b); the bad winter weather, the infection of his legs, and their recovery by rubbing them with pig fat (39b); a jereed contest in which he earned a horse (42b-43a); dangerous street fighting in İzdin in which the author and his horse were wounded, and he almost, literally, lost his head (43a-45a); the discovery of his wounded father in the plain of Corinth after the battle in the Moral Pass and the latter's

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gradual recovery (58b-60b); the author's decision to leave the army at Corinth, the sea voyage to Agrıboz, and his and his father's employment and domestic arrangements there (61b-63b); his experiences as member of a ten-strong advanced unit in the Ḳandıl mountains and the bravery of the infantry officer İnce Meḥmed (71a-72b); the murder — Vaṣfī chopped off his first head — and enslavement of the population of Madūdköy and surroundings (79a-b); the move to Ṣalāḥūr and the plundering of the deserted town where Vaṣfī broke into various shops (80a-82a); Vaṣfī's vain attempts to persuade his father to leave Agrıboz with the army (84a-b); illnesses suffered by both father and son during, probably, the winter of 1824-5 (86b); a dangerous confrontation with a middle-aged enemy warrior in a garden near ʻAlavar (95a-b); the raid in the Ṭalanda region and his role in it; his return to Agrıboz and his encounter with his father who had thought that he had been killed (99a-106b); a visit to an Austrian frigate in the harbour of Agrıboz (108b); and the raid, the last action described in the book, toward Ḳumīye during which he was robbed of his booty by Janissaries (111b-114b).

In the course of the history these autobiographical passages become more frequent, longer and more integrated into the storyline. The author clearly improved his style during the process of noting down (or dictating) his experiences and this makes it even more regrettable that we perhaps will never be able to read the whole story.

4. *Source value*

Although Vaṣfī's history may be characterised as an interesting, in parts exciting, if not on the whole perhaps as rich a piece of literature as, say, Evliya Celebi's famous *Seyāḥatnāme*, a long autobiography-cum-travelogue of encyclopaedic proportions written two centuries earlier, what does it contribute to historical knowledge? I have mentioned the itineraries which occur at various places in the book. Toponymic research on the Ottoman Empire is still in its infancy and Vaṣfī's history should be considered a serious contribution, albeit a modest one, to the field; it contains a number of geographical names which I have not been able to identify with the help of existing literature but which, thanks to Vaṣfī's book, we are now able to locate approximately and put on the map.

Secondly, the historical episodes described here, particularly the campaigns on the north-eastern border of the Empire, have hardly been studied by historians of the Ottoman Empire so far and are not even mentioned in well-known multi-volume textbooks such as Danişmend's *Osmanlı Tarihi Kronoloji* or the *Osmanlı Tarihi* published by the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish History Association). The Rumelian campaigns, by contrast, have

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drawn the lively attention of historians of modern Greece because it was part of the struggle for Greek independence, the 'other side' so to speak. Memoirs of activists and fighters involved in this struggle on the Greek side have been published and even (partly) been translated into English.[1] The Greek historians, however, seem hardly to have made use of Turkish sources and Vaṣfī's version of the events, perhaps not always reliable and sometimes confused, nevertheless offers material that may contribute to further research. This is particularly true of the events described in the last part of the history, namely the Agrıboz campaigns of the early to mid-1820s. The island in this time did not play a crucial role in the genesis of the Greek state which was concentrated on the Peloponnese, Central Greece, and Athens, and military events taking place there were, it seems, considered as little more than a side-show by both parties involved. With a view to these circumstances, it is safe to conclude that Vaṣfī's work should be valued as a document which sheds an interesting light on some obscure recesses of both Ottoman and Greek military history.

Thirdly, there is its value as, what in Holland has become fashionable to be called, an 'ego document'. Apart from the intrinsic value of the autobiographical passages themselves as a rare source for the life and emotions of a low-ranking Muslim inhabitant of the pre-modern Ottoman Empire, they are even more remarkable in that they are found in the context of a traditional chronicle which, on the whole, exudes the atmosphere of medieval anonymity. Medieval values, one could conclude, must still have had a strong hold on the minds of even the literate part of the population in an era of new developments, institutional, military and other, and which we, with hindsight, have learned to consider characteristic of the period under discussion. What is perhaps even more surprising is that we find these values, seemingly anachronistically, but fully developed in a book, an autobiography to boot. But this in itself should perhaps and paradoxically so be considered as an aspect of fundamental change: that of a growing self-awareness and literacy among the Ottoman population at large.

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[1] I mention here Theodoros Kolokotronis, *Memoirs (The Greek War of Independence 1821-1833)*, translated and edited by E. M. Edmonds (reprint, Chicago 1969) and *The Memoirs of General Makriyannis, 1797-1864,* edited and translated by H.A. Lidderdale (London 1966). Perhaps the best known person involved in the war was Lord Byron who had a private army of Suliote warriors and died at Missolonghi in April 1824; his letters and journals have been edited and a small library has been written on aspects of his biography, cf. Allan Massie, *Byron's Travels* (London 1988).

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5. Epilogue

Despite the book's value as an interesting source for toponymy and military history and above all as an unique 'ego document', it has, strangely enough, remained obscure until today. Apart from defective, indeed biased, cataloguing, a factor that may have contributed to this situation is literary fashion. The manuscript (or manuscripts if there were more) with its ungainly bold script and primitive drawings must have looked odd to the majority of the reading public of the major Ottoman cities in the 1830s when the first printed books came up for sale in the bazaars, the prose of most of which saw the final exuberant flowering of long-winded rhymed prose. Its contents, particularly its 'myopic', reactionary, world view, if perhaps not its Islamic fervour, may well have struck the better-educated reading public as outdated at the time. However this may have been, the work never made it to the printing press which by now had begun to push manuscripts from the book market and put copyists out of work. Fortunately for us, what saved the work, then, was the antiquarian curiosity of an 'infidel' who purchased it somewhere in the Middle East — we do not know where: although Gaspard Testa spent most of his time in Istanbul, his sons are often found to have resided for longer or shorter periods in other places in the Ottoman Empire — and sold it to the Leiden Library. This in turn, finally, has made it possible for you to peruse these fascinating pages.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the translation and interpretation of this fascinating text, I was generously assisted by and obtained invaluable advice from a number of colleagues and friends. I want to thank here first of all Daniël Koster who spent much time reading through the extensive modern Greek literature on the national revolt and the following war against the Ottomans, and making excerpts for my use. He also suggested further reading in early 19th-century travel literature of which he is an expert. I am, secondly, indebted to Professor Machiel Kiel who shared with me his profound knowledge of Rumelian place names developed during years of travelling in the area and his tireless perusal of archival documents. Professor J. Weitenberg suggested ways of coping with eastern Anatolian place names. Professor Rhoads Murphy was able to provide better readings of some obscure words in the text. In questions related to genre and the place of the text in Ottoman literature, I was stimulated in discussions with Professor Cornell Fleischer and Professor Hedda Reindl-Kiel. Without them, the translation and introduction to the edition would have been much poorer and would also have contained avoidable mistakes.

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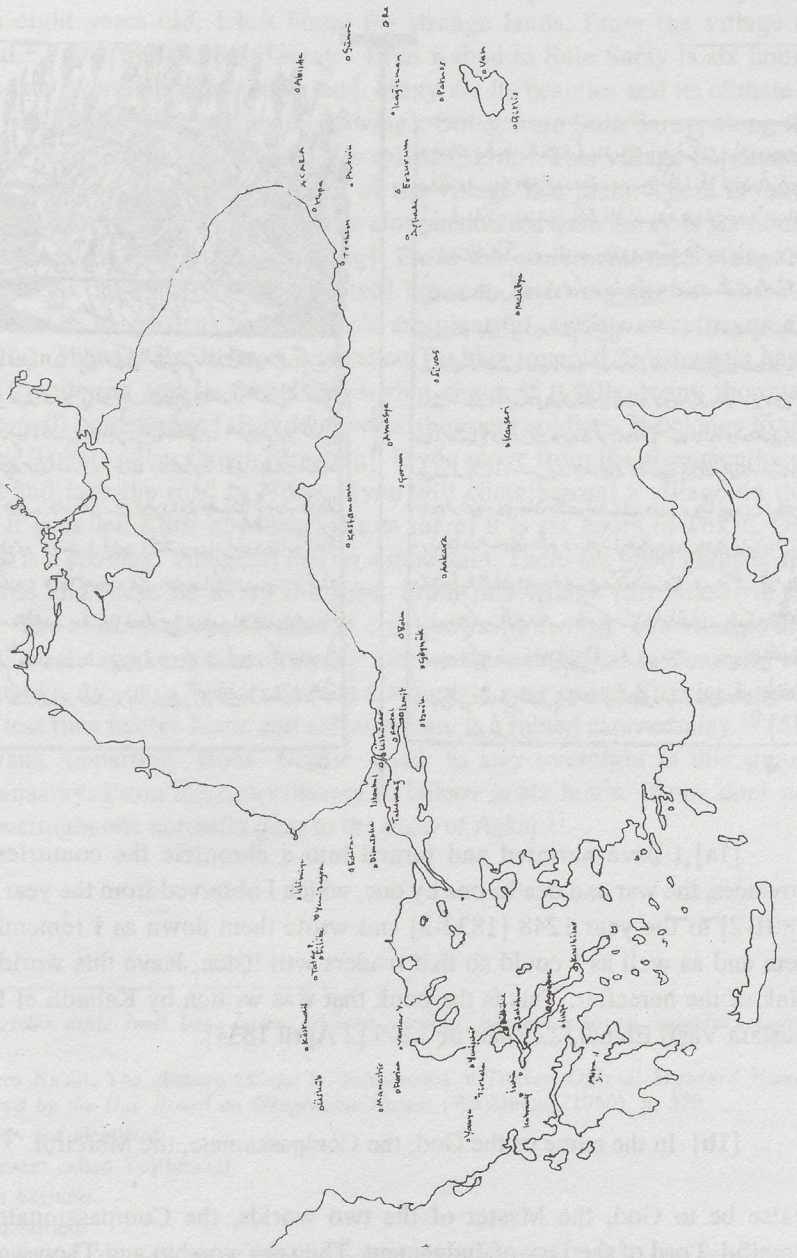

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TRANSLATION



[1a] I have narrated and turned into a chronicle the countries and provinces, the war and deaths one by one, which I observed from the year 1216 [1801-2] to the year 1248 [1832-3] and wrote them down as I remembered them and as well as I could so that readers will listen, leave this world, and think of the hereafter. This is the book that was written by Ḳabudlı el-Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Vaṣfī Efendi, 22 *Ẕīlḳa*'de 1249 [2 April 1834].

[**1b**] In the name of the God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, the Master of the two worlds, the Compassionate, the Merciful, Lord of the Day of Judgement, Thou we worship and Thou we pray to for help, lead us along the straight path of true belief [...] [**4a**] Amen [...] [**4b**] Dear friends, now listen to the story of what happened [to me], the complaints about [what I suffered] at the hands of beauties and the grievances

[about what I endured] in the hands of foes.[1] In the year 1216 [1801-2], when I was eight years old, I left home for strange lands. From the village of Ḳabud,[2] I first went to Ṣulu Saray - from Ḳabud to Ṣulu Saray is six hours. There is a river and good arable land. Many are its beauties and its climate is good. [**5a**] Ṣulu Saray is shown [drawing]. Going from Ṣulu Saray, along the road to Tokat, there is a village. It is called Çıḳrıḳ.[3] This village is [situated at] the foot of a mountain; in front of the village is a plain. There is much arable land. [From] this village to the aforementioned Ṣulu Saray is six hours. This village is also shown [drawing]. From the aforementioned village to Tokat is six hours. Tokat [is situated] between three mountains. There is much water, its gardens and orchards are plentiful, and its sweethearts are beautiful. There is also a river; it is called Ṭavukçı ırmaġı.[4] Tokat castle has a stone foundation and [is furnished] with a chain. If it falls, many thousand houses will be destroyed. It holds twenty thousand soldiers. It belongs to the sultan.[5] Tokat is also shown [drawing]. If you move from the aforementioned Tokat and take the road to Niksar, [you will come across] a village on that road. It is called Kāfir el-Mūṣā.[6] [From there] it is six hours to Tokat. This village is a *ḳızılbaş*[7] village. It lies on a mountain. There are good gardens and orchards and these lie along the road. From this village [to] Niksar is six hours. The aforementioned Niksar is also shown [drawing]. The villages and towns[8] on the road one takes from the aforementioned Niksar to Erzurum[9] are also shown. Leaving Niksar, there is a mountain pass called Ḳuyular boġazı. After less than twelve hours and halfway there is a ruined caravansaray.[10] [**5b**] Caravans departing from Niksar used to stay overnight in this ruined caravansaray. From the caravansaray to Niksar is six hours. If one does not stay overnight one normally goes to the plain of Aşḳar.[11]

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[1] *ey 'azīzler diñle imdi başa gelen ḥikāyeti güzeller elinden şikāyeti 'adūvlar elinden firyādı* ...

[2] Modern Kabut. The obscure village is documented in *Turkey. Official Standard Names Approved by the U.S. Board on Geographic Names* (Washington 1960), p. 320.

[3] چقرق, not identified.

[4] At present called Yeşilırmağı.

[5] *Sulṭān ḥāṣṣıdur.*

[6] Not identified.

[7] Lit. 'readhead'. The term refers to the tradional red cap worn by Shiites who sympathised with the Safavid dynasty.

[8] bender.

[9] Curiously spelt as ارظولوم.

[10] Spelt as هن.

[11] اشقار اوه سی, cf. Franz Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen* (2 Vols. Leipzig 1924-6), II, 2n.

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Cod.Or. 1551, ff. 4b-5a.

[From] the plain of Aşkar to the caravansaray is six hours. This ruined caravansaray lies in a mountain pass; on one side is a river, on the other a mountain. Opposite this caravansaray is a high mountain. There is a story about this caravansaray. In earlier times when a pasha was passing this place, a shepherd appeared on this mountain and shouted: "Oh pasha, give me your horse". The pasha said: "Come and I will give [it to you]". The shepherd said: "Give me your horse, and [I will let] you mount my prick". The pasha went to the kadi and ordered [him] to bring the shepherd in. Eventually, after some time, they brought in the shepherd. The pasha said: "Hey there, shepherd, why did you speak these words?" The shepherd said: "My efendi, they say that the pasha's arm is long, therefore I said [to myself], I am [here] on this mountain, let us see how[1] the pasha's arm will catch me." When he had said this, the pasha reflected, gave the shepherd a tip, and dismissed him. This is the caravansaray [drawing]. When one leaves the aforementioned caravansaray,

[1] نسول= *nasıl*.

there is a village on the other side of the mountain pass. It is called Dereköyi;[1] it is an infidel village [drawing]. From this village it is twelve ours to the place owned by Çaçanoġlı [?].[2] After we had left this village, we met Baba Paşa[3] on the plain of Aşḳar. That [same] year Baba Paşa had been prisoner of war in Şumlu.[4] [**6a**] They had given him the post of Sivas but he was dismissed from this post and he was on his way to his posting at Erzurum. We came across him in the plain of Aşḳar and accompanied him to his post in Erzurum. After we had left this infidel village we arrived in another infidel village. It is called Ṭahrānköy.[5] [From] this village to the residence[6] of Çaçanoġlı is six hours. The village is also shown [drawing]. From this village to the place owned by Çaçaoġlı is six hours. The place owned by this Çaçanzāde is situated on a mountain. On that mountain he has these mansions. If you move out onto the residence and look around you see the plain of Asḳar and all the villages in the plain. It is good open country. The mansions are also shown [drawing]. Having left this residence, there is a bey they call Kelefdenoġlı [?].[7] One normally goes to the place he owns. From this place owned by Kelefden up to here is twelve hours. In between there is a big mountain. Half way up that mountain, there is an outpost.[8] In this outpost soldiers are on guard summer and winter. Robbers abound here. The soldiers are [under the command] of Kelefdenoġlı. The place owned by Kelefdenoġlı is surrounded by mountains on four sides. Behind it are the Gümüşḫāne mountains. In front of it a river flows by. Arable land here is plentiful. Kelefdenzāde's residence is also shown [drawing]. Taking leave of Kelefdenoġlı, one used to go to Kerkūd çiftligi.[9] [To] Kerkūd çiftligi is eight hours. This Kerkūd çifligi is also a good place. In front of it is a plain. There is a river. There is very much arable land and it has a good climate. The same as in Erzurum [?].[10] [**6b**] In front of the Kerkūd çiftligi is a plain. There is also a small river. There is much arable land there. Leaving this *çiftlik* [farm],

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[1] Not identified. A 'Dereköy deresi' in the area is mentioned in T.A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: an Architectural and Archeological Survey* 4 Vols. (London 1987-90), II, pp. 217, 242.

[2] چچان اوغلی, not identidfied.

[3] Pehlivān İbrāhīm Paşa (Baba Paşa), military hero, governor (*vālī*) of Sivas and Erzurum between 1228/1813 and 1231/1816, d. 1236/1820-1, SO, p. 1331.

[4] شوملو, probably identical with Şumnī, modern Shumen (Bulgaria); İbrāhīm Paşa was held prisoner by the Russians between 1225/1810 and 1228/1813, *ibidem*.

[5] طهران كوى, not identidfied.

[6] *ḳonaḳ*.

[7] كلفدن اوغلى, not identified.

[8] درونت; his word does not seem to be documented; judging from the context - the word is used a number of times - it appears to mean an outpost guarding a mountain pass.

[9] كركود چفتليكى, probably identical with Kelkit çiftligi, cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, II, p. 13.

[10] ارظولوم چثده سى‌در = *Erzurum çüssesidir* ?

there is an infidel village called Ḳayalar.[1] [From] that village to Kerkūd çifligi is twelve hours. In between there is a Muslim village. Having left Kerkūd çifligi, one used to stay in this Muslim village. This village is a rebellious village. It is on the road. From that village to Ḳayalar is six hours. The village of Ḳayalar is situated at the foot of a rocky mountain. In front of it a river flows by. This village is also shown [drawing]. Leaving the village shown [here], there is a village called Mama Ḫatun.[2] One normally goes to that village. [From] Mama Ḫatun to the afore-mentioned village is six hours. This village is on the road. The village was built by a sultan. If this village had not been there the traveller would have suffered badly. Because when one has left this village, one moves on to the plain of Erzurum. This road takes sixteen hours. In view of this a sultan built this village. The village is situated at the foot of a mountain. In front of it a river flows by. There are a ruined bathhouse and a caravansaray. The village is also shown [drawing]. Leaving this village one enters the plain of Erzurum. The plain of Erzurum [takes] eight hours. From the summit of [a] mountain Erzurum can be seen. Eight hours from Erzurum there is a village. It is called Balıḳçıköy.[3] In front of the village a river flows by; its arable land is plenty. It is a good village. Having left this village, there is an infidel village at three hours [from] Erzurum. One used to go there. Balıḳçıköy is shown [drawing]. Leaving Balıḳçıköy, there is an infidel village at three hours from Erzurum called Umūdum.[4] [**7a**] They call the infidel village Kān.[5] [From] Kān to Erzurum is three hours. Any pasha who arrives [here] used to stay overnight in this Kān. After three days, one goes to Erzurum. This Kān is the storeroom of Erzurum. It is a village of some two thousand houses. There are all sorts of ponds.[6] It is a well-irrigated agricultural place. This Kān is also shown [drawing]. Leaving Kān, shown [here], one enters Erzurum. Erzurum is a big town.[7] There are many soldiers[8] and many beauties. Its arable land and vegetation are abundant. There are some forty thousand houses. Thirty thousand are owned by soldiers. Its winter is long and its climate is good. Behind it rise the Karga [?] Mountains,[9] in front of it there is a big plain. It is a very cheap place. This

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[1] Not identified.

[2] The *türbe* of Mama Ḫatun is found at Tercan.

[3] Not identidied.

[4] اومودم, not identified; it also occurs as اومىدم, Umīdüm, cf. f. 7b. There the author explains that the village is situated to the north of Erzurum on the road to Ahıṣḳa. The author probably made a mistake but immediately picked up the right story line without, however, erasing (or having erased) the mistake.

[5] Cf. Taeschener, *Wegenetz*, II, p. 12.

[6] خوضادى = *ḫavża* ?

[7] *vilāyet*; the term, which occurs frequently, seems to be more often used to indicate 'town' (to contrast to fortified castle) than the usual 'province'.

[8] اسپاهلر = *ispāhlar*.

[9] كغى د غى

Erzurum is also shown [drawing]. On our arrival in the aforementioned Erzurum, Baba Paşa who had got the post of Erzurum was already in Erzurum. He sent us with Yegān Paşa to Ahıṣḳa.[1] With Yegān Paşa there were some soldiers and a pasha. He was called Maḥmūd Ḳırān.[2] Maḥmūd Ḳırān was commander-in-chief[3] of this army. When we made our way there, an order [*fermān*] came from Sultan Maḥmūd [II] declaring that Ḥamşīoġlı Selim Paşa[4] at Acara[5] was to be considered an outlaw;[6] at the same time this Maḥmūd Ḳırān was [appointed] commander-in-chief. Yegān Paşa went to Ahisḳa and Maḥmūd Ḳırān and the army were sent to Acara. I[7] was with [them]. They were going first to Ahıṣḳa, later to Acara. I will inform [you] about the places I observed: the villages and towns on both roads, one by one. There are eighteen halting places between Sivas and Erzurum. Because there are only very little villages on the road this will be brief. [**7b**] The villages on the road from Erzurum to Ahıṣḳa will be explained [first]. Leaving Erzurum, there is an infidel village opposite Erzurum. It is called Umīdüm [Umūdum]. This village is eight hours [from] Erzurum. Behind this village is a mountain, in front of which a river flows by. Its arable land is plenty, its climate good. This village is also shown [drawing]. Leaving the village shown [here], there is an infidel village called Ḳızılkilise [?].[8] It is eight hours to the village shown [here]. Ḳızılkilise is on the road. It is an infidel village of a hundred houses. Leaving this village, there is a place called Narmān ḳal'esi. Ḳızılkilise is also shown [drawing]. Leaving this Kilise, it is eight hours to Narmān ḳal'esi. Narmān ḳal'esi is situated between two mountains. The fortress [*ḳal'e*] lies on the summit of a hill [but is also situated] at the foot of the Yılanı Mountain.[9] In front of it a river flows by. It is a cold place and a place with a bad climate. The fortress is shown [drawing]. Leaving this fortress, there is another fortress called Olṭı [Oltu] ḳal'esi. From Olṭı ḳal'esi to Narmān ḳal'esi is four hours. The place where Olṭı ḳal'esi is situated is a good place. In front of it there is a plain where a river flows. The arable land there, the gardens and orchards and its climate are all good. Olṭı ḳal'esi is also shown [drawing]. Leaving the fortress shown [here], there is a place they call Göle. It is eight hours [from] Olṭı ḳal'esi. A bey resides in Göle. Göle is a good place. There are many thousands of lakes [**8a**] and in these lakes there are geese [and]

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[1] اقسقیه (also spelt elsewhere اقسقا or اخسقا), Akhaltsikhe in Georgia.

[2] The man, a *bölükbaşı* (Janissary captain) and not a pasha, is called Maḥmūd Tīrān in *Tarih-i Cevdet* X, p. 249.

[3] سلسکر = *ser'asker*.

[4] حمشی اوغلی سلم پاشه, probably identical with 'Maḳtūl' Selīm Paşa, see the introduction.

[5] عجره, the region of Adzharia or perhaps the town of Agara in the same area.

[6] This happened in 1231/1816, see the introduction.

[7] *bendeñiz,* 'your servant'; this (very usual) term is used throughout the book.

[8] قزیل کله سه, not identified, but perhaps referring to the 'Red Monastery' (Karmir Vank), cf. Thierry, *Répertoire des monastères arméniens* (Tournai 1993). No. 212.

[9] یلانی دغ, perhaps identical with the Yılan Dağ mentioned in Sinclair, *Survey* III, pp. 70, 74 and 75.

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skylarks [?].[1] There is one big lake. On the shore of this lake the bey of Göle has his mansion. Both in summer and winter one finds skylarks, geese, and ducks on these lakes. In summer these lakes are very limpid. Having left this Göle, it is eight hours to Ardahan castle. All along the road there are lakes. Göle is also shown [drawing]. Having left Göle, shown here, it is eight hours to Ardahan castle. Ardahan castle sits in a plain. In front of it a river flows. It is a place with good arable land and [full of] herbs and water. It has a strong fortress. It is impossible to capture it by force. This castle is also shown [drawing]. Leaving the fortress, shown here, there is a village called Dūzḳāb.[2] It is twelve hours [from] Ardahan. There was a battle at this Dūzḳāb later. How much they wept is explained below.[3] This Dūzḳāb is a village. A ruined fortress is found at its centre. A river flows at the fortress's base. The village is difficult to ascend to. It is also shown [drawing]. Leaving the village shown [here], it [would have taken us] eight hours to Ahısḳa if we had gone there. But we did not go to Ahısḳa but went in the direction of Acara. Eight hours [from] Ahisḳa there is an infidel village called Ude [?].[4] This village lies on a hill. A church is found in the centre of the village, [**8b**] a big church. They used to toll bells in this church. We and Maḥmūd Ḳırān set up camp in this village. Yegān Paşa went to Ahısḳa. We spent some days in this village. Provisions and ammunition arrived from Ahısḳa. The troops were lined up and we departed for Acara. Maḥmūd Ḳırān was commander. It was winter. We were on our way for eight days and arrived at the fortress held by Ḥamşīoġlı Selim Paşa. Only we know how we suffered from winter in the Acara mountains. The fortress[5] in which Selim Paşa had locked himself up was precipitous and it was impossible to take it by force. This pasha, then, was inside the fortress. We set up camp within canon shot of the fortress and sat down. But Ḥazīnedāroġlı Ḥüseyn Paşa[6] had arrived before us, had set up his camp, and had settled in as well. Although we were settled [in our] camp on one side, it had been clear [to him] that he would stand no chance with his guns and rifles, so he had laid siege [to the fortress] and while he sat [waiting], one day, Selim Paşa, inside the fortress, had enough. There was a leader of the irregular cavalry [*delibaşı*] called Kör İbrāhīm. He came to his tent and the *delibaşı* told Maḥmūd Ḳırān the news that Selim Paşa had come [out]. Maḥmūd Ḳırān captured Selim Paşa and brought him to his tent. Later they wrote the news to Baba Paşa. From Baba Paşa came the message to cut off his head and send it to Erzurum. In the end they indeed cut off Selim Paşa's head and sent it to

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1 دورن= *duran(ik)* ?

2 دوز قاب, not identified.

3 Cf. f. 10b, below.

4 ويده, Ude ?

5 Called خمرخات, Ḫamerḫat (not identified) in f. 9a.

6 This man is called Ḫazīnedārzāde Suleymān Paşa in *Tarih-i Cevdet* X, p. 248; he was *vālī* of Trabzon (from 1227/1812 to 1233/1818) and was also ordered by the Porte to take part in the military campaign. He died in 1233/1818, cf. SO, pp. 1548-9.

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Erzurum. Later Ḫazīnedāroġlı Ḥüseyn Paşa went[1] [home] to his [own] place and Maḥmūd Ḳırān remained [behind] with some soldiers and sappers[2] in the fortress [previously] held by this Selim Paşa. We, on the other hand, went back to the infidel village where the camp had been. [**9a**] The infidel village to which we went was called Ude [?]. The camp and [our] provisions were still in this village. Opposite this village was a fortress. It was called Altun ḳal'esi. [From] Altun ḳal'esi to Ahısḳa was eight hours. While we were staying thus in this fortress, after a few days Yegān Paşa in Ahısḳa and Maḥmūd Ḳırān in Acara, each sent his soldiers as deputies[3] to a district[4]. Yegān Paşa remained alone[5] in Ahısḳa. We were sent to Ardanuç castle. Maḥmūd Ḳırān remained at Ḫamerḥat castle which had belonged to Ḥamşīoġlı Selim Paşa. This castle is shown [drawing]. In the castle shown [here] Ḥamsīoġlı Selim Paşa's head was cut off and they sent it to Sultan Maḥmūd. The pasha's head is also shown. When we had cut off Selim Paşa's head and had taken the road to Ahısḳa, we went to Ardanuç castle, settled there, and took charge.[6] The road from Ardanuç castle to Ahısḳa takes six days. We stayed in Georgian villages. After some days, lo, disaster struck.[7] While we were at Ardanuç castle, Baba Paşa departed from Erzurum, went to Kars, cut [off the head of] Ḳara Beg, came [back] and while he was residing in Erzurum, the Ahısḳans revolted, captured Yegān Paşa and incarcerated him. They pillaged the troops and captured Maḥmūd Ḳırān at Acara, stripped his troops and incarcerated Maḥmūd Ḳırān in the fortress that had belonged to Selim Paşa. [**9b**] We remained under siege in Ardanuç castle and Baba Paşa remained in Erzurum. We were besieged in Ardanuç castle for forty days. A local man called Ḳara Ḳādī was head of the warriors [?][8] at Ardanuç. They were fighting us for about forty days, whereupon Ḳara Ḳāżī offered us his protection[9] and [we] came out of the fortress. He did not strip us. There was a place called Livane. There was a local potentate [*derebegi*] in this town called Süleymān Beg. Ḳara Ḳażī sent us with some of his stewards [*ketḫüdā*] to Livane, the place which belonged to that bey. We arrived in Livane in the company of the stewards, safe and sound, in eight days. This town is near the Black Sea and near the town of Of. They call the seaport town at the Black Sea there Hopa. Hopa is three halting places [from] Livane. This Livane is a place with many gardens and orchards. In front of it a river flows by. It is called the Çoruḳ [Çoruh]. There are olive, cherry, and cornelian cherry

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1 كدى = *gitdi*
2 مسللم = *müsellem*
3 متشللم = *mütesellim*
4 *ḳażā*
5 يلاكز, archaic for *yalnız*.
6 *ḥükümlik eder iken…*
7 *baḳ imdi felākin [= felāket] işini*
8 جنغر باشى = *cengāver başı* ?
9 بزلره رٴى ويروب = *bizlere ra'y verüb*

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trees everywhere. It is a good place which I find impossible to praise [too much]. When we arrived in this Livane it was cherry time. This bey was not present in the town. Düzcioğlı[1] had been declared an outlaw and the bey had moved against Düzcioğlı. We fell upon the bey's robbers. Şerīf Paşa's robbers [**10a**] were also there. [Thus] we fell upon on [these] robbers. The robbers gave us food and provisions[2] and we settled. After some time this Süleymān Beg came back from Düzcioğlı. We went to meet [him] and brought [him back with us]. This man was happy with us and we settled. After some days we sent a man from the bey and a man of our own to Baba Paşa in Erzurum. We remained in the bey's company. After six days men came and brought us news of Baba Paşa's good health. We were pleased, obtained permission [to leave] from the bey, got a man, and together we went back to Ardanuç castle. We stayed overnight, after which we came into the company of [a man] called Arnavud Muṣṭafā Beg of Olṭı [Oltu] and stayed some days with this Muṣṭafā Beg. Later Baba Paşa wrote to Sultan Maḥmūd and an order [*fermān*] came from Sultan Maḥmūd. He departed for Ahısḳa. Baba Paşa [also] gathered an army and moved against Ahısḳa. He knew we were in Olṭı castle and together we moved against Ahısḳa. He arrived at the aforementioned Ardahan castle. Baba Paşa remained behind in this fortress. He had a steward [*ketḫüdā*] called Ḳāżīoğlı. He made him commander-in-chief and sent him to Ahısḳa. We accompanied him. We arrived in the aforementioned [**10b**] village of Dūzḳāb. At the time that we had cut off [the head of] the late Ḥamşīoğlı Selim Paşa, his two sons had fled to the Georgian Açıḳbaş.[3] They had taken some 20,000 soldiers [with them]. At Ahısḳa there is also a bey called Aġzıaçıḳ.[4] This bey was with them. They came [to] us opposite Dūzḳāb village and confronted [us]; this was in an afternoon. They came, put up their tents, and sat down. Let us see how much they were going to weep. In any case, they settled down for a few days. Finally they became restless[5] and one day — it was two hours after dusk — they rose and marched against us. Some of us cried out in confusion,[6] those on horseback mounted, those on foot settled in the trenches. Their horsemen came and clashed with our horsemen. While they were skirmishing with each other, the infantry launched an attack from the rear, our troops showed signs of fleeing backwards and were in retreat. Their troops outflanked our troops, shouting "they are finished", but [in fact] the main armies were [still] separated [by a distance of] a league.[7] Our troops made a

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[1] دوزچی اوغلی, not identified.

[2] تعین تعانت = *ta'yīn [ü] ta'yīnāt*

[3] *Açıḳbaş gürcisi; 'açıḳbaş'*, 'bareheaded', can also mean 'inhabitant of Imretia'.

[4] The person is also mentioned in *Tarih-i Cevdet*, X, p. 248.

[5] *bunlarıñ 'aceli gelüb*

[6] *bizlerden daḫı diller çaġrışub*

[7] اورضولرندن بر فرصح ارلمشلر ایدی = *orḍularından bir ferseng aralamışlar idi*

turn and routed the army of the schismatics.[1] They took their two bastions and cut off 270 heads. [By then] it was evening and they took all their tents. [**11a**] Thereupon our soldiers went back to their positions and rested. Their army had been making a lot of noise.[2] It had been afternoon[3] then. [Then] they fired at us [?][4] and fled. The next day we sent their heads to Baba Paşa and while we sat [waiting], two Laz[5] servants extricated Maḥmūd Ḳırān from his imprisonment and brought him to Baba Paşa. Baba Paşa gave Maḥmūd Ḳırān a few soldiers and sent them to reinforce us. Maḥmūd Ḳırān came and found us in Dūzḳāb. There was a hearty rejoicing. We departed the next day and moved against Ahısḳa. Three hours towards Ahısḳa there is a village. It is called Valeköy [Vale]. We went to this village, formed a camp and sat down. The soldiers who had fled were inside Ahısḳa. We stayed in Valeköy for three days. On the fourth day we left [our] provisions [behind] in the village and departed, about 20,000 cavalry and infantry. We arrived before Ahısḳa. They began to fire cannon balls [at us]. Not one of the soldiers who had been fleeing came outside. They began to fire their guns and rifles from the fortress and its towers. Our cavalry and infantry went as far as the base of the fortress. They found no means [to capture the fortress] and turned back. [**11b**] These schismatics who had been fleeing came out one day but did not fight. Those inside the fortress were under siege and we were fighting them from the outside. In this way a month passed by. In the afternoon of one of those days a message came from Baba Paşa. The message came to break our camp and return. At night six hundred horsemen and five hundred infantry had gone to [this] outpost. During [the same] night, we had taken up our guns and turned back. The soldiers in the outpost [only] arrived in the morning, did not find us, and came after us. Anyway, we came [back] and visited Baba Paşa, finding him at Ardahan castle. We obtained the news that a complaint had been lodged against him.[6] Inhabitants of Ahısḳa had gone to Sultan Maḥmūd and had presented [him] with a petition which [stated that] the troops of Baba Paşa had taken Ahısḳa, had deflowered five hundred girls and had cut off [the heads of] several thousand men. Therefore they had dismissed Baba Paşa and given [him] the post of Diyārbakır.[7] Later we departed from Ardahan with Baba Paşa, ate, drank, formed our camp, moved [again], and came to Erzurum. In Erzurum we rested a while and after a few days we [again] departed from Erzurum and came

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1 مخلفلر = *muḫtalifler*

2 اصاص شامطا ايدرلر ايدى = *ses şamāṭā ederler idi*

3 *ikin vaḳtı*

4 اكنلره = *bizlere* ?

5 لظ

6 بو نسول دعوادر = *bu mes'ūl-i da'vādır*

7 This happened in the same year, 1231/1816, cf. SO, p. 1331. According to *Tarih-i Cevdet* X, p. 248, Baba Paşa was accused of 'cruelty' (*ẓulm*) against the inhabitants of Erzurum.

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to Aşḳale.[1] Baba Paşa followed later. In this way we came to the aforementioned Kerkūd Çiftligi and Baba Paşa came too. Maḥmūd Ḳırān lead his soldiers creating mischief and they plundered Baba Paşa's possessions and harem.[2] Baba Paşa took what was left behind **[12a]** and went in the direction of Diyārbakır. While we, fifteen thousand unemployed[3] horsemen, together with Maḥmūd Ḳırān, were on our way to the plain of Aşḳar, mentioned above, Baba Paşa sent a note to Ḫazīnedāroġlı Ḥüseyn Paşa and couriers [*ṭaṭarlar*] from this Ḥüseyn Paşa came to Maḥmūd Ḳırān. He [Baba Paşa] played a trick on us by [pretending] that he [Ḥüseyn Paṭa] would take care of our monthly pay from the day we were separated from Baba Paşa. While we were going to Sivas, we changed direction in the plain of Aşḳar and went to Şebiñ Ḳaraḥiṣār [instead]. In that town[4] perhaps there was news [for us]. The horsemen dispersed in various districts [*ḳażālar*] but we, Maḥmūd Ḳırān, some of the horsemen and myself, entered the town. There was a man called Ḳara Ḳāżī. Maḥmūd Ḳırān was received as a guest in his mansion. The remaining horsemen were billeted as guests to houses at the outskirts of the town. They had secretly hidden soldiers in Ḳara Ḳāżī's mansion. About two hours after dusk, they began to fire rifles from the town and guns from the fortress. Before they had realised what was happening, [the soldiers] had begun to rob and kill those who found themselves in the houses and bazaars. At night all hell broke loose. Everyone began to shout to each other "run for your life!". Every soldier fled at best [he could] and [tried to] escape. They cut off Maḥmūd Ḳırān['s head] that night **[12b]**. When they cut off Maḥmūd Ḳırān['s head] that night, we had already fled. There was a bridge. It is called Kelebicek [?] köprisi.[5] When they crossed that bridge at night, many soldiers fell off and drowned. When dawn broke that morning, they arrived at a huge mountain called Kemenbeli [?].[6] At the foot of this mountain there were Kurdish houses. These Kurds began to follow us and slowly robbing us while Turks from one side and Kurds from another were thus gathering three hundred soldiers in one place, we immediately made a turn and crossed over this Kemenbeli. We did not take the bits from the horses' heads for three days and nights and reached Zereköy[7] [in] the Sivas region. We stayed overnight in that village and departed the next morning. While we were going towards the Sivas region, there was a message from the pasha of Sivas. Soldiers appeared before us. A servant of Maḥmūd Ḳırān had arrived before us. He was called Gürcīoğlı. They had found him and had cut off [his head]. When we had heard this news, every

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1 اشقاليه كلوب
2 هرام = *ḥarem*
3 *ḳapusız*
4 *vilāyet*
5 كله بجك كوپرى‌سى, not identified.
6 كمن بلى, not identified.
7 زره كوى, not identified.

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one of us fled to a [different] country. Only we, with about twenty-five horsemen, changed direction towards Kayseri and fled. Eventually, after a detour, we arrived in Kayseri. Memiş Paşa was in Kayseri. We were employed with a monthly wage of twenty-five *ġuruş*. After a few days, we joined Memiş Paşa and went to the foot of Mount Erciyes[1] in order to climb it. At noon the sun was eclipsed and the stars lit up. We left our tents and horses[2] behind, went into Kayseri and settled there. In this way, we concluded, the Erzurum campaign had come to an end **[13a]**. While we were in Kayseri, the sun was eclipsed. It was noon. The sun was eclipsed and the stars became visible. After one and a half hours the sun again moved from its place and lit up. While we were in Kayseri, Sivas rebelled while Çırḳacı [Çarḫacı] 'Alī Paşa[3] was in Sivas. The inhabitants of Sivas locked up ʻAlī Paşa in the fortress, stripped his soldiers and put some of them[4] to flight. Finally the people of Sivas were outlawed and seven pashas appointed [to move] against them. We, too, departed from Kayseri and while we were moving towards Sivas, the order to forage around Sivas[5] arrived and [we] were free. They gave the irregular [*deli*] horsemen who were in the company of the mentioned pashas permission [to disperse]. While the unemployed horsemen were roaming about this village and that, we had about two hundred *deli* horsemen and we, unemployed, now began to roam about this village and that. First we went to Bozoḳeli,[6] [then we went] to Ḥüseynova,[7] to Çorum, to Merzifon[8] and to Amasya. Zile, Arṭıova,[9] Yıldızköy[10] are villages of [the] Sivas [region] and there has permanently been a pasha stationed in Sivas.[11] [His] *delibaşı* [then] was Çümişli.[12] [The pasha] received information that we were roaming about the[se] villages and he sent the *delibaşı* Çümişli after us. We were in a village at the foot of the Kemenbeli. A *deli* from among them reported to us that he would [try to] launch a surprise attack on us and capture us. We then rose at dawn, proceeded to the Kemenbeli [Mountain], somehow crossed over this

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1 ارجياص

2 چرم = *çermek*

3 'Alī Paşa, Çarḫacı ['Skirmisher'], Ḥāccī, *vālī* of Sivas until 1233/1818; he was also *vālī* (for the second time) of Agrıboz (Chalkis) in 1236/1820-1 and 1237/1821-2. He died in Tokat in 1239/1823, cf. SO, p. 282. According to Cevdet's History, the man was appointed as *sancak bey* of Agriboz with the rank of vizier on 4 *Şevval* 1238 (14 June 1823) after he had left the army in Rumelia (summer 1822), *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 102 (cf. 54b, below), but was later exiled to Tokat after selling supplies brought by foreign ships to the poor at exorbitant prices, *ibidem*, p. 103.

4 بعزی سی = *ba'żısı*

5 سیوصك اتلق فرمانی كلوب = *Sivaṣıñ otluḳ fermānı gelüb*

6 بوزوق ایلی, cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz*, I, p. 239n.

7 حسین اوه, south of Çorum, cf. Taeschner, *Wegenetz* I, 5.

8 مرسیوان

9 ارطی اوه, also known as Ardova or Artıḳova, cf. Taeschner, *Wegennetz* I, p. 215; at present valled Artova.

10 یلدزكوی, probably identical with modern Yıldızeli.

11 سیواص ده متوالله پاشه وار ایدی = *Sivaṣ'da mütevālīyeten paşa var idi*

12 چومشلی, not identified.

Kemenbeli and ended up in the plain of Aşḳar. [**13b**] "Come on, let us go to Erzurum immediately", we said [to each other] and went [there].[1] One day we arrived in Erzurum. Ḥāfıẓ 'Alī Paşa[2] had been in Ahısḳa, but had been dismissed from Ahısḳa and had come to the post of Erzurum. We met the pasha at Ḳızılkilise, explained above, and we went together to Erzurum. In Erzurum he gave us a contract [*ḫarc teẕkeresi*]. We stayed in Erzurum for some days. After some days, however, Vanlı [Meḥmed] Dervīş Paşa[3] cut off [the head of] the district agha's son in Van, captured Van, and was declared an outlaw. Ḥāfıẓ 'Alī Paşa sent about a thousand mounted *deli*s to Van. We went as well saying [to each other] "Come on, let us immediately go to Van" and went there.[4] We left Erzurum — there is a mountain called Deveboynu[5] — and traversed this mountain. [Then] there is a mountain called Ḫunūs [Hınıs].[6] At the foot of this mountain there is an infidel village. We stayed overnight in this village and in the morning we moved onto the plain of Ḫunūṣ. After a few days there was Biñgöller [Bingöl]. We arrived there and [again] left Biñgöller. There is a village called Ḥasanpaşaköy.[7] We reached that village but left this village [again]. There is a bridge across the Murād Ṣuyı.[8] Opposite that bridge there is the fortress of Ḫartūz [Varto?].[9] There is an infidel village near the fortress. We stayed overnight in that village, after which we were to go to Muş. The pasha of Muş, Selim Paşa,[10] was not pleased[11] and sent us back. Later we travelled from there towards Bitlis. But we could not find a road around Bitlis and came back to the fortress of Malazgirt. Malazgirt castle is at the foot of Sübḥān Mountain [Süphan Dağı] [**14a**]. This Malazgirt castle [lies on] another steep rock. It is an inaccessible fortress. On the summit of Sübḥān Mountain there is a lake. It is bottomless. While pasturing sheep on the top of the mountain, a non-Muslim shepherd,[12] threw a stick to his sheep. The stick went into the water. Another day, the shepherd came to Malazgirt castle. While drinking water, he found his stick in the water. The water which comes to the fortress is the water of this bottomless lake on the summit of Sübḥān

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[1] *eliñ biri ver Erẕulum deyüb gitdik*

[2] حفظ علی پاشه, *vālī* of Çıldır (from 1233/1818) and Erzurum and Kars (between 1234/1819 and 1235/1819-20). He died at Gallipoli in 1244/1829, cf. SO, pp. 287-8.

[3] See *Tarih-i Cevdet* XI, p. 28 ff; the revolt and its suppression occurred in 1234/1819.

[4] *eliñi biri ver Van deyüb gitdik*

[5] دوه بینو, a few miles east of Erzurum, cf. Sinclair, *Survey* I, p. 450, *passim*.

[6] خنوس

[7] حسن پاشه کوی, not identified.

[8] مراد صوی, at presend called Murat Nehri.

[9] خرتوز

[10] سلم پاشه, Selīm Paşa, *mīrmīrān* of Muş; accused of high treason, he was executed in 1242/1826-7, cf. SO, p. 1492.

[11] رازی اولمیوب = *rāẕī olmayub*

[12] *bir ẕimmetde bir çoban*

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Mountain. The reason for calling [it] Sübḥān Dağı is this that at the time of Our Lord Nūḥ [Noah], peace be upon him, when the Deluge broke forth, his ship came to the summit of this mountain. Nūḥ, peace be upon him, said "God be praised" [*Subḥān Allāh*]. Therefore the mountain is called Sübḥān Dağı. This mountain is also shown [drawing]. Malazgirt castle is also shown [drawing]. From the fortress, shown [here], to Muş castle is eight hours. On the road there are many Armenian villages. Muş castle is at the foot of a mountain. In front of this fortress there is a big plain. The Murād Ṣuyı flows right across this plain and there are many Armenian villages. On the banks of this stream there are good grassy and wet places. Muş castle is also shown [drawing]. [From] Muş castle, shown [here], to Ḥasanpaşaköy is twelve hours. We came back later and remained in Ḥasanpaşaköy for four months. Thereupon Ḥāfıẓ Paşa sent a courier to Sultan Maḥmūd and a *fermān* came [back] from Sultan Maḥmūd [**14b**]. The pasha mobilised [his] troops in Erzurum and came to where we were. He rallied some private soldiers[1] and soldiers [from] Trabzon and Kaffa [?][2], and came to Toprak ḳal'e. We were in Ḥasanpaşaköy. News reached us, we got ready[3] and made our way to Toprak ḳal'e. While on our way we passed through many villages. Our route led us to a mountain called Köse Dağı. It is a mountain which thrusts its head into the heavens.[4] At the foot of this mountain there are some villages that are very good places. This Köse Dağı is also shown [drawing]. Having departed from the villages at the foot of this mountain, one sees Toprak ḳal'e. In front of Toprak ḳal'e there is a desert plain.[5] There are several thousand villages. The aforementioned pasha formed his camp in front of Toprak ḳal'e and settled down. When we came face to face with the camp, soldiers appeared from the camp, approached us and we entered the camp amidst rejoicing. Toprak ḳal'e is situated on top of an earth mound. In front of it there is a desert plain. It is a strong fortress. This Toprak ḳal'e is also shown [drawing]. We left this Toprak ḳal'e [again] and took the road towards Van. The villages and castles on the road will be explained. Leaving this earthwork fortress, there are a number of infidel villages on the plain. [**15a**] Passing through the villages, there is an infidel village at the head of the Murād Ṣuyı. Opposite the village there is a mountain of white stone. At the foot of the mountain there are three springs. From each of the springs, water spouts forth like [the strings on] a musical instrument.[6] The three of them flowed as one. They collect the stones from the mountain

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1 براز نفرام عسکری = *biraz nefer-i 'āmm 'askeri*

2 کفی

3 خزیر = *ḥāżır*

4 افلنکه سر چکمش بر دغ در = *eflāka ser çekmiş bir dağdır*

5 *bir çöl ova;* the term *çöl* which is often used on these pages, does not, as the context shows, so much refer to 'arid land unsuitable to cultivation', as to 'wilderness', '(as yet) uncultivated land'.

6 *çalmış gövdesi gibi*

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and boil sulphur [from them]. The source of the Murād Ṣuyı at the foot of the aforementioned mountain is shown [drawing]. Leaving the Murād Ṣuyı shown [here], there is a place called Süleymān Gümbeti. It is sixteen hours to the head of the Murād Ṣuyı shown [here]. On the road there is a fortress called Ḫamīr [Hamur] castle. The fortress lies on a rock in a valley. There is no arable land. Kurds live there. [From] the fortress to the source of the Murād Ṣuyı is eight hours. The castle of Ḫamīr is shown [drawing]. Leaving Ḫamīr castle, it is eight hours to Süleymān Gümbeti. Süleymān Gümbeti is situated at the edge of a stream. The mountains of Kurdistān are [all] around it. All [the inhabitants here] are rebellious Kurds. In these mountains there is an alcove [*gümbet*]. This arch is also shown [drawing]. Leaving this alcove, a huge mountain appears. Descending the mountain takes six hours and you arrive in a plain. In the plain, near Sübḥān Dağı, there is a big infidel village called Paṭnos. This village's water comes from the Sübḥān Dağı. There is a river. It is a good place with a great many orchards and gardens [**15b**]. In Paṭnos there was a quarrel. The soldiers who were with us had [been promised] four months' pay. Our monthly pay was thirty-five *ġuruş*. The aforementioned pasha had not paid [it]. The *deli*s rebelled, the *deli başı*s pricked up their ears[1] and went for the pasha. The pasha fled to the tent of the bey of Kaffa. The pasha's steward was caught and thoroughly punished. We stayed in this Paṭnos for three days and they gave us our monthly pay in full. Serd Maḥmūd Paşa,[2] Şāhin Paşa,[3] and the pasha of Muş, Selim Paşa, arrived from the rear and joined forces. Ḥāfiż 'Alī Paşa was commander-in-chief. He had taken Selim Paşa and 'Alī Paşa with him and had arranged that they would join him in the rear. He had [also] arranged that Serd Maḥmūd Paşa would go in the van on account of his [function as] skirmisher.[4] In this formation they moved. He cut our pay and made [us] turn back. We went back and when we had come as far as Ḥasanpaşaköy, couriers arrived and we joined the army in the rear. We arrived in Paṭnos after a day and a night. This Paṭnos is also shown [drawing]. Leaving Paṭnos, shown [here], there was a fortress called Erdiş [Erciş]. The fortress is twelve hours [from] Paṭnos. There is no village on the road there [**16a**]. This is a desert plain. On this plain there is a mosquito that does not need eyes to be able to see. While we were on the move by night, we found a place to lie down [and sleep] by night.[5] In this way we arrived in Erdiş castle.

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[1] دكوب = *diküb*

[2] From 1228/1813 *vāli* of Kars, later of İçel, to which Van was added in 1234/1819. Captured as prisoner of war by the Russians in 1245/1829, he died upon his return in Edirne in the same year, cf. SO, p. 927.

[3] Fortress commander of İbrail (Braila) and district governor of Çorum (from 1237/1821-2). He died in 1238/1822-3), cf. SO, p. 1560.

[4] چر قاجی حسابی = *çarḫacı ḥesābı*

[5] كندوز بر یر بولو یتردق = *gündüz bir yer bulub yatardıḳ*

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Erdiş castle is a new and good, strong fortress. It is on the edge of a large lake.[1] It is a place with a great many orchards and gardens. Erdiş castle is shown [drawing]. Leaving the fortress, shown [here], one goes to Biñler [?][2] ḳal'esi. [Near] Biñler ḳal'esi, there is a bridge over the lake called Bend-i Māhī köprisi.[3] From this bridge upwards and in the midst of mountains there is a rock and they built the aforementioned fortress on this rock. It is called Biñler ḳal'esi. Leaving Erdiş there is a place on the road called At Meydānı. There is a rock here. On this rock there are inscriptions. On the spot where the inscriptions are, there also is a talisman. This talisman is a snake. The snake had reportedly moved seven times around the the rock [until] its head joined its tail. The rock thus does not stand still but turns like a catherine wheel both in summer and in winter. [The snake] looks at [any] man that comes to see it and opens its eyes wide but does not stay put [so that] rock turns around. In this way one comes to Bend-i Māhī köprisi. The Bend-i Māhī bridge is at the head of the aforementioned lake. The water which comes from Biñler ḳal'esi is sweet water. It comes, passes through Biñler ḳal'esi, comes to Bend-i Māhī köprisi, moves on, and blends with this lake. It [then] turns brackish and flows on. **[16b]** Biñler castle is also shown [drawing]. Opposite the castle there is a mountain. On top of the mountain is a village, an infidel village. Leaving this village, there is another village. This village is also on the mountain. Having passed through these two villages, there is yet another village called Alayköy [Alaköy] opposite Van. [From] this Alayköy to Van is three hours. On our arrival in this village the aforementioned pashas formed a camp in the village and sat down. Later, when we had arrived [in the camp], we fired [our] guns and rifles, rejoiced and sat down. Serd Maḥmūd Paşa was skirmisher and was posted at Van. He mobilised his soldiers before us and moved to Van. Arriving at Van's gardens, the inhabitants of Van put rings[4] around their necks and came [forward]. He offered the local inhabitants of Van protection, entered, settled in Van's fortress, and began to fire guns and rifles to rejoice. The aforementioned Dervīş Paşa fled and fell upon the house of a sick[5] woman. In this region there are ovens made in a hole in the earth.[6] This sick woman put Dervīş Paşa into the oven, this woman spread a bed over the oven and lay down. Thereupon, while Serd Maḥmūd Paşa had [people] searching for him, they got news of this place, found and brought him out. He was a man of average height and white-bearded. They cut off his head and sent it to Sultan Maḥmūd. His head is shown [drawing]. **[17a]** Later we looked

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[1] *deñiz*, namely Lake Van.
[2] بیکلر, not identified.
[3] بندی ماهی کاوپری‌سی. The Bend-i māhī is a river flowing out into the north-eastern extremity of Lake Van.
[4] *mengūş*, lit. earring
[5] خصده = *hasta*
[6] تنور = *tennur (tandır)*

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around Van castle; truly, how right they are to say "Down here Van, in the Hereafter Belief [*īmān*]". This Van castle is situated in a large lake. They had built it on a rock, a high, black rock. There is no way to enter it from any side. It has only one drawbridge [which] is suspended from a chain. Whenever there is war, the bridge is raised and you find peace. Besides there is no end to the fruit in Van. There is a pear which is [big] as a man's head. [Van] is near the Iron Gates [Temur ḳapu], Persia and Baghdad. It is [on the edge of] a huge open plain. The town of Van[1] is shown [drawing]. We looked around Van castle shown [here]. We had finished with the Van campaign as well. There was, however, a small [problem] we had to solve[2] on the road which forced us to turn back but then a man intervened and there was a reconciliation.[3] At the time when we were in the villages opposite Van, there was a bey in the army of the pasha of Muş, Selim Paṭa. He was called Şavaş [?][4] Beg. Among us there was a *delibaşı* who, they said, did not know Turkish. This *delibaşı* was in a village. A horseman of this Şavaş Beg came [by] and intended to hunt the aforementioned *delibaşı* from the village. In the end, the *deli*s did not leave the village, they shoved each other back and forth[5] and began to fight. [**17b**] While they were fighting each other in this way, the news went out to Şavaş Beg. Şavaş Beg had ten thousand horsemen. They all mounted [their horses] and launched an attack against the village. We were informed [about this] and had about eight thousand *deli* horsemen. We all mounted and went for the village. We arrived, surrounded the *deli*s who were in the village and fought [with them]. We approached from the outside. The Kurdish horsemen saw us and went for us. We looked [and saw] that the Kurds were many [but] it was clear that there would be no pasha with the Kurds. The Kurds' weapons were sword, shield, and lance. Their horses were Arabian thoroughbred.[6] We were strong because we had rifles and pistols, so we moved against the Kurds with our guns. The Kurds moved against us and we were crushed, killed, and thrown off like cotton fluff. In the end the Kurds, because they were many, gave us hell[7] and routed us. We tried hard and went inside the village. The *delis* in the village had dug trenches. We entered the trenches and began to fire [our] rifles. Because the horses of these Kurds were good, we continually fired our rifles at the horses. Consequently, the Kurds were unable to enter the village. While we were fighting in this way, news reached the aforementioned Ḥāfiż 'Alī Paşa. This pasha did not intervene, nor did the pasha of Muş intervene. After

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1 بندری وان = *bender-i Van*
2 بر جوزهٔ جکیمز اولدی = *bir çözecegimiz oldı*
3 اره یر ادم کیروب باری شق اولدی = *ara bir adem girüb barışıḳ oldı*
4 شوش
5 بری برلرینه صوله شوب ارقالشوب = *biri birlerine ṣolaşub arḳalaşub*
6 کوهیلان = *küheylan*
7 *bizleri fenāya verüb*

about two days [**18a**], the camp was broken [?].[1] The Kurds withdrew their soldiers and went away. We pursued them. But the Kurdish horsemen had gone and blocked the bridge of Bend-i Māhī. Our army, [that is] Selim Paşa's army, [formed a camp] and settled down. One day at noon we lined up our battalions and while we were on the move, the Kurds saw us and they also lined up their battalions and formed up opposite us. There was nothing left [to do] for us but to flee somewhere. There was no aid [to be expected] from anyone. We put up our guns and we made a stronghold in the plain with [our] horses. The Kurds cut [us] off from all around us and all hell broke loose in this desert. We were able to save our heads a little with [our] rifles. Somehow Selim Paşa made it to Ḥāfıż 'Alī Paşa's tent, brought Hāfıż 'Alī Paşa, they came and rescued us from the hands of the Kurds. If they had not come, albeit it only with a very small [force], surely our lives had been finished. However, there was a reconciliation. That night we lay down at the Bend-i Māhī bridge and joining up with them we came to Paṭnoṣ. They went to Muş but we went to Erzurum together with Ḥāfıż 'Alī Paşa. When we had come to Erzurum, Ḥāfıż 'Alī Paşa cut off our pay and dismissed us immediately.[2] We, about two hundred horsemen, decided to go from Erzurum to Sivas, and while on our way there, we arrived at a place they call Aşḳal'e. **[18b]** This village is twelve hours [from] Erzurum. When we arrived in this Aşḳal'e, a courier came after us from the pasha of Ḳars. Beylanlı[3] Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Paşa who conveyed us the news was at Ḳars. He had written a note stating that from the day our pay had been cut by Ḥāfıż 'Alī Paşa, we were to charge our expenses to him and send [the bill] with a courier. Because we were still unemployed, we turned back together with this courier and went to Erzurum. Having departed from Erzurum, we went off to the country of Kars. Leaving Erzurum, there is a mountain they call Deveboynu. Passing over the mountain, there is a plain called Pasin ovası. We camped overnight in this plain. The next day, there was a fortress called Ḥasan ḳal'esi [Hasan Kale]. We went to this fortress. In front of this fortress stretches a big plain. Behind it, there is a large mountain. The fortress lies on a high rock. The town[4] clusters at the foot of the fortress. The town is fully surrounded by strongholds. At the foot of the fortress flows a river and there is a bridge. At the other side of the bridge near the village there is bathhouse, so good as to make you rabid like a mad dog.[5] The Ḥasan ḳal'esi mentioned is also shown [drawing]. Leaving this fortress, there is a village called Köpriköy. This village is eight hours [from] Hasan ḳal'esi. In front of the village there is a big bridge and a river called Zerre ırmaġı flows past. Leaving this village [**19a**], the village and the fortress on the road will be

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[1] صكره اورضو قلدى = *şoñra ordu ḳaldırıldı* ?
[2] سلى ويردى = *şalıverdi*
[3] بلنلى, cf. SO, p. 1647.
[4] *vilāyet*
[5] قودرتدن بر ايو حمامى واردر = *ḳudurtan bir iyi ḥammāmı vardır*

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explained. Leaving the aforementioned bridge and village, there is a mountain called Eşekbeli. At the foot of this mountain there are a lot of villages. We stayed overnight in the villages at the foot of this mountain. After some days, there was a fortress they called Çimen [?][1] ḳal'esi. We moved to this fortress. This fortress lies on a mountain. Surrounded by mountains on all sides, there is [this] mountain in the middle. On top of [this] mountain they built the fortress. A river flows past in front of the fortress and there is [a] village on the river bank. It is a good village. This village is also shown, together with Çimen ḳal'e. Leaving this village, one crosses over the Ṣoġanlı Dağı and arrives in the region of Kars. This Ṣoġanlı Dağ, however, is a big mountain. Leaving Çimen ḳal'esi, shown [here], one goes to the region of Kars in sixteen hours. But in between there is the Ṣoġanlı Dağı. Halfway up the Ṣoġanlı Dağı there is the fortress of Köroġlı.[2] [From] the fortress of Köroġlı to Çimen ḳal'esi is twelve hours. The place is a ruined fortress. There are still many robbers in this fortress. From this fortress on the Kars side of the Ṣoġanlı Dağı [and] at the foot of this mountain, there is a village. It is called Ḳaṭrānlıköy. It is a *ḳızılbaş* village. Ṣoġanlı Dağı and the fortress of Köroġlı halfway up this mountain are shown [drawing]. Leaving this Çimen ḳal'esi, we traversed over this mountain, settled in Ḳaṭranlıköy in the region of Kars at the foot of this mountain and rested. The next day we departed **[19b]** and took the road to Kars. Eight hours towards Kars there is an Armenian village. They call it Benli Aḥmed. This Armenian village lies on a desert plain. It is a village with very good arable land. Leaving this village of Benli Aḥmed, we arrived in Kars, anyway, one of [those] days we entered this Kars. They divided us over [various] mansions in Kars. After a day or two, the mentioned Beylanlı Ḥāccī Muṣṭafā Paşa — there is a river in Kars — went to climb on the bank of this river and the pasha inspected us, one by one, and [gave us] a monthly pay of thirty-five *ġuruş*. While staying in this Kars, one day [the following happened]. One of the villages in the Kars [area] was called Camışlıḳköy.[3] It was near Gümri [Gümrü, Gyumri], which had become Moscovite[4] and was on the bank of the Arpaçay. A Moscovite general[5] had arrived and on his orders[6] the villagers had been loaded onto carts and sent on their way to Gümri. While we were in Kars one afternoon news [about this] arrived. The pasha gave orders to the aforementioned pasha. We, six hundred *deli* horsemen, joined his cavalry, mounted, and took the road to the aforementioned village in the [same] afternoon. That day **[20a]** we moved on

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[1] جمن, not identified.

[2] Cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 7.

[3] جمشلق كوى, Camışlı, cf. map in Eli Smith & H.G.O. Dwight, *Missionary Reseraches in Armenia etc.* (London 1834).

[4] Georgia had become a Russian province in 1801.

[5] مصقوفك بر جراطى = *Moskov'uñ bir ceneralı*

[6] مذكويللرك ايراده تى ايله = *meẕkūrlarıñ īrādeti ile*

until evening, rode to a [certain] locality,[1] and fed some of the horses. That [same] night we departed from that locality and moved to the afore-mentioned village. In the morning we arrived at this village. We looked [around and saw] that there was no sign of life[2] in the village [although] we found a couple of hardened infidels.[3] We were informed [by] these infidels and learned that [the inhabitants] had gone in the direction of Gümri. We rode after them at full gallop[4] and went to the cursed Moscovites on the banks of the Arpaçay. The infidels saw us, erected their stockades,[5] [mobilised] their infantry artillery,[6] lined up their battalions, and moved against us. We sent an envoy. When he said: "Why did you take our village[r]s and go [away with them]? Will you give [them back] under these conditions [?][7]", the infidels answered: "We have not taken your village[r]s away by force. If they want you, take them [with you], if they want us, we will keep them." We put the question to the infidel subjects[8] but they did not want [us], they wanted the Moscovites. When he said: "They are our subjects, we will take them", the Moscovites turned their guns around and began to fire them in our direction. Their horse artillery also moved against us. When we saw this we raised our horses' heads and rode against the Moscovites. The infidels' guns, however, **[20b]** mowed us down. In the end we could not hold out against the infidels and began to flee. The artillery horses came after us and routed us. We fled away at full speed[9] and none of us remained behind. No sling pebble could reach our turbans any longer [?].[10] Anyway, we fled and there was one of those villages [near] Kars called Zerakçıköy [?][11] at the foot of the Yağlı Dağı [Yağlica Dağ]. We recovered at Zerakçıköy. We sent news to the pasha. A message came [back] which ordered [us] "to stay in the villages there" and when we were settling in these villages [we] saw from there the villages that were on the Persian border and the arid fields [?][12] that were on Persian soil. We took the people and their women of two of our Armenian villages prisoner. They had been heading for Persian soil, had heard about us, and we had followed them. There is a

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1 محال = *maḥāl*
2 بر شنك يقدور = *bir şeng yoḳdur*
3 *fir'avn kāfir*
4 القار ايله = *ılgar ile*
5 ترنچط لرينى وروب = *şarampollarını ḳurub*
6 قانه = *ḳadana*, lit. artillery horse
7 بو شورتده = *bu şarṭda* ?
8 *raya kāfirler*
9 *ḳusḳuna ḳuvvāt ḳamçıya berekāt... deyüb*
10 اوسر يغيمزه صپان طاشى اولشمز اولدى = *o sarīġımıza şapan ṭaşı ulaşamaz oldı* ?
11 زرقجى كوى, not identified.
12 جولوكنلر = *çöllüginler* ?

mountain in the country of the Persians. On this mountain there is the fortress of Köroġlı. It is [on] the Persian border. We were not able to get close to it. We turned back, arrived in the infidel village, and sat down. Meanwhile, after some days, our pasha had written to Sultan Maḥmūd, the aforementioned Kurds were outlawed and soldiers were gathered from those parts[1] [**21a**]. They conscripted soldiers, both local and external.[2] He had a brother. He made his brother commander-in-chief and sent him to us. We were prepared. There is a place called Ḳaġızman. The River Aras[3] [Arax] flows there. On the bank of the river is an infidel village. It lies on the bank of the river. They formed a camp in this village and sat down. We went there as well and found them in this village. One of these days, a call went up all around, the army was ready and the next day[4] we took the road to the mountain that was in the possession of these Kurds. We arrived at the fortress of Köroġlı. That night we lay down at the foot of the fortress, while these Kurds were encamped nearby. The next day the mounted horsemen and the foot soldiers were lined up, moved against the Kurds, and went off. These Kurds had settled in a valley inside this mountain. They had their backs turned to the mountain and were in a pass. We saw them, raised the heads of our horses, unfurled our banners, and launched an attack against them. However, when we drew opposite the Kurds, some of the Kurdish beys had fallen upon the quarters[5] of our commander from the rear and although the commander had sent the news to us, the *deli* horsemen ignored the message, moved against the Kurds all the same and we clashed with one another **[21b]**. Because the place held by the Kurds was ruined and we, in our haste, had been mistaken in the Kurds' strength, the commander came from the rear and withdrew us. Three of the Kurdish beys had come [to our side]. The other beys had fled to the country of the Persians. We settled in the fortress that had belonged to the Kurds and after ten days sent the three beys that had come under our protection to the Ṣoġanlı Dağı. While we were staying in this fortress of Köroġlı that had belonged to the Kurds, Revān [Yerevan] was in the vicinity and in Revān there was a khan of the Persian Shah called Ḥasan Khān.[6] This khan was residing in Revān. The Kurds who had fled from us settled in the country of Revān and their beys explained their situation to Ḥasan Khān. Thereupon Ḥasan Khān sent an envoy to us. He came [to] us and found us in the fortress just mentioned. He came to our commander and

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[1] *ol vilāyetler*

[2] *berrānī*

[3] ارز

[4] يارن تسى = *yarındası*

[5] *ocaḳ*

[6] Ḥasan Khān, commander of the Kurdish cavalry of the Khanate of Yerevan and brother of the official head Ḥusayn Quli Khān (1807-27), both relatives of the Qajar 'Abbās Mīrzā (of Tabriz), was *de facto* ruler of the province in the latter's absence, cf. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan*, pp. 17, 104. Yerevan was occupied by the Russians in 1827.

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conveyed [a] message. [The khan] had written: "These places are my land. Give [them back to me]. Why do you do these things in these places?" Thus he had written and "Within a few days I will come and confront [you] with eighteen thousand Persian soldiers.[1] Be ready". When our commander heard these words, he thought deeply and threw a well[aimed] quarterstaff[2] at the envoy and sent the envoy [back] from whence he had come. [**22a**] A few days later we left that place and there was a Persian village called Behramköy [Baghramian] at the foot of the Aġrı Dağı [Mount Ararat]. It was opposite Revān and in close proximity to Revān and the Aġrı Dağı. The fortress of Revān is near the Aġrı Dağı. Ḥasan Khān was residing there. He did not show up and fight with us. News reached us and we turned back. After a few days [we went to] Kaġızman. Ḳaġızman lies on huge mountain. On that mountain gardens and orchards abound. It is a place with a good climate and with plentiful water. Ḳaġızman is also shown [drawing]. We remained in Ḳaġızman for some days, later there was the infidel village called Zeraḳçı. We went there. [Near] this Zeraḳçıköy there is a mountain called Yaġlı Dağı. It is situated at the foot of the mountain. This Yaġlı Dağı is a huge mountain. On the summit of the mountain there is a ruined fortress. This ruined fortress is a relic of heathen times. They say that a girl built this fortress. Reportedly, a king [once] lived in the ruined fortress. He told the girl that she must build a castle on the summit of the Yaġlı Dağı. He told her that she had to do it all by herself[3] and that there must not be [any other] person [to help her]. One day this girl came at the foot of this Yaġlı Dağı and saw that the mountain was huge. There was no water anywhere. This girl quickly went away to Zeraḳçı at the foot of the mountain [**22b**] Just above the infidel village there is a cave. In this cave water was gushing forth. Apart from the girl, no-one knew about this water. Thereupon this girl made this place [her] dwelling and when morning came she built a castle on the summit of this mountain. When evening fell, she went to the cave and lay down. In this way she built the castle and completed it. They informed the king that the girl had built the castle. The king came, climbed to the summit of the Yaġlı Daği and while he was looking at the castle which the girl had made, the girl was still there. Because this castle was [too] small, the king decided to kill this infidel girl. But this girl heard about this and fled to the cave that was her dwelling. When the girl was on her way to the cave, there was a shepherd who had been grazing [his] sheep on the road for seven days. When the girl was fleeing, the shepherd saw this girl. The girl said to the shepherd: "Please don't tell my father about me". The shepherd came close [to her] and said: "Today it has been seven days since I have been grazing [my] sheep without water. I don't know where to go because of the lack of water [from which] my sheep [are suffering]. The poor girl said to the cursed

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1 سرواز عسکری = *serbāz 'askeri*
2 نبود = *nebbūt*
3 یالاغوز = *yalnız*

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shepherd: "Shepherd, I will tell you [where to find] water but don't tell my father". Thereupon the shepherd said: "Please tell me about the water and go where you want." The poor girl took the shepherd, came with him and showed [him] the water. The girl then entered the cave which was [her] dwelling and **[23a]** sat down. Thereupon the shepherd went away to fetch his sheep. The girl's father, the king, had begun to seek his daughter. While the king was looking for his daughter, the shepherd's sheep were mustered [in a single file] one behind the other in order to descend from the mountain peak, the shepherd in front, the shepherd's dogs in the rear. While the shepherd had some of his sheep reach the edge of the water and others were following from behind, this king came after him and asked: "Have you seen such [and such] a girl [passing along] this place?" The shepherd said: "Yes I have" and told that she had entered that cave over there from which water was gushing forth. The king went [there], knew that the girl was inside the cave and killed [her]. This girl had warned the shepherd and sworn[1] that his sheep, dogs and he himself would turn into stone. These sheep, shepherd and dogs turned into stone and so are they still today, but the wisdom is God's. Nowadays an oil lamp is burning in that cave on every Friday night and many people pay a visit [to it]. Inside the cave water is still gushing forth. The village[r]s drink that water. The aforementioned village and the castle built by the girl on the summit of the Yaġlı Dağı are shown [drawing]. From the aforementioned Zeraḳçıköy the Aġrı Dağı opposite Revān is visible **[23b]**. This Aġrı Daġ is a triple-peaked mountain.[2] There are many Persian villages at the foot of this mountain. Revān is also close to the mountain slopes. The gardens in the Persian villages that are at the foot of this mountain produce cotton and melons which they load on camels with two humps. The water for the villages comes from this mountain. From halfway upwards the mountain is all snow. Before the afternoon the sun beats [down on it]. It causes the snow on the mountain peak to melt and covers the streets in the village centre in icy patches. People cannot go to the summit of the mountain. The ship of Our Lord Nūḥ [Noah], peace be upon Him, is on the mountain. This mountain is a huge mountain. At the time of Nūḥ, peace be upon Him, when the Deluge was unleashed. He went onto the mountain and said "We have come to grief [*aġrı*]". He gave the mountain its name of Aġrı Dağı. Therefore they still call it Aġrı Dağı. The Aġrı Dağı which is situated in the land of the Persians is also shown [drawing]. We looked at the Aġrı Dağı shown [here]. Every morning when the sun rises and you climb to the summit of the Yaġlı Dağı above Zeraḳçı before dawn, you can see the summit of this Aġrı Dağı **[24a]**. At other times, in summer or winter, the mountain peak is not visible from halfway upwards. Later, while we were wandering around these places at leisure for some days, our pasha's camels went to Revān a good many [times]. Ḥasan Khān at Revān

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[1] بتدو عا اتمش = *pend ü du'ā etmiş*

[2] *üç çaṭal bir daġ*

captured[1] these camels. The wife of the Persian shah was in Erzurum. They arrested her and wherever there were Persians, they [also] arrested them. They reported [this] to Sultan Maḥmūd and Sultan Maḥmūd sent some warrior-like pashas against Persia.[2] We then departed from that Zerakçı köyi and came to Kars. We demanded monthly pay from the pasha and quarelled[3] with the pasha. This pasha cut off our monthly allowance, we turned away from the town of Kars, and saying "[let's go] to the country Sivas", we went off. The fortress of Kars is on top of a rock. [On] one side is water, on the other is the town. On one side there is a mountain called Ḳaradaġ. Water is brought up to inside the fortress by a water-wheel. There is also a good river. There are many beautiful spots. The fortress of Kars is shown [drawing]. [**24b**] We departed by ourselves from the country of Kars, said [to each other] "[Let us go to] the country of Sivas" and while we were on our way one day — it was winter — we reached the Ṣoġanlı Dağı. But [because it was] winter we did not want the Ṣoġanlı Dağı and went towards the Köse Dağı. In the end we were not able to cross it in one day either and lay down on the snow at night. Although a few men were lost[4] because of the cold, we traversed over this mountain safely and soundly, arrived in Erzurum, left Erzurum [again], and took our food and drink in the villages mentioned earlier. [Thus] settling and moving on [again], we said [to each other]: "Let us go [to] the land of Sivas at once" and went off. One day we entered the country of Sivas and finally arrived in Sivas [itself]. The Kars campaign came to an end here. The Kars, Erzurum, Van, Ahısḳa, and Acara campaigns were now all over and done with. Only the Rumeli side was left. God, May His name be exalted, willing, we will also relate the Rumeli campaign in detail. Mercy upon the readers and a *fātiḥa* to the listeners; [**25a**] may He grant [eternal] life[5] to the honourable souls of our brethren in faith who believe like us. At the time when we arrived in Sivas, Ḥāccī Süleymān Paşa[6] was also in Sivas. We did not find a place at Süleymān Paşa's side, so we again went for the villages around Sivas. There is a mountain in the country of Sivas called Yıldız Dağı and at the foot of this mountain there is a village. In front of this village flows a stream called Yıldız ırmağı and the village is called Yıldızköy. Leaving this village, there is a village called Çaḳmaḳ. We arrived in this village and from this village we went to Arṭıova. Leaving Arṭıova, we went to the Ḳaz Ova.[7] Leaving the Ḳaz Ova again, we

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[1] ظابط اتمش = *żābıṭ etmiş*

[2] War was declared in October 1820 and Ḫüsrev Paşa, *vālī* of Erzurum, was appointed commander-in-chief of the following military campaign.

[3] نزا ايدوب = *nizā' edüb*

[4] زعيى = *żāyı*

[5] هيا = *ḥayāt*

[6] He was *vālī* of Sivas and Niğde in 1236/1820-1, cf. SO, p. 1548.

[7] Mentioned in Taeschner, *Wegenetz* I, p. 215.

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went to the town of Ṭurhal. From the town of Ṭurhal we went to the town of Zile. Leaving the town of Zile, [we went] to the town of Amasya. Departing from the town of Amasya, we went to the town of Merzifon. Leaving the town of Merzifon, we went to the town of Çorum. From Çorum we went to Ḥüseynova. While we remained in that place for some days, a *fermān* arrived from Istanbul. The *fermān* arrived for Ḥāccī Süleymān Paşa who was staying in Sivas, [ordering him to move] to Yanya [Ioannina] [because] there was a military campaign against Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa.[1] We now departed from Hüseynova, said [to one another]: "Let us go at once **[25b]** to the Sublime Porte" and went off. Many of the villages on [our] way are [no longer] in [my] head and will only be briefly described as follows.[2] Leaving Ḥüseynova, there is a place called Ekmekçi Dağı. At the foot of the mountains there is a village called Etmekçiköy.[3] We stayed overnight in this village. Leaving this village, there is place called Ṣunḳurlı [Sungurlu]. We stayed overnight there. Departing from there, we went to Keskineli [Keskin]. Departing from there, we went to the plain of Ḥaymane [Haymana].[4] Leaving the plain of Haymane, there is a place called 'rebellious'[5] Yozḳat [Yozgat]. We stayed overnight there. Departing from 'rebellious' Yozḳat, we went to Bolı [Bolu] Dağı. Departing from Bolu Dağı, there is place called Deraḳalı[6] [Taraklı]. We arrived there and departing from Ṭaraklı, we arrived in Ṭorbalı [Torbalı Göynük]. From Torbalı via Mudurlı [Mudurnu] and departing from Mudurlı, we went to Ṣabanca [Sapanca] and from Ṣabanca to İzmit,[7] from İzmit to Gebze[8] from Gebze to Ḳarṭal, from Ḳarṭal to Üsküdar, and from Üsküdar to the Sublime Porte. [But] let me now, dear friends, relate in [more] detail what happened on the road [and specify my] complaints [about what I suffered] in the hands of beauties.[9] **[26a]** We departed from Ḥüseynova to Ekmekçiköy and from there we went to Ṣunḳurlu. Ṣunḳurlu is situated on a hill. It is a place of many orchards and gardens in front of which a river flows. This Ṣunḳurlu is also shown [drawing]. Departing from the place shown above, we stayed for some days in Keskūneli [Keskin] and rode on to the plain of Heymen [Haymane]. After a few stops at the villages that are on the plain of Heymen, we rode to 'rebellious' Yozḳat. 'Rebellious' Yozḳat is situated in a rocky valley. There is

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[1] The expeditions by land and sea against 'Alī Paşa and his sons were prepared in April 1820; see also the introduction.

[2] همان بیویله محخرجه تألف اولمشدر = *hemān böyle muḫtaşarca te'līf olmışdır*

[3] اتمك جی كوی, not identified.

[4] حیمانه اوه سی, also spelt as هیمنه اوه سی.

[5] اسی = *'āsī*

[6] در قالی

[7] ازمیكرد

[8] كیبزه

[9] *bu minvāl üzerinde olan keyfīyeti güzel elinden şikāyeti bir bir naḳl eyleyüm 'azīzler*; a slightly more elaborate version of the rhetorical formula found in this sentence occurs at the beginning of the history, cf. f. 4b.

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no grassy land. It is a bad place [but] is on the road to Istanbul. This 'rebellious' Yozḳat is also shown [drawing]. Departing from the place shown here, a few days later we arrived in Ankara.[1] Ankara is a good place. It abounds in gardens and orchards. In Ankara [they] produce good woollen cloth[2] and in front of it a river flows by. It is a cheap place. Ankara is also shown [drawing]. When we were riding to Ankara, shown [here], we met a pasha called Ḳaṣṣābbaşı Ḥasan Paşa. This pasha was in exile [but] they had given him new horsetails.[3] He had no soldiers in his employ. After we met each other, we were taken into this pasha's employ and went together to the Sublime Porte **[26b]**. The villages on the road we were following together with this pasha will be explained [now]. Departing from Ankara, we rode, after some days, to a place called Nallıhan, a village at the foot of the Bolu Dağı. Nallıhan is situated on a hill. In front of it a river flows past. There are many Armenian houses but only a few Muslims. This Nallıhan is a good place. This [Nallı]han is shown [drawing]. Leaving [Nallı]han, shown [here], there is a place called Mudurlu [Mudurnu]. We rode to Mudurlu. In Mudurlu [they] produce good woollen cloth [?].[4] Through the centre of the town flows a river. This Mudurlu is a good place. This Mudurlu is shown [drawing]. Leaving Mudurlu, there is a place called Ṭaraḳlı. Ṭaraḳlı is a good place. It is situated in a valley through which a river flows. All its inhabitants make combs [*ṭaraḳ*], therefore they call it Ṭaraḳlı. They also make good spoons. Ṭaraḳlı is also show [drawing]. Leaving Ṭaraḳalı, one goes on to Ṭorbalı. Ṭorbalı is also a place [much] alike Ṭaraḳlı. This Ṭorbalı is also shown [drawing]. Leaving this Ṭorbalı, there is a place called Ṣabanca. Here one spends the night. Below Ṣabanca there is a bottomless[5] lake. It has no bottom. They call it Ṣabanca Göli. It is a famous lake. Ṣabanca lies on a plain. It is a good place with plentiful arable land. Ṣabanca and the lake are shown [drawing]. [27a] Leaving Ṣabanca, shown [here], there is a river which flows as a tributary into the lake below Ṣabanca. At the time when we were passing through this place it was spring. It was raining all the time and the water was rising. While we were passing down by the lake, we did not know of a place where we could cross it and offered the horses to the water. A boat used to cross to the opposite side but they had it sunk. While we were passing down by the water, a rifle[6] and a leather bag[7] fell into my hands. We left the place behind us, took the bag, crossed the water, and rode to İzmit. In İzmit there was a keeper of a coffee

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1 انکوری

2 *şal*

3 *ṭuġlar*, attached to a helmet or flag-staff as a sign of rank.

4 پلا = *pelās* ?

5 دیباسز = *dibsiz*

6 سیسحانه = *şeşḫāne*

7 خورج = *ḫurc*

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shop called Fellāk [?].[1] I entered Fellāk's coffee shop, opened this bag, and saw that there were twelve purses' worth of coins[2] in the bag. The soldiers who were with the pasha and the pasha [himself] had not come [yet] and only arrived three days later. When the pasha arrived he summoned the *delis*. I said [to myself] that this was property illegitimately acquired,[3] fetched the owner,[4] counted the aspers [*akçe*], and gave them to the owner. This fellow gave me fifty *ġuruş* from the aspers. I said "May God bless you" and [said to myself] "This indeed is property lawfully acquired".[5] I went off at once and stayed for some days at Fellāk's coffee shop in İzmit. Later, leaving İzmit, we went to [a place] called Gebze[6] [**27b**]. İzmit is by the sea and is a seaport town. It is [like] an ear to the sea, that is, the sea stretches out like a tongue and reaches İzmit on one side. The water flowing past Ṣabanca also reaches İzmit. There are many gardens and orchards in İzmit. It is a good place. İzmit is shown [drawing]. Leaving İzmit, shown [here], there is a place called Gebze. Gebze is situated on a hill and is a village. It is a place with plentiful arable land. This Gebze is shown [drawing]. Leaving this place shown [here], [after] six hours there is a place called Ḳarṭal. It is six hours to the place shown [here]. Ḳarṭal is a village. There are no gardens and orchards. This village of Ḳarṭal is shown [drawing]. Leaving this Ḳarṭal, one goes to Üsküdar. Üsküdar is six hours [from] Ḳarṭal. Üsküdar is opposite Istanbul. Üsküdar is a big town. They say that it is half as big as Istanbul. We were in the company of the aforementioned pasha. When we [and] the same pasha arrived in Üsküdar, there was a message from Sultan Maḥmūd. There was a place called the Bosphorus [Boġaziçi] upwards from Üsküdar [**28a**] and there is a fortress called Beyḳoz. The order [*fermān*] came that the pasha should settle himself in this fortress. There was a pasha called İbrāhīm Paşa. This pasha has a place called Büyükdere. This pasha was residing in the fortresses on the Bosphorus with twenty-five thousand soldiers. To say Bosphorus is [the same as] saying the Black Sea Straits [Ḳara Deñiz Boġazı]. On the Bosphorus there are many fortresses. In those fortresses there are soldiers permanently standing guard. We settled down in Üsküdar. This Üsküdar is opposite Istanbul. The Black Sea and the Mediterranean meet each other [there]. Between Üsküdar and Istanbul and at the spot where the two seas meet, there is a tower called Ḳızḳulesi. This Ḳızḳulesi is opposite the palaces of Sultan Maḥmūd. Üsküdar is a place of many gardens and orchards. Below Üsküdar there is a mosque called the Selīmīye Mosque. It was built by Sultan Selīm. It is impossible to describe Üsküdar or Istanbul and in this way they are only briefly described [drawing]. **[28b]** We stayed in Üsküdar shown [here] for some days. Later fate made us leave this place and we made our way to Rumelia.

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[1] فلاك

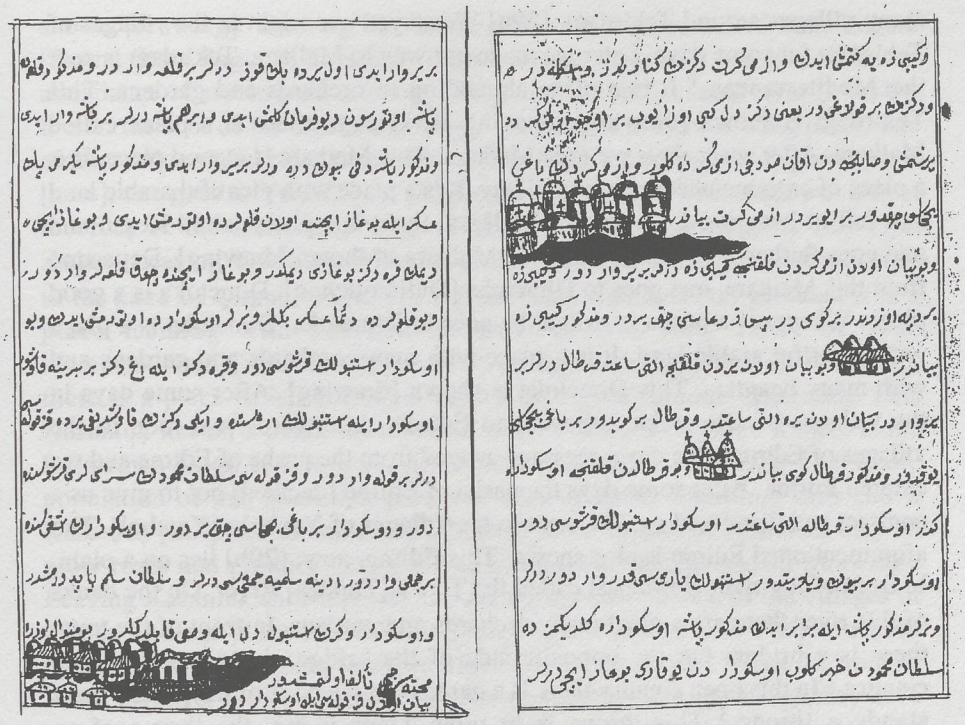
[2] اون ایکی کاسه لك پاره = *oniki keselik para*

[3] حرام ملدر = *ḥarām māldir*

[4] مال صحابی = *māl ṣāḥibi*

[5] هلال ملدر = *ḥelāl māldür*

[6] Spelt کیبزه or کیبی‌زه



Cod.Or. 1551, ff. 27b-28a.

The villages and the ports on the road will be explained. When we, one of these days, were staying in Üsküdar, fate intervened and brought [us] a barge.[1] We led the horses on board and crossed to Istanbul. In Istanbul there is a mosque called Sultan Beyazit. Under the mosque is a khan.[2] We stayed overnight in the khan and early the next morning we went to the Istanbul court of justice. Each of us obtained a contract[3] from the kadi, we said [to each other]: "Let us go at once to Rumelia and went off. Before that, Istanbul is shown concisely [drawing]. Leaving Istanbul, there is a place called Çekmeceler. It is six hours [from] Istanbul. This Çekmeceler lies in a valley and is near the sea. It is a village on the sea shore [through which] a river flows. Down from the village there is a bridge. This Çekmeceler is [also] called Küçük Çekmeceler [Çekmece]. Leaving it, one goes to Büyük Çekmeceler [Çekmece]. [From] Büyük Çekmeceler to this place is six hours. Leaving this Çekmeceler, one goes towards Tekirdağı [Tekirdağ].[4] There are

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1 قسمت قلقوب بر موانه كتوروب = *ḳısmet ḳalḳub bir mavna getürüb*

2 هاذ

3 *teẕkere*

4 تاكرد غى

many villages around Tekirdaġı. [**29a**] We stayed overnight in the villages of Tekirdaġı for some days. Later we made our way to Malḳara. Tekirdaġı is near the Mediterranean.[1] It is a place abounding in orchards and gardens. This Tekirdaġı is shown [drawing]. Leaving Terkirdaġı, there is a place called Malḳara. After some days we rode Malḳara. This Malḳara is a good place. It is a place of extreme cheapness and plenty. It is a place with plentiful arable land and full of beauties. Leaving this Malḳara, there is a place called Keşan and one goes thither. The aforementioned Malḳara is shown [drawing]. Departing from this Malḳara, one goes to Dimeṭoḳa [Didimotichon]. Dimeṭoḳa is a good place. Whenever a pasha is exiled, he goes to Dimeṭoḳa. Dimeṭoḳa is a place with plentiful arable land. It is a place with many orchards and gardens and with many beauties. This Dimeṭoḳa is shown [drawing]. After some days in the villages of Dimeṭoḳa, we went to Edirne. Afterwards, we rode to the villages of Edirne. One day a message arrived from the pasha of Edirne and we entered Edirne. After some days the pasha of Edirne [decided] not to give us a contract and dismissed us. We went to the villages of Yanbolu [Yambol]. The aforementioned Edirne is also shown. This Edirne, now, [**29b**] lies on a plain. In front of it a river flows past called the Ṭunca [Tundža] River. On the banks of this river there are a great many orchards and gardens. In front of the town there is a bridge. On the opposite side of the bridge, there is good open country.[2] In this open country there is a garden. At the edge of the garden there stands a throne.[3] This throne is in ruins. Once it was the throne of an emperor. Now it is ruined. This Edirne is a good place. It is a cheap place with many markets. The town of Edirne is shown [drawing]. Leaving Edirne, shown [here], one goes to the districts [*ḳażā*] of Yanbolu. We spent our nights in these *ḳāżās* of Yanbolu for some days and rode to this Yanbolu. Yanbolu is situated on a desert plain. It is a place abounding in arable land. It is a town of some two thousand houses. This Yanbolu is shown [drawing]. Leaving Yanbolu shown [here], one goes to the *ḳāżās* of İslimye [Sliven]. In the ḳāẓās of İslimye there are many Tatar khans.[4] These Tatar khans settled in that region on the orders of our emperor. Whenever the line of our sultans becomes extinct, they make one of these Tatar khans emperor[5] [**30a**]. We spent our nights in the villages of İslimye for some days and rode to İslimye. The town of İslimye is a good place. In front of it a river flows by. The town is situated in a plain. In this İslimye they produce good rifles and excellent pistols.[6] It is a place of a great many orchards and gardens; it is also cheap. This İslimye is

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[1] اق دكز, *Aḳdeñiz*, actually the Sea of Marmara.

[2] صهرا = *ṣaḥrā*

[3] تحت = *taḫt*, meant is probably *paytaḫt*, 'palace'.

[4] *Taṭar ḫān sulṭānları*

[5] *ḳanḳı vaḳdı bizim sulṭānlaruñ sinisilesi | = silsilesi] ḳalmaz ise bu Ṭaṭar ḫan sinsilesinden pādisāh yaparlar*

[6] *şeşḫāne tüfeng ve ḫāre ṭabanca*

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shown [drawing]. Leaving this İslimye there is a place called Eski Zaġare [Zaġra, Stara Zagora]. This Eski Zaġare lies on a plain. It is a place with an abundance of arable land; it is also cheap. In front of it a small river flows by. It is at the foot of the Deliorman Dağı.[1] In front of it there is a big plain. The aforementioned Eski Zaġare is shown [drawing]. Leaving Eski Zaġare shown [here], one goes to Yeñi Zaġare [Zaġra, Nova Zagora].[2] Yeñi Zaġare is also at the foot of the Deliorman Dağı. This Yeñi Zaġare looks quite like Eski Zaġare. Leaving Yeñi Zaġare there is place called Çırpan [Čirpan] and one goes to the *ḳāżā* of Çırpan. There are a great many orchards and gardens. It is a place teeming with beauties. In front of it a river flows by. The aforementioned Çırpan is also shown [drawing]. Leaving Çırpan shown [here], there is a place called Ḳazanluḳ [**30b**]. One goes through Ḳazanluḳ. This Ḳazanluḳ lies on a plain. In front of it a river flows by. Behind it there is the Deliorman Dağı. It is a good place with plentiful arable land. The whole population of this Ḳazanluḳ produces attar of roses. Therefore they call it Ḳazanluḳ [lit. 'place of cauldrons']. In front of the houses of Ḳazanluḳ they all grow roses and produce very good attar. Ḳazanluḳ is also shown [drawing]. Leaving Ḳazanluḳ shown [here] and after a few days in one of the villages of Çırpan, there is place called Filibe [Plovdiv] and one goes to Filibe. In front of Filibe there is a plain through which the Ṭunca River[3] flows. In front of Filibe and over the Ṭunca River there is a big bridge. On the bridge they have erected a bazaar and do business there. Behind Filibe there is a mountain. Its fortress is on the summit of this mountain. The town is at the foot of the fortress. In front of the town, on the other side of the Ṭunca River and on a desert plain, there are the rice-fields of the sultans. The whole plain [actually] is a rice-field [irrigated] with water from this Ṭunca River. There is a good rice called *'Filibe pirinç'*. This Filibe is a good place which should be visited. The aforementioned Filibe is also shown [drawing]. **[31a]** Leaving this Filibe there is a place called Pazarcıḳ [Pazardžik]. One goes through it. [From] Pazarcıḳ to Filibe is six hours. In front of Pazarcıḳ flows a river. It is a place abounding in arable land and rich in orchards. This Pazarçıḳ is shown [drawing]. Leaving Pazarçıḳ there is a place called İhtiman. One goes through it. On the road [to] İhtiman there is a huge mountain. Halfway up the mountain, there is an outpost.[4] In this outpost soldiers stand guard. There is no lack of robbers [there], either in winter or summer. In front of İhtiman flows a river. Mountains [rise] on four sides of it. İhtiman is shown [drawing]. Leaving İhtiman shown [here], after some days there is a place they call Samaḳo [Samokov]. One passes through it. Samaḳo is a place where iron ore[5]

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[1] دلی اورمان دغی, not identified.

[2] The town is actually situated between İslimye and Eski Zaġare.

[3] In fact the Maritsa.

[4] *derūnet*

[5] اصلی تمور = *aṣlī demir*

is produced. [Near] this Samaḳo is a huge mountain, a black serrated mountain. It is an iron-mine. Only infidels work in this iron-mine. The mine is on a mountain. Samaḳo is at the foot of the mountain. In a valley at the foot of the mountain there are the houses of all these infidels. There are no orchards or gardens. It is a bad place. This iron-mine of Samaḳo is shown [drawing]. Leaving Samaḳo shown [here] and passing many villages on the road, there is a town called Köstendil[1] [Kyustendil]. One goes to that town. **[31b]** We spent the night in the villages of Köstendil for some days and rode to this Köstendil. Köstendil is situated on a huge mountain and below Köstendil flows a river. It produces good knives and good pistol barrels [?].[2] It is a place with good open fields. There is a huge mountain on the road. Halfway up the mountain there is an outpost. In this stronghold soldiers stand guard; it is a huge mountain. It takes twenty-four hours to reach the *ḳāżā* of Üsküf [Üsküb, Skopje]. This Köstendil is shown [drawing]. Leaving this Köstendil shown [here], one goes to the *ḳāżā* of Üsküf. We spent the night in the villages of the *ḳāżā* of Üsküf for a few days and rode to this Üsküf. Üsküf lies in a valley devoid of orchards and gardens. Through its centre flows a river. One side of it is the Muslim quarter, the other side is the infidel quarter. It is situated in a bad place. The aforementioned town of Üsküf is shown [drawing]. Leaving this Üsküf, there is a place called Cum'ayalı.[3] One passes through it. This Cum'ayalı lies on a desert plain. It is a place with a great many gardens and orchards and an abundance of water and arable land. It is a good town **[32a]**. Before it a river flows by towards the centre of a big plain. The banks of this river are full of grain. The place is cheap. Behind this town there is a big mountain. Halfway up this mountain infidels stand guard. Going beyond this mountain one passes through a few *ḳāżās* and there is a place called Vardar Yenicesi[4] [Giannitsa]. One passes through it. The aforementioned Cum'ayalı is also shown [drawing]. Having left this Cum'ayalı, we passed through numerous villages and *ḳażās* and rode to Vardar Yenicesi. This Vardar Yenicesi lies on a big plain. There is a river called the Vardar ırmaġı [Vardar, Axios]. There is a big bridge over the river. It is a place with plentiful arable land. It produces good, first-rate Yenice tobacco and good soap. On the banks of the river there [grow] a great many cowslips.[5] It is a good area. The town of Yenice is shown [drawing]. Leaving Yenice, there is a place called Vodina[6] [Edessa]. One passes through it. This Vodina is situated on a rock. Behind it is a mountain. A river flows down from this mountain into the town. It is a

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[1] Curiously spelt as قوسطان طلا

[2] طبنجه چبوغی = *ṭabanca çubuġı*

[3] جمع یالی or جمعیلی, which one would suppose to be Gorna Dž̌umaya (at present Blagoevgrad), which, however, is far out of the logical route between Skopje and Vardar Yenicesi.

[4] Curiously spelt as وردال ینجه سی

[5] چقا = *çuḫa çiceği*

[6] وادینه

place of a great many orchards and gardens. On the summit of the aforementioned mountain there are infidel villages. In these villages they raise many pigs. In this region [**32b**] they walk about in socks.[1] In that town there is running water in all the houses. It is a place of copious water. The aforementioned Vodina is shown [drawing]. Leaving this town of Vodina, there is a place called Ṣarı Göl [Krestone].[2] One passes through it. Ṣarı Göl is completely Albanian and there is a big lake. On the shores of this lake there are only Albanian villages. They are Albanians who do not know Turkish. Many of their villages are rebellious. They do not take in guests. If they find [them] on the road, they rob [them], but if there are only a few soldiers, they stop. They are a [mob of] rebellious Albanians. This Ṣarı Göl is shown [drawing]. Departing from this Ṣarı Göl, there is a place called Ḳayalar [Ptolemais].[3] One passes through it. This Ḳayalar is situated at the foot of a mountain. It is a village, through the centre of which flows a small stream. This village is also Albanian. It is a bad place. If you depart from this Ḳayalar and go in the direction of Yanya [Ioannina], there are one [or] two trading places[4] on the road. After them one reaches Yanya. This Yanya is shown. Before Yanya there are, in between, three trading places. One is the aforementioned Ḳayalar, one is Pūlūr [Florina], and one is [**33a**] Manasṭır [Bitola].[5] One passes through the villages of Manasṭır. In Manasṭır good Rumelian fur, very good cloth, and very good İşḳodra [Shkodër, Scutari] trimmings are produced; it is a good town. All sorts of things related to clothing are cheap here. All the infidels of Manasṭır sew clothes. This Manasṭır is also shown [drawing]. Leaving the trading place of Manasṭır, one goes to Yanya. Yanya is a good place. It has a fortress. It is a very strong fortress. Depedelenli [Tepedelenli] 'Alī Paşa resided in this Yanya. He had been declared an outlaw. Together with us there were twelve pashas. The armies of twelve pashas gathered here. But it was useless to let the army fight [here], but later we had guns and mortars pouring like rain on the fortress. When we arrived in the town the governor [*vālī*] of Rumelia was Ḫurşūd [Ḫurşīd] Paşa.[6]

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[1] صور يلر = *çoraplar*

[2] Cf. Eberhard Krüger. *Die Siedlungsnamen Griechisch-Makedoniens nach amtlichen Verzeichnissen und Kartenwerken* (Berlin 1984), p. 468; see also William Martin Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, 4 Vols (London 1835), I, p. 311-2: 'Saighíoli... is a Turkish word, meaning yellow lake... comprehends a large extent of level country, subject to inundations... inhabited chiefly by Turks dispersed in many small villages.' Leake travelled in the aera during the years 1804-9.

[3] Cf. Krüger, *Siedlungsnamen*, p. 87.

[4] *bender*

[5] Vaṣfī's recollection is clearly confused here; he may well have passed through these towns, but only before he had arrived at Sarı Göl.

[6] Ḫurşīd Aḥmed Paşa, grand vizier, *vālī* of the Mora (Peleponnese) from *Ramażān* 1235 (June-July 1820) and commander-in-chief of the campaign against Tepedelenli 'Alī Paşa; *vālī* of Rumelia and Yanya 1236/1821; military commander of the Mora, summer of 1237/1822; died 5 *Rebī'ülevvel* 1238 (20 November 1822), cf. SO, p. 679.

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Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa, Ḥāccī Süleymān Paşa, Edeb [Edīb] Aḥmed Paşa, Şāhīn 'Alī Pasa, Moralı 'Alī Paşa, Ḥasan Paşa, Ḳaṣṣābbaşı Ḥüseyn Paşa, and from among the Albanian pashas Deli 'Abbās Paşa, Deli Yāçū Paşa [Paşo İsmā'īl Paşa],[1] Ṣūl Çūḳūçū Paşa, Bosnalı 'Oṣmān Pasa, the pasha of Albania Ṣāliḥ Ḳoçu Paşa, and the commander-in-chief Ḫurşūd Paşa came later. Baba Pasa was [among] the gathered pashas, as was Çırḳacı [Çarḫacı] 'Alī Paşa. [**33b**] The army of these pashas was of no use at all. The fortress was in a very steep place. The fortress had been built on a rock in water. Water was on four sides of it. The water was also [part of] a big lake.[2] The sea was said to flow out into this lake.[3] Ships used to come from the sea. On the lower side of this lake, there was a bastion. Near this bastion Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa had a palace. At times 'Alī Pasa could fight [from] inside this palace, at others [from] inside the fortress. Sometimes ships came in from the sea and attacked the bastion.[4] This allowed them to fight day and night. [But] success continually eluded them. Eventually we had guns and mortars pouring like rain on the fortress. While this was going on, the aforementioned Baba Paşa was in exile in Bursa. But then they awarded him his horsetails. During those days this pasha arrived. When Baba Paşa arrived Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa and Baba Paşa had been in contact with one another and 'Alī Paşa had withdrawn to the lower bastion that was outside the [main] fortress in the water. Later Ḫurşūd Paşa treacherously poisoned Baba Paşa, killing him. Baba Paşa died and 'Alī Paşa came out of the fortress. Ḫurşūd Paşa [also] played a trick on 'Alī Pasa and sent his steward to tell [him] that Baba Pasa was [alive and] well. [**34a**] This ʻAlī Paşa appeared from the bastion that night. Whereas they told [him that they would conduct him] to Baba Paşa's tent, they [actually] brought him to Ḫurşūd Paşa's tent, cut off his head and sent it to Sultan Maḥmūd.[5] While they were cutting off the head of this 'Alī Paşa, the infidels of the Moral [Peloponnese] had risen in revolt.[6] Later Ḫurşūd Paşa confiscated 'Alī Paşa's property[7] in Yanya, made Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa commander and sent him to the Moral. With us there were three pashas. There was a man called Toḳatlı Deli Aḥmed, *delibaşı* of Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa. My father was his standard bearer [*bayraḳdār*]. We, together with the army, said [to each other]: "To

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[1] Cf. Danişmend, *Kronoloji* IV, p. 104.

[2] The fortress was actually built on a peninsula in the lake of Ioannina to the north-east of the town, but separated from it by a moat, see Gabriel Remérand, *Ali de Tébélen, Pacha de Janina (1744-1822)* (Paris 1928), pp. 33-4, and the plates accompanying the text.

[3] *bu göle deñiz ḳarışmış idi*; this cannot have been true.

[4] The Ottoman army was supported by a fleet under Naṣūḥzāde 'Ali Beg sent from Istanbul to the Albanian coast, cf. Danişmend, *Kronoloji* IV, p. 103.

[5] 'Alī Paşa was killed on 5 February 1822, see also the introduction.

[6] On 6 April 1821, the bishop of Patras, Germanos, raised the flag of revolution in the northern Mora at the monastery of Agia Lavra near Kalavitra; this event is traditionally celebrated as the beginning of the Greek revolution, cf. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, p. 59.

[7] *'Alī Paşa'nın māli üzerinde ḳalub*

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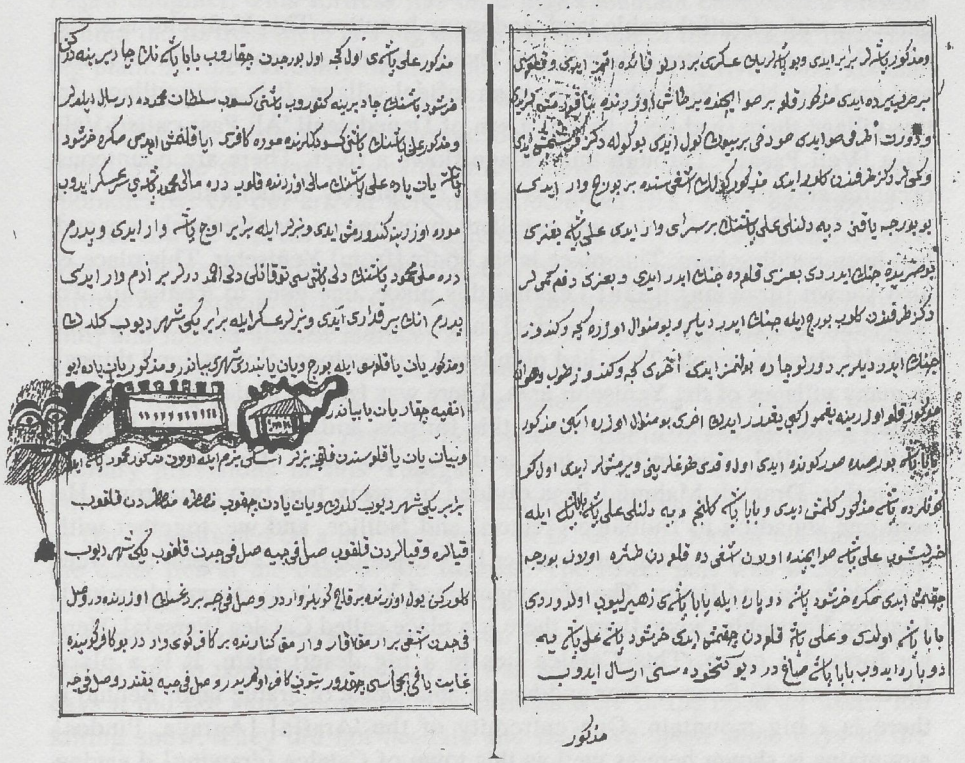
Yeñişehir [Larisa]", and went there. The aforementioned fortress of Yanya, the bastion and the commercial town are shown. In this Yanya [they] produce good snuff. Yanya is shown [drawing]. Having departed from the fortress of Yanya shown [here], we, together with Maḥmūd Paşa who had been with us before, said [to each other: "To Yeñişehir", and went there. While moving from Yanya to Manaṣtir,[1] from Manaṣtir to Ḳayalar, from Ḳayalar to Ṣalfice[2]



Cod.Or. 1551, ff. 33b-34a.

[Serfice, Servia], from Ṣalfice and to Yeñişehir, there were a few villages on the road. Ṣalfice is situated on a mountain. Below Ṣalfice a river flows by. On the bank of the river there is an infidel village. In this infidel village there are a great many orchards and gardens and only infidel houses. It is near Ṣalfice. Ṣalfice lies on a mountain [**34b**]. Below the mountain there is a big plain. If you leave Ṣalfice and look [around], you see the villages and rivers in the plain. Leaving Ṣalfice, halfway [down] the mountain there is an outpost. In

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[1] Cf. above for the confused sequence of placenames.

[2] صل فی جه

this outpost some soldiers stand guard, summer and winter. Next to the stronghold there is also a village. Caravans coming from Yeñişehir stay overnight at this outpost but mounted horsemen do not. [After] six hours there is another town called Baṣoṣşehri [Tirnavos]. One passes through it. The aforementioned town of Ṣalfice is shown [drawing]. Leaving Ṣalfice shown [here], one stays overnight at Baṣoṣşehri halfway and the next day one rides on to the plain of Yeñişehir. After one [or] two days one rides to Yeñişehir.[1] Yeñişehir is situated on a big plain. It is a place abounding in orchards and gardens, with plentiful arable land, and many beauties. This Yeñişehir is a big town. In the town centre a river flows. The riverbanks are replete with orchards and gardens. Near Yeñişehir there is an infidel village. It is a big village. In this village there [had been living] a son of Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa called Vālī Paşa [Velī Paşa].[2] Through this village flows a river. There are bounteous orchards and gardens. The village is also a completely infidel village. For this reason[3] Vālī Paşa had built some excellent mansions on the riverbank here and had been residing here. This place is six hours [from] Yeñişehir. This place is also shown [drawing]. [**35a**] Leaving this place, one goes to Yeñişehir. To Yeñişehir is six hours. On our arrival in Yeñişehir, the infidels of the Moral had all[4] risen in revolt. They had plundered possessions, clothes [and things] in many villages of the Yeñişehir area. There was İzdin [Lamia] and a fortress called Badracıḳ [Ypati]. There was this fortress and a place called İsdilice [Stilida, Stilis]. The infidels had laid siege to these. On our arrival at Yeñişehir, Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa divided his army into two squadrons. He sent one squadron to Bülbülce [Trikeri] and İsdilice, and we, together with Maḥmūd Paşa and a unit of mercenaries [?],[5] departed from Yeñişehir and went towards İzdin and Badra. The aforementioned Yeñişehir is shown [drawing]. Leaving Yeñişehir shown [here], there is a place called Çaṭalca [Farsala]. Here we formed a camp. This Çaṭalca lies in a big desert plain. It is a place [through which] flows a river and has an abundance of arable land. Behind it there is a big mountain. One extremity of the 'Araf[a] [Agrava, Pindos] mountains is shown here as well as this town of Çaṭalca [drawing]. Leaving this Çaṭalca, there is a place called Dömeke [Domokos]. This town of Dömeke lies on the summit of a big mountain at the extremity of the 'Arafa

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[1] 'Lárissa is the most Ottoman town in Greece to the southward of Saloníki, having been the chief settlement of the Turks ever since the conquest of this part of the country previously to that of Constantinople. It then received the name of Yenishehér...', Leake, *Travels* I, p. 440.

[2] Velī Paşa, the second son of 'Alī Paşa, was, before he was captured at Preveza in 1820, 'Inspector of the Passes' (*Derbendler nāẓiri*) and governor of the Mora, cf. Danışmend, *Kronoloji* IV, p. 103; Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, p. 51. Velī Paşa had a house in Trikala, cf. Leake, *Travels* IV, p. 408.

[3] **بو صببدن** = *bu sebebden*

[4] **ايودن** = *iyiden*

[5] **قرجلى** = *ḫarçlı* ?

mountains. In this Dömeke there is also a fortress. It is situated on top of a high mountain. There is nothing here. It is a town on the summit of a mountain. This town is also shown [**35b**] and this fortress of Dömeke is shown as well [drawing]. Leaving the fortress shown [here], the town of İzdin is eight hours [away]. This town of İzdin lies on a mountain of earth. Its fortress is on the mountain, [whereas] the town is situated at the foot of the fortress. In this place there are the mansions of the husband of Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa's daughter. This fortress lies on a high mountain compressed of soil. Behind the fortress there is a big mountain. In front of the fortress, there is a big plain. At the extremity of the plain flows a river. The riverbanks abound in rice fields. They produce good rice. We marched to this fortress. The army of infidels had besieged this fortress. Because this fortress was strong, they found no-one standing on guard, immediately laid siege to it, and fought sporadically. On our arrival here the infidels had fled. They had moved to İsdilice and the fortress of Badra. Maḥmūd Paşa's army had two divisions: one was sent towards İsdilice and we together [with the pasha] moved against the fortress of Badracıḳ. Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa took gunpowder [and] ammunition [with him] and moved against İsdilice; we gathered [our] troops and moved with Maḥmūd Paşa to the fortress of Badracıḳ. Badracıḳ castle was nearby. We [stayed] for a few days; There is a place called Yaşaġac[1] and here we formed [our] camp **[36a]**. This Yaşaġac lies opposite Badracıḳ castle. We left our military provisions in this Yaşaġac. We, mounted cavalrymen, took the infantry mercenaries [?][2] [with us] and moved against Badra castle. The fortress of Badra is situated on a hill. One part[3] of it lies at the foot of the mountain, the other lies at the base of the fortress. The lower part was occupied by infidels and they had taken the part at the base of the fortress [as well]. At that moment we moved forward, launched an assault, and the infidels had no other choice but to come out. Anyway, it was winter time. It snowed. For some days it did not stop [snowing]. The infidels were in the open air under the falling snow. They did not hesitate and fled. We spent some days in the fortress. Later Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa was [appointed] commander-in-chief [but because of] the winter season word did not reach [him]. There was a place in the 'Arafa mountains called Kabraniş [Karpenissi] castle. The infidels had captured the [local] Muslims there and cut [off their heads]. One village or the other, there are only infidel villages here. In Ballı Badra [Balyabadra, Patras] Yūsuf Paşa was under siege. We now lined up the troops on horseback — it was winter — said [to each other: "Let us at once go to the 'Arafa mountains and Kabraniş" and went off. Anyway, after two days there [was] a place called Yediḳule.[4] This Yediḳule is at the foot of the 'Arafa Mountain. We rode to

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[1] **یاش اغاج**, not identified, perhaps identical with Sperchias.
[2] **قرجالی یایه سی** = *ḫarçlı yayası* ?
[3] *maḥalle*
[4] **یدی قوله**, not identified.

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Yediḳule. [**36b**] This Yediḳule is at the foot of the 'Arafa Mountain. [There] is a pure river. On one side of it is the 'Arafa Mountain and on [all] sides around it there are thick woods and swamps. Many of the infidels who had been fleeing from us had come here. There were a great many infidels here. The next day we saw the tower [*ḳule*] in the thick woods, lined up the troops and launched an assault against this tower. Some [of us] fell as martyrs, there was no remedy [against that]. The infidels had no guns. We had guns of five *oḳḳa* on carriages [?][1] There were two guns. [We] put the guns on two sides and one day [we] fired the guns until evening. The tower was somewhat damaged at one side. The infidels grew afraid and fled. That night the infidels fled. Because we were [in] the woods they did not know where we were. Anyway, the infidels fled from this place and constructed a stockade at a bad place halfway [up] the 'Arafa Mountain, the mountain to which we were going, and settled down. We left Yediḳule and went again to the 'Arafa Mountain. This Yediḳule is shown [drawing]. Leaving this Yediḳule, there is an infidel village on the 'Arafa Mountain. [We] went to this village. The infidels were hiding in an ambush somewhere on the road, in a bad place in front of a village. We had not heard [about this]. Therefore, [the army] was prepared and it was arranged that the mounted troops would remain behind [**37a**] and that the grooms' regiment would move forward. The groom's regiment was in the van. The infantry mercenaries, however, were not with [us]. There was a road [coming] from the opposite direction. The mercenaries followed [that] road. While the grooms' regiment was going ahead, they marched to a bridge which was at this bad spot. On the other side of the bridge the infidels had dug out a trench as an ambush and sat [waiting]. [As] the grooms' regiment was approaching the bridge and had partly crossed to the opposite side, a single [burst of fire] from a rifle battery caused a terrible uproar.[2] Now the cavalry could not be deployed in these mountains and there were no infantry soldiers. They passed along the road, one after the other, and everyone dismounted here and began to fight under these trees. The infidels routed us. There were many martyrs. While [we] were in this state of disarray, the infantry mercenaries marched from the opposite direction. If the infantry mercenaries had not moved for another one [or] two hours, we would have [been] finished off. Anyway, the infantry mercenaries did move. The infidels crossed over the mountain to the slope on the other side. There was a village on the mountain slope on the other side. The infidels gathered in this village and set this village on fire. There was a hill above the village. It was on the road. The infidels dug trenches on the hill [**37b**], barred the road along which we would be going and began to fight. The foot soldiers attacked from one direction, the cavalrymen attacked from another and began to fight too. They

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[1] چرقه = *çarḫa(lı)* ?

[2] *ancaḳ bir tüfeng baṭaryesi ḳızılca ḳiyāmetdir ḳopdı*

cut off heads,[1] shed blood and the infidels' heads rolled about like stones. The aforementioned village is shown [drawing]. While they were fighting in the village shown [here], I stayed in this village for only a short while. The mounted horsemen later moved to Kabraniş castle. My father was standard bearer. He stayed on fighting in this village. We, a regiment of mounted horsemen, launched an attack against Kabraniş castle and went off. Along the road flowed a stream. Going along the bank of this stream, I was accompanied by five friends. As we went, Kabraniş castle became visible. They had cut [off the heads of the] Muslims who had been in the town. The infidels had captured the town and were entrenched [there]. We marched to this town. The infidels saw us, fled to the mountains, and escaped [from us]. Their wives and daughters, everyone of them, had fled in one direction. I, with these five friends, did not enter the town. Below the town there were gardens. We went there. One of the friends was an Albanian and knew the infidels' language. The infidels played a trick on us. [They made] a group of women and girls [go] into the gardens [**38a**] [and] all of a sudden they released a number of [these] women and girls. The infidels had set up an ambush on one side. I saw these women and girls, raised [my] horse's head and went [forward]. I had a good horse under me. It moved faster than [my] friends' horses. I moved close to the garden's edge. The infidels' women could not escape. I rode on. The Albanian who was my friend came after me towards the women. The infidels captured my Moral comrade. I looked behind me. My friends were fleeing. I looked around me. The infidels had surrounded me on all sides. cried: "Oh my God who veils the shortcomings of men",[2] and held my hand to my face. Fleeing back from the circle of infidels, the infidels shouted in unison: "You, Turk,[3] surrender yourself, be not afraid". They shouted and looked [at me], but to no avail. Immediately they started to fire their guns at me from the front and from behind. I took shelter with God, may His name be exalted, spurred [my] horse on[4] and rode after [my] friends. [My] friends said: "Too bad, compatriot,[5] your horse has been hit but may your head be spared". I looked at once. The horse under me had been hit in two places. My friends went off somewhere in order to [capture] slaves, but I went back to Kabraniş. Having taken leave of [my] friends and moving [on] — there is a mountain near the fortress and on the mountain there were some deli horsemen [**38b**] — I saw these horsemen and got off [my] horse. I put some earth into [my] horse's mouth, looked [around and saw that] soldiers, different from ours, were moving forward. There was a hill next to the place where I was. On this hill infidel soldiers were keeping a watchful eye. Our soldiers saw this and went for the infidels. On a hill on

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1 كللر = *kelleler*
2 يا ستار العيوب = *yā settāru l-'ayyūb*
3 يا توركو = *yā Turko*
4 *ata bir [ü]zengi verüb*
5 *geçmiş ola hemşeri*

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[my] side I saw the *deli* horsemen. Having got off [my] horse and while I was putting earth into [my] horse's mouth I also looked around [and saw that] there were women and girls under [some] rocks on the side of the *deli* horsemen who were on this hill, farther away from me. I got off [my] horse. They became suspicious[1] and saw us. They immediately moved from where they had been and fled towards me. The *delis* on the hill saw [this] and fell behind them. Before they had reached my side, I had jumped on [my] horse and went for them. I moved at once and captured an infidel girl. I looked [and saw that] she was a virgin. I grabbed her and made her sit on [my] horse; I decided to walk. I took this girl and went to Kabraniş castle. I again looked [around and saw that] our soldiers had unfurled their banners and were on the move, beating their drums.[2] They said they had cut off two hundred and ninety heads in this village. Later we entered Kabraniş castle and settled there. **[39a]** After a few days there was a village, four hours down from the fortress. This village was on the road to Ballı Badra. We were also going to Ballı Baḍra. Our road passed through this village. The aforementioned village lies between two mountains on a steep spot. It is a village in a bad place where a stream flows [by] and people use to cross it [in single file,] one by one. In this village there were two towers. They were opposite each other. Infidels had entered the towers and had cut off our road. There was a message from Maḥmūd Paşa, [we] took a few guns and went for these infidels. The winter was cold. The infidels [were] inside the towers, we arrived from the outside, and launched an assault against these towers. A group of soldiers became martyrs and there was nothing we could do about it. Later Maḥmūd Paşa brought [more] guns and put them up on two sides and began to fire them. In the afternoon one of the towers was destroyed on one side. Immediately our troops carried their banners and launched an attack against the infidels. A few men became martyrs but they took this tower and the infidels fled from inside the tower that was on one side and abandoned this tower. But none of the infidels who were in the tower that we had taken by gunfire and fighting were able to flee anywhere, they cut [off] every single [head of them] and no-one escaped alive. Many men obtained booty and many men gave [their] lives. Later we cut [off the heads of] these infidels **[39b]** and returned to Kabraniş castle. The village where we had the mentioned fight and the tower is shown [drawing]. Back from the village shown [here], we went to Kabraniş castle and stayed there. Later the infidels came to this village shown [here] in force [?],[3] sat down, and cut off our road. Because it was wintertime, we had [no] courage [to] pass along the road and go to Ballı Baḍra. While we were saying [to each other] that we would go soon,[4] it began to snow. It snowed for fifteen days and fifteen nights on end. Our

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[1] زن اتمش = *ẓann etmiş*
[2] داویل بازلری وره وره = *davulbāzları vura vura*
[3] کولیتلی = *külliyetli* ?
[4] *bugün yarın derken*

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soldiers were out in the open air. Some two thousand soldiers remained [behind] under the snow and died. I was under a tent. Nothing happened but then my legs became infected. Later, when I had returned to the town of İzdin, I went to a bathhouse, [treated] my legs by repeatedly rubbing pig fat [on them] and [again] they were in excellent shape.[1] Thank God, His name be exalted, later when we looked into this matter, [we realised] that all soldiers would perish from the snow and the winter [weather]. One day, we were all called out to be ready, were ready, moved back along the roads by which we had come, formed a camp in front of the village of Yaşaġac opposite Badracıḳ castle and settled down. The aforementioned Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa **[40a]** was in İsdilice. The infidels had also fled from İsdilice. Because it was winter, the army therefore rested and settled down. Saying [to each other]: "Let us see what sort of winter this will be", they [decided to wait] and see. When we had returned from Kabraniş castle, we took the infidels' ears that we had cut off and arranged their heads in a row along the road. This town of Kabraniş is shown [drawing]. After we had departed from Kabraniş castle shown [here], we again formed a camp and settled down in this village called Yaşaġac opposite Badracıḳ. Çırḳacı 'Alī Pasa had settled down in the port of İsdilice.[2] One day the infidels got drunk, took their patriarchs [*paṭrikler*], took their Gospel books and, with their military band playing, they drew up their battalions[3] in the Moscovite style and some twenty thousand infidel soldiers launched an attack against İzdin castle and came [towards us]. News [about this] reached us. Five hundred horsemen were mounted, being the horsemen [who were] with Maḥmūd Paşa. Below İzdin castle there was a desert plain. The infidels' battalions [*ṭabur*] came down onto this plain. Immediately some sixty cavalry skirmishers, mounted *deli* horsemen, moved forward and while they were fighting with the infidels, Maḥmūd Paşa came from the rear and we launched an assault against the infidels together with all [the other] soldiers. The cursed infidels were not able to hold their own and fled back from whence they had come. We went after the infidels and cut [off] the infidels[' heads] on the spot where we captured them. While we moving [on], however, there was an ambush of infidels behind us. **[40b]** Behind İzdin castle there was a mountain, a thickly wooded mountain. On this mountain the infidels had laid their ambush. We chased the infidels away in this direction and went after them. Meanwhile, the infidels who were in the ambush on this mountain launched an assault against İzdin castle from two sides. Immediately Maḥmūd Paşa was informed. When the news came: "İzdin castle is lost, bring in reinforcements", and when Maḥmūd Pasa let us know: "For goodness sake, boys,[4] İzdin castle

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[1] *ḫınzır yaġı vere vere a'lā oldı*

[2] Probably meant is Agia Marina, cf. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, p. 96.

[3] *ṭabur*; it has also the meaning of redoubt, camp surrounded by carts chained together for defense.

[4] *amān oġlılar*

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is lost, turn back", we looked [at him in surprise and he said:] "Why are you staring at me? All hell has broken loose over the fortress and the infidels have surrounded this fortress from all sides and are fighting". When we realised this we abandoned the infidels in front of us and went back against İzdin castle. There was a small Albanian force at this fortress. They went inside the fortress and were firing [their] guns and rifles. We rode there. We let our horses have their heads and moved against the infidels. Because there was a mountain behind the infidels and because the infidels were very many, they routed us. While we were moved towards the inner part of the town and against the fortress, they began to fight. A few days passed in this way **[41a]** while the infidels were fighting us from outside and we from inside, God, His name be exalted, for His part began to let it snow and rain for a day and a night. Because these infidels were outside and had no tents, the infidels could not cope and went from where they had come. We came again to the village of Yaşaġac where our camp was and settled down. [We] left a small force in the fortress and while Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa had gone to İsdilice, we stayed in this village. We took leave of Deli Aḥmed and there was a *delibaşı* called Dumanoġlı. We had gone to his side. My father was standard bearer of this *delibaşı*. This delibaşı was a courageous *delibaşı*. He was Maḥmūd Paşa's *delibaşı*. One day [we] quarrelled about [our] monthly pay and this delibaşı had [our] income cut. While we, [all] together, were leaving after we had said [to each other]: "Back [to] the villages of Yeñişehir", spring arrived. It was the season of warfare for the infidels, and while we were trekking around the villages around Yeñişehir, the infidels moved against these by land and sea from three directions. One group of infidels [moved] against Bülbülce [Trikeri] with ships, another group against İsdilice with twenty-two ships and some ten thousand infidels moved against Maḥmūd Paşa. They attacked Bülbülce **[41b]**. This Bülbülce was near Yeñişehir. We did not then move against Bülbülce. While we were saying [to each other]: "Let us go to İsdilice", couriers came from Maḥmūd Paşa at our rear and found us in the villages around Yeñişehir. Maḥmūd Paşa had written: "Dumanoġlı, my son, you again are my *delibaşı*. From the day the couriers arrive among you, they will pay [you] your monthly wages. My son, do not hesitate and hasten straightaway that you come to assist us as soon as possible". The same hour we had the drummers roll [their drums] and together with the courier we came back having said [to each other]: "To Badracıḳ castle again". One of these days — there was a mountain opposite Badracıḳ castle — we climbed to the summit of the mountain, looked [around] and saw that a number of [?] guns and rifles [?][1] on the fortress opposite [us] were pointed at the sky. While we had been in the villages of Yeñişehir, Maḥmūd Paşa had been with the main army at Yaşaġac. Bosnalı 'Oṣmān Paşa was at Badracıḳ castle. The troops with 'Oṣmān Paşa had been few. One day at dawn the infidels had launched an attack against the

[1] طوب تفنك صای = *ṭop tüfeng ṣayısı* ?

fortress while [his] troops had been unaware [of this]. They had not been able to gain a victory over the castle but had taken one of the quarters outside [fortress] and occupied it. The pashas and the troops had stayed on in another quarter. An Albanian major [*biñbaşı*] had stayed [behind] in the fortress. The infidels had cut all of them off on all sides. They had been fighting in this way for a day and a night, [we] from the inside, the infidels from the outside [**42a**]. [Our soldiers] were waiting for assistance from outside. There was no way they could get out. They, inside, were hungry and without water. There was nothing coming in from outside. In this way they were burning, had become inflamed, and were fighting. We observed their situation from the summit of the aforementioned mountain. We immediately and at that very moment moved off towards this Yaşaġac. The camp, ammunition, and grooms had been left behind in this village. The main fighting force had remained with the pasha in Badracıḳ castle. This pasha observed that we had arrived in the village of Yaşaġac which is opposite Badracıḳ and somehow sent a man to us. He had sent [this] message: "My son, you are [my] *delibaşı*; allocate fodder to the horses at Yaşaġac, take ammunition, let an[other] *delibaşı* come [with you], stay with him and launch an assault against the quarter from the open fields. I will send some foot soldiers and we will drive the infidels out from the quarter [they have occupied]." They did not hesitate and began fighting. It was afternoon. There was a *delibaşı* called İnce[1] 'Arab. This *delibaşı* came [with him] and [joined] the attack. The *delibaşı* İnce 'Arab was a courageous man. The pashas opposite us did not wait and began to fight. Dumanoġlı and İnce 'Arab showed no restraint and immediately had the drummers beat [their drums]. We got ready and went for Badracıḳ castle to assist the aforementioned pashas [**42b**]. Before that, while we had been roaming about the villages around Yeñişehir, the *delibaşı* Dumanoġlı had a man called Deli Muṣṭafā. This Deli Muṣṭafā played *jereed*[2] well. One day they unfurled their banners and moving [forward], the delis of Dumanoġlı formed a battalion [*ṭabur*] and began playing jereed. But this Deli Muṣṭafā intimidated all [the other] delis. My father had informed me about this *delibaşı*. The *delibaşı* called us and said: "You Deli Muṣṭafā and you there, Deli Muṣṭafā, go, each of you, to one side. Play *jereed* and let us see which of you wins from whom. Him will I give a superior horse". While I and this Deli Muṣṭafā were throwing the *jereed* sticks at each other we attacked and hit each other. The place where we were playing jereed was a grassy plain. On one side a mill wheel was turning.[3] Deli Muṣṭafā threw a stick at me and dodged backward. It came down near the

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[1] انجا

[2] The game of *jereed* was a mock battle in the course of which horsemen threw darts at one another, each participant in the game now being the pursuer and now the pursued; it was officially suppressed after the abolition of the Janissary corps, see V.J. Parry, 'Djarīd', *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

[3] *degirmen ḫarḳı aḳar idi*

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mill wheel. I at once rode after him and cried "Oh You who veils"[1] and I pointed[2] a stick to his back. I saw that the stick struck behind his ear and that he dismounted miserably.[3] The horse fell somewhere and went off, he himself fell somewhere else. His fur cap fell into the mill wheel, the water took it and it floated off. The buffoons [*şoyṭarılar*] cried out all at once "Bravo". [**43a**] So it happened and the *delibaşı* then gave me a superior horse. This horse was a white [?][4] horse. I always used to cry "Ah". Each time I spurred this horse after infidels, I cried "Ah". When we moved that day against the aforementioned Badracıḳ castle to relieve the pashas, this horse was under me. The aforementioned İnce 'Arab and our *delibaşı* unfurled their banners and we approached the infidels. The infidels were lodged in the lower quarter. When we had approached within a cannon's range, the aforementioned Maḥmūd Paşa saw that we had come to his rescue. Immediately a squad of foot soldiers [descended] from the mountain summit and [moved] to the side of the quarter for which we were heading. We unfurled [our] banners and crying "Allah, Allah", we raised [our] horses' heads against the infidels and moved [forward]. Our foot soldiers did not descend from the mountain but from the summit and fired their guns[5] at the infidels who came out of the lower quarter. When we had come close to the infidels, we immediately moved towards the quarter, İnce 'Arab from one direction and we from an[other]. As soon as we had almost reached to the quarter, the infidels began to fire their rifles from inside. At that moment I cried "Allah", raised [my] horse's head [**43b**] and took the firm decision to go for the infidels. My father carried the banner and I was besides my father under it. My father said: "My son, this war is not a chivalrous war.[6] These infidels approach [you] from ambushes; you have never seen such a war [before]", and gave me many admonitions. But my patience was running out and crying out "Allah", I suddenly let loose of my horse's head from under the banner, [and moved forward] against the infidels inside the quarter. Our banner remained behind. I saw that a white-bearded old dervish rode after me. I looked. His beard was white and parted from his chin into two [separate] strands. He had a dagger in his hand and under him was an white [?][7] horse. He was riding after me. "My son, come behind me, do not fear", he said, overtook my horse and went [on]. I did go after this dervish. I saw that he entered the quarter and began to deal out sword blows to the infidels. When I saw this, I immediately rode to the dervish's side. I saw him [but the next moment] the dervish had disappeared from the spot. On one side I had the infidels opposite me, on the

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1 يا ستار = *yā Settār*
2 هولا ايلدم = *ḥavāle eyledim*
3 زر زه بل = *sersefīl*
4 دورى = *duru (beyaz)* ?
5 قورشوم اتديلر = *ḳurşun atdılar*
6 *bu çeng ḳıral çengi degil*
7 دورى = *duru (beyaz)* ?

other I had our foot soldiers opposite me. I was now left in between. I looked around me. Infidels were mulling around me and I was left amidst market stands[1] in a narrow street. From two sides bullets were pouring like rain **[44a]**. Meanwhile I saw a big plane tree. I was close to the tree trunk. Under the tree infidels were fighting. I pushed a rifle at these infidels. The infidels fled from under the tree. Now I took up my position under the tree. I used the tree as a shield and began to fire [my] rifle. My horse under the tree was hit in two places. All around me there were infidels. I wanted to flee back but I no longer knew which way to go. No longer did I know where our banners had been left and where [our] soldiers were fighting. In this state I was hit in my thigh.[2] I looked around. There was no-one. The infidels did not sit still and were [still] firing [their guns]. I [then] saw that a bullet had hit the bone of my leg. I immediately fell to the ground. A tall, black-faced infidel came and tried to cut off my head [but] at that moment the agha of our volunteers[3] called Emīn Aġa moved [forward], left my horse behind, picked me up from under the tree, put me on his own horse and, fleeing back, this agha of the volunteers was also hit. At that moment the *delibaşı* Dumanoġlı moved [forward]. He ordered the buffoons [to rescue] the agha of the volunteers and me, and we began to flee back. At that moment the horse of this *delibaşı* was also hit as were the horses of the men who were beside him. It was not known were the banners had gone and where the soldiers were [**44b**]. Anyway, they got me out of the village and the buffoons took [me] and the agha of our volunteers. There was a hill in the upper quarter below the trenches. They took us to the top of the hill. We arrived there. Before us, many wounded had been lying there and they laid us too at their side. At the time that we had moved against the village and had entered the village, the banners had also entered the village behind us but, because the infidels had been many, the redoubts [*ṭaburlar*] had again been broken up. The banners had remained in the village and they had brought the wounded to the top of that hill. I asked where our banners had gone. I also asked where my father was. They at once told [me] that the infidels had captured Dumanoġlı's banner. The infidels had cut [off the head of] the standard bearer. At that news, I went out of my mind, rose to my feet at once, went towards the place where the fighting was been going on, and ran to the *delibaşı*. They had told the *delibaşı* that the standard bearer's son had come, that he himself had also gone to the infidels for his father's sake, and that he was going to be a martyr. The buffoons took us away from there and brought us back to the wounded on the hill top where we had been before. We [**45a**] fought that day until evening and the soldiers were only withdrawn around one o'clock at night. Everyone reached the trenches and sat down. My father and some *deli* horsemen had locked themselves up in a shed inside the

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[1] *çarşular*

[2] *ḳaba baldırım*

[3] كو نللر = *gönüller*, free-lance footsoldiers.

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quarter and stayed [there]. When night fell the infidels had come there. The *delis* who were with my father and my father [himself] had taken up [their] banner and came [to us] during [that] night. When I saw my father, I laughed with joy. That night the infidels did not sit still and continued to fight until dawn. We and the pashas who were here remained under siege and so we fought with the infidels day and night, the infidels from outside and we from inside [the town]. The infidels however were in the lower quarter; thus we had a quarter and the infidels had a quarter. The Albanians stood guard in the fortress. We were in the quarter at the base of the fortress. We had two guns in the quarter at the base of the fortress. We were firing continuously. The infidels did not possess guns, but they had a great many soldiers. Fighting went on every day until the evening. We were completely cut off on all sides. We got neither reinforcements nor did we get any provisions. But we did our best and fought on saying [to ourselves] that help would come. Some soldiers found a way [out] at night [**45b**] and fled. Infidel troops kept coming, reinforcing their ranks. In this wise fighting continued for some days. We ran out of provisions however and we had to exist on horse meat and mallow. We had no respite from the fighting, day or night. One day, when the infidels had learned that we were in their quarter - they called their head Ḳollı Ḳuṭrān[1] - the infidels wrote to their head: "We have surrounded Badracıḳ castle. There are no supplies left for the soldiers who are inside. You are [our] Ḳollı Ḳuṭrān, so send a few infidels [as] reinforcements to us, let us take Badracıḳ castle, cut [off the heads of] the Muslims who are inside, and let us send [them] to you." This they wrote to Ḳollı Ḳuṭrān who was their bey. One day reinforcements reached the infidels over the mountain behind the fortress. Now listen, this was really a disaster.[2] When reinforcements for the infidels arrived, it was morning. The infidels cried "Lololo" at us from four directions and were approaching. Column upon column they moved against the fortress and against us. We [were] in the trenches, the infidels outside; we did our utmost but because we were inside the infidels were not able to do anything that day. Evening came [**46a**] and everyone ceased fighting. The next day there was even more[3] fighting. The number of infidels gradually swelled and they began to rout us. Fighting continued in this way for eleven days and eleven nights. On the twelfth day again reinforcements arrived for the infidels, there were rows of swords and they marched against us. They moved against the fortress and against us and did their utmost to get inside through our trenches. Although we did our utmost too, we were helpless and they did come inside through the trenches. They occupied our trenches and entered the quarter where we were.

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[1] قوللی قوطران, the *archistratos* Theodoros Kolokotronis (1770-1843). Originally a Klepht captain, he was made supreme commander of the Greek forces in the Peloponnese in 1822. (The historicity of this passage is doubtful because Kolokotronis was never active in the area here discussed.)

[2] *şimdi diñle imdi felākin [= felāket] işini*

[3] زیده = *ziyāde*

They occupied a few houses and started to fight. Maḥmūd Paşa took his mace and with the troops he chased the infidels from the trenches three times. The *delibaşı* Deli Aḥmed was on the side where we were. The infidels moved against him. They took his trenches as well and he and his men fled to where we were. Deli Aḥmed had been hit on the head. We remained on the top of a hill and all the *delis* were fighting here. Dumanoġlı and my father were fighting in a trench at one side. But the infidels also took their trench and came to where we were. At the edge of the trench where the Albanian troops were, there were a dervish convent [*tekīye*] and a mosque. The infidels put to flight the Albanian troops [**46b**] and occupied this mosque too. They climbed the minaret and started to fire at us [from there]. There was a small unit of infantry mercenaries on a hill. They also put them to flight. Now they were approaching the place where we were. The women and girls who were present in that town [began to] cry in their houses: "God protect us, let us not fall as slaves into the hands of the infidels". A wailing broke out in the town and their voices rose to the sky. We waited for night to fall so that we could leave the town and flee. But the infidels arrived, concentrated their forces,[1] and stormed the fortress. Behind the fortress there was a mountain. Sappers and diggers came down from the mountain and destroyed the rear of the fortress. The Albanian troops in [the castle] saw this and cried for help from the fortress They cried: "Help us, come to our assistance, the infidels have got us and the fortress". At that moment no soldier dared to come to the relief of the fortress from whatever quarter. But the *delibaşı* Dumanoġlı raised his banners, my father took [his] banner and they went to reinforce the fortress. Immediately they climbed to the fortress, planted their banners, and started fighting. But at the same time the *delibaşı* had climbed the fortress the infidels destroyed the fortress. It was afternoon [**47a**]. The infidels concentrated their powers and did their utmost to capture the fortress. However hard the soldiery inside the fortress tried, it was to no avail because the infidels were many and they captured the mentioned fortress. When they captured the fortress, there was an Albanian major [*biñbaşı*] inside called Deveoġlı.[2] This Deveoġlı, the *delibaşı* Dumanoġlı, my father, and five [to] six persons, threw themselves from the tower of the fortress in our direction. One broke his head, another his leg [but] rolled [on] and reached the bottom of our trenches. We took them inside the trenches. The infidels cut [off the heads of] the soldiers who were on the castle to the last man and rolled their heads to our side. They occupied the fortress, planted their flags on the tower of the fortress and began pouring cannon[balls] and bullets over us like rain. These infidels captured both the fortress and one side of the quarter as well as the mosque on the outskirts of the quarter, but we held out in one part of the quarter. We found ourselves engaged in a sword fight with the infidels. Maḥmūd Paşa did not sit still and aroused the army's

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[1] بظوی قوات ایدوب = *bāzū-yı ḳuvvāt edüb*
[2] دوه اوغلی

zeal. He presented one infidel-slaying man with five hundred *maḥmūdīyes*.[1] At the edge of the trench there were infidels' corpses like carcasses of dogs [**47b**]. No one went out, cut an infidel's head, or carried one off. Bullets poured down like rain. Bullets piled up at the edge of the trench like winnowed grain and remained [there]. The pits filled with blood. The fight was such that the sons of man on the surface of the earth and the angels in the sky cried "Bravo". Not since the earth had existed had there been a battle like this. The fighting continued in this way and when the evening drew near and our eyes were fixed in one direction, all of a sudden we saw that red-green banners were unfurled from the direction of İzdin castle and were approaching. It was not our army. This army was an infidel army. But some were saying that it was our army. Under these circumstances Maḥmūd Paşa aroused the army's zeal. He encouraged the soldiers by saying: "The boys have come to our assistance, give your utmost". At that moment the banners came near. We looked [and saw] that they were the banners of the Muslim army. We did our utmost now, concentrated our powers and fought with all our might and main.[2] While being in this state, the infidels saw our army and began to move from the lower quarter to the fortress. The infidels, one by one, two by two, now began to retreat towards the fortress. Immediately we [**48a**] concentrated our forces and rushed out of the trenches. The army which had come to our assistance was really close. They had thought the infidels had taken over this fortress and town completely and therefore they had not immediately marched in but had began to fight cautiously.[3] Our troops rushed out of the trenches, left the carcasses of the infidels behind, and reached the infidels from the rear. Muslims became mixed up with infidels and infidels became mixed up with Muslims. Just then the army which had come to relieve us got the news, they immediately and all at once launched an assault, the infidels climbed on the fortress but fell and they cut [off the heads of] the infidels, prey to hell fire,[4] to the last man. The army who came to relieve [us] entered the town and settled down. They arrived about three hours after dusk. We recognised each other, met, talked, and settled down in the trenches. There had been so much fighting [that] the smell of gunpowder, fear of the enemy, and the suffering from hunger [?][5] were [still in the air]. We handed over the trenches to the army that had come [to us] and each of us lay down at one side as if we were drunk and did not move. At dawn we awoke, looked [around and saw] that the army which had come to our assistance consisted exclusively of Albanian soldiers. Two Albanian chiefs [*baş*] and two Albanian majors [*biñ başı*] [**48b**] had come [to our] assistance. One of the Albanian chiefs was Deli Yāçū [Paşo]

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[1] Gold pieces of twenty *ḳuruş* (piastres) issued during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd II.

[2] جانی کوڭلدن = *cānı göñülden*

[3] *gerüden gerü cenk etmege başladılar*

[4] فنار جهنم اولان کافرلر = *fī nārü l-cehennem olan kāfirler*

[5] اجلق قیلاسی = *açlıḳ ḳaygusı* ?

Paşa and the other Ṣūl Çūḳūçū Paşa. One of the majors was Ṣāliḥ Çam and the other İşḳodralı Muṣṭafā Beg. They had come to [our] assistance with some ten thousand Albanian soldiers. As they were approaching, the infidels had climbed the fortress. In the lower quarter and on one side no infidel remained, they were all in the fortress. We were in the quarter at the base of the fortress. While the infidels were in the fortress and we in this quarter, we had no possibility to stick our heads out and we had no chance [?][1] to fire our rifles. We could only fire [our] rifles [from] the trenches we occupied. In this way fighting went on for some days, but this was of no use against the infidels in the fortress. Later the pashas and chiefs had a meeting somewhere and said "Let us see if can do something about the infidels in the fortress." Ten thousand foot soldiers were then drawn up and were sent onto a mountain that was at the rear of the fortress. One night our troops moved and went onto the mountain behind the fortress. The infidels' provisions and reinforcements were supplied over this mountain. Our soldiers laid an ambush [**49a**]. They cut [off the heads of] the infidels' soldiers, took their provisions, and stayed on this mountain that night. Fleeing infidels informed the infidels in the fortress So dawn broke and our soldiers launched an attack against the fortress from the aforementioned mountain. We got out of the trenches and attacked as well. The foot soldiers fought from behind the fortress and we from [our] side. When night fell that day, there was no way out for the infidels. The infidels were cut off from the mountain. No more provisions and reinforcements were reaching [them]. Fighting went on in this way for some days. Finally the infidels were helpless. One night they went through hell[2] and fled. At dawn we awoke, went after the infidels, reached them, and had a brief fight in the mountains. We cut [off the heads of] some two hundred infidels and went back to that fortress. We took had a few days' rest, left Bosnalı 'Oṣmān Paşa with a small force in the fortress, and we, the remaining troops with Maḥmūd Paşa, went to the assistance of Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa in İsdilice. Badracıḳ castle where so much fighting [had been going on], where they had been wailing and where heads had been cut off, is shown [drawing]. [**49b**] We came back from Badracıḳ castle shown [here], went to the camp in Yaşaġac, took guns, supplies and ammunition, mobilised the troops, and went to the assistance of Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa here in İsdilice. A few [days] later we reached 'Alī Paşa. This İsdilice was on the Mediterranean [Aegean] coast. Behind it was a big mountain. There was a port[3] at the seaside. It was near İzdin castle. It was [also] near Bülbülce [and] Yeñişehir. Therefore the infidels wanted to occupy İsdilice, moor their ships there, have their ships carry soldiers and supplies from the Moral, draw up

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1 دیاقت

2 فی نارِ جهنم اولوب = *fī nār-ı cehennem olub*

3 Agia Marina

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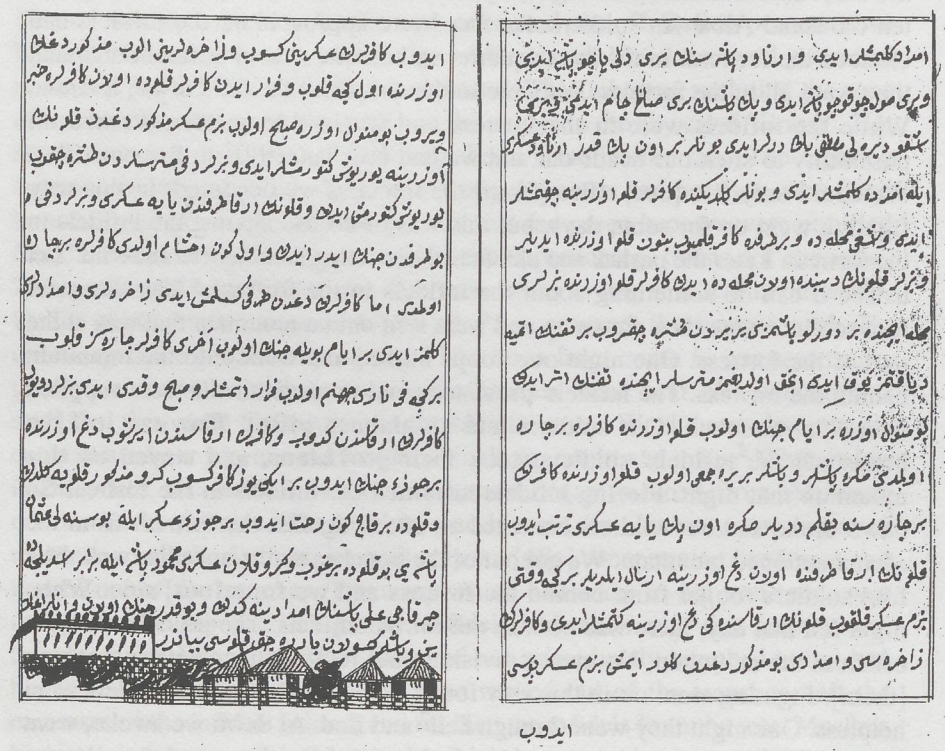

ایدوب

forces so that they could march against the villages of Yeñişehir; for these reasons[1] they had moved against İsdilice both with ships and overland. Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa was in İsdilice, the infidels had cut [him] off on all sides and so they were fighting. The infidels steered their ships from the sea up to below the quay [but] so that there was no way left to flee in any direction whatsoever. Surrounded from the front and from behind they remained in between. In this way **[50a]** they were fighting. [The sound of] guns, mortars, bombshells, rifles, and the cries of the infidels rose to the sky. The soldiers inside cried out: "Alas, we have become slaves in the hands of the infidels". As they were in this state, as we were arriving from here, we did not rein in the horses' heads in the direction of the infidels who were on the mountain [but] moved against them. The infidels were in large numbers [but] their positions on the mountain stood no chance [when] we moved against the town. The soldiers who were inside saw us and said [to each other]: "Look, they have come to help us". They [fought] from inside and we from outside, and the infidels remained in between. This is the way the battle was waged. The infidels had

[1] *bu fehvā ile*

surrounded the outskirts of the town on all sides with trenches. While the infidels were inside the trenches, we [were] outside and [our] troops were inside [fighting] from the town, the infidels had remained in between. While the fighting [continued] in this way, ships arrived from one side and they began to fire [their] guns. Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa, inside, encouraged his troops and had them pour their guns and mortars like rain both on the ships and on the infidels who were outside [the town]. That day the battle developed in this way and they wept a lot. The next day [**50b**] the fight [continued] in the same way. In the end fighting did not stop for five days and five nights. The infidels had fire raining down on our heads. We had fire raining down on the infidels' heads. In this way we fought. Thus fought, our troops who were inside from inside and we from outside, it was the sixth day and night fell. The infidels' ships were moored beside the quay. Then, around five hours after dusk, the infidels fled towards the quay and began to board their ships. We heard the news and at once fell on the infidels from behind. The infidels were fleeing. It was night. There was no opportunity [?][1] to turn back and fire our guns. We immediately reached the infidels and while [we] were cutting [off their heads] like pigs, they [started to] fire [their] guns and rifles from the ships. But because it was night, this was to no avail. In this way the infidels did their utmost to board their ships from the quay until morning and we did our best to cut off the infidels. At dawn the infidels repaired to their ships, put them out to sea,[2] came back later, steered their ships close to the quay, and fired their guns and mortars on the houses in İsdilice where we had been lodging for twenty-four hours. [**51a**] They completely destroyed the town, experienced hell, and went off. Later we left a small force behind in this İsdilice. In front of İzdin castle there was a rice-field. On the edge of the rice-field there was a river. Over the river there was a bridge called Alamana köprisi [Alamana Bridge]. At the head of the mentioned bridge we formed a camp and settled down. It was summer. We were waiting for Ḫurşūd Paşa to come from the rear. We were waiting for Ḫurşūd Paşa to come, to rally the whole army and to say "Let us move against the Moral".[3] The aforementioned port of İsdilice is shown [drawing]. Having departed from İdilice shown [here], we formed a camp at the side of Alamana Bridge in front of the town of İzdin and sat down. We waited for the aforementioned commander-in-chief, Ḫurşūd Paşa. One of these days - [he] had withdrawn his troops from [an attack] against Bülbülce castle, had not been able to take Bülbülce castle, had withdrawn the troops, and had rallied the other soldiers - Ḫurşūd Paşa's banners became visible over this mountain behind İzdin and he arrived. We were looking [around and suddenly we saw] that red and green banners had been unfurled. He was coming with many thousand foot

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[1] دیاقت

[2] *alargaya açdılar*

[3] Ḫurşīd Paşa was appointed commander of the Mora campaign in *Şevvāl* 1237 (June-July 1822), cf. SO, p. 679.

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soldiers and horsemen were coming and arrived. [**51b**] They put up their tents besides Alamana Bridge and settled down. After a few days Ḫurşūd Paşa rallied all the chiefs [*baş*] and pashas, consulted them, drew up the soldiers, and was on the point of moving against the Moral. Ḫurşūd Paşa made Dramalı Maḥmūd Paşa commander of this army and arranged that he himself would stay behind in İzdin castle. The supplies and ammunition remained with Ḫurşūd Paşa. He selected mounted troops and sent them with us to the Moral. One of these days they had Alamana Bridge closed off with a wall[1] but had left a small [open] space. Through this space the soldiers passed one by one and were counted. As regards foot soldiers, there were thirty-six thousand of them. As regards horsemen, there were nineteen thousand able[2] horsemen. In this way the army crossed to the other side of the river. They gave us dry biscuits for ten days[3] and sent us against to Moral. There were twelve pashas with us. They had Dumanoġlı's contact rescinded[4] and he went back to Rumelia. We took leave of this *delibaşı* and were again on the side of the *delibaşı* Deli Aḥmed. My father was standard bearer. [**52a**] This *delibaşı* was Maḥmūd Paşa's officer, commissioned to raise irregular troops [*serçeşme*]. We made our way towards the Moral in their company. On one of these days the army was complete, we took our ten-day [ration of] dry biscuits, and set off, making our way towards the Moral. One day we arrived at a place called Fondona [Fontana] Mountain.[5] Behrām Paşa[6] with eighteen thousand troops had arrived here before us and had fought here. The infidels had been encamped there; he had come and had been routed at this mountain. Of his eighteen thousand soldiers three hundred persons and the mentioned pasha had fled and had been saved. We came to the foot of this Fondona defile,[7] made our camp[8] and settled down. On one side there was the Fondona Mountain, on the other side there was the sea. It was near the sea. The infidels' ships came and started to fire their guns at us there. They brought down[9] a few of our horses and men; consequently we moved our camp to the foot of the mountain and slept that night at the entrance of the defile.[10] The next day we departed and arrived at the pass over this Fondona Mountain. Because this pass was narrow and the road was not wide there was no way at all that the army could pass along this road. Because the mountain was also steep [**52b**] and the army did not know

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[1] *divar ile ṭutub*

[2] *ḳudūr*; meant is possibly *kuduruk* = *deli.*

[3] *on günlik beksümet [= peksimet]*

[4] *teẕkeresini kesdirüb*

[5] فوندونه دغی, part of the the Kallidromon.

[6] Behrām Meḥmed Paşa, for a brief period *vālī* of Serfiçe (Servia) in 1237/1821-2 but was in the same year appointed in Aleppo; he died in exile in 1248/1832-3, SO, p. 365.

[7] *dervend*

[8] اورضومظو قوروب = *oṛḍumuẓu ḳurub*

[9] *ṣaḳıṭlayub*

[10] *dervent aġzında*

of a road anywhere [else], they could not cross over the mountain. While in this situation, the army of the infidels appeared from one side. While we were wondering where to go or [whether] to fight, the infidels almost wiped us out. At that moment [we] left [our] tents and provisions behind and quickly [draw up] the foot soldiers in two columns and the horsemen in a column in between. At that moment Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa overcame his fear,[1] moved to the front ahead of the army, and went off. Anyway, the infidels were few and everyone of them fled somewhere else. The horsemen who were in front planted their banners on the summit of the Fondona Mountain and remained there. The foot soldiers arrived from the rear, took the aforementioned defile, and settled down. Halfway up the Fondona Mountain there was a fortress called Burunca [Boudounitsa]. In this fortress there was a small infidel [force] and they sent only a small force to the fortress. When this force arrived there, the infidels left and fled. It was a ruined fortress. This Burunca castle is shown [drawing]. The soldiers came [down] from the fortress shown [here] and the army gathered at the entrance of the aforementioned Fondona defile. There is a place in the direction of the Moral called the plain of Thebes[2] [**53a**]. One passes through this place. On the other side of this Plain of Thebes there is a fortress called Livatīye [Livadia] castle. Behind this fortress there is a white stone mountain. To [defend] this mountain, the infidels had locked themselves in this fortress and sat waiting there. We reached this fortress after one [to] two days. Behind the fortress there was a mountain, in front of it a plain. Our route now went across this plain towards the fortress. One day we came close to this fortress, formed our camp on this plain, and settled down. The next day the infantry and mounted troops were drawn up, and [passing] across a flat plain, we unfurled [our] banners in the quarter below the fortress and launched an attack. Because the infidels were inside trenches, they made martyrs of a small [group] of us. Night fell and we went back to our camp. The next day [passed] in the same way and for a few days there was fighting under the [same] circumstances. Reinforcements and provisions reached the infidels from the mountain. One day the army was drawn up and we cut off the infidels from the mountain. [In fact] we cut [them] off from all sides and attacked. The infidels saw [that] the Muslim soldiers were in great numbers. [**53b**] The infidels realised their situation and waited for an opportunity to flee somewhere. [Then] one day around seven o'clock the infidels took their women and daughters, rushed out of the fortress towards us and began to flee. At night we went after the infidels, crushed[3] everyone of them anywhere like pigs, made their wives and daughters slaves, took this fortress of Livatīye, did not leave a stick

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[1] *ḳorḳuyı ḳapub*

[2] عاسد اوه سی, also spelt as اسد اوه سی, so clearly اسدیفه اوه سی is meant: İsdife ovası = plain of Thebes.

[3] دپه لایوب = *tepeleyüb*

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standing[1] in the town, and gave it over completely to the flames. The fortress remained intact but not one house was left undamaged anywhere. This fortress of Livatīye is shown [drawing]. We took Livatīye castle and moved [on] saying [to each other]: "[To] the Moral Pass [Dervenakia]". On the road there were a few fortresses. Leaving Livatīye castle, there was a pass in the road called the Paṭra [Pastra] ṭaşı. Infidels had come here and had occupied this pass. There was a crag [ṭaş]. The road passed along the foot of this crag. We reached this Paṭra dervendi. The infidels had planted their flags on the crag [**54a**]. They had surrounded [themselves] with a stockade and sat [waiting] on the crag. Our army arrived, unfurled [its] banners, launched an attack against the infidels from two sides, routed the infidels on the summit, cut and slaughtered every one of them anywhere like pigs and took this crag. This crag is also shown. The pass and the Paṭra ṭaşi are shown [drawing]. Leaving this Paṭra ṭaşı, there was a place they call İsdife [Thive] ovası [the plain of Thebes].[2] One passes across it. This İsdife ovası is a big plain. A big city lies on the plain. In the plain there is a hill. The town is situated on this hill. It is a place of orchards and gardens. It is a place with an abundance of water and a plenitude of orchards and gardens. The Moral pass is near to this İsdife.[3] In front of this İsdife flows a stream and the town's water descends from the top of the hill. It gathers below and becomes a river. This İsdife is a good place. There are bountiful orchards and gardens and the climate is excellent. One day we arrived in this İsdife. Behind İsdife there was a desert plain. On this desert plain there stood a church. In this church infidels had locked [themselves] up. [**54b**] All around it there is [this] plain. [We] surrounded these infidels from all sides and began to fight. The fighting lasted for one [to] two hours. Our troops were many and they launched attacks against the infidels from all directions. Although there were a few martyrs, they took the church. Of the infidels who were inside, none was saved; they cut [off the heads of] all of them. In this church some had been property owners, others military men.[4] This church is shown [drawing]. We took the church and went back again to the plain of Thebes, the place where our camp was. We struck camp from this place and went to İsdife. This İsdife was near the Moral Pass. While [we] were staying in this İsdife for a few days, the army rested, the pashas drew up the army and we were [ready] to move to the Moral Pass. The aforementioned pashas, then,

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[1] بر ديكلر اغاج قيوميوب = *bir dikili aġac ḳomayub*

[2] Vaşfi's memory was confused here: the pass across the Pastra mountain range is situated to the south of Thebes. The army actually moved from the plain of Thebes south through the pass to Megara and Corinth, cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, pp. 61-2.

[3] The Mora Pass (Dervenakia), through which the army first passed on its way to Argos and Tripolis, is in fact south-west of Corinth, cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, pp. 62-4. Another possibility, but less likely, is that the Dervenia defile along Gerania Mountain and west of Megara is meant, an area inhabited by Orthodox Albanians.

[4] جندان = *cündān*

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drew up the army and they departed[1] for the Moral. They sent Çırḳacı [Çarḫacı] 'Alī Paşa to Agriboz [Chalkis] castle with a part of the army.[2] Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa went to Agrıboz castle and we departed from İsdife, drew up the army for the Moral Pass [**55a**] and went [off]. The İsdife ovası and the town of İsdife are shown [drawing]. The day before we departed from İsdife, Maḥmūd Paşa sent the aforementioned Deli Aḥmed who was his *serçeşme* to the Moral Pass ahead of the main army corps. Saying [to each other]: "Let us see whether there are infidels in the Moral Pass", we took [our] banners and went [off] one night, one day earlier than the main army, leaving them behind in İsdife. That night [we] went and the next day [when] it was afternoon the Moral Pass became visible and we approached the pass. There was no infidel to be seen. We said: "God knows best but there are no infidel troops in the pass." Having said that, however, we had a guide with us [who was] a native of the Moral. He informed us that the pass was not deserted. The guide answered [our questions saying] that Ḳollı Ḳoṭron [Kolokotronis], the principal bey of the infidels, was present in this pass.[3] But we did not listen to the guide's words and as soon as we had come close to the lower [entry to] the pass, what did we see [but that] the infidels had dug trenches out from one mountain to the other [**55b**], had planted their flags on the mountain summit and sat [waiting]. [When] we saw the deployment of the infidels we went back to the villages in the plain. While we were wandering about the villages on the plain, an infidel fell into our hands. We got information from this infidel. We asked [him] "Are there many infidels in this Moral Pass?".[4] This infidel gave the following answer: "There are forty thousand infidels in this pass. Ḳollı Ḳoṭron who is their bey is also with them in the pass". We gave this infidel ten horsemen and sent him to İsdife, to the place where the main army was, to Maḥmūd Paşa. That night we fled from one village to the next until dawn. Anyway, we survived until dawn. Ten horsemen had taken this infidel and gone [away]. They conducted the infidel to the aforementioned Maḥmūd Paşa that night and explained the situation. The pasha got ready — dawn had broken — and the advance guard of the army reached the Moral Pass. They found us here. Anyway, as it arrived the army gathered at the entrance to the pass and halted [there]. It was afternoon. The aforementioned Maḥmūd Paşa unfurled [his] banners [**56a**] and [also] arrived. Maḥmūd Paşa, all [other] pashas and the whole army examined the Moral pass [to see] how the infidels had fortified [the pass]. "God knows best but look [?]"[5], they were saying, "there is no way

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1 *ḳaldılar = ḳalḳdılar*

2 Cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 61; he took 500 to 600 men with him.

3 Kolokotronis who had been appointed commander-in-chief was present with a force of about 8000 men south of the pass; there were also other units, and these all together outnumbered the Ottoman forces which were moving into the pass, cf. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence*, pp. 95-6.

4 كافرلر چقمودور = *ḳāfirler çoḳmudur*

5 علم بقوب = *[Allāh] a'lam baḳub ?*

that we will be able to take this Moral Pass today or tomorrow". [Thus] we inspected this pass that day. Dawn broke and Maḥmūd Paşa summoned the army's majors [*biñ başı*], sent the infantry soldiers in two columns onto two mountains, drew up the horsemen in the same way as a central column along the road, put *maḥmūdīye* gold pieces on a prayer rug, and they all began to shout at the same time. They shouted at the top of their voices because he who would be first to appear [with his] standard on the summit of the Moral Pass [would be given] five hundred *maḥmūdīye* gold pieces, a superior caparisoned horse, and a superior military cloak[1]. The infantry skirmishers marched in one column, the Albanian soldiers in another and the horsemen in [yet] another and cried "Allah, Allah". Whereas the soldiers who moved on the left flank reached the summit of this mountain, the soldiers who moved on the right flank got stuck halfway up the mountain [**56b**]. The infidels were watching us from the mountain. They were not aware that our foot soldiers had moved onto the mountain in two columns. The infidels sat [waiting] behind their entrenchments, drinking and carousing,[2] and looked out saying [to each other]: "Let us see what these Turks will do". The left column of our army [meanwhile] had arrived directly below the infidels' trenches. There was a thick wood. The infidels were still unaware [of what had happened]. The soldiers on the left [decided to] wait for those on the right flank. The army of the right column, however, far from coming near [them], were still halfway up the mountain. Those on the left flank had reached [their goal] and stayed close to the infidel trenches. The moment the infidels had the news, they began to fire [their] guns and rifles [as] from one muzzle. While these foot soldiers were fighting on the left flank, all infidels [also] moved to the left. Our soldiers who were on the right flank did not [manage] to make their appearance on the mountain but marched against the infidels from halfway up the mountain. The soldiers on horseback rode through the middle. Then our troops, coming from three directions, reached the infidels on the mountain [**57a**]. Now listen, he said, let us see on whom God, His name be exalted, was to bestow the trophies[3] of the battle at the Moral Pass. As long as [a part of] our troops remained halfway up the mountain, they were useless because this mountain was a steep one and the infidels were inside [their] trench. Therefore the soldiers who had been moving from the right flank were useless. The soldiers who had been moving from the left flank had come right below the infidels' trenches on the mountain summit. The mounted soldiers had moved through the middle and they also had come below the trenches. Then a noise[4] went [up] in these mountains [from] the sound of guns and rifles and the voices of the infidels and of our army. This sound [echoing against] mountains and rocks

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[1] قابود = *kaput*
[2] *içki işret edüb*
[3] رسقات = *reşeḥāt*
[4] کورلطی = *görültü*

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rose to the sky. How the battle developed is impossible to tell, you had to have taken part in it yourself.[1] It was exactly two hours before sunset [when] the infidels were routed, fled towards our troops who were on the right side, went through hell fire and went [off]. Night fell. [**57b**] The infidels had fled. They had fled to the mountain on the right. Our army occupied the infidels' trenches which were on the mountain and cut [off the heads of] many infidels. Our army, mounted horsemen and infantry fighters, appeared at the spot on the mountain where the infidels had been. Baggage, ammunition [?],[2] stable boys, and the Sivas cavalry had been left behind. The centre column of our mounted troops who had reached the mountain summit went to the plain of Kördüs [Corinth] for slaves, male and female,[3] saying [to each other]: "There is no

Cod.Or. 1551, ff. 57b-58a.



اولوب

1 *meger girmeye muḥtāc ola idi*
2 **پخجانه** = *cebeḫāne* ?
3 *köle ve cāriye*

infidel left in the mountains, let us go to] the plain of Corinth". The Moral Pass [is] between two mountains and on both sides [there are] black rocks. The upper slopes of the mountains are [covered with] forests and thick woods. A river flows through the rocks between the two mountains. Above the river and over the rocks [there is] a footpath.[1] The soldiers [had to] pass along the footpath, one by one. So in ten days only as many thousand soldiers [could] pass. The soldiers who had reached the mountain summit went [down the slope] on the other side. No soldier remained on the mountain. While they were thus moving through the pass for a day and a night, the infidels were informed about this situation. The infidels who had been fleeing [**58a**] now came back, took the pass, again occupied their trenches and began to fight. No-one of the Sivas army, the other troops or whomsoever had remained behind on the mountain slopes now came through unharmed. The infidels took their provisions, tents, guns and ammunition, all of it, and confiscated [them]. We were cut off from the rear [now that] the infidels were settled in this pass. We arrived in the plain of Kördüs [Corinth], formed a camp and sat down. From our army of fifty-five thousand [men], only some thirty thousand soldiers remained. The infidels then took the pass, occupied it and settled down. We were [by then] in the plain of Kördüs. One day the infidels brought the tents, guns, horses and camels, whatever they had taken from us, and put [them] opposite us and sat down. The aforementioned Moral Pass where heads had been cut off and so many thousand Sivas cavalrymen had died is shown [drawing]. [**58b**] My father had been wounded in the Moral Pass shown [here]. I had not heard about this [but] after three days in the plain of Kördüs, I found my father, I examined him. He had been injured in seven places. Before this, when we had launched an attack against the Moral Pass, my father had, before all other flags, planted his flag at the entry to the pass and while he was reciting the Muhammedan call to prayer, the infidels [had fired] a bullet into his breast, had hit [him with] many swords on his head and had injured [him] in seven places but at the same time my father had again cut [off the head of] one infidel and had fallen into the infidels' trenches, where he had lost consciousness and remained with the infidels. The infidels had dealt many blows with [their] swords and fired many shots but had not cut off a single head [but] had remained entrenched. At that moment, other flags had arrived and soldiers had arrived and had taken the pass. At that time, the *delibaşı* Deli Aḥmed had arrived and had found my father. He had looked [and seen] that my father had been injured in five places and had been robbed of his belongings, weapons and everything he had. This *delibaşı* had hoisted my father onto a horse and had come to the plain of Kördüs. Three days later, I went [**59a**] and found my father under a mulberry tree. My father was naked, wounded, giddy and out of his mind. When I saw him in this state at the edge of a stream under a mulberry tree, I went out of my mind and lost control. I left my horse

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[1] *ḳaldırım*

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behind and came to my father's side. For three days, my father had been injured and bleeding and all his clothes were stuck to his body with blood. In this state I saw my father, half-dead and unconscious.[1] In this state I saw my father and I wailed and burst into tears. After a while, my father came to his senses and said: "Muṣṭafā, my son, where are we? What kind of place is this? Have we come through the Moral Pass? Son, why do you cry? Praise to God, we have come through the Moral Pass, we have come here and found safety. Why do you cry? I am well", and saying this he comforted me a little. He lost his senses again, lost consciousness and lay down. I somehow tried to get off his clothes [**59b**] but could not and cut away all clothes that were on him and had other clothes brought. Our camp remained here [for a] long [time]. I took my father to Maḥmūd Paşa and went [to him]. The *serçeşme deli*, the aforementioned Deli Aḥmed, was with him. Maḥmūd Paşa saw my father and asked: "Is this the standard bearer who planted his banner at the entrance of this pass?". The *delibaşı* reported what type [of man] he was and told everything that had happened. Maḥmūd Paşa gave orders and gave [him] a superior horse, a superior great-coat and five hundred golden *maḥmūdīyes*. He also gave us many consolations. Thereupon I took my father, returned to that tree and laid my father to rest. Later my father's wounds became infected and began [to look] bad. I again went to Maḥmūd Paşa. "My Lord, could you send a doctor to your servant, because my father's wounds have got worse", I wailed. Now Maḥmūd Paşa [and] Moralı 'Alī Paşa[2] had a doctor. I went with a messenger [*ḳavas*] and found the chief physician [*ḥekim başı*]. It was an Austrian[3] doctor. I took this doctor [**60a**], [we] came to my father's side, [he] unwrapped my father's wounds and examined [them]. This doctor said: "The wounds on this man's body are harmless but the wound on his head is bad". This doctor also said: "Let me gently tap [?][4] on this man's head. If blood will flow from his ears this man cannot be saved. If no blood flows from his ears, come and tell me tomorrow and I will examine [him]." Saying this he gently tapped on my father's ears and on his whole body and went [off]. That night [we] went to sleep. At dawn the next day I looked at my father's ears. I saw that there was no trace of blood on my father's body. Delighted, I immediately burst out laughing and went to the chief physician. I said: "No blood has come from my father's ears." The chief physician again rose, came [with me] and examined my father's wounds. "This man will not die. If he is laid down in a quiet place and is well taken care of in a warm place day and night, he will be all right," he informed [me]. We arranged that for a gold *maḥmūdīye* he would come every day and examine him [**60b**]. In this way the doctor attended to my

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[1] *başında baş ḳalmamış ve vücūdında vücūd ḳalmamış*

[2] Meḥmed 'Alī Paşa, *vālī* of the Mora who accompanied Ḫurşīd Paşa, see *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 30.

[3] لمسه = *Nemçe*

[4] بر لشقه اوره يم = *bir laçka urayım* ?

father's wounds. But we had no water here and had no provisions. Our surroundings were all occupied by infidels. Under such circumstances did we camp there. The infidels had put the tents and guns taken from us on the mountain opposite us and sat [waiting]. Our army remained helpless. There was neither water nor fodder for the horses. Ḫursūd Paşa sent neither reinforcements nor provisions after us. There were neither [troops] coming from our rear nor were there troops to advance. The army in this Kördüs desert had been routed. Everyone was somewhere [else suffering] from thirst and lack [of food]; some were eating horse meat but could not find water and were drinking sea water. So the soldiers were dying here. One day our army departed from the plain of Kördüs and a part of the army went to Kördüs castle. They came close to that fortress. They looked [and saw] that the fortress was surrounded by infidels who sat [waiting]. While we were deliberating on a hill and said [to each other]: "What business have we here, [why] have we come? All places here are full of infidels", the infidels suddenly saw our army [**61a**] and at once began to flee towards the mountains. Now our army caught sight of them, raised their horses' heads and went for these fleeing infidels. Perhaps there were Muslims in this fortress. The infidels had not taken this fortress. By then our army had arrived on the hill. The Muslims in the fortress recognised our army. The Muslims rushed out and met our army. They sent news back to Maḥmūd Paşa and they at once appeared from behind the infidels and began to fight. News reached Maḥmūd Paşa in the rear. Without delay about ten thousand cavalrymen mounted [their horses] and went behind these infidels at the foot of the mountains. They immediately cut off the environs of the mountain, cut [off the heads of] one [to] two thousand infidels and went back to the fortress. Later news reached the camp and we also went to Kördüs castle. This Kördüs castle is a steep fortress and [we] had no means to take it by force. If it had been besieged and the [occupants] had gone without food, this fortress could perhaps have been taken. Beyond the fortress there was İnebolu [Anaboli, Navplio] castle. [**61b**] Our army went to İnebolu castle and saw that there were infidels in the fortress. The infidels had cut [off the heads of] the Muslims who had been inside. They had occupied the fortress and sat down. This İnebolu castle was an extremely steep fortress and our army had no provisions, guns or ammunition. [Otherwise] they would have gone for this İnebolu castle, fought and perhaps been able to take this fortress. Later our [troops] stayed in this Kördüs castle. They had no provisions and were waiting in Kördüs castle for Ḫurşūd Paşa to send provisions and reinforcements from the rear. While our main force remained in this fortress, I went to Maḥmūd Paşa and asked permission [to go] to Aġrıboz. Maḥmūd Paşa answered: "My son, there are now many wounded in our army. All soldiers want permission [to take leave of absence]. Stay in this fortress and let us see how things are in a few days". I gave my father the news. My father said: "My son, because the pasha has lost so much we should stay in this fortress". I said: "Father [**62a**], look here, what must become of the soldiers who remain in this castle? There

are no provisions in this fortress. No help will come. How can we stay here? Come, father, let us board a ship and go to Aġrıboz castle, the castle where Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa is," I said [but] my father was not at all convinced. One day an Austrian ship arrived. It brought provisions. We saw this Austrian ship, had a word with the captain, made a deal for Agrıboz castle, and then one day this captain sailed from this Kördüs castle saying "[To] Aġrıboz castle". Although on the way [there] we came across many infidel ships, this captain hid us on the ship's gundeck.[1] In this way we arrived at Aġrıboz castle in a few days. They had built this Kördüs castle on a rock on a desert plain. It was an excellent, strong fortress. Therefore the infidels had not taken it. This Kördüs castle is shown [drawing]. [**62b**] Having departed from Kördüs castle, shown [here], on an Austrian ship, we came to Agrıboz castle.[2] Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa had entered Aġrıboz castle and was residing [there]. When this Çırḳacı had arrived, Agrıboz castle had been under siege. The infidels had thought that this pasha's army was big and had fled. Çırḳacı had not even had five thousand soldiers. After a few days the infidels had come back and had laid siege to Agrıboz castle. Agrıboz castle was still under siege when we came. We came on an Austrian ship and [were thus able to] enter the fortress. Those in the fortress were still fighting. I left my father on the ship, disembarked, looked [around] and found a *deli* we knew. The aforementioned pasha had a *delibaşi* called Yörük[3] Mūsā. I used to know him. I went and arrived at the mansion where he lived and found this *delibaşı*. I kissed his hat[4] and informed him of how things were, one by one.[5] The *delibaşı* had a standard bearer who used to know my father. While he had been taking out his banners in the Moral Pass and had been moving [about], the standard bearer of [**63a**] this Yörük Mūsā had learned about my father's situation. He had also informed the *delibaşı* [about this] in full detail. This *delibaşı* gave orders to his standard bearer and said: "This is a true standard bearer, find a house next to yours' and lodge these men somewhere in an infidel house." The standard bearer joined us in finding an infidel house. I came [there] and furnished this house. My father was wounded and I laid my father [to rest] in this house. I knew [the prescription of] the medicine that the doctor at Kördüs castle had taught [me to make]. I bought the ingredients and made an excellent medicine. I laid my father [to rest] in an excellent place. I was fighting every day because this fortress lay

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1 صنطه برمه = *santabarbara*

2 See for a description of the island and its main town, Leake, *Travels*, II, p. 253 ff. 'The greater part of the best lands of the island are owned by about thirty Turkish families, residing principally in the Kastro of Egripo [Egribós], which contains about 1000 others of the lower orders. These, with 200 families in Körysto, Roviés, Oreós, Kastrevalá and a few smaller places, compose the whole Turkish population of the island. The Christians are about five times as numerous, but in the town of Egripo do not form above a third of the inhabitants...', p. 254.

3 يورك

4 صپکای‌نی بوسه ایدوب = *şapkayını büse edüb*

5 *ḥāl-ı aḥvāl bir bir ḫaber verdim*

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under siege. I was always going out to fight. My father stayed behind alone.[1] Later I obtained a black slave girl for my father to serve him. The slave whom I obtained was serving my father well. When I went fighting, this slave always used to give my father water but the aforementioned wounds did in no wise improve. Later one day I was informed [what had happened] and gave the slave girl a sound thrashing with my quarterstaff.[2] I gave her many admonitions not to do this again. [**63b**] Afterwards she did not give him much water for some days and left my father without water. This situation lasted for four months in all. My father's wounds got better and my father was able to mount a horse again. We, my father and [I], remained under siege and fought the infidels in this Agrıboz castle for four years. It sometimes happened that the infidels defeated us and sometimes it happened that we defeated the infidels. So we cried "Let them burn, Lord, burn"[3] in this Agrıboz castle for four years and fought with the infidels day and night. Let me tell you the story of what happened to us in this Agrıboz castle in full detail. When we had entered this Agrıboz castle, we found the aforementioned *delibaşı*, explained [our] situation and were employed by this *delibaşı*. The *delibaşı* gave us a contract [*ḫarc teẕkere*]. We were employed by the *delibaşı* and settled down. So we entered Agrıboz castle [as] warriors [while] this fortress was under siege. The infidels' ships were coming from the one side and they were coming overland from an[other] and so they besieged this fortress and fought [with us] day and night. We, then, arrived and were assembled and fought with them for some days. Later winter arrived and the infidels did not stay out in the open [**64a**], went through hell fire and went [off]. When summer came these infidels again came after us from four sides and besieged us in this fortress. In this way we fought with the infidels [while] the infidels' ships arrived by sea from two directions. From a [third] side they came overland and fired [their] guns at us day and night, destroying all the houses and mansions in the town. If it was dark during some nights, they penetrated inside through our stockade and [we] fought, sword against sword. That year, then, [we] were fighting in this way. Winter came again and the infidels again went through hell fire and went [off]. Then, during the next year, [when] it was summer again, these cursed infidels were in a great multitude this time and again came for us. We had no provisions inside and got no help [from outside]. We had fought for two years and were devastated. We, all soldiers and the local [inhabitants], were now thinking: "If this year no reinforcements or provisions come, what will become of us?". [**64b**] Agrıboz castle is [situated on] an island in a sea. On this island there are three hundred and sixty-six infidel villages. Among these

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[1] يلا غوز = *yalnız*

[2] بر ايوجه نبود اوردوم = *bir iyüce nebbūt urdum*

[3] يكدور مولا يك چغردق = *yañdur mevlā yañ çaġırdıḳ*

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villages there are five big fortified towns. The infidels had cut [off the heads of] the Muslims in these towns, had taken their possessions, servants and womenfolk,[1] and had made them slaves. But the infidels had not taken one of these fortresses. [One of] these fortresses was called Ḳızılḥisār [Karistos]. The Ḳızılḥisār castle had remained [unoccupied] as had Agrıboz castle. They had cut [off the heads of] the Muslims who had been living in the other fortresses, [taken] their possessions and enslaved [them]. Agrıboz castle and Ḳızılḥisār castle were strong. The infidels had not succeeded in taking these two fortresses. When Sultan Maḥmūd, then, received the news [that] these two fortresses were still in Muslim hands, he sent us reinforcements during [our] second year [there]. But the expected reinforcements did not come to Agrıboz castle where we were but went to the aforementioned Ḳızılḥisār castle. In Ḳızılḥisār castle there was a bey called 'Ömer Beg.[2] The relief reinforcements went to help 'Ömer Beg. **[65a]** This 'Ömer Beg wrote to our Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa and asked [him] for a small force of *deli* horsemen. While 'Ömer Beg was fighting all the time against the infidels who were after him, he wanted to come to Agrıboz castle. This Ḳızılḥisār castle was eighteen hours [from] Agrıboz. Our pasha sent more than two hundred *deli* horsemen to reinforce 'Ömer Beg at Ḳızılḥisār. I was with them. Later one day these two hundred *deli* horsemen [and I] arrived to reinforce 'Ömer Beg. We arrived [while] 'Ömer Beg was under a heavy siege.[3] The infidels were besieging them in a way that they scared the hell out of them.[4] They did not [dare] to come out of the fortress gate at all. They had locked themselves up in the fortress and were fighting [from there]. The infidels had cut off that fortress from all sides, had built trenches and sat [waiting]. They fired [their] guns and rifles from inside [them] by day. The infidels had come close to the base of the fortress. By day the infidels [were] in [their] trenches, [but] as soon as night fell **[65b]** they penetrated into the foundations of this fortress with pickaxes and destroyed the fortress from the foundations [upwards]. They [were] inside the fortress [and] did not come out at night. At the same time they waged war with the sappers and rained[5] [bullets] down on them from the fortress's bastion. In this way the siege [continued] and they were [on the point of] surrendering this fortress saying [to each other]: "Either today or tomorrow". At that moment we reached the infidels from the rear, but our force was small and the army of the

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[1] مالنی و اهلی ایالنی الوب = *mālini ve ehli 'ayālını alub*

[2] 'Ömer Bey, later Paşa, was born in Ḳızılḥisār, became *ḳapucıbaşı* and *mütesellim* of Ḳızılḥisār and replaced Çarḫacı 'Alī Paşa as *muḥāfıẓ* of Agrıboz on 17 *Ẕīlḳa'de* 1238 (26 July 1823), *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 103. Our text suggests that this must have happened after the campaign season of 1824, when 'Ömer Bey became a pasha with the rank of three horsetails (84b). According to SO, he was appointed as *mīrmīrān* (*vālī*) of the island in 1242 (1826-7) and died in 1275 (1859), p. 1325.

[3] *ġāyet muḥāṣırada idiler*

[4] *gözlerini ḳorḳutmuş idi*

[5] توكرلر ايمش = *dökerler imiş*

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infidels was big. Nevertheless, the *deli* horsemen had an imposing air.[1] We unfolded [our] banners, the drummers rolled [their drums], and we launched an assault against these infidels from one direction. The infidels were under the impression that many soldiers [had arrived], went through hell fire towards the mountains and were off. Thereupon we reached this fortress. We met the Muslims who were inside and spoke [with them]. Later the infidels looked [and saw that] our support[2] consisted of some two hundred *deli* horsemen, had another look, again came up with an extra unit of infidels against this fortress, and besieged us from all sides, overland and by sea, [**66a**] and settled down. There were, however, no provisions in the fortress. No reinforcements were [to be expected] from any side. But just while we were thinking this, six thousand Janissary soldiers came on our ships to reinforce us from the Çeşme coast and from heathen [*kāfir*] Izmir by way of Agrıboz.[3] Our fleet had sailed to Agrıboz; they looked [and saw] that there was a battle going on against this fortress. The ships immediately drew near, left these six thousand Janissary soldiers [behind] in Ḳızılḥisār castle and other ships departed, saying: "[To] Agriboz castle". These Janissaries immediately disembarked, took their rifles and we, the local troops and *deli* horsemen, immediately fell upon the infidels like hungry wolves from three sides and began to fight. In the afternoon we attacked the infidels and in the afternoon of the next day the infidels were routed and began to flee towards the mountains. Immediately the mounted soldiers formed one column and the foot soldiers two. The afore-mentioned 'Ömer Beg was a brave bey and we, rallying around him, at once took [up our] rifles. 'Ömer Beg was with us **[66b]** and we gave the infidels a run for their money.[4] We knew the place where everyone of the cursed infidels had fled and slew them like dogs. That day we took two hundred infidel heads and about fifty infidels. Night fell. We were on a mountain. For that reason we turned back, formed a camp and settled down. After one [or] two days the aforementioned 'Ömer Beg gave provisions and ammunition to these Janissary soldiers. They departed accompanied by us and we went after these infidels. Having fled from Ḳızılḥisār castle, these infidels went to a mountain called Maṭūḥ dağı [Ochi Oros]. They dug out trenches on that mountain and settled down. When this 'Ömer Beg got the news, he gathered his soldiers and we went to this Maṭūḥ dağı. One day we reached the infidel villages that were at the foot of this Maṭūḥ dağı. We took a few infidels and obtained information. When asked where were the infidels who had fled from us, they reported that they had dug out trenches on the Maṭūḥ Dağı and sat [waiting]. Later we rested

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[1] *ammā deli atlusında heybet vardur*

[2] *bunlarıñ temeli*

[3] Cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, p. 122; the fleet was under the commanded of Ḫusrev Paşa and carried 3000 Janissaries - this happened in 1239/1824; see also Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence,* p. 103, the troops were landed at ḳaristos in June 1823.

[4] *bir giriş girişdik*

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for a few days in these villages [**67a**]. Thereupon we drew up the soldiers and went for the infidels on Maṭūḥ dağı together with the aforementioned 'Ömer Beg. One day we departed from these infidel villages and reached this Maṭūḥ Dağı. This Maṭūḥ dağı is a huge, enormous mountain. We reached the foot of this mountain. One night we lay down at the foot of the mountain. At dawn on the next day we departed. The soldiers were drawn up in such a way that the foot soldiers were at the front and the horsemen in the rear. We marched off crying "Allah". In the afternoon of that day we reached the summit of this mountain. But there was no infidel anywhere. Soon we reached the place where the infidels had dug [their] trenches and had settled down. We looked [around and saw that] the infidels' trenches were ready. Their ammunition, provisions and all their things were found in the trenches. When our soldiers saw this, everyone, saying [to each other] that the infidels had fled, began to plunder. The afore-mentioned 'Ömer Beg spoke these words: "Boys,[1] the infidels have laid an ambush, do not succumb to this call for plunder, the infidels may show up somewhere at any moment", [but] no-one listened to what this bey said. Below these trenches there was a flowing spring **[67b]**. I and some soldiers dismounted from [our] horses at the edge of the spring. At the edge of the spring a few honey bees had been were gathered [in hives].[2] The infidels [were to] play this trick [on us]; [when our] soldiers reached this mountain in the evening, they would drink from this water and take honey from these [hives]; they, then, would move from two directions and rout [our] soldiers here. Thus reasoning,[3] the infidels laid out trenches on either side of this spring, gathered these bees at the edge of the water, left their [old] trenches and dug [new] trenches on either side of this spring and on both sides of our path. They took aim at each of us and sat down. We did not know about this. Now look what all these infidels were going to do to us on this mountain that evening. That evening some soldiers were taking water, some were taking honey and some were busy plundering. No-one on this mountain was thinking about these infidels or was afraid. Now let us see [how] the infidels shouted "Lololo" from all sides around us and [how] a noise of rifle [fire burst loose] on the mountain that evening, and listen to the story of what happened to us. Well, [**68a**] when we were sitting at the edge of this spring - there was among us a courier called Meḥmed Aġa - this courier was also sitting at the edge of the spring, winding his watch. I said: "Hey, Meḥmed Aġa, has evening come [now that] you are winding your watch?" The deceased one answered: "I am winding my watch; [although] the sun has set, it is not yet time for the call to prayer". Right then the infidels uttered cries[4] of 'lololo' and began to fire their rifles at us [as] from

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[1] *oğlıları*

[2] بر قاج دانه بال اری‌سی بوزمشلر ایدی = *birḳaç dāne bal arısı büzülmüşler idi*

[3] *bu şeye aḳl [= 'aḳl] edub*

[4] ساده = *ṣadā*

one muzzle. I was standing on my feet at that moment. The late courier Meḥmed Aġa was sitting on the ground. I looked [and saw that] the deceased one rolled on the ground and remained [dead]. I did not immediately jump on [my] horse but fled back to the place where the trenches were and [managed to] reach [them]. From the soldiers who were on the path and at the edge of the spring, only five [to] six were saved. The other soldiers became martyrs there and remained [behind]. A *fātiḥa* for their souls. Later, I, with those few [surviving] persons, reached the trenches. Everyone immediately left their horses in the trench and we started to fight from inside the trench. "We have no water on this mountain, no help, no provisions nor [**68b**] [anything else] coming from the rear. There is no way to get out of the trenches. If there is [anything] in this trench, it better be [there]" [and similar] cries for help now resounded on all sides. [With a] "Let everyone stand firm where he is", the aforementioned 'Ömer Beg encouraged the soldiers. That night there was fighting until dawn. The infidels had cut us off on all sides, recited the Gospel a great deal, did their utmost and they fought with holy zeal.[1] At times they came right up to the trench and threw stones and logs at our heads, at others they attacked and penetrated into the trenches. It was night. The moon was clouded over. The aforementioned Maṭūḥ Mountain lit up[2] by the rifle fire. This Maṭūḥ Mountain reverberated with the clatter of swords, the shouts of the infidels, and the voices of our soldiers, the sound rising to the Throne and the Compassionate One. That night the infidels penetrated [our] trench three times. [But] we who were there, concentrated our forces, paid no attention to those who became martyr and drove the infidels out of the trenches. The fighting [went on] to such an extent that the sons of man on earth and the angels in heaven cried "Bravo". Anyway, dawn broke. The men could not recognise one another. Because of the gunpowder soot and the gunpowder smoke [in] the men's faces and eyes, none of the soldiers recognised one another [**69a**]. This mountain was a high one. When dawn broke, a blinding fog clung to this mountain. Because of this fog we were even more lost. Later at noon the fog slowly began to evaporate and to drift off into one direction. The fog withdrew of its own accord and the soldiers began to see and recognise one another again. We saw and realized where the infidels were and from how many directions they were fighting. The aforementioned 'Ömer Beg took note of their movements and draw up our army in two columns. The infidels were fighting from three directions. Thereupon we arranged the foot soldiers in two columns and the cavalry in one column, [whereby] the mounted soldiers [formed] the central column and [so] we launched an assault against the infidels, crying "Allah Allah" all at once. The infidels had not been fighting for half an hour [before they] found themselves in hell fire and everyone of them fled into the mountains and were off. We then fell on these infidels from

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[1] صدقله = *ṣıdḳıla*
[2] اشقا اولمش = *āşikār olmış*

behind on this mountain and cut off their heads on the spot like pigs where we had reached them. At the foot of this mountain there was a village. I arrived in this village. I acquired three slaves: a boy, a girl and their mother. I again reached the place where the trenches were. I looked [around and saw that] [**69b**] about two hundred infidels' heads had been cut off. They had also taken many tongues and two flags. The aforementioned 'Ömer Beg called out, gathered the soldiers at the place where the trenches were and that night we lay down in these trenches. The next day we returned to the place from where we had come and arrived in the aforementioned villages. But these villages were the villages around Ḳūmīye [Kymi]. This Ḳūmīye is a big city. The infidels had cut [off the heads of] the Muslims who had lived there, had occupied the town and had settled [down]. Resembling this Ḳūmīye is the town of Ṣalāḥūr [Xerochori, Istiea],[1] another is the town of Küçük İlmīye [Limni], [and there are] Agrıboz and Ḳızılḥiṣār; these are the big cities on this island. The battles for these towns will be explained below, God, His name be exalted, willing. While we were staying in these infidels' villages for a few days, the infidels' grain had ripened and we poured it [out], ground it in [a] mill and were able to get along in this way. The infidels on the mountain looked [on] and one night some priests came to the aforementioned 'Ömer Beg and wanted his protection. The bey granted protection to some twenty of their villages. While we were resting in the villages that had obtained protection [**70a**], a message reached us [and] 'Ömer Beg that he should take all his soldiers and come to Agrıboz castle; this message came from Çırkacı 'Alī Paşa. A few days later we took the slaves, possessions and severed heads from these villages and went, saying [to each other: "[To] Agrıboz". One day we reached Agrıboz castle. We looked [and saw that] next to the fortress [wall] there was water; it was called 'Acı Ṣu. At the edge of this water many tents had been put up. Wondering what this could be, we reached the tents and got the news that two pashas had come to our assistance. We entered the fortress and rested for two days. These pashas drew up their troops and we departed for Ṣalāḥūr castle. Three hours outside Agrıboz castle there was a meadow land pasture. There we formed a camp and sat down. One of the mentioned pashas was Ḳaṣṣābbaşı Ḥasan Paşa. The other was Bosnalı 'Oṣmān Paşa. Both pashas were like old women.[2] The place where we had put up our camp, then, was at the seaside. On one side of it there was a small plain. Suddenly infidel ships appeared. They brought their ships near, fired their guns and brought the pasha's tents down around their throats

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1 The town, which had a fortified castle and a harbour, was onthe coast opposite Bülbülce (Trikeri), as is explained later (80a-b); the name is possibly derived from Aghios Georgios, a monastery close to Istiea a few miles further inland; on the hill where the monastery is situated remains of an Ottoman fortress are still visible, cf. Johannes Koder, *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia wärend der Zeit der Venetianenherrschaft* (Vienna 1973), p. 112.

2 *ḳarı gibi paşalar idi*

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[**70b**].[1] These pashas fled from the seaside and came to where we were. However, these pashas had put up their tents at the seaside and the reason why they had put them on the [edge of] the plain was that it was close to the mountains. They had put up their tents at the seaside out of fear that the infidels would attack them by surprise at night. Although the infidels did not come for us, they brought their tents down on their heads.[2] But on the place where we had formed the camp there had been trenches and the camp of the infidels. Later, when the pashas had come to [our] assistance, the infidels had removed their camp from there. There was an outpost on the road to Ṣalāḥūr castle called Temurḳapu dervendi [Klisura, Derveni; Sideroporta]. On this side of this Temurḳapu there was a big mountain called Ḳandīl Dağı [Kandilio Oros]. These infidels had dug trenches on this road, on the summit of this mountain and along the road on three sides, and were waiting for us. [We] rested here for a few days, drew up the soldiers and were ready to depart for this mountain. The pashas then thought it proper to place Çırḳaçı ʻAlī Paşa [in the position of an] advanced skirmisher[3] and sent [him] on ahead. We, the Janissary troops and our own soldiers [under] Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa, were in front [**71a**]. Later we arrived at a [certain] place. It was forenoon. There was a short rest and the aforementioned pasha and some ten *deli* horsemen were sent ahead to the Ḳandīl Dağı. I was with [them]. These ten horsemen, then, took leave from the main army corps. After about an hour a small plain opened before us. At the edge of this plain there was a high rock. The infidels, however, had hidden themselves in this rock. I looked around me on all sides.[4] I saw the infidels stirring inside the rock. There was a volunteers' officer [*gönüller ağası*] with us called İnce Meḥmed. I said to him: "Hey, Meḥmed Ağa, there are infidels inside this rock here opposite us". This man was a brave man. "How can you see infidels in this rock?", he said and immediately drove his horse towards this rock and went [off]. The other horsemen who were with us did not go after this man but remained here on this plain. He at once arrived close to the base of this rock. The infidels fired their rifles and fled from the rock. Later the volunteers' officer sent back the news and we went after some eight mounted infidels. Some of us [**71b**] went [off], climbed onto a hill and while we were looking around, we suddenly saw infidels' flags on the road opposite us. There were infidels' trenches nearby on the hill where we were. If they had fired bullets [at us], they would have hit [us]. But the infidels did not fire bullets but were only observing us [from] inside their trenches. We, in turn, were observing them from the hill; they even exchanged some words with us and were saying: "Delis, the Persians have come and have taken your

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[1] *paşalarıñ çadırlarını boğazlarına geçirdi*
[2] *bunlarıñ çadırlarını başlarına geçirdi*
[3] *ilerü çarḳaclıġa (= çarḫalıġa) münāsib görüb*
[4] اطرافی اتنافه بقدم = *eṭrāfa etnāfe [?] baḳdım*

country.[1] The Persians defeated your pashas and took your land and fortresses. Tomorrow you should go to the province of Anatolia. [Why] are you fighting with us here? Go to your [own] country. Sultan Maḥmūd outlawed us and sent Janissary troops against us. We will fight with them and let us be friends". They went on addressing many words [like these] to us. We looked around on our horses. While these words [were being spoken], suddenly our banners became visible. We looked [and saw that] Sultan Maḥmūd's own troops, his Janissary slaves, unfolded their banners, shouted the battle-cry: "Come on, for the sake of those who dwell on high"[2] and arrived. In front of them, leading the banners, the Janissary agha [**72a**] arrived [first]. He asked us: "Where are the infidels?". Our volunteers' officer said: "My Lord, the infidels are in the rock over there. There are a great many infidels. They have dug out trenches at three places and settled in. You, my Lord, should take a short rest on this hill [until] horsemen and foot soldiers have arrived from the rear. The pasha[s] will also come, draw up their troops and we will then, unexpectedly, launch an attack against the infidels." Speaking thus, the volunteers' officer gave the Janissary agha much advice. He had, in the end, not done anything [until] they had arrived [with] their banners and whatever the volunteers' officer said to them, they began to shower us with abuse, saying that we had only been afraid of the infidels. At that very moment the infidels were inside their trenches. No infidel was to be seen outside them. These infidels had a few guns in their trenches. No sound of all these infidels [was heard] anywhere. The Janissaries whose hour of death had arrived[3] at once launched an attack against a trench from one direction. But before the attack, they had exchanged bad words with our volunteers' officer and had said: "You are afraid of the infidels" and had said: "The Sultan's bread should be denied to you".[4] [**72b**] [When] the volunteers' officer heard these words from them, his eye immediately became like a copper bowl[5] and said to them: "You, Janissaries, I have fought with the infidels in this country for three years and nobody has ever said such a thing [to me]. Now that you have said this, let us see who will flee for the infidels". At that very moment, he raised [his] horse's head, passed the Janissaries' banners and arrived below the infidels' trenches. Right then this volunteers' officer was hit in the mouth and fell from his horse. His horse fled backwards. Thereupon the Janissaries' banners arrived and shouting "Allah Allah" they fell upon the infidels. But the Janissary soldiers were few and the infidels with very many. [As] from one muzzle, thirty thousand rifles were fired. Right then we quickly left [our] horses [behind], became foot soldiers, went with them, lifted this volunteers' officer from the ground [there] and

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[1] *vilāyet*

[2] *balāda yatanlar aşkına*

[3] بو عجللری کلان یکی چریلر = *bu ecelleri gelen yeñiçeriler*

[4] *pādişāh etmegi sizlere ḥarāmdır*

[5] باقر طاس = *bakır ṭas*

brought him onto the aforementioned hill. Meanwhile they and infidels had got hold of one another. The battle did not last for half an hour [before] the Janissary army was routed and fled backwards. But the infidels, saying [to each other] "They still have mounted soldiers in the rear", did not leave their trenches and did not pursue them [**73a**]. If they had done so, no Janissary would have been left [alive] and the infidels would have slain them all. But they were afraid[1] and did not come out of their trenches. Now we said to these Janissaries: "Compatriots, have a little patience. The pashas will arrive and our guns will come, more soldiers will come, and then we will fight." But few persons paid attention to what we said[2] and they said: "These infidels are fleeing now", and [began to] fight [again], the infidels in their trenches and our troops outside [them]. When our army fired, our bullets hit stone, but when the infidels fired no bullet missed its mark and [so] they destroyed the Janissaries. They were fighting in this way and we were left with seven persons [men]. The seven of us were on foot. We left our horses on the hill and buried those who had become martyrs. [By then] it was noon. Our reinforcements did not come. We had no water. While we were burying the martyrs like so many banners that had fallen, we went out of our mind. We descended [from the hill] so [that] each of us could flee somewhere, but there was no place where we could flee to so we just [stayed together], moved back and fro, got out those who had become martyrs and buried them. In this way [**73b**] we were fighting. We wept and wailed and were thinking: "Why haven't the reinforcements reached us from the rear?". While we [and] the Janissaries and the infidels got hold of one another in these mountains and were fighting, thirty-two infidel corsair ships and some ten thousand infidels on foot moved against Agrıboz castle in the rear. There were no foreign troops in this fortress; there were only local troops, some three hundred men [with their] wives. The infidels arrived by land and from the sea simultaneously and destroyed the town. Many of the gunners and bombardiers in the fortress died and they spiked many of the guns that were on the fortress. The cannonballs and mortar shells were flying around like pebbles. Women and girls, all together, called out for help, crying: "Mercy, my God, mercy, the fortress is lost!". If the infidels had taken the fortress, we would have been stuck on this island in the sea and they would have enslaved us all and sundry. Thereupon the pashas consulted [each other]. Three of these pashas [went] back, took soldiers [with them] to this fortress and went [off]. They gave this 'Ömer Beg [**74a**] three guns and a small force, and sent him to reinforce us. These pashas went back and this 'Ömer Beg — [by then] it was afternoon — unfolded his banners along one side of the aforementioned mountain and reached [us]. Saying [to each other] "Our reinforcements have arrived", the Janissary troops doubled their efforts and fought from [the bottom of] their hearts and souls.

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[1] خاف ايدوب = *ḫavf edüb*

[2] از كمسه خبر انامز = *az kimse ḫaber anamaz*

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But there were no horsemen with the mentioned 'Ömer Beg. The infidels were not impressed by us. The aforementioned bey arrived and said: "The Janissary troops must take back their banners and turn around. It is evening. Tomorrow the pashas will come, regroup the troops and then, God willing, we will fight [again]". But the Janissary agha said: "However many horsemen there are, attack from one side and give the news to the flags in front. When the horsemen have attacked, you must turn around and withdraw your banners." With all the horsemen there were we attacked from one side and took back the Janissary banners. The infidels saw [this] and immediately rushed out of their trenches. Some forty [to] fifty men at once became martyrs. Thereupon [we] withdrew the banners, set up guns on a hill opposite the infidels [**74b**], rallied all the soldiers on that hill and that night until dawn sometimes fighting broke out and sometimes there were [periods of] rest. Anyway, dawn broke and there was an attack in order to withdraw these banners. At that moment my horse was hit in two places. So I stayed back as a foot soldier. Later the pashas who were on their way to Agrıboz castle in the rear arrived [there] and they cut [off the heads of] one [to] two hundred infidels who were on land and left a small force behind in the fortress. The next day at dawn Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa arrived, bringing five guns with him. The other pashas had stayed behind. But with this Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa, the troops of the pashas who had stayed behind also arrived. After Çırḳacı had arrived, he did not sit still once, did not rein in [his] horse's head for one moment, [had] the banners of all the *delis* unfurled: İnce 'Arab, Yörük Mūsā, Baġrı Açıḳ, 'Ömer Beg, 'Oṣmān Paşa, Ḥasan Paşa, 'Alī Paşa, the *biñbaşı* Deveoġlı, Ḳāsım Aġa, Kurd Yūsuf and Kurd 'Alī [**75a**], as well as [those] of all Janissary troops and Muslim soldiers, drew them up in column after column, [let them] shout "Allah is the Greatest"[1] and reached [the enemy]. But the leader of the infidels was a captain called Yāmendī;[2] he was a slave[3] of Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa. This infidel was extremely brave and a good strategist.[4] He had the trenches dug along three sides on the aforementioned hill along three sides and provided himself with a stronghold. He had [also] put up guns on three sides and in this way the infidels fought with all their might and main. We too set up guns on all sides, unfolded [our] banners and fired [our] guns and rifles at the infidel for dear life, [trying] to outdo one another [in our efforts]. Morning broke. We [again] began to fight. The aforementioned Ḳandīl Dağı was a high mountain. The noise of the guns and rifles that were fired and [the shouts] of the two armies rose to the sky [from] both sides of this mountain. In this way the fighting [progressed] the sons of

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1 الله اكبر الله اكبر

2 يامندى, probably Diamantis Nikolaou, who led a group of about 800 men, and was appointed leader by the Greek provisional government of eastern Greece in the Summer of 1822.

3 *memlūk*

4 *terettüb ṣāḥibi*

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man on earth and the angels[1] in heaven were crying: "Bravo". That day the aforementioned İnce 'Arab acquired much fame, robes of honour[2] and many horses. This İnce 'Arab was a tall, white-bearded, white-browed and white-moustachioed Arab. That day during this battle he attacked the infidels' pits[3] three times and cut the infidels ' flags with [his] sword. He planted his own banner at the base of [their] pits [**75b**]. Some pages[4] from among the foot soldiers saw this İnce 'Arab's bravery and immediately raised their banners and launched an attack against the trenches. But because the infidels were inside, this was useless. That day the battle [went on] in such a way that the pits were filled with blood. Around two o'clock at night the drums sounded the last post, the two armies withdrew their hands from each other and everyone went to their own places, cleansed themselves of blood, buried those who had become martyrs, dressed the wounds of those who had been wounded and sent them to Agrıboz castle. That night everyone lay down in his place and buried those who had become martyrs. There were more than five hundred martyrs. There were many wounded. At dawn the next day they again unfolded their banners, drew up their soldiers, [moved in] column [upon] column against the infidels and attacked, shouting "Allah is greatest". But behind the infidels there was the aforementioned mountain. Reinforcements arrived directly from the direction of the mountain. But they had no provisions and no water. That day the battle [continued] but it was not like that of the first day. It was only a battle of guns and mortars. That day the battle [continued] until evening. Again [**76a**] about two hundred martyrs [fell] among us and there were many wounded. Evening fell, the drums sounded the last post, the two armies were free from each other, everyone went to his place, buried those who had become martyrs and sent the wounded to Agrıboz castle. There were two hundred man who [had become] martyrs. But that night at dawn the voices of the infidels fell silent. No-one of us went out of the trenches or caught news about the infidels. Anyway that night at dawn the infidels had fled and were gone. Guns had been left behind in places [where] their camp [had been]. We went [there], took the infidels' guns, destroyed their trenches, rested for two days on this mountain and made our way to the Temurḳapu saying [to each other] "[Come on, to] Ṣalāḥūr castle". The aforementioned trenches and the Ḳandīl Dağı are shown [drawing]. The infidels fled from this Ḳandīl Dağı, went to the Temurḳapu, dug trenches, provided themselves with a stronghold and settled in. We were informed [about this] [**76b**] and went after these infidels. But two pashas stayed behind in the aforementioned trenches and sent the Janissary troops with our army [under] Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa ahead as advance skirmishers. The soldiers who stayed behind remained with the two pashas on the Ḳandīl Dağı. This

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1 فرشطاهلر = *ferişteler*
2 خلتلر = *ḫıl'atlar*
3 لوقورلر = *çuḳurlar*
4 ايچر قوللرى = *iç ḳulları*

Temurḳapu [is] beyond the Ḳandīl Dağı on the road to Ṣalāḥūr between two mountains. Water flows there and they dug trenches alongside this water. On one side of the water they made a high causeway, and on this causeway a small road, and on this road a gate and they put guns on the gate and dug trenches all around. On two sides there were high mountains. There was no way to get on to these mountains. We had no other way than this road. From the summit of this Ḳandīl Dağı to this place, Temurḳapu, held by the infidels, [is] six hours. From the summit of this mountain to these infidels' trenches you had to descend to the bottom of the mountain. Right down to the place where the infidels were, there was nothing to be seen but clouds in the sky. The surroundings here exactly resembled the Moral Pass. The infidels provided themselves with a stronghold here and sat [waiting]. Later we accompanied by Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa drew up the Janissary troops and went to the place where these infidels were. From the aforementioned Ḳandīl Dağı [**77a**] — it had become dawn — we departed after the troops had been drawn up, descended all the way down and reached the place where the infidels were at noon. Not one infidel was anywhere in sight, either on the road or on the surrounding mountains. We descended right to the bottom of the aforementioned valley. A stream flows [there] and passes along between two high rocks. On the bank of the stream there is a small plot of land of two [to] three *dönüms*. Here the soldiers gathered, fixed their weapons and made ready. There were guides with us. When these guides were asked whether there were infidels in this Temurḳapu or whether the place was deserted, the aforementioned 'Alī Paşa got off his horse, stretched out [his] prayer rug under a tree on the bank of the stream, sat down, let the band[1] play, poured gold *maḥmūdīye* flowers[2] on to the prayer rug, drew up the Albanian soldiers, [had them] unfurl their banners on the mountain which was on the left side and sent [them off]. He [also] drew up the Janissary troops and sent [them] onto the mountain which was on the right side. [Thus] two armies were moving forward along two sides. They appeared on the mountains after exactly four hours. [**77b**] But the Albanian army arrived before the Janissary troops. They rested for a little while on this mountain [until] the Janissary troops had also appeared on the[ir] mountain. But because the infidels had not been afraid of these two mountains they had not left guards on the summits of the mountains. Our troops rested for a little while on the mountains on either side. They were looking at us. Below, we left [our] horses, united the horsemen and the footmen, raised [our] insignia,[3] unfurled [our] banners, and marched against the infidels, column [upon] column, while shouting "Allah is greatest" and started to fight. Cries of "*bre*

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[1] *mehṭarḫānelar*

[2] Many gold coins minted during this period showed a flower besides the imperial cipher on one side, cf. Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Osmanische Numismatik, Von den Anfängen des Osmanischen Reiches bis zu seiner Auflösung 1922* (Braunschweig 1973), p. 76.

[3] *işāretler*

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hey bre hūy" from one side, the sounds of guns and rifles from an[other] and the shouting of soldiers endowed these Temurḳapu mountains with tongues and made them reverberate. Our army, then, [being] on the mountains, routed the infidels because they were at the foot of the mountain. Our army [poured] stones, logs and bullets from two sides on the infidels below and we gave the infidels no respite in between [nor time] to allow them to realize what had happened[1] and attacked shouting "Allah Allah". So evening came. [**78a**] Had we stayed on the mountain, we would have been routed. Exactly at that moment cries for support were shouted from every side: "Praise be to God, launch [another] attack against these infidels". When these cries were shouted, a standard bearer from the Albanian army on the left side immediately took his banner and moved to the infidels' trenches, cut the flag of an infidel with [his] sword and planted his own banner on the trench. When the Janissary troops on the right side saw this, they immediately seized their banners, reached the infidels who were on the left side; sword clashed against sword, stone against stone and throat against throat. [When] Çırḳacı saw this, he rose immediately, took his pike, mounted [his] horse, rode in front of the soldiers in the centre, passed the banners and set [off]. At that moment the Albanian soldiers occupied two trenches of the infidels and [captured] two of their flags. It was then time for the call to evening prayers. The infidels saw very [many] wounded and suffered very [much] from sword [wounds]. They at once departed from their trenches, and went [off] thinking themselves to be in hell fire. Now our army fell behind the infidels and went off. They cut off their heads as if they were pigs' heads where they found the infidels and brought them [with them]. But because night had fallen many of the infidels [had] fled. We went after the infidels for about two hours, but it grew extremely dark [**78b**] and everyone lay down where he was under the trees. Dawn broke and there was a village further down called Mandūdköy [Mandoudi]. The army moved to this village. The Temurḳapu which is at the foot of the Ḳandīl Dağı and the infidels' trenches are shown [drawing]. Leaving the Temurḳapu shown [here], there was an infidel village beyond called Mandūdköy on a plain. When the infidels fled at night they had gone to this village. [Some] of our mounted soldiers went after these infidels. At night they reached the infidels in this Mandūdköy from behind and immediately some six hundred infidels were slain. They [also] captured seventy priests. At dawn the next day we left the place where we were and went to Mandūdköy where the mounted soldiers were. We looked [around and saw that] they had cut off some six hundred infidels' heads and had captured seventy priests. We also arrived in this village. We formed a camp in this village and settled down. The aforementioned Çırḳacı Paşa impaled these priests, any single one of them, in front of this village [**79a**], formed a camp and sat down. The horsemen and foot soldiers went to the villages that were situated at the foot of the Ḳandīl Dağı. Everyone, every

[1] *gözlerini açdırmayub*

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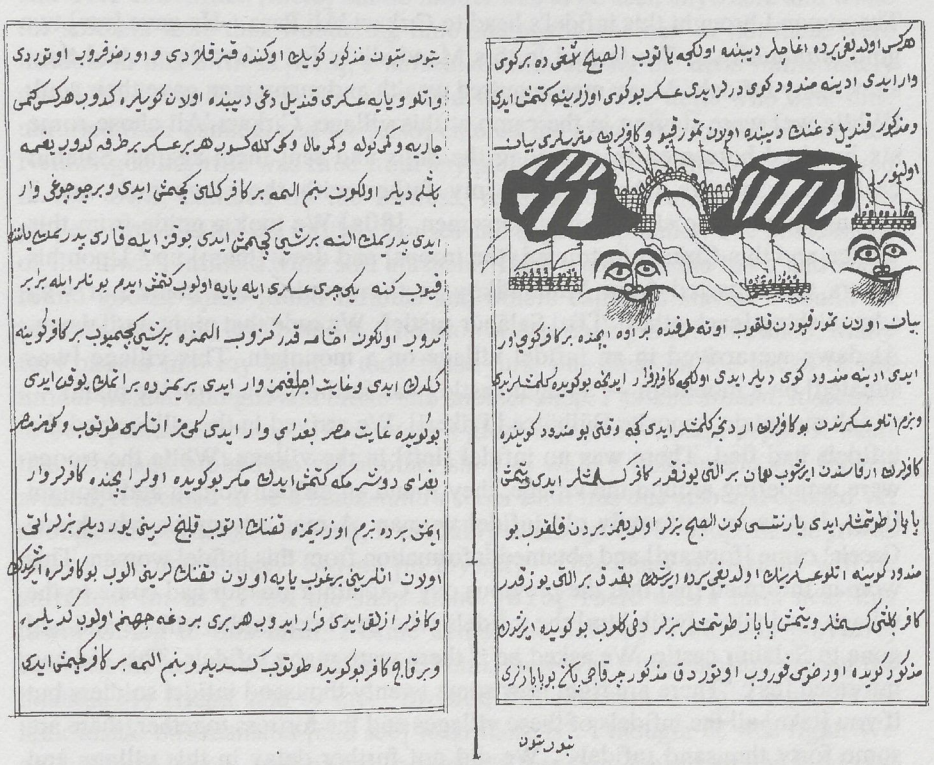
soldier, went somewhere and some [captured] slaves, some male, some female, some [took] goods, some cut off heads and all began to plunder. That day an infidel bride fell into my hands. She had a child. Nothing fell into my father's hands. I left this girl and the woman with my father and joined the Janissary troops as a foot soldier. I went with them, wandered around that day until evening, nothing fell into my hands and we arrived in an infidel village. We were very hungry. None of us had any bread. There were plentiful



Cad.Or. 1551, ff. 78b-79a.

stocks of maize in this village. Some of us took horses, others went to reap the corn. But there were infidels in the houses in this village. All of a sudden, they fired [their] rifles and brandished [their] swords at us. Those of us who had got horses left the horses and those on foot took their rifles and when we reached the infidels - the infidels were few - they fled and everyone, [as if in] hell, went towards a mountain. They captured a few infidels in this village and slayed [them]. One infidel fell into my hands. [**79b**] I captured this infidel, brought him to his friend, made him sit down somewhere and dealt a blow

with [my] sword on this infidel's neck, saying "it is God's will".[1] His blood flowed and his soul went away to dwell in hell. This was the first infidel I had slain. I had not slain infidels before. I slew this infidel and took his head. [Among my] friends, some took goods, some slew infidels, some captured slaves and we departed from this village and came to Mandūdköy where our camp was. I found my father and we spoke to each other. My father said: "My son, may your fate be blessed, God willing the infidels' eyes are hereby blinded, let us cut off many more infidels' heads" and he said many prayers. Thereupon I brought this infidel's head to Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa. He gave [me] two gold *maḥmūdīyes*. We tarried in this Mandūdköy for a few days. And they slew many infidels. Many men acquired wealth and many men gave their soul. [While we] were staying in the camp at this village, Çırḳacı 'Alī chose some six hundred horsemen from among the *delis* and sent them against Ṣalāḥūr castle. I was with [them]. I left my father with the slave girls and I accompanied these six hundred horsemen. [**80a**] We took a guide from this village and this Çırḳacı instructed [the troops] and drew [them] up.[2] Upon his orders we departed from Mandūdköy in the evening and made our way admonishing [each other] "[To] Ṣalāḥūr castle". We rode that night until dawn. At dawn we arrived in an infidel village on a mountain. This village [was situated] on a mountain — Ṣalāḥūr castle [was further] down [on the plain] — a high mountain opposite Bülbülce [Trikeri]. We arrived in the village and the infidels had fled. There was no infidel [left] in the village. While the troops were wandering around the village, they found an infidel woman and brought [her]. It was an extremely old infidel woman. A man among us who knew Greek[3] came [forward] and obtained information from this infidel woman. This woman informed [us] that the previous day Captain Yāmendī had come to the village, had taken [with him] the infidels who had been in this village and had gone to Ṣalāḥūr castle. We asked he if there were many infidels. This old hag informed [us]: "There are right now some twenty thousand infidel soldiers but if you [take] all the infidels of these villages and the fortress together, there are some forty thousand infidels". We did not further delay in this village and reached the villages on the plain straight away. But evening had fallen. We could no longer see anything **[80b]**. We found an infidel village and the next day at dawn this Ṣalāḥūr castle came in view, but we did not just then go for the fortress but went for the harbour because we had seen infidels' flags on the fortress. Ships had come to the port and we went straight away to the port by way of the sea shore. We arrived in the port. All the infidels fled. They boarded their ships; Bülbülce was on the opposite shore. They immediately fled towards Bülbülce. Just then we arrived. We unfurled [our] banners against the infidels who were on the sea shore and launched an attack. The infidels who

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[1] نیتی قزا = *niyet-i ḳażā*

[2] *tenebbüh ü terettüb etmiş idi*

[3] *Rūmca*

were in their ships began to fire their rifles. But on the sea shore there were a great many women and girls. The *deli* horsemen saw them, could not restrain themselves, immediately unfurled [their] banners, launched an attack against the infidels from one direction, captured many goods and slave girls and came back to the aforementioned fortress. A girl and an infidel woman fell into my hands on this sea shore. Afterwards we came back to the fortress, we looked [and saw] that the infidels had planted their flags on the towers of the fortress and were entrenched [there] but no infidel was to be seen anywhere and while the soldiers were thus wondering time and again whether or not there were infidels in this fortress [**81a**], a horseman from among the *deli*s immediately drove his horse towards the town and went [off]. The *deli*s who saw this, unfurled their banners and we [also] entered the town. We looked around us. Neither gun nor rifle was fired from any point. Seeing this, the soldiers arrived in the town, climbed on the fortress, read out the Muhammedan call to prayer,[1] went inside the infidels' houses and began to plunder. The possessions of the town's infidels were still all there. They went into the town and some found goods, some found infidels and others captured slaves. I found an infidel's shop and broke into it. The shop was probably a furrier's shop. Many furs passed into my hand. I took these furs, put them on the backs of the infidel woman and girl and broke into another shop. I looked around; it seemed to be a perfumer's shop. There were a great many cloves and peppers. I left this shop and broke into yet another shop as well. I went inside and looked around; it seemed to be a blacksmith's shop. I left this one also and opened yet another shop. I looked around; it probably was a grocer's[2] shop. Inside it was full of rice and honey.[3] Saying [to myself]: "This many provisions will be sufficient for us", I left the shop alone. [**81b**] There was a farm near this town. Going to this farm, I came across the *delibaşı*'s buffoon [*şoyṭarı*] between the houses and accompanied him, there was a big mansion among the houses. My friend said to me: "Brother, this mansion is big. Come, let us look inside this mansion [and see] what there is". I thought he was right. We got off [our] horses, opened the gate of this mansion, looked around [and saw that] there were some thirty women and about fifteen black slave girls in the house. We thought they were infidel women, took them and turned them outside. We asked them: "Are you Muslims or are you infidels?" They did not know Turkish but immediately said: "There is no god but Allah" and "Can't we change to Greek?",[4] but we did not understand [anything] of their language and brought them into town. We knew a man who knew Greek and obtained information from him. They were Muslim women; they had slain their men, had left them in this mansion, had set fire [to it] and [the women] had been on

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1 ازینی محمدیه = *eẕān-ı Muḥammedī*
2 منوی = *manav*
3 *bal yaġı*
4 رومجه دك شرس = *Rumca deñişeriz*

the point of being burnt [alive]. When we had entered the house that night, the infidels had left them and fled. Thereupon we let the women go in the town and again made our way towards the aforementioned farm [**82a**]. [We] were accompanied by a few friends. Together we reached this farm. There was no-one at the farm but all the infidels' possessions were still [there]. We dismounted from [our] horses, went inside the farm and looked around us. [Taking to heart the device] 'whatever you want, take care that you take it away immediately', we found many things here, there was no end to it. We rested at this place for a few days. [Meanwhile] our army arrived. We formed a camp and settled down. After a few days the pashas who had remained back on the aforementioned Ḳandīl mountains arrived [too]. All the soldiers formed a camp in this town of Ṣalāḥūr and settled down. Now both foot soldiers and horsemen went to the villages around this town of Ṣalāḥūr, every man went somewhere. Some [took] slaves, some [took] goods, some [captured] animals, and others [took] sheep, every man found something, took it and brought it away. In this way we formed a camp in this Ṣalāḥūr castle for a few days and settled in. A part of our army fought against Bülbülce. This Bülbülce was [situated on] a sea shore and [on] a mountain. The town of Bülbülce was situated on this mountain. They had little water. So many fleeing infidels had gone to the town of Bülbülce [**82b**] and had gathered there. Because they had neither water nor provisions, they went to the pasha who was in charge there and all these infidels obtained his protection. This Bülbülce where they were was opposite us. We had not heard that the infidels had obtained protection. [After] we had been encamped in the aforementioned Ṣalāḥūr for some days, we broke our camp there because there were no infidels left anywhere and departed for Mandūdköy again. One day we removed [our] camp from here and went [off]. A small cavalry force and a small infantry force set up an ambush on one side of Ṣalāḥūr. "When we have broken camp and have gone, the infidels will come", we said [to each other] and for this reason we left a small force in some corner. I remained [behind] with an army [unit]. The main army corps departed and went [off] at dawn. Immediately we set a trap in some corner and sat down. The army went off and nobody remained [behind]. Evening fell. Suddenly we saw [that] infidels were crossing the sea on ships from Bülbülce and were heading straight to the road where we were sitting. We had set up a trap on both sides of this road. These infidels arrived and while they were passing between the two army [units] **[83a]**, we immediately fired [our] rifles at the infidels, did not rein in [our] horses' heads and ran for each other. But it was evening. The infidels fled back and escaped. We reached these infidels from behind and cut off their heads like pigs' heads. We forced these infidels to reach the harbour, chasing them all the way there. The infidels who were in the harbour began to fire [their] rifles from the ships. They hit my horse in two places. I immediately abandoned my horse and became a foot soldier, fled back and reached the place where the army was. My [previous] horse had been hit during the battle of the pits on the Ḳandīl Dağı. Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa had given

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[me] a superior horse [instead]. Now this horse was hit here and again I remained a foot soldier. But we had set a trap here. Our troop was small. The infidels were many. But the time had been right. Not one of these infidels had been able to flee or was saved. That day [I] was with the aforementioned İnce 'Arab. He had driven pikes into, exactly, sixty infidels. The 'infidels had cried: "Mercy, save us from this black devil, mercy".[1] This İnce 'Arab Beg had heard that my horse had been hit, called me and gave [me] a superior horse. Night fell. Our army again gathered and everyone brought the severed heads of the infidels together. We looked. We had cut off about two hundred infidels' heads and cut out eighteen infidels' tongues **[83b]**. We took the infidels' heads and tied up the arms of the infidels who had become slaves. That night we went after the main army corps. At noon the next day we found the main army in Mandūdköy and everyone brought his slaves to Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa and received a bonus. We remained in this Mandūdköy for a few [days], left Mandūdköy [again] for the Temurḳapu. The aforementioned Ṣalāḥūr is shown [drawing]. Having departed from Ṣalāḥūr castle shown [here], we came to Mandūdköy, stayed in Mandūdköy for a few days and after another few days we departed, went to the summit of the Ḳandīl Dağı mentioned earlier, remained on this mountain for another few days, reached a meadow land pasture which bordered a stream where we had had our camp [before], formed a camp and settled down. Agrıboz was one hour [from] this meadow land pasture. The main army corps settled down in this meadow land near Agrıboz for some days. Many of the infidels who lived in the Ḳumīye area had come under [our] protection. Many of the infidels who were in the villages around Ṣalāḥūr had come under [our] protection [as well]. The aforementioned pashas had seen to it that these infidels had come under [our] protection **[84a]** and they were saying: "Tomorrow [or] another day all infidels of this island will come under [our] protection and these places will have peace. But there are no provisions in this Agrıboz. If this many soldiers lodge in this fortress, what will they have to eat? There is no water for their horses and there is no food for themselves." So speaking, these pashas deliberated among themselves. They proposed[2] that their reinforcements and however many soldiers had come to them should cross to the other side of the sea and that this whole army with the pashas should be brought together in Rumelia and mobilised there. When we had taken Ṣalāḥūr castle, so many slave girls and so much wealth had fallen into our hands in the villages there [that] I said to my father: "Father, so many goods have fallen into our hands. Let us take these goods and let us depart from this town with this army". But whatever I said to my father, he did not listen to any word I spoke and said: "My son, is there a better place than this town? Let us stay in this town. Let [there first] be a reconciliation with the infidels of the Moral, let there be peace and let us then leave this town". Saying [so], he again

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[1] *amān ḳara yılan senden ol amān dediler*

[2] ارز اتديلر = *'arż etdiler*

detained me in this Agrıboz castle with ever so many words. **[84b]** I again said: "Father, we will not get another chance like this,[1] come on, let us go with these pashas". But however often I had recourse to my father, he did not listen to my words and we stayed on in this Agrıboz castle. We, warriors, stayed in this Agrıboz castle. That year the aforementioned pashas and Çırḳacı 'Alī Paşa departed from Agrıboz and went to Rumelia. Three horsetails arrived for the afore-mentioned 'Ömer Beg and they gave him the post at Agriboz castle. Thus 'Ömer Beg had become 'Ömer Paşa. We were given a situation with this 'Ömer Paşa and lodged together with him in Agrıboz castle. One of those days the aforementioned pashas took the army, unfurled their banners and said: "Come on, to Rumelia". We, however, remained under siege in this Agrıboz castle. Why? Well, these pashas and the whole army had gone. Some five hundred mounted soldiers and some thousand foot soldiers remained with us in Agrıboz castle. Later the aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa sent some of the foot soldiers of this army to Ḳızılḥisār castle. We went to Ḳumīye castle with two hundred mounted soldiers and some five hundred foot soldiers **[85a]**. The infidels of the Ṣalāḥūr and İlmīye areas had not come under [our] protection. The infidels on the parts of Ḳızılḥisār, Ḳumīye and the Maṭūḥ Dağı had come under [our] protection. The aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa sent this army to villages that were situated in two parts [of the island]. The troops that were going to the side of Ḳızılḥisār went [off], entered Ḳızılḥisār castle and stayed [there]. We went to Ḳumīye castle and settled [there]. This town of Ḳumīye is a big town. Its villages are many. It is an excellent place with a great many orchards and gardens. Opposite it, quite close, lie the islands of İşḳoroz [Skiros] and İşḳopuloz [Skiropoula]. Not one of these islands had come under [our] protection. For this reason many of the infidels who had lived in this Ḳumīye had gone to these islands. The infidels who were [still] living in Ḳumīye had in fact stayed for [their] orchards and gardens. The infidels who lived in the villages had also stayed for [their] arable land. When we came here it was summer. For this reason, because of the arable land and because of the gardens and orchards, these infidels had partly submitted to [our] protection. The aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa however had stayed [behind] in Agrıboz castle with a small force **[85b]**. The villages that were near Agrıboz castle had also submitted to [our] protection. Every Friday the infidels used to bring oil, honey and wheat from [their] villages, set up market [stalls] and did business. The town was secure[2] but the intentions of the infidels were treacherous,[3] always and every day. These local infidels were drinking and carousing every day and were [only] loyal to each other. The infidels who were local [inhabitants] gathered information [about] the soldiers who were staying in the aforementioned castle, [about] how many provisions there were and how many

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[1] *bu günler bizim elimize geçmez*

[2] امنلك اولمش ايدى = *eminl*ik *[?] olmış idi*

[3] مراملرى حيانتلك ايدى = *merāmları ḫıyānlıḳ idi*

soldiers, every detail of it, wrote letters to Ḳollı Ḳoṭron [Kolokotronis] who was their leader in the Moral and informed [him] of the situation in Agrıboz castle, Ḳızılḥisār castle and the town of Ḳumīye. Ḳollı Ḳoṭron Paşa, who was their leader, gathered the infidel captains and said: "This year I will send a brave captain against Agrıboz castle, the town of Ḳumīye and Ḳızılḥisār castle but who among you is suited [to the task]?". In this like the infidel beys deliberated among themselves **[86a]**. "Last year Captain Yāmendī went but did not achieve anything. Which captain will go this year and take these castles, he I will make commander of those towns and to him will I give those towns". These infidels were idly chatting[1] among themselves along these lines. Finally he gave more than twenty thousand soldiers with many counsels, coffers and provisions, as well as twenty-two corsair ships to this infidel who had been a slave of Depedelenli 'Alī Paşa called Captain Leşve[2] and sent [him] against Agrıboz castle. They sent more than ten thousand infidels with the son of Maniyut[3] Beg and many ships against Ḳızılḥisār castle. He also sent followers [and] orders[4] to the infidels who lived on the Island of Agrıboz. This was more or less what I heard. There were few soldiers in Agrıboz castle. They had no provisions. That year he sent[5] Captain Leşve there with so many thousand infidels and with so many ships. When Captain Leşve arrived there, he gathered his soldiers **[86b]** and the mobilised these infidels and said to them: "You must make ready there, assemble your provisions and supplies and be prepared". My father was in Agrıboz castle. I was in the town of Ḳumīye. But my father was unwell. He was unwell for exactly nine months. I was also unwell for four months. Later, praise be to God, I recovered [while] I was [still] in the town of Ḳumīye. My father stayed in Agrıboz castle. Some days later winter set in. News reached the infidels who were in these villages and these infidels began to flee, group after group, to the mountains. But we did not hear [about this]. Any day now[6] the infidels, all and sundry, would have fled and no infidel would have remained anywhere. We remained behind [alone and only then] did we understand what had been going on.[7] We immediately sent news to the aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa in Agrıboz castle [but] they captured the man who was conveying the news and cut [off his head]. Although this 'Ömer Paşa had sent a man to us every now and then, they [now] had completely cut off the road. No news came through, neither did our news reach Agrıboz castle **[87a]** nor did their news reach us.

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[1] *lāf güzāf edüb*

[2] **لشوه**, possibly identical with Odysseus Androutsos, who had been at the court of 'Alī Paşa; he was commonly known as 'Dysseas', and the Turkish form may well have been derived of it.

[3] **منيوت**, possibly identical with Ilias Mavromichalis, son of Petrobey Mavromichalis.

[4] *el altın fermānlar*

[5] *irsāl eyledüm = irsāl eyledi*

[6] *bugün yarın derken*

[7] **مصلحتی انادق ایدی** = *maṣlaḥatı añladıḳ idi*

Any day now the infidels were about to form three columns and arrive. One column of infidels went against Agrıboz, one column went against Ḳızılḥisār and another column went against us [in] Ḳumīye. One day at noon we suddenly saw that ships had appeared at sea from the direction of İşḳoroz [Skiros] and İşḳopuloz [Skiropula]. There were exactly sixty-five ships, big and small. They had no wind and were approaching very slowly over the sea. We immediately sent Dimeṭoḳalı Aḥmed, one of the *biñbaşıs*, to the port with [some] with some soldiers. We also sent a small force to the side of the mountains. But this town of Ḳumīye was a steep place so that there was no way it could be taken by force. We came under siege right away. We had no provisions. That day we were waiting until evening, everyone of us, at the places were: at the port, in the mountain[s] and in the town. The infidels did not show up anywhere **[87b]**. When evening came that day, everyone of us [tried to] reassure himself in his position. We sat [waiting]. That day passed. The next day at dawn we saw that infidels' ships were approaching the port near the town of Ḳumīye where we were. Our soldiers who were in the port began to fire their rifles at these infidels. They had been fighting with their rifles for about one [to] two hours, when the infidels' ships came close to the port, fired, gave a volley of gunfire, razed the port to the ground in one [to] two hours and destroyed it completely. When our soldiers saw this, they immediately fled from the port and reached the place where we were. We opened the gates and took them inside. We then locked ourselves up in this Ḳumīye castle and endured. But this Ḳumīye castle is situated on a peninsula of an island[1] in the Mediterranean. On this peninsula there was no place where we could flee. Behind this Ḳumīye there is a big mountain and in front of this peninsula the sea swirls around. They built this town and this fortress [against] this mountain. We entered the fortress, gathered the troops at one place and sat down. **[88a]** We were thinking: "Let us see what God our Lord, His name be exalted, will do", set things right between each other[2] and settled in. That day passed by and the next day these infidels landed troops from their ships, steered their ships from two directions close to the port, brought foot soldiers from over the mountains, formed a camp, and settled in. They brought their ships close from the sea along two directions and began to fire their guns and mortars at the fortress. We now drew up our soldiers among ourselves and we began to fight, some with guns, some with mortars and others with rifles. In this way we were fighting day and night, these infidels from the outside, we from the inside, [firing] guns, rifles and mortars at each other and stayed put. We had water but we had no provisions. We were wondering whether reinforcements would reach us that day or the next [or whether they] would get us out of this place. Believing so we fought [on]. But let our story[3] now turn

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[1] *bir cezīrede bir [yarım]adadır*
[2] *helāllaşub*
[3] حكياتمز = *ḥikāyetimiz*

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to Ḳızılḥisār. At the time that Ḳollı Ḳoṭron had sent the son of Maniyut Beg from the Moral against Ḳızılḥisār castle **[88b]**, this son of Maniyut Beg came with many infidel beys and many ships, and laid siege to Ḳızılḥisār castle. They fought in this way for some days, these infidels from the outside and the Muslim troops from the inside, when the Muslim soldiers inside braced themselves.[1] One day they drew up their troops inside, opened the gates of the fortress, brandished their swords, and launched an attack against the infidels who were outside. They crushed many infidels and fought heroically. But because the Muslim soldiers were few, the infidels held on and came [closer]. They routed the Muslim soldiers [who] again entered the fortress and locked themselves up. During this battle this Ḳızılḥisār castle had a commander[2] called Aḥmed Beg. He was an old man. The infidels took this Aḥmed Beg prisoner during the battle that day. Thereupon the remaining troops [again] entered the fortress [but] fought [on]. But the soldiers lacked a leader [baş]. Moreover, firstly, they got no reinforcements, secondly, the soldiers inside were few and, thirdly, they had no provisions. [Nevertheless] these soldiers did fight [on], day and night and, like us, were wretched and bewildered.[3] Thinking that reinforcements would reach them that day or the next **[89a]**, they did their utmost day and night and fought [on]. They may have been in battle in this way, we, [no less], were like them, under siege at Ḳumīye castle, hungry and without water, day and night. We, like them, were fighting. But let us leave us and Ḳızılḥisār castle behind and let our story now turn to Agrıboz castle. These infidels had arrived from the Moral in force. [While they] were besieging the forts of Ḳızılḥisār and Ḳumīye, Captain Leşve himself who was the commander of the infidels went against Agrıboz castle. This Captain Leşve reached Agrıboz castle, set fire to the orchards and gardens at the base of the fortress, burnt [them], mobilised his main force on two sides of this fortress and settled in. He brought his ships close to the fortress from two directions, surrounded the fortress completely, [fired his] guns and mortars into the fortress day and night [while] the infidels' army, which was on land, fought likewise from another direction. Three times the infidels launched attacks from land and sea, three times they penetrated the stockades[4] that were on the edge of the town **[89b]** and occupied a few houses. When night fell, the aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa left the inner fortress and arrived [at the spot]. The *deli* troops and the local soldiers immediately marched to the Vālī [Velī] Baba Gate[5] with this pasha, reached the infidels, had sword [clash against] sword, made the guns hit [them] from the inner castle and fought an excellent battle.

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[1] *tuḳā edüb*
[2] محافز = *muḥāfıẓ*
[3] زركردان = *sergerdān*
[4] شرن پوللر = *şarampollar*
[5] Cf. map in Koder, *Negroponte*, p. 70.

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Many of us became martyrs and many infidels bit the dust.[1] In this way the battle [raged] until dawn when the infidels again went out through the stockades to their own trenches. In this way they were fighting at Agrıboz castle and were holding on. But 'Ömer Paşa secretly wrote orders [*fermānlar*] and sent [them] to the *vālī* of Rumelia. The vālī of Rumelia was Ebū Nebūd Paşa.[2] These orders reached Ebū Nebūd Paşa. Ebū Nebūd Paşa mobilised troops and sent them to us as reinforcements. Let these soldiers come and let our story now turn to the town of Ḳumīye where we were. We were still under siege inside this Ḳumīye castle. These infidels made us extremely wretched. We had plentiful water **[90a]** but no provisions. We were extremely wretched from hunger [but] everyone of us rose to their feet and began to fire [their] rifles at the enemy. We had no more horses, donkeys or camels; we had eaten them all. Later no grape leaves were left in the gardens and no couch grass was left. We were now eating cat and dog meat until the cats and dogs had also been finished. There were some now who had began to eat one another but many of our men had already died. There was a place near Ḳumīye castle where we were that was called 'Alavar [Aliveri].[3] At 'Alavar there was a tower and there was a village. This village was [in fact] a port. All our provisions were in this village. This village was a steep village. In this village there was a big tower. Some fifty-five of our foot soldiers were posted in this tower. Later when these infidels were moving against Ḳızılḥisār, a few ships came and captured our provisions that were in this 'Alavar. The soldiers who were in this tower had first been in the village. A few soldiers had become martyrs **[90b]**. Those who remained entered this tower and were fighting [on]. Because this tower was extremely strong, the infidels were unable to get a hold on it [?][4] from the outside. They were simply fighting with [their] guns. These infidels were saying: "Why do you shut yourselves up in this tower and hold out; we took Agrıboz castle, Ḳızılḥisār castle, and the town of Ḳumīye and slew the Muslims who were inside them"; this was the message they were giving to our soldiers. Among the soldiers in this tower there were [some] who were thinking among themselves: "Let one of us disguise himself, descend from this tower one night, get down to the surface of the earth, go and obtain information from the soldiers who are in the town of Ḳumīye, come [back] and let us then see how we can help ourselves." This they arranged, allowed one of them to descend from this tower in the middle of the night and sent him to Ḳumīye castle in disguise. At the same time, however, we put our trust in God,[5] and were saying: "Let us surrender ourselves to the infidels

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[1] *gebermiş*

[2] Ebūlbūd Meḥmed Paşa, cf. *Tarih-i Cevdet* XII, pp. 119-20, commander-in-chief (*ser'asker*) at Rumelia.

[3] Aliveri is not really near Kymi; a 'Frankish' tower has survived near Aliveri until today.

[4] بر حطتی ایداممشلر = *bir ẓabṭı edememişler* ?

[5] تقتمز تقا الوب = *taḳīyetimiz tuḳā alub*

today [or] tomorrow and let them give us protection" and while they [were] also [toying with] this idea, one night **[91a]** the man whom they had sent from the aforementioned tower, came [to us]. He had been looking from the outside. The infidels' camp [was] outside [and] the banners of the Muslims [were] inside the fortress, and sometimes they were fighting, firing [their] guns. This man [then] understood that this town was still in the hands of the Muslims and that the fortress was also Muslim. Therefore one night he came to the base of the fortress where we were, made his voice [heard], our soldiers heard him and we hoisted this man onto the fortress with a rope, and got news. We spoke many words to this man and said: "Have the infidels taken Ḳızılḥisār castle? Have the infidels taken [Agrı]boz castle? We have been under siege here for three months and have been fighting. Why haven't reinforcements come to us? If Agrıboz had not been under siege, reinforcements would have come to us." This man said: "In this tower of 'Alavar where we are there are provisions. There are provisions for two [to] three months. Come, leave this Ḳumīye castle and let us flee one night while the infidels are asleep." In this way we deliberated and in the end we decided to adopt his proposal.[1] One night all of us left the fortress, turning back on our heels.[2] It was around six o'clock and all the infidels were lying down and sleeping like pigs **[91b]**. Going in one direction, we wandered from mountain to mountain, from plain to plain, and falling from rocks, we strayed into shrubs and came across plains; there was no remedy for our knees and our eyes were dulled. Out of fear of the enemy we [begged] God, His name be exalted, [to give] strength[3] to our bodies. We did our utmost and [while some men] died, those who remained alive reached the aforementioned tower of 'Alavar. At Ḳumīye we had been eight hundred soldiers, horsemen and footmen. But only three hundred of us reached the tower of 'Alavar. Those who remained [behind] in the town of Ḳumīye died. We reached the tower of 'Alavar one night. We looked [around and saw that] the infidels had a ruined tower at the sea shore and were repairing this ruinous tower. They repaired this tower, disembarked guns from their ships, mounted them on this tower, and did their utmost to fire [their] guns at the tower where we were. For this reason there were no infidel soldiers at the base of the tower. Anyway we arrived at night, the soldiers who were inside the tower got the news, immediately opened the tower gate and we went inside. [**92a**] There were provisions and there was water in this tower. Everything was there for two [to] three months. There was much ammunition. We took a rest now and sat down. Meanwhile the infidels who were in the aforementioned Ḳumīye had risen at dawn and looked [around]. [When] the infidels did not see the Muslim banners on the fortress, they said: "These

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[1] بو ززده قرار بغلايوب = *bu sözde ḳarār baġlayub*
[2] *yaya bir taḳallub ile*
[3] افايت = *'āfiyet*

Muslims appear to have fled; they really have taken wing and flown away like birds.[1] Why didn't we keep a better watch over them?". In this like the infidels spoke many words to each other, went inside this Ḳumīye castle and sat down. Later many offensive words reached these infidels from Captain Leşve who was their leader and wrote to them: "How many months haven't you been fighting against Ḳumīye [or] were you lying down like drunks day and night? Why didn't you chase away the soldiers who were in the fortress and why didn't you make some effort for Christ's sake?"[2] "May Christ on the Cross strike you blind[3] [and] as many infidels as there are", he wrote. "Go to this tower of 'Alavar from Ḳumīye. Capture these soldiers in the tower, all and sundry, and come to me [in] Agrıboz castle", he wrote. While we were resting in this tower, suddenly one day the infidels who were in Ḳumīye [**92b**] unfurled their flags, and came, saying "[To] the tower of 'Alavar" where we were. We saw the flags of these infidels and were [still] in a dazed condition.[4] Thus the infidels came, formed a camp at the edge of the village and settled in. They repaired the ruined tower, mounted guns on it, and were opposite our tower. They began to fire [their] guns at our tower. They had unloaded the guns from their ships. These came in five [different] calibres. The tower where we were was a strong tower. The cannonballs which were [of] five [different] calibres were ineffectual.[5] We did our utmost from inside. We fought for some days in this way, day and night. But let our story now turn to the *vālī* of Rumelia. Our 'Ömer Paşa had sent couriers to the vālī of Rumelia. The couriers had gone [to ask] for reinforcements and when they had arrived, the *vālī* of Rumelia sent a small force with his major-domo [*ketḫüdā*] to assist us. He also sent couriers to Sultan Maḥmūd. He had written: "My Sultan, I sent a small force with my deputy to Agrıboz castle. You, our Sultan, send a small Janissary force from the Sublime Porte as well [**93a**] because the Island of Agrıboz is an extremely rocky place and the cavalry is not suitable to wage war on this island. Let a regiment of Janissary infantry go [there] by ship over sea". These couriers arrived in Istanbul, gave this message and Sultan Maḥmūd sent a Janissary regiment with naval ships from Istanbul to reinforce us. While they are on their way to reinforce us, let our story now again turn to the *vālī* of Rumelia. The *vālī* of Rumelia, then, sent his major-domo to our assistance. This major-domo came with a small force and arrived in Agrıboz castle. Three months had passed before they had been ready. Only God, His name be exalted, knows how we suffered here. This major-domo came and when he arrived in Agrıboz castle, he saw that the infidels were besieging

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1 قوش كبى برو هوا اولوب اوچمشلر = *ḳuş gibi per ü havā olub uçmuşlar*
2 سزده حاج يوط غيرتى ايمشلر = *sizde ḥaç [ve] puṭ ġayreti yok*
3 حاج يوط سزك كوزيكزى كور اتسون = *ḥaç [ve] puṭ siziñ gözinizi kör etsün*
4 *dünyādan fāriġ olduḳ*
5 خير اتمز ايدى = *ḫayr etmez idi*

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Agrıboz castle from four sides and were fighting. The soldiers who had come [as] reinforcements unfurled their banners outside [the fortress], launched an assault against the infidels who were on land and the infidels who were there were routed. They [also] went to the infidels' trenches which were on this side and while infidels' ships [meanwhile] were arriving from the sea side, our army destroyed [them], entered the fortress, and settled in. [**93b**] They stayed in the fortress for a few days, then drew up [their] soldiers to come to our assistance, and went outside. The infidels had their camp somewhere outside the fortress. They had also a few ships at the sea shore [although] the majority[1] of these infidels were [mobilised] against us and against Ḳızılḥisār castle. During this battle they had captured a few infidels and 'Ömer Paşa obtained information [from them]. He asked these infidels: "Are the soldiers who were in Ḳumīye, we wonder, still in the town of Ḳumīye or did the infidels capture these soldiers? How are the soldiers at Ḳızılḥisār castle?". These infidels supplied information. "The soldiers who were in Ḳızılḥisār are still in Ḳızılḥisār but the infidels made the commander of Ḳızılḥisār, Aḥmed Beg, prisoner. They made about two hundred Muslims martyrs. Many of the soldiers who were in Ḳumīye died of hunger. The remaining soldiers fled and went to the tower of 'Alavar. They are now in the tower of 'Alavar. The infidels are besieging them in the tower of 'Alavar and are fighting [against] them day and night [**94a**]." In this way they gave news. 'Ömer Paşa heard these words and at once, at that very moment, he drew up his troops and rose to come to our assistance. Our faith, meanwhile, had been crushed. At that very moment, however, our troops arrived. One day the red-green banners became visible over a mountain from the direction of Agrıboz. We said [to each other]: "These banners are the banners of infidels", but someone said: "They are our reinforcements". Having said so, the banners at some point came close enough. We looked [and saw] that they were Muslim banners. At that moment we burst out laughing with joy. Our soldiers had come, formed a camp at the base of the tower where we were and sat down. They rested for two days. The infidels had mounted guns on this ruined tower and had surrounded [it on all] sides with trenches. They also had brought their ships close to the base of this tower. The infidels wanted to fight here. After two days we drew up [our] cavalry and foot soldiers, unfurled [our] banners and launched an assault against these infidels. We shouted "Allah is greatest", the foot soldiers in front and the mounted soldiers from the rear, and reached the infidels. But because these infidels had ships on the sea side [**94b**], they brought their ships close to the base of this ruined tower and routed us with a hail of cannonballs and shrapnel. There were many martyrs. That day fighting [continued] until evening. [When] evening [had come], the drums sounded the last post, the two armies separated from each other, everyone went to his place, buried those who had become martyrs and dressed the wounds of those who had been wounded. That day passed and the

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[1] *yekūn*

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next day, at dawn, the drums called for war, the banners were unfurled, columns [were] formed, the regiments were drawn up in formation according to their group, the soldiers formed line upon line and the sound of "Allah is greatest" rose to the sky. Our army marched from three directions and put up guns along three sides. That day there was a battle and the sons of man on earth and the angels in heaven cried out "Bravo, Bravo". The pits were filled with blood. Evening came and because there were ships behind the infidels, we were extremely wretched. As evening approached, these infidels had a hail of shrapnel, grapeshot and cannonballs poured [over us] like rain from the sea and [their] tower [**95a**], and shouted "Oh Cross, oh Jesus",[1] brandished their swords, shouted all at once like pigs and marched against our trenches. Our mounted soldiers did not come anywhere near the trenches because of the gun [fire] and because the foot soldiers were few, the infidels kept [their positions], came [near] and took our trenches. We fled in retreat. The places to which we fled were between orchards and gardens. I, while I was fleeing, fell off a garden wall into a garden. Suddenly I fell down from this wall. Under this wall a middle-aged[2] infidel was standing. When I fell down the wall this infidel below was ready. He grabbed me by my throat. At that moment [my] sword was ready in my hand. There were pistols in my belt. When the infidel held [his hands] around my throat, [my] pistols had slipped from my mind and I began to work with [my] sword. I was not at all able to hit this infidel with [my] sword. Anyway I looked [and saw that] this infidel tried to wrench [my] sword from my hand. At that moment I came to my senses [**95b**], thrust the sword that was in my hand into the infidel's belly, [he] opened his mouth like a dog and bit the dust. At that moment when this infidel's soul had only half left him,[3] I cut off his ears, moved out over the garden wall and fled. I went after our army, we locked ourselves in our trenches, fired [our] guns and rifles from the tower and the trenches, and started to fight. Because we were inside and the infidels outside, the infidels had no means to [get] at us and went back to their trenches. By then it was evening. That night everyone lay down in his place, crying "Let them burn Lord",[4] and buried those who had become martyrs and dressed the wounds of those who had been wounded. That night passed and the next day at dawn the war drums sounded, everyone was ready, unfurled the banners, we formed line upon line, battalion upon battalion, column next to column, reached the infidels, and started to fight. In short, fighting went on for about a month at this tower of 'Alavar. We fought with the infidels day and night and sometimes the infidels routed us, sometimes we routed the infidels. In this way we fought and [again] sat down [**96a**]. But 'Ömer Paşa who was

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1 يا حاج يا پوط = *yā ḥaç yā puṭ*

2 *ḳıranṭa*

3 *cānı yarı çıḳmış yarı çıḳmamış*

4 يكدور مولا = *yañdur Mevlā*

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our commander-in-chief sent a small mounted [force] to Agrıboz castle. These mounted soldiers went in order to bring [back] a regiment of gunners and a superior long-range pounding gun.[1] They reached Agrıboz castle, took a regiment of artillery men, took a superior long-range gun and while they were coming [back] to us, there was an outpost and it seemed as if the infidels had occupied the post. When our soldiers and the gun came near the outpost, they got news that infidels were in the post. The artillery men immediately [began to] surround [it] with a partial trench and began to fire this gun. One of the mounted soldiers fled from their midst, saying: "[To] the tower of 'Alavar" where we were, and: "Come and let the gunners and mounted soldiers who have remained behind besiege the infidels in this outpost, let them surround [it] on all sides, and let them begin to fight." The man who fled from their midst reached the tower of 'Alavar where we had been overnight, explained the situation to 'Ömer Paşa. 'Ömer Paşa [thus] got news of the situation but he did not inform the troops that night. The next day there was no fighting. [**96b**] His followers, all soldiers and heads were informed. That day passed and the following morning at around three o'clock [the soldiers] were drawn up and we fled saying "Back to Agrıboz castle". Until dawn that day we were moving on and at dawn we approached the summit of a huge mountain. We looked [around and saw] that this army of ours had surrounded infidels and were besieging [them]. They were firing [their] guns and rifles. Our soldiers saw this from a mountain slope, they immediately raised their horses' heads on that mountain slope, unfurled their banners, and reached the infidels in four hours. These infidels had outposts on the mountains. These immediately informed the infidels who were in the fray, the fighting infidels took their banners and withdrew their soldiers. There was a mountain behind them. They moved onto the mountain and settled down. At that moment our soldiers arrived, joined our troops who were there, and got news. They asked: "Now you have been fighting with the infidels here, in which direction did these infidels flee?". The soldiers who were there informed us: "These infidels heard about you, fled, climbed this mountain opposite [us] and are watching us". So our soldiers knew where the infidels were. They did not go for them [but] sat down there [**97a**]. The soldiers coming from the rear [also] began waiting and sat down. It was afternoon. Our soldiers came, arrived, formed a camp, sat down, lay down there that night and the next day they got news where the infidels were. We saw that these infidels had climbed on a huge mountain, had dug trenches, fortified themselves, and sat [waiting]. 'Ömer Paşa looked at the infidels' stronghold [but] did not dare to [climb] the mountain. Saying [to each other] "[To] Agrıboz castle", we removed the camp from there and did go to Agrıboz castle. On a certain day we arrived in Agrıboz castle. Outside the fortress [but] within the stockade there were houses of infidels. They lodged the mounted

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[1] *bal yemez*; these events took place at the end of 1823, see Vakalopoulos, *Istoria* ST, p. 575 ff.

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soldiers there and billeted the foot troops in towers and redoubts inside this fortress. In the afternoon of one day, five hundred foot soldiers were sent to the covered way[1] at the fortress of Ḳara Baba[2] opposite [Agrıboz castle, on the mainland]. The fortress was completely surrounded by a stockade. The mounted soldiers were [lodged] along the stockade and the foot troops in the two fortresses. In this way they were drawn up and sat down. Besides us, no-one could get out. We remained under siege and settled down. Some days had passed [when], one day, infidel ships appeared on two sides [**97b**]. When they came close to the base of the fortress, we immediately began to fire [our] guns and mortars down from the two fortresses. But Agrıboz [consisted of] two fortresses, one opposite the other. Between these two fortresses there was the sea. These infidel ships arrived, moved under the guns and fired [their] guns and mortars into the town and destroyed it. But we used the guns which were at the stockades most dextrously[3] and scattered these infidels. But the infidel ships that were on one side did not come close to the fortress's base because there was a tower outside the fortress. They called it the 'Alī Burcı. There were excellent [*'alā*] guns in this tower. It was in the middle of the sea. The infidel ships found a way along one side and did not come close to the base of the fortress. Immediately the infidel ships approached close to the base of this 'Alī Tower and began to attack the tower. By night, we sent water and bread to the soldiers who were in the tower in a rowboat. The soldiers who were in the tower did not sit still by day or night and fought [on]. But the aforementioned tower was [a] very strong tower. The infidels' cannonballs [fired from their] ships were useless. They quickly spent the powder that they fired [**98a**]. But later there was [another] similar battle for a few days [but] these infidels did us no harm.[4] But we had no provisions. While we were fighting in this way, these infidels from without [and] we from within, the infidels whom we had left in the tower of 'Alavar unfurled their banners and they also arrived. But we were not afraid for the overland side. Our fear was only for the sea. The infidels who were on land, then, arrived, formed a camp outside the fortress on two sides and settled in. They held [us] under siege in such a way [that] no one of us [was able to] get out and we were crying: "Let them burn, Lord, burn" by day and night. In short, there was fighting in this way for nineteen months, there were no provisions left to us and we were wretched. But the Albanian troops got permission from 'Ömer Paşa and went to the shore of Rumelia. They were [only] giving fifty *dirhem*[5] of bread [and] horse beans[6] to our

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[1] *sıçan yolı*

[2] Cf. Koder, *Negroponte*, pp. 81-2; originally the site of the tomb of Kara Baba Sultan; the Ottomans built a fortress there in the seventeenth century. See also Leake, *Travels* II, pp. 256-7.

[3] غايت اوسطاز ايله = *ġāyet üstāz ile*

[4] *bizlere fā'ide etmezdiler*

[5] about 150 grammes.

[6] *çörek baḳla*

soldiers per man per day and the local inhabitants were even more wretched. But then 'Ömer Paşa drew up his mounted troops, had them make a few rafts, had [us] cross over to the Rumelian shore at night [**98b**], [we] plundered[1] the infidel villages which were on that side and returned to Agrıboz castle. After some days had passed, the aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa had summoned his *delibaşıs* and the heads of the foot soldiers and had had a word with them. 'Ömer Paşa had said: "We have no provisions left. Nothing comes through to us [from] anywhere. So, we are now [trapped] by this siege. Therefore we cannot do anything but watch. On the Rumelian side there is an infidel port town called Ṭalanda [Atalandi].[2] [I] will mobilise about five hundred horsemen and foot soldiers from [among] you, men who have good horses, are fit and show pluck. They will pass to the other side on these rafts at night." [Thus] he prepared soldiers in order to plunder the mentioned villages and one morning at around two o'clock they boarded the mentioned rafts, passed over to the Rumelian side, sailed for about an hour, reached the shore [bank] of a brackish stream, rested for a while on this bank in the early morning and when these *delibaşıs* found [themselves] in a certain place, they consulted each other. Some were saying: "In this town of Ṭalanda there are many infidel soldiers and it is far away." Others were saying: "We will not [be able] to reach the town of Ṭalanda this morning before dawn. [If] we wait until morning, the infidels will see us in day[light], fight while we don't have the power to fight." Anyway, none of these chicken-livered[3] *delibaşıs* showed the least of courage, acted as commanders[4] over the mentioned troop, did not lead the troops or dared to move against the aforementioned town [**99a**]. That night they stayed at the bank of this stream and after these soldiers had been sitting at the edge of the water and dawn had broken, they returned to Agrıboz castle. Among the foot troops there was a memorable[5] man called Deli Meḥmed. This Deli Meḥmed spoke out from among these troops at night and cried: "If there is a Deli Meḥmed like me, let him step forward and I will move against the town of Ṭalanda. If there are [any of you] who are quick[6] and are not afraid of death, let [them] come with me and kill or be killed".[7] Some thirty persons disengaged themselves and stepped forward. While he was watching them, some thirty persons stepped forward, separated themselves from the [troops] and this Deli Meḥmed became head of these thirty-odd soldiers. They went off

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1 غرات ايدوب = *ġāret edüb*

2 'This town contains about 300 houses, of which one-third are Turkish; some of these are large, and each having its garden, they look well at a distance...', Leake, *Travels* II, p. 171.

3 *ṭavuḳcı*

4 *ḳomandarlıḳ edüb*

5 حطرلى = *ḥāṭırlı*

6 *'acellī ermişler var ise*

7 *hem cān versün ve hem canına alsun*

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saying [to each other]: "Let us go quickly to the town of Ṭalanda". I looked at them, got off my horse, gave my horse to my father, and went after them. Whatever counsel my father gave me, he [was not able] to have me act upon [this] advice and I followed these soldiers. The *delibaşıs* who stayed behind rallied their troops at dawn and went back to Agrıboz castle. Let them go to Agrıboz castle and come, let our story turn to the town of Ṭalanda whither we went. Let me now relate the story of what happened to [us] on the road to Ṭalanda after we had taken our leave of the chicken-livered *delibaşıs* on the banks of the brackish stream that night [**99b**]. We, then, took leave from these troops that night and went [off]. We were on foot but we had no bread with us; we had only bread enough for one day. Nor had we ammunition. We simply put our trust in God by going. Moving [on] that night, there was a mountain they call Ḳızıl Dağ [Profitis Ilias]. Halfway up this mountain there was a massive church. We arrived at this church. Infidels had heard that we had arrived at the church and they had fled, every one of them, to the mountains. The infidels' candles, lamps and robes had remained inside the church. We rested for a while in this church, rose to our feet again and made our way towards Ṭalanda. But it was springtime. It was pouring with rain. The night was dark. Our guide fled from us and escaped and we did not know the way. First the rain, secondly this dark night, thirdly fear for the infidels, fourthly flashes of lightning, and fifthly the howling of jackals beset us this night so that some of us trailed off into the bushes and were lost [?],[1] some of us fell down crevices,[2] others fell into the streaming water and were trying to reach [us] again. Moving very slowly in this way we passed through a big rock. In the rock there were quite a few caves. We went inside these caves [**100a**], each of us lit a fire somewhere and we began drying the clothes we had on us. The clothes dried and we rested. But our rifles had been spoilt.[3] [When] we unlocked the rifles, we were not able to fire [them]. Anyway, dawn broke, some of us unlocked their rifles, others found their rifles spoilt. We did not cast a second glance at the spoilt rifles, [but] left the caves immediately, found the road to Ṭalanda, and made our way there. That day we marched on until evening and reached a church on a mountain. Below this church there was a big desert plain. There probably were the villages belonging to the town of Ṭalanda but we had no information about this. We arrived at the church in the evening and rested because the weather was unsettled.[4] We did not dare to descend onto the plain below and stayed in this church that night. Night fell, we lit fires inside the church and everyone fell asleep. The church had two iron doors. All around the church there were orchards and gardens. All around it new walls and towers had been built. It was just like a good fortress. Every two

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[1] *yaḳılur ?*
[2] *derelerden uçar*
[3] *ibṭāl olmış idi*
[4] *ḳarışıḳ*

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hours we let two men [climb] on the towers and two men [stand] at the church doors [as] sturdy guards. This is the way [**100b**] we spent the night in the church. In the middle of the night it was my turn [to guard] the doors. They told me so. I rose, looked around, no-one was there, everyone had gone to sleep. I took a comrade with me and went to the doors. I, with [my] comrade, had been sitting [there] for about an hour, exactly one hour, [when] two other persons came and sat down at the doors. I left them and [again] went inside the church. I looked, all soldiers were lying asleep. On top of the church there was an elevated spot. There we had put four reckless soldiers [on guard]; they, the four of them, had lain down and fallen asleep. In the middle of the night I went out and had a look at the soldiers who were on top of the church. All were sleeping. I did not say anything and looked down from the church. [I saw] that lights were burning like stars in the villages which were all over the plain. I saw this and I went out of my mind. Thereupon, I went downstairs and informed the mentioned Deli Meḥmed. Deli Meḥmed was lying asleep. When I gave him the news, he rose, looked into my face and said things like this: "I thought you were a brave man but you seem to have no pluck at all. [If] you are so afraid of the infidels' lights on the plain, how will you able to fight tomorrow?" [**101a**]. Anyway, he rose from the ground with ten thousand difficulties, came on top of this church with me, looked, went away and said: "We have come here precisely for these infidels. Come on, be ready, we will go for these infidel villages tonight." Having said this, he awoke all soldiers, they got to their feet and we went for the villages. It was near dawn. We departed and came down from the church. We descended onto the plain at exactly the time for morning prayers. The air was misty and cloudy. We were hearing the infidels' voices. Under these circumstances dawn broke, we saw each other, gathered somewhere and rested for a while. The aforementioned Deli Meḥmed gave a long speech and said: "Comrades, we have come so far now, there are many infidels here. We have no ammunition. There [will] be no reinforcements from anywhere. Today we have been travelling for three days. We are sixteen hours [from] Agrıboz. We are left helpless here. Many thousand soldiers are needed here. In spite of all this we have come here. If that had not been so, [we] would [not] have been [here] now. Whatever comes is from God, His name be exalted." [**101b**] Finally he said: "Comrades, let no one of you say more. Do not deviate from the orders I shall give you. When we depart this evening, we will leave a few men [behind as] guards [at] the church where we have been. If we are routed, the men there will come to our assistance". Despite all these words, no one listened to the man's speech. We had come here in order to take prisoners, to make slaves, male and female, and to fight. Everyone closed ranks and marched along one front. We immediately came hard upon the infidels. There was a church on the road. Above this church loomed a huge mountain. These infidels had taken a wall of this church and had extended it all the way to the summit of this mountain. Below this church, a stream flowed. It was not clear whether this stream was full [of

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water] but its width[1] reached about twenty yards ['arşun]. This church [stood] on a rock and from the rear of the church they had extended a wall onto this mountain. Below the rock that was under the church water appeared on two sides like the body of a water buffalo and flowed off in the direction of the aforementioned plain of Ṭalanda. Between the church and the water there was a small road. If we were to cross to the side of the infidels [**102a**] and to come back, we would have to pass this church again. Here this Deli Meḥmed again [said]: "Comrades, let a few persons stay here while [the rest of] us move into [hostile territory]. The infidels hold this place and [if] we stay inside [their territory too long], the infidels will take us prisoner, all and sundry". Although he spoke many words like these, again no one of us heeded Deli Meḥmed's speech and they went into [hostile territory]. Right at the edge of the water there were a few infidels. They reached these infidels. The infidels saw them and every one of them fled somewhere, yelling all the time. By then the infidels had got the news and began to fire [their] rifles from the mountains all around. Our soldiers, however, took a few prisoners there. Further on there were a few shepherds and they went for them. Just then fifty infidels arrived near us. A skirmish developed there and a few of our men were wounded. But the infidels fled and escaped to the mountains. I was with Deli Meḥmed there. There were two sheep pens. We captured these sheep and sent them back with six persons. We went for the sheep pens with Deli Meḥmed [while carefully] keeping our eyes peeled. When I entered this sheep fold, I found some flour and some [**102b**] bread. I [also] found some cheese. [I] sat down with Deli Meḥmed and a friend and ate the bread at this pen while closely watching the surroundings. Our troops — there was a village about half an hour away — had been seen there. Our troops, then, had gone on and reached this village. There were about five shepherds. They captured them and came to us. Right then the infidels fell on them from the rear and started to fight. We, Deli Meḥmed and I, saw them. Suddenly, the infidels unfolded their banners over the mountain on which the church stood and which we had passed, battalion upon battalion, and [began to] observe us from on the mountain. These infidels [were] on the mountain, our soldiers [were] on the plain, some [of whom] were taking prisoners, some driving sheep, some fighting and others had captured women and girls. Everyone of us had been uttering some nonsense and had been thinking that this country had been deserted. We had had no thought for the infidels and [when] Deli Meḥmed saw the infidels who were on the mountain in this state, he said only said: "Ah". He said: "Comrade, the infidels will take us prisoner now, all and sundry", immediately rose to his feet, and again said: "Comrade, let us inform these soldiers. Let them relinquish[2] the infidels' village. Let them come and let us assemble somewhere. [**103a**] Let us see [what] God, His name be exalted, will do" and

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[1] عوردی = *'arżı*

[2] الچك سونلر = *el çeksünler*

sent the friend who was with us to the soldiers. I [and] Deli Meḥmed, the two of us together, quickly marched back towards the place where the church and the water were, and we reached the place were the church [and] the water were. Another six or so persons came after us. When we entered this church we began to fire [our] rifle[s] at the infidels who were coming from the direction of the mountains. But we [were with] six [or] seven persons; the infidels were [with] some five hundred [men]. [Whereas] we were firing one rifle, the infidels were firing five hundred rifles. Eventually the infidels, brandishing [their] swords, marched against us. We shut the church door[s] and fired [our] rifles through the loop-holes.[1] But it was to no avail. The infidels surrounded the church, climbed onto it and began looking at the trees that were above the church. At that moment our soldiers who had been in the village came and reached [us] but they brought horses, women, girls and sheep [with them]. When they came close to us, they left the women and girls [behind] and launched an attack against the infidels. They came, sword against sword, stone against stone, throat against throat, drove away the infidels with a thousand difficulties, manoeuvred [them] to one side and we came out of the church. We no longer scarcely looked human. Anyway, we were united with them. Thereupon Deli Meḥmed said [**103b**]: "Comrades, things have gone too far. None of you, whomsoever, should go anywhere on his own for whatever reason or else these infidels who are with very many will slay and enslave all of us". Having said so many words to them, we left the sheep and slaves [behind], all of us gathered at some place, came face to face and, sword against sword, we fought prolifically [although] no ammunition was left to us. The rifles of many of us had been spoilt. The infidels treated us badly. We were fighting in vain. Finally, when it was around six o'clock, we [almost] passed from the world without water, thirsty, stinking of gunpowder and afraid of the enemy, and while were thinking that these infidels were about to cut off our heads in retribution,[2] the aforementioned Deli Meḥmed said: "Comrades, we are here now helpless. Look here, we cannot stay [here], the infidels in the mountains will hear [about this] and come with, each, fifty [or even] hundred [men]. If we stay here tonight, the infidels will have even more [men] and will do even greater harm to us. No help will reach us from anywhere. Let us from now on try to save our skins". Thereupon we forgave each other our sins,[3] struck our hands on [our] swords and shouting "Allah is greatest", we launched an assault against these infidels along one front. At the same moment some thirty persons of us became martyrs there [**104a**], those who remained [alive] stayed close together, and fighting on all the time, there was an outpost next to the church which we had passed. We arrived at this post but the infidels came after us and cut [off the heads of] those who stayed behind. Some of us

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[1] مز قاللر = *mazġallar*
[2] نه جازا ايله = *ne cezā ile*
[3] *ḥelāllaşub*

fought on, some of us fled. In this way we arrived at the aforementioned church. But while we were fighting on the plain, some five hundred infidels had come and had cut off the road along which we were coming as well as the surroundings of the church. We had no news [of this]. Just then evening was near. When we came close to this church, the infidels [began to] shout a "lololı" in front of us and behind us, gave a volley of rifle shots,[1] came, sword against sword, throat against throat, and we fought on for another three hours or so. Finally we found a ruin in the environs of the church, went inside this ruin and again began to fight. By then it was evening. Here again there were some fifty persons who became martyrs. There were also many wounded. In this ruin we became dizzy [with] thirst and lack of water. These infidels gave us no respite and [caused] the stones and earth of this ruin rain down on our heads. There was no escape from the hands of these infidels. At that moment Deli Meḥmed said: "Comrades, whatever happens happens. It is all over [**104b**]. It is every man for himself. Evening has come. Let us now draw our swords and all at once launch an attack against these infidels; we will either all become martyrs, or we will flee to a safe place and find security". There and then we forgave each other our sins and shouting "Allah is greatest", we struck our hands on our swords and launched an attack against the infidels. All of a sudden I saw that Deli Meḥmed drew his scimitar[2] [and] attacked the infidels before the mass of the soldiers. He at once reached the infidels. I saw him, he fell on his face in the direction of Mecca and became a martyr but you could not tell the difference between infidels and Muslims and would say it was a butcher's shop: two fillets for the price of one.[3] I saw then that there was a clatter of swords in the centre. But not one Muslim soldier remained [alive] among them. At one time I rose to my feet, [my] rifle ready[4] in my hand. I looked around me. I saw an infidel and a priest coming towards me; they were thinking that I were dead. I immediately fired the rifle I had in my hand at the infidel's breast. I saw that the priest fell to the ground. The other infidel draw his sword and moved towards me. Being in this situation, I took my rifle in one hand and struck my right hand on [my] sword. I saw that the infidel's rifle was loaded. He immediately fired at my breast [**105a**]. I saw that the rifle flew out of my hand and he began to fire at me. Suddenly a man behind me became a martyr. Thereupon, in a desperate attempt to save my life,[5] I rushed at the infidel, [my] sword in hand. The infidel abandoned me and began to cut [off the head of] the man who had become a martyr behind me. I at once rushed out at the infidel, [my] sword in my hand. These infidels used to cut up those who had become martyrs immediately and start despoiling

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[1] *bir tüfenk paṭarya verüb*
[2] پلای = *pala*
[3] *piçeniñ ikisi bir paraya oldı*
[4] قرولو = *ḳurulu*
[5] *cān ḥavli ile*

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[them]. Just then I fled from among the infidels and withdrew to a corner. I did not know where to go now. Anyway, I found a road and a way [out] and went off in some direction. I saw one of our soldiers walking ahead of me. I came up behind him and said: "Comrade, were are we going?" He said: "I don't know the way here". I said: "Come on, let us climb onto that mountain over there. Let us see [if] there are there any soldiers [left] apart from us. If there are [men] who have escaped from the infidels, they would have come onto this mountain." We, the two of us, agreed and climbed onto the mountain. On the mountain we looked around us. I saw that five [to] six persons had arrived [here]. I asked them: "What happened to you?" They answered: "Whatever happened happened. We have survived. Come on, let us go. Let us find a way and go to Agrıboz". But night had fallen. We now fled from the mountain [**105b**] and we reached the edge of a stream during the night. We found a road on one side but did not follow it. In the end, we hit the water and crossed to the opposite side. We looked after each other [but] a few persons drowned in this water. We found safety and then made a calculation. From the whole group of us only eight men had survived. The rest had become martyrs. After they had said a *Fātiḥa* for their souls, these eight men fled from mountain to mountain and kept moving on until dawn. When dawn was near, we arrived at this Agrıboz castle. During the night, however, the castle gates were not opened. Dawn broke and at around two o'clock permission arrived from the aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa and they opened the castle gates. They reported to this 'Ömer Paşa that the soldiers who had gone to the town of Ṭalanda had come [back]. 'Ömer Paşa was extremely glad, and ordered that Deli Meḥmed should be brought [to him]. Messengers came across us and asked for the late Deli Meḥmed. We reported on the situation [and told] the [whole] story. The messengers went away and conveyed the news to 'Ömer Paşa. 'Ömer Paşa was informed of the affair and was plunged in gloomy thoughts. Anyway, we went inside the fortress and everyone went home. But this fortress had two gates [**106a**]. I had gone through one gate. My father did not know that I was safe. He immediately mounted his horse, left through the other gate, and made his way towards the town of Ṭalanda. He had thought this: "The infidels have slain my son. I will go too and fight with the infidels. I will die there where my son has died or find my son's body". Thinking this, he went out through the other gate, rode his horse and made his way there. I arrived at his mansion. None of [his] friends were there. I knew his groom and said: "Where have my father and his friends gone?" This groom said: "Your father and his friends have gone to the town of Ṭalanda thinking that you were dead." When I heard this from him, I said to my groom: "Quick, go and fetch them" and sent the groom behind them. The groom stopped them at the castle gate. "Your son has come. We have seen [him]". Anyway, he [managed to] detain them at the castle gate. Thereupon this groom arrived and informed us. They turned back and came to the mansion. They saw us and were glad. My father [and I] greeted and kissed each other and wept together. We thanked God, His name be

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exalted, profusely[1] and said "God Almighty be praised, we have seen each other with the eyes of this world and found each other again". Thereupon we sat down. [**106b**] The buffoon [*şoyṭarı*] of our *delibaşı* came and asked for us. But my legs had swollen all over and I was in no way able to stand on my feet. Anyway, he took us on his back and we arrived at the mansion where our *delibaşı* lived. All the aghas were sitting on the floor. [He] put me down somewhere, whereupon this *delibaşı* said: "Comrade, you have returned from the field of death[2] more or less safe and sound. May your fate be blessed; tell us whatever happened to you". Thereupon we spoke all kinds of words and related the story of what happened to us like we have done it above and in full detail. The listeners were surprised. Afterwards this *delibaşı* gave [us] a superior horse and a superior sword. Thereupon we came to the mansion were we lived. My legs were swollen. For fifteen days I rubbed [them with] tar and olive oil, suspended my legs high over the fire and kept doing so [for a while]. After some days my legs recovered and were like of old and we sheltered in Agriboz castle. Herewith the story about the town of Ṭalanda is finished; let me now relate how we suffered from hunger in Agrıboz castle and let the listeners [**107a**] reflect upon the story of what happened to us. For some days we remained without provisions in this Agrıboz castle and sat [waiting]. The infidels had surrounded us from all sides, by land and sea. They besieged us on two sides by land and from two sides by sea. We were fighting day and night and kept doing so. While [things were going on] in this way, one day - there was a tower beneath Agrıboz castle at a place one hour and a half [away] some twenty ships came to the base of this tower and these ships began to fire [their] guns at each other at sea less than an hour from this tower and began to wage a battle. Our guards who were in Ḳara Baba castle saw [this] and reported [it] to the aforementioned pasha. The pasha got the news and forthwith drew up his soldiery. We rose with the pasha and went to this tower. The infidels were informed about this affair and consequently they immediately laid an ambush for us. We did not know about this. Anyway, when we came close to the spot where the infidels had laid the ambush, the infidels [began] to fire their rifles at us and although there were a few martyrs and they also hit the pasha's horse, we crossed safely to the tower, entered [it] and observed [what was happening] at the sea shore. The mentioned ships were fighting at sea [**107b**]. We were sitting in a deserted area on the sea shore and were watching the battle between these ships, [but] we did not become any the wiser and went back to Agrıboz castle. These ships were fighting for three days and three nights. Finally, on the afternoon of one day, three [of them], having seen the hopelessness of their situation, came close to our tower. When the soldiers who were in our tower began to fire [their] guns at these ships, they raised signals on the ships. After they had made signals which meant "we are not

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[1] *zinhār zinhār şukūr-ı yezdān etdik*

[2] *sizler şimdi bir eyüce 'acel (= ecel) şaḥrāsından geldiñiz*

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hostile ships but Austrian ships", the infidel who was the captain of this ship, disembarked from his ship, came to this tower, [and] accompanied the soldiers who were in the tower to Agrıboz and bore a message for the aforementioned 'Ömer Paşa. 'Ömer Paşa got the message and received this Austrian captain. He spoke with the pasha. The captain said: "I was carrying provisions on two ships [but] the infidels of the Moral came and occupied [obstructed] my passage. I said, if you want to buy [my] wheat for five *ġuruş* per okka,[1] I am ready [to sell]. If not, I will go to Agrıboz castle. I said that I was ready [to sell my] wheat for five *ġuruş* per okka, [my] coffee for two hundred *ġuruş* per okka, [my] tobacco for two hundred *ġuruş* per okka [and my] barley for four *ġuruş* per okka but in the end I have been fighting with the Moral infidels for three days now [**108a**]". The pasha got the message about these provisions and was extremely glad. Thereupon the pasha sent news to the ships and one day, when these Austrian ships found the weather was pretty favourable, they departed from the aforementioned tower, came and entered Agrıboz harbour. But before the ships had entered [it] the pasha gave every man, both locals and soldiers, twenty fire-crackers for every day. "Let there be rejoicings to blind the enemy", he ordered. These ships came and entered the harbour. All Jews of the town gathered, unloaded the provisions which were in the ships and put them in [their] stores. Thereupon they lavished honours on these Austrian infidels and gave them all sorts of presents. Afterwards [they] warned the two fortresses and all guns were got ready. The local soldiers manned the bastions and towers and they held rejoicings to blind the enemy for three days. All around us the infidels soldiers saw our rejoicings [**108b**] and began thinking like pigs. "This year again provisions came to the Turks. This year again the Turks will not surrender this fortress to us", they began thinking. Let use leave these infidels to their thoughts; for the time being [enough] provisions had reached [us]. They gave us supplies [in kind] from [these] provisions instead of money owed to us for horse fodder.[2] Of the Austrian ships, two were supply ships and one was a privateer,[3] a superior frigate.[4] We went inside and had a good look. [With the idea in mind] that perhaps a day would come [that] we would board this ship, cruise the seas, see the marine fauna,[5] many islands, peninsulas[6] and many countries, I said [to myself]: "Let us inspect them carefully as long as the Austrian ships are here." Having said this, I went aboard this ship and inspected every nook and cranny. Later provisions to the value of, exactly, two hundred [thousand] purses[7] came out of these two ships. The aforementioned

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[1] about 1,5 kg.
[2] اولغمز = *'ulūfemiz*
[3] *ḳorṣān gemisi*
[4] *firḳatun*
[5] *deñiz ḥayvānı*
[6] *niçe adalar ve niçe cezireler*
[7] *keselik*; a 'purse' normally contained 500 *ḳuruş*.

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'Ömer Paşa wrote a receipt[1] for the Austrian captain, gave it to him, and [the latter] sent it to Sultan Maḥmūd. Now we had provisions, this Agrıboz castle was besieged [**109a**] and we settled down. The Austrian ship that had brought us provisions obtained a receipt from 'Ömer Paşa, conveyed it to Sultan Maḥmūd and brought [him] the news: "Agrıboz castle, one of your fortresses, is still under siege. I have supplied this Agrıboz castle with provisions worth two hundred thousand purses". In this way [the captain] informed Sultan Maḥmūd and [he] was extremely pleased. He said: "Now is Agrıboz castle still Muslim or have infidels captured it? Last year they informed me [that] the infidels had captured Agrıboz castle." Thereupon this Austrian captain said: "That is not correct." He then summoned the Austrian ambassador[2] and received confirmation of the news. He immediately sent six thousand Janissary soldiers to our assistance and sent many ships with provisions. Let them come and let us, meanwhile, [continue with] the story of Agrıboz castle. After the Austrian ships had brought provisions, they went [off again]. We were still being besieged on four sides. The infidels knew that we had received provisions. These infidels said: "From now on reinforcements will come to these Turks from the rear and provisions will come as well. Let us see now if we can do something about them". Saying this they were drinking *raḳı* and one night they suddenly entered through the palisades [**109b**]. Our troops were standing guard on the bastions day and night. In the middle of one night[3] infidels arrived and came inside through the bastions, obtained information about the state of our troops, passed the news on to the infidels who were in the rear and they also arrived. It [was] night [and] it was not clear who were infidels and who were Muslims. We dealt each other [some] clashing sword blows, infidel and Muslim horsemen [?][4] were confronted with each other and when dawn came near, our gunners saw [what had happened] from the inner fortress; at the same time they started to fire [their] guns. At that moment the infidels had captured a few houses. We fought for a few hours, the infidels inside the houses, we outside, there was no end to it. 'Ömer Paşa, too, arrived, brought a few guns, positioned these guns at two spots and destroyed [the houses] within an hour. The infidels who were inside the houses all remained under the ruins and squawked like pigs. Dawn was near and they began to fire [their] guns. Many infidels fled. The infidels who remained in the aforementioned houses did not flee but stayed inside. We annihilated them completely [**110a**], their carcasses remained out in the open[5] like the carcasses

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[1] *temessük*

[2] *balyoz*

[3] **اونصی لیلده** = *nışf-ı leylde*

[4] **ایلاش** = *aylaz*, vagabond ?; the word is possibly confused with *ḫayl*, herd of horses or horsemen.

[5] *meydān yerinde*

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of pigs and dogs devoured them. Later the infidels did not come to Agrıboz by day. We remained in this situation for some days and sat [waiting], the infidel troops outside and we inside. Then one day — it was well into spring — ships arrived from Istanbul. Inside the ships there were Janissary soldiers. These soldiers came with the ships. Ebū Nebūd [Ebūlbūd] Paşa, the vālī of Rumelia, was at İzdin [Lamia] castle. Ships, soldiers and so on had come to Ebū Nebūd Paşa and Ebū Nebūd Paşa had been informed that we were being besieged. He immediately sent a few ships with Janissary soldiers to Agrıboz castle to reinforce us. The infidels however got news about this affair. They had their main force in two places on land. Another place was near Ḳara Baba castle. The infidels who were there departed and moved to the side where their main force was, on the side of the Ḳandīl Dağı. Now they gathered somewhere, formed a camp and settled down. [**110b**] In this way a few days passed by. Then, one morning around five o'clock, a sloop came to our port. We allowed this sloop to enter. We had the men on board disembark and got news. [Upon our questions] these men answered: "Together with us six thousand Janissary soldiers and eighteen ships have come. They stayed [behind] in ambush on the shore of the straits upstream from the infidels' camp. They have sent us to you. All soldiers in Agrıboz should get ready tonight and hide themselves in the ambush on the shore near the infidels' trenches. Tomorrow at dawn we will bring the ships close to the shore and disembark the soldiers. We will bring the ships close to the infidels' trenches and rout the infidels with [our] guns. We will also capture the infidels' ships." This was the information we received. Thereupon we took these men and brought them to 'Ömer Paşa. They informed 'Ömer Paşa in the same way. 'Ömer Paşa thus got news of the affair and was extremely glad. He immediately summoned the *delibaşıs* and infantry officers [*yayabaşıs*], instructed them and got the soldiers, including the locals, ready [**111a**]. Thereupon the castle gates were opened, we went out and rested for a while around the place where the infidels' camp had been. Dawn was near. When, suddenly, our ships became visible, the infidels ships saw our ships but they had nowhere to flee, set one ship on fire and our ships captured two ships. Other ships fled and went off. At the same moment our ships came close to the base of the infidels' trenches and they began to fire [their] guns. We, on land, unfurled [our] standards and, shouting "Allah is greatest", reached the infidels. The infidels could not hold their own for [more than] an hour and went away in hell fire. Thereupon our ships sailed to Agrıboz castle. We went after these infidels. These infidels fled and went [away]. They fled in the direction of the mentioned Ḳandīl Dağı. Although we went after them, it was impossible. On the road we found a few infidels and cut [off] their heads; we also captured many slaves, male and female. Thereupon we went back to Agrıboz castle. We formed a camp on the outskirts of Agrıboz close to the town, tents [were put up] and members of the military band and the Janissary soldiers sat down. We saw them and were very pleased [**111b**]. But we did not know yet what these Janissaries would do to us later. What they did to us will

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be explained and related below. When we had arrived at Agrıboz castle and had rested for a few days, the Janissary agha who was with them came and said to the aforementioned pasha: "We did not come from Istanbul to Agrıboz castle to sit [down and do nothing]. The Janissaries[1] want to fight with the infidels". Thereupon the pasha said: "It is also my wish to go to war with you; I will see [what I can do]; let the Janissary boys take some rest meanwhile". This Janissary agha went [away] and informed the Janissaries. These Janissaries answered: "We will not stay for an hour. Give us ammunition and we will go and fight with the infidels". Thereupon, in view of what they had said, the pasha informed them: "In three days we will distribute ammunition, prepare rations and, God willing, we will go in three days." All the soldiers heard what he had said, in three days everyone was ready and we made our way towards the aforementioned Ḳumīye. One day we left Agrıboz castle and reached the aforementioned pass called 'Alavar dervendi on the road to Ḳumīye where we had waged the aforementioned battle [**112a**]. The Janissaries, because they were on foot, [soon] fell behind. We, who had good horses, went on ahead. We were, altogether, eighteen horsemen. We left camp and we, these eighteen horsemen, went off. Anyway, we went off and arrived in an infidel village. There was no fun [to be had] in this village. We entered the village and sat down. In the middle of this village there was a stone tower. At the foot of this tower there were mulberry trees. Beneath these mulberry trees we got off [our] horses and sat down. We looked around us. Suddenly an infidel came [to us] and said: "We are afraid of you. We have wives and daughters on that mountain over there. If you give us protection, we will come [down]". We said: "The pasha has sent us and we have orders to protect you".[2] The infidels were extremely glad, went [away] and brought lambs and bread to us. About twenty [to] thirty women and girls came [with them] [**112b**]. We did not know, however, where our army had gone and if we had stayed overnight in this infidel village — we were [only with] a few and the infidels [were with] many — the infidels would have slain us at night. We deliberated with each other in this way and immediately got up, took the infidels, cut [off] their heads, captured these thirty women and girls and said [to each other]: "To the 'Alavar dervendi". By then it was evening however. We went [off]. On the road close to 'Alavar and on the edge of a stream there was a big church. We arrived at this church that night. This church was six hours [from] the place where our camp was. We came close to the church door that night. Inside this church there were infidels. Turning around, we arrived close to the church, captured the infidels who were inside the church, all and sundry, got them outside, cut [off] their heads and hid ourselves[3] inside the church that night. Dawn broke, everyone again recognised one another, we found about five thousand sheep

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[1] *yeñiçeri ḳulları*

[2] راءی فرمانی کتوردك = *ra'ya [=re'āyet] fermānı getürdük*

[3] بونهان اولوب = *pinhān olub*

besides this church, took the sheep and while we were returning to the place where our camp was, we suddenly came across the Janissaries on the road after we had ridden for one [or] two hours [**113a**]. These Janissary aghas said: "So you were going ahead of us and allowed the infidels to flee. You go [off] and take the infidels' things, women and girls. So now we are going to take your things from you". Having said this, they brought their rifles to their faces and [began] marching towards us. At the same moment the *deli* horsemen who were with us fled and went [off]. I had a girl and a woman with me. There were also two mules. These I left [behind but] by then I could not flee anywhere. They arrived, plundered all [my] possessions and also took the girl and the woman I had. I remained behind as a simple foot soldier. My friends had [all] fled by then. While I was thinking and wondering where I should go, suddenly a few Janissaries came across me. I went straight up to them. Among them there was a Kurdish servant. This man said to me: "Where do you come from? When I informed [him] what had happened to me,[1] this Kurdish servant [said] he was [of] the thirty-first regiment.[2] I had a badge[3] on my arm. I showed this badge to this man and said: "Compatriot, I am also a Janissary [**113b**]. Does it befit your corps [*ocaḳ*] to take the possessions and the severed infidels' heads belonging to a man like me? Indeed it does not". When I had spoken these words, the Kurdish servant said: "Come with me, let me take your belongings from them and give [them to you]". When he had said [that], I accompanied this man and we went to the men who had taken my former belongings. This man said: "You have taken this man's possessions, slave girls and severed infidels' heads. Things like this do not befit our corps. Now give this man his belongings". When he had said this, there were some of them who were [ready] to give [them but] others were not. Anyway, they did give [back] all [of] the things and slave girls they had taken. I took them and while I was going [away] I suddenly came across [my] friends on the road. [My] friends saw me, they rested for a while and I was able to reach them. They said: "How did you get these things back from these men?" I told them what had happened. Later I arrived at the camp with them. I brought the severed infidels' heads to the aforementioned ʿOṣmān Paşa [**114a**]. The pasha gave two *maḥmūdīyes* [for them]. When I later explained the circumstances to the pasha, the pasha warned me that no-one of the deli horsemen should advance on the main army corps. Later, wherever we moved in the company of this pasha, we remained together. We settled down in the 'Alavar dervendi for a few days. Thereupon we broke up camp and made our way to the aforementioned Ḳumīye. One day we arrived in Ḳumīye. Behind Ḳumīye however there was a big mountain. There had been many battles on this mountain in the past. Again the infidels had dug trenches on this mountain

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[1] *bendeñiz oldıġı gibi ḫaber verdigimde*

[2] *otuz biriñ cem[ā]'atı*

[3] پزوند = *pejvend,* literally meaning 'bolt' in Persian.

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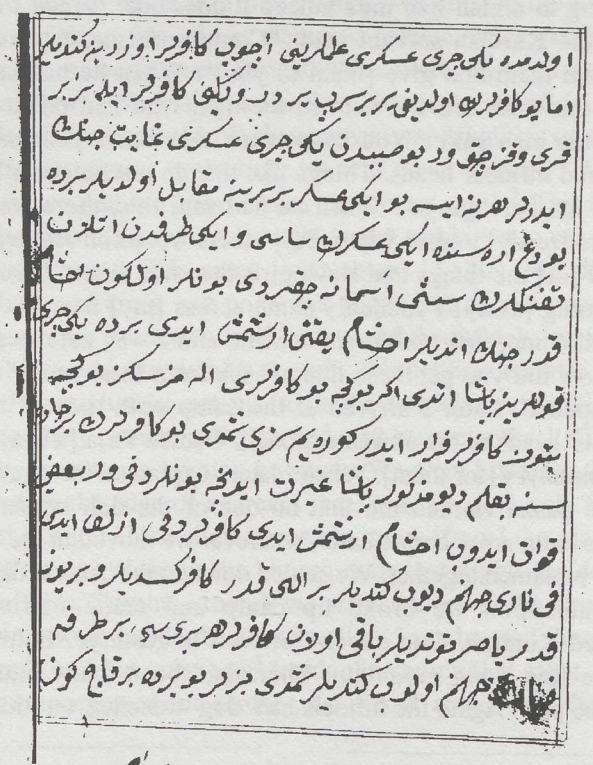
and sat [waiting]. We arrived there and had guides with us. These guides answered this pasha: "There is no lack of infidels here. Let the main army rest here for a while, let us send a small force to this pass and, look, it will soon be clear whether there are any infidels there". Thereupon he allowed a part of the army to have a rest and sent the [main] army to this pass. When the army arrived close to the pass, rifles began to be fired in the pass. As soon as the army heard the sound of these rifles [**114b**], the Janissary soldiers unfurled their banners and went for the infidels. But the place where the infidels were was a steep place and there were many women and girls with the infidels. For this reason the Janissary soldiers were fighting hard. Anyway, these two armies confronted each other. Sometimes the voices of the two armies and the sound of rifles fired from the two sides between these mountains rose to the sky. They were fighting that day until evening. [When] the evening drew near, the pasha said to [his] Janissaries: "If you do not capture these infidels tonight, they all will flee. Let me see now how we can take care of these infidels". Having said that, the pasha did his utmost and they concentrated their forces. Evening fell. The infidels were in a minority and they passed through hell fire. They cut down about fifty infidels. They captured about a hundred slaves. The remaining infidels, everyone of them, were in hell fire and went [off] in all directions. Thereupon we rested here for a few days...



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