A History of Ottoman Poetry

Volume III: 1520–1600

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کوریجک مهردن بو احوالی قچدی بر بر کوجک اطفالی

E. J. W. Gibb

لِلّٰهِ كُنُوزٌ تَحْتَ ٱلْعَرْشِ مَفَاتِيحُهَا أَلْسِنَةُ ٱلشُّعَرَاءِ

'God hath Treasuries aneath the Throne, the Keys whereof are the Tongues of the Poets.'

Hadís-i-Sherîf.

A HISTORY OF OTTOMAN POETRY

BY

THE LATE

E. J. W. GIBB, M. R. A. S.

VOLUME III

EDITED BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE, M. A., M. B.,

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PRINTED FOR
THE TRUSTEES OF THE "E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL"
AND PUBLISHED BY MESSRS. LUZAC AND COMPANY LTD.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1
1965

First published 1904
Reprinted 1965

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
LOWE AND BRYDONE (PRINTERS) LTD., LONDON

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In offering to the public this third volume of the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, I desire to speak briefly in this Preface of three separate matters connected with my friend's work and memory; to wit, this book, the outcome of his patient and scholarly labours, and in particular the present instalment of it, and the part yet to follow; his collection of manuscripts; and the work taken in hand, and now in process of production, by the Trustees of the Gibb Fund, so generously founded by Mrs. Gibb of 13, Montgomerie Crescent, Kelvinside, Glasgow, to perpetuate the memory of her son, and to carry on researches in those studies to which his life was devoted. Of these three matters I will speak in the order in which they are here mentioned.

The present volume covers a period of nearly two centuries, extending from the beginning of the Suleymánic Age (A. H. 926 = A. D. 1520) down to the death of Nábí (A. H. 1124 = A. D. 1712), with whom, as the author points out (p. 337 *infra*), the Classic Period may be considered to close, and the Transition Period to begin. It includes, therefore, some of the most celebrated Turkish poets, such as Lámi^{c}í, Zátí, Fuzúlí, Fazlí, and Báqí, besides Nábí, who has been already mentioned; but in spite of this fact it is, in my judgment, inferior in interest alike to the earliest period discussed in vol. I, and to the post-classical periods, including

the modern, which will form the subject of the subsequent volumes.

This volume, though it had not, like vol. II, undergone a final revision for press at the author's hands, is nevertheless entirely his work, only here and there retouched by me (and that always as slightly as possible) during the careful revision to which I submitted it before placing it in the printer's hands. All that I have added, besides this Preface, is the Appendices; and even here I found the author's rough notes ready to my hand for Appendix A, while, as for Appendix B, the texts of every single poem translated in this volume were fully and fairly copied out in my friend's clear and careful hand for the volume of original texts which will conclude the History. Thus, while the writing out of Appendix A. from the often blurred and indistinctly written pencil notes, which alone served as my guide in this part of the work, was laborious and difficult, the construction of Appendix B. was singularly easy in comparison with the preparation of the corresponding Appendix in vol. II, where the poems translated appeared not to have been copied out, and in many cases had to be recovered with infinite trouble from the manuscripts in my late friend's collection.

I must now speak of the remaining portion of the work, and offer some forecast as the number and scope of the future volumes. The manuscript material which remains to be examined, revised, arranged and edited, is contained in sixteen packets (excluding the texts), of which six are labelled "Transition Period," seven "Romanticist Period," and three "Modern Period." The two former periods run more or less contemporaneously, and would perhaps be better described as "Schools," and in the arrangement of the thirteen chapters devoted to them I anticipate some considerable difficulty, since I have not yet been able to satisfy myself precisely

as to the plan which the author intended to adopt in this part of his subject, and in particular whether he meant to separate these two Schools, or to maintain the strictly chronological order hitherto observed, which would render impossible any attempt to keep the two Schools altogether apart. At present I incline to the chronological arrangement, as being both simpler and more in accordance with the preceding portion of the work; indeed I am disposed to believe that the names of periods and schools marked on these packets of manuscript do not in all cases represent the author's final scheme of arrangement, outlined, so far as the Fourth Period (which will form the subject of vol. IV) is concerned, at pp. 130—132 of vol. I. For the illustration of this Fourth or Transition Period, at all events, the author has left ample materials in a form which needs but the same sort of revision that this volume has received to fit it for Press.

As regards the Modern Period, in many ways the most interesting period of all, and rendered yet more so by the author's profound conviction of its intrinsic value and sympathy with its aims,[1] the case is, unfortunately, otherwise. Here the materials committed to writing by my friend are comparatively scanty, consisting only of three chapters; one, evidently introductory, entitled "the Dawn of a New Era;" one devoted to Shinásí Efendi; and one to Ziyá Pasha. About Kemál Bey, the third great pioneer of the New School, and in many ways the most important, nothing has been written by Mr. Gibb, save here and there, amongst his voluminous rough notes, mostly jotted down in pencil on hundreds of loose half sheets of writing-paper, a fragment of translation, biography or criticism. I am more than doubtful whether it will be within my power to make good this deficiency, even with the help of ᶜAbduʾl-Haqq Hámid Bey of the Ottoman

[1] See particularly vol. I, pp. 133—136.

Embassy in London, himself one of the greatest and most brilliant representatives of the New School, and one of Mr. Gibb's oldest and most valued friends, and of my colleague and friend Halíl Hálid Efendi, Turkish Lecturer at Cambridge, to whom also I was first introduced by the author of this work, who valued him equally highly as a friend and as a collaborator. Of Kemál Bey, and of other prominent writers of the New School, I may, no doubt, should time allow, be able to compile some account, however inadequate, from the rich materials contained in Mr. Gibb's library of printed and lithographed books, which, not being otherwise assigned by his will, was, with rare generosity, presented by his widow to the University Library of Cambridge. For this, and for the many other ways in which she has assisted the progress of this work, and striven to further and facilitate the studies to which her husband's life was devoted, I desire to seize this occasion to express my most profound gratitude and appreciation.

From what has been said above as to the extent of the still unedited manuscript, it will be clear that, without any further additions, there is enough material to form at least another volume and a half; or, with such an Index as I contemplate, and which my colleague and successor as Persian Lecturer at Cambridge, Mr. R. A. Nicholson, to whose collaboration I owe much in the preparation of this volume, of which he has corrected all the proofs, is at present engaged in preparing, two stout volumes. Finally there will be a volume containing the original texts of all the poems translated in the (probably five) English volumes of the *History*, which will thus, so far as I can anticipate, be completed in six volumes. When these will be completed and published I can scarcely venture to guess, but under the most favourable conditions I can scarcely hope that the work can be

accomplished much before the year A. D. 1910, while any adverse circumstance may cause its appearance to be still further delayed. How, indeed, can it be otherwise, when a great work, designed to occupy a life-time, is suddenly deprived of its creator, and left dependant on one who, besides being weighted with his own work, has but a general and superficial knowledge of the subject which had constituted the life-study of the author?

I turn now to the second topic on which I wish to say a few words, namely the fine collection of Turkish manuscripts made during a period of some twenty years, at great cost and labour, by Mr. Gibb with a special view to the preparation of this work, and left by him in a will made some years ago (I think about the time of his marriage) to the British Museum. In my Preface to vol. II, the first which it was my sad duty to edit, I explained, at pp. XV—XVI, that the unwillingness or inability of that institution to depart on any terms in the slightest degree from what I must still, I fear, characterize as its deplorable non-lending policy (the more deplorable because of the evil influence it continues to exercise on other libraries in England, notably the Bodleian at Oxford and the John Rylands at Manchester) made it impossible for me to undertake the continuance of the work unless the transference of the manuscripts to the Museum were deferred until its completion. Till last month (February, 1904) they remained in the custody of Mrs. E. J. W. Gibb, but at that time, for reasons into which I need not here enter, she desired to transfer them to my keeping, and accordingly sent them to Cambridge, where they now are, and where it is intended that they shall remain until the last volume of this work has been published, when they will finally be transferred to the British Museum. Before they go there I hope to be able to compile and publish a fuller

account of this unique collection than was possible in the Preface to vol. II (pp. xv—xxxi).

It now remains only for me to add a few words on another matter whereof I spoke briefly on pp. xxxi—xxxii of the Preface above mentioned, I mean the Gibb Memorial Fund, created and endowed by the noble generosity of Mr. Gibb's mother. When I spoke of it in the Preface to the last volume, it was as a thing in contemplation, but for the last year and a half or so it has been an accomplished fact. The income which it yields exceeds £ 200 a year, and is administered, subject to Mrs. Gibb's approval, by a body of Trustees, which includes, besides myself, Messrs. Amedroz, A. G. Ellis (of the Oriental Manuscript Department in the British Museum), Guy Le Strange, R. A. Nicholson, and Dr. E. Denison Ross, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, advised by Mr. Julius Bertram, Clerk of the Trust. Though the Trustees are, under the Trust-deed, given wide powers as to the purposes for which the money can be employed, it has been decided for the present to devote the income chiefly to the publication of texts, translations, epitomes, and the like, of Turkish. Persian and Arabic works of importance. The first work undertaken was the publication in fac-simile of a manuscript of the Chaghatáy original of the Emperor Báber's Memoirs. This manuscript, which belongs to an Indian scholar, was sent to England on loan, and appears to contain a text not only differing from, but fuller than, that published by Ilminsky. The importance of this antobiography of the Turkish founder of the so-called "Moghul" Dynasty of India rendered the preservation and diffusion of this new text (manuscripts of the Turkí original of which are exceedingly rare) very desirable, and as Mrs. Beveridge of Shottermill, who has long made the life of Báber and his successors an object of special study, was willing to undertake the editing and annotation

of the text, the Trustees gratefully accepted her offer of collaboration, and confided the production of the fac-simile to Messrs. Nops of Ludgate Hill. The plates are now all prepared, but, as is in my experience usually the case, the correction of numerous defects caused by ambiguous dots and the like, which, in spite of every precaution, will invariably creep in, has retarded the production of the volume, which, comprising as it does some six or seven hundred pages, necessarily involves a large expenditure of time and trouble.

This, though the first and most advanced, is not the only work undertaken by the Trustees. There exists in the British Museum a copy of a very rare and important Persian work on Prosody, Metre, Rhyme, and the kindred arts of Poetry, entitled *al-Muʿajjam fí maʿáyiri ashʿáriʾl-ʿAjam* ("the Persianised [Treatise] on the standards of Persian Poetry"), written by a certain Shams-i-Qays for one of the Atábeks of Fárs early in the thirteenth century. The publication of this, because of its antiquity, its extreme rarity, the light it throws on the principles accepted by Persian poets in the early classical period ere yet Saʿdí had attained celebrity, and the numerous illustrative poems cited in the course of the treatise, amongst which are included a good many *Fahlawiyyát*, or verses in Persian dialects, seemed to us, and especially to myself, very desirable; and, having ascertained that the Imprimerie Catholique of Beyrout could set up the text in type from the excellent photographs taken by Donald Macbeth, also of Ludgate Hill, we decided to print this important work, which I have undertaken to edit and annotate, in this way, and the photographs are now being taken.

A third work contemplated by the Trustees is the publication of an unpublished portion of the great history of Rashíduʾd-Dín Faḍluʾlláh entitled the *Jámiʿut-Tawáríkh*, one

of the principal sources of information about the Mongols. The Trustees learned that M. Blochet, of the Oriental Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, had long been busied in preparing a text of a part of this vast work which deals with the history of the Mongols, and proposed to him to include it in the series of volumes for the publication of which they were making arrangements. Their proposal was accepted by M. Blochet, and it is hoped that the manuscript will soon be ready for press. It will be printed by Messrs Brill of Leyden, the publishers of this work, who will be the continental agents of the Trustees, while Mr. Bernard Quaritch has consented to act as their English agent.

Lastly, it is proposed to publish an analysis or epitome of Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Tabaristán* which I have prepared from the India office manuscript of this important unpublished work, and which I have collated in the more difficult and doubtful passages with two manuscripts belonging to the British Museum. This work I hope to send to press almost immediately. It will thus be seen that, though the Trustees have not yet been able actually to publish anything, arrangements for the publication of several important volumes have been made, and in the course of a year or so it is confidently hoped that we shall have given ample proof of the benefits to Oriental studies which may be surely anticipated in the future from Mrs. Gibb's noble gift.

March 28, 1904. EDWARD G. BROWNE.

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BOOK III

THE SECOND PERIOD.

(CONTINUED FROM VOLUME II.)

A. D. 1450—A. D. 1600.

(A. D. 1520—1600.)

CHAPTER I.

The Suleymánic Age. Suleymán I.
926—974 (1520—1566).

Introductory. Suleymán I and his sons. Further remarks on Kemál-Pasha-záde.

Up till the time of Sultan Suleymán the Lawgiver the poetry of the Ottomans has been like the prattle of a clever child, now correct and now incorrect, but offering scarcely anything which can be put forward as an example of literary skill. So at least says Kemál Bey; after which verdict he goes on to declare that the literary era of his people dawns with the reign of Suleymán the Great. Without going so far as this, we may admit that Ottoman poetry only now begins to rise above the mediocre, and that the Turkish race only now begins to produce poets worthy to stand side by side with the Persian masters. Von Hammer again would have us believe that the reign of the Magnificent Suleymán is the culminating-point of all Ottoman poetry, the Augustan age of Turkey, unparalleled in the brilliancy of its literary triumphs as it is unrivalled in the splendour of its military glories. Here likewise, without going quite so far, we may allow that this reign is the culminating-point of the Classic poetry of the Ottomans, and the most brilliant period of Persian culture in Turkey. The hundred and thirty years

which lie between the accession of Ahmed I and the deposition of Ahmed III, and which form what we might call the second bright period of the Classic Age, do indeed present a higher average and a more even excellence; but the illustrious names which distinguish this later epoch being further apart, the effect produced is less splendid and less vivid than that obtained from the concentrated lustre of the comparatively short period embraced by the reign of Suleymán. The genius of Fuzúlí, one of the truest poets that the East has ever borne, would alone suffice to make this reign illustrious for ever. And Fuzúlí does not stand alone; in elegance of expression and graceful harmony of language not one of the Persianising poets of Turkey can vie with Báqí, whom his contemporaries called the King of Poets; while in the versatility of his talent Lámiʿí of Brusa surpasses every poet of the first three Periods, and in the fertility of his genius every poet who has yet appeared in Turkey.

The poetry of this brilliant era is marked by no essential change from that which goes before; it proceeds along the old familiar Persian lines, keeping in view the same old goal, and circumscribed by the same old limitations; its progress is that of development rather than of transformation. It arises from the nature of the case that this development runs almost entirely upon technical lines, the principal object of this School of Poetry being, as we well know, not so much the expression of true feeling as grace of diction and faultless manipulation of language. It therefore follows that such development as it is capable of will naturally proceed in that direction. And so we find in the Suleymánic age a great improvement in the style of poetry viewed simply as an art, without any corresponding advance in its substance. This renders it impossible to give by means of a series of translations any adequate idea of the improvement which

now occurs; in order fully to appreciate this a certain familiarity with the rules of Persian prosody and rhetoric is requisite, as well as a critical knowledge of the Turkish language.

The Suleymánic era owes its pre-eminence over earlier times to this development of poetry as an art, which had been in progress since the beginning, now finding its high-water mark; while it owes its pre-eminence over the remaining years of the Classic Period to the circumstance that at no other time were there living at once so many poets the average merit of whose work was so high. In after years poets did indeed appear from time to time who could vie with the greatest of the Suleymánic writers; but never again did so brilliant a constellation cross the sky of Turkish poetry.

The reign of Sultan Suleymán is the golden age of the Romantic Mesneví. There has indeed been a steady flow of works of this class ever since the days of Sheykhí's Khusrev and Shírín, but with the exception of that poem and of Hamdí's Yúsuf and Zelíkhá, none of the works yet produccd have had any high poetic merit. Now we find not only a great increase in the number of romantic mesnevís written, but a great advance in their average excellence. The works of Fazlí and of Yahya Bey are justly famous; Lámi'í is said to be the only Eastern author who wrote a series of seven romantic poems; [1] while the graceful Leylá and Mejnún of Fuzúlí is one of the most beautiful works in all Turkish literature.

The only new category of poetry which the Suleymánic age has to show is the Riming Chronicle. Bards had not been wanting in the earlier times to sing the great deeds

[1] Jámí, the great Persian poet, left, as is well known, a collection of seven mesnevís; but only four of these are romances, the other three being didactic or religious poems.

of the ʿOsmánli Kings and warriors; but their works, besides dealing merely with single battles or campaigns, were without any poetic value, and were in great part written in Persian. Sultan Suleymán instituted the office of Sheh-Námaji, a term which practically means Imperial Riming-Chronicler, but is literally "Sheh-Náma (or King-Book) writer." The duty of the poet who held this honourable and well-paid position was to versify current events in the manner of Firdawsi's famous history of the ancient Kings of Persia. As a rule the Sheh-Námajis were not content with merely recording the events of the day, but prefixed to their proper work a long versified history of the Empire from the days of Er-Toghrul and ʿOsmán. The office appears to have been frequently left vacant for some time after the death of the occupier, and after a few reigns it fell altogether into desuetude. Besides the official Sheh-Námajis, there were a number of private writers who versified sometimes the entire history of the Empire, sometimes the exploits of a particular Sultan or commander. When the whole of Ottoman history was his subject the author usually called his book likewise a Sheh-Náma; but when his theme was more special, his book received a special title, in which the name of the hero generally figures. Works of this class are, almost without exception, devoid alike of literary merit and historical value; in style they are inflated and tedious, while their matter is for the most part a mere paraphrase of the prose annals. No poet of eminence ever undertook the drudgery of writing a Sheh-Náma; when such a one desired to sing the praises of a great man, he did so in a qasída.

If the historical versifiers of this age failed to produce any poetry worthy of the name, the cause of their unsuccess must be sought elsewhere than in the source of their inspiration. In the reign of Sultan Suleymán Turkey attained the

pinnacle of her greatness as a conquering power; never before or since did the fame of the Turkish arms on land and sea stand so high. The work of reconstructing the Turkish nation which in previous reigns had absorbed so much of the strength and attention both of the government and the people was now finally accomplished, and all the energies and resources of the West-Turkish race were set free to pursue the path of foreign conquest. And so we find the Turkish fleets in Indian and Moorish waters, and the Turkish armies at Baghdad and Vienna. And although the Turks have made many a conquest and won many a splendid victory since Suleymán the Magnificent passed to his rest, they have never again gone forth conquering and to conquer on the grand scale of those old days. Indeed, broadly speaking, the history of the Empire since that time has been little more than the story of the gradual loss of those foreign lands which were won by Suleymán and his ancestors.

At no time, even in Turkey, was greater encouragement given to poetry than during the reign of this Sultan. Suleymán himself wrote very fair verses and well knew how to maintain the honourable traditions of his house with regard to literature, art, and science. Five of his sons are placed by the biographers among the lyrists; and one of these, Selím, who succeeded him on the throne, is perhaps the best writer of Turkish verse among the royal poets. Each of these Princes was, after the old Turkish fashion, the centre of a group of poets and literary men.

Suleymán's efforts to foster literature and art were ably and energetically seconded by his Grand Vezir Ibráhím Pasha. This remarkable man, the son of a Greek sailor of Parga, had first attracted the notice of Suleymán by his skill as a player on the viol. Being possessed of many high qualities, he soon gained the warm affection of his master, who, on

his accession, made him Grand Vezir and married him to his sister. For thirteen years 929—42 (1523—36) Suleymán and Ibráhím lived together on terms of intimacy unheard of in the relations of Sultan and Vezir either before or since. When apart, they would write to one another every day, and when together, they would often share the same meal. At last Ibráhím went one evening to the Seraglio, as he often did, and in the morning he was found strangled in one of the imperial apartments. It may have been that the ever-increasing arrogance of the Grand Vezir had something to do with his tragic end, but the true reason was probably of a very different nature, and one which the private honour of the Sultan forbade to be made public.

Another distinguished patron of letters during the earlier part of Suleymán's reign was Iskender Chelebi the Defterdár, a man of enormous wealth, who thought with the help of his great riches to enter the lists as rival to Ibráhím Pasha, a vain dream for which he paid with his life, as he was ignominiously hanged at Baghdad on the representations of the Vezir, almost immediately after the capture of the city by the Turks. Although they took a warm interest in literature and did much to encourage it, neither Ibráhím nor Iskender wrote poetry themselves.

Ibráhím's successor in the Grand Vezirate was Ayáz Pasha, who was chiefly remarkable for his great admiration for the fair sex. He was followed by Lutfí Pasha, whose tastes were otherwise, and who, though a learned man, cared nothing for poetry. In 951 (1544) the Grand Vezirate fell to Rustem Pasha, in consequence of the machinations of the Sultan's favourite, the Russian Khurrem,[1] who seems to have possessed a goodly share of her nation's genius for intrigue. Almost alone among Ottoman Grand Vezirs Rustem Pasha was the

[1] This is the lady whom so many European writers call Roxelana.

avowed enemy of poetry and poets. He held office till his death in 968 (1561), save for two years during which he had to retire in consequence of the popular feeling provoked by the execution of Prince Mustafá. Rustem is the last Grand Vezir who concerns us at present; Soqollu Muhammed, who succeeded only two years before the death of Suleymán, had no influence on the literary history of this reign.

The four earliest biographers of the poets flourished during the reign of Suleymán the Great. The first of these is Sehí Bey who died in 955 (1548); his book, which he called the Eight Paradises, [1] gives the lives of the Turkish poets from the foundation of the Empire to his own time. Sehí Bey had been a friend of the poet Nejátí, along with whom he had been in the service of Prince Mahmúd, the son of Báyezíd II, as Secretary of the Divan.

The second is Latífí [2] of Qastamuni, to whose Tezkira (or "Memoirs of the Poets") allusion has so often been made in these pages. This important work was finished in 953 (1546), although the author did not die till some forty years later. Like Sehí's Eight Paradises, it comprises the poets who had flourished from the earliest times down to the date of composition.

ʿAshiq Chelebi, [3] whose personal name was Pír Muhammed, and whom Latífí and Qináli-záda describe as a native of Brusa (but Riyází, a later biographer, as of Rumelia) covers much the same ground as Latífí, but carries the list of poets a little further on. His work is of considerable value, especially when dealing with contemporary poets, many of whom

[1] Hesht Bihisht. Mevláná Idrís, who died in 930 (1523), wrote in Persian the first official general history of the Empire for Báyezíd under the same title. [Sehí's work is extremely rare, but there is a good copy amongst the Author's MSS. See vol. II, p. 18. ED].

[2] See vol. I, p. 139, n. 3.

[3] Ibid., n. 4.

the author knew personally; but it is written in a very laboured and highly artificial style. ᶜAshiq, who died, according to Qináli-záda, in 976 (1568—9), wrote some fair original poems, the most notable of which is one on the River Danube.

ᶜAhdí of Baghdad, who was of Persian extraction, is the fourth biographer; his book, which is called the Rosebed of Poets,[1] differs from the three preceding in that it deals only with those poets who were contemporaries of the writer. It was finished in 971 (1563), and is dedicated to Prince Selím, afterwards Sultan Selím II. The author, whose full name was Ahmed bin Shemsí, was a native of Baghdad who repaired to Constantinople, where he mastered the Turkish language and became acquainted with many poets and men of distinction. After residing in the capital for several years he returned to his native city, and there wrote the work which, notwithstanding the prophecy of his successor Riyází that it would be forgotten ere many years were past, has preserved his memory to this day. ᶜAhdí died at Baghdad towards the end of the reign of Murád III.

Sultan Suleymán the First, who is surnamed by Europeans the Great or the Magnificent, but by his own countrymen Qánúní or the Lawgiver, on account of the Qánún or Code of Laws which was drawn up under his auspices, assumed in his poems the makhlas of Muhibbí. This name, which means the Friendly, well expresses his attitude towards letters, and was probably selected on that account. Suleymán left behind him a Díván of ghazels, many of which are highly characteristic and bear eloquent witness to their author's greatness of soul. This Sultan, though one of the most powerful and successful sovereigns who ever lived, was yet undazzled by the splendour of his position, and never forgot to reckon at its true value that worldly glory of which he

[1] Gulshen-ush-Shuᶜará.

had so great a share. The chief feature of his poems is not, as with so many of his contemporaries, mere verbal elegance; it is their evident sincerity of feeling which strikes us most as we read those verses with their undertone of calm humility.

The life and achievements of Sultan Suleymán belong to the history of the sixteenth century, not to that of Ottoman poetry. It is enough to notice here that by winning Baghdad for Turkey when he did (940 = 1535) he unwittingly rendered a signal service to the literary fame of his country, as it is by virtue of that conquest that Fuzúlí comes to be reckoned among the Ottoman poets.

Suleymán was born in 900 (1494), succeeded to the throne in 926 (1520), and died in 974 (1566). In his long life of seventy years he had known but little rest; he had served in thirteen campaigns, and at the end he died in harness, in his tent outside the Hungarian town of Szigeth, the siege of which he was himself directing.

Ghazel. [164]

He who poverty electeth wanteth neither court nor fane,
Wanteth naught of bread or nurture other than the dole of pain.

Whoso sitteth high and Kinglike on the throne of calm content
Wanteth not to rule the Seven Climes [1] of earth as Sovereign. [2]

[1] The Oriental scientists, following the mathematical geographers of antiquity, used to divide what they called the Rub^c-i Meskūn (or Habitable Quarter of the earth's surface) into seven parallel zones which they termed the Seven Climes. These zones or Climes were the spaces or regions lying between imaginary lines drawn parallel to the equator; the first Clime began at the equator and extended to Lat. 20° 27′; the second to Lat. 27° 37′; the third to Lat. 33° 37′; the fourth to Lat. 38° 54′; the fifth to Lat. 43° 23′; the sixth to Lat. 47° 12; and the seventh to Lat. 53°. In poetry this term, "the Seven Climes," is used as equivalent to the whole world. [Cf. vol. I, p. 47, n. 1. ED.]

[2] In commenting on this line Professor Nájí refers to the story of the interview between Diogenes and Alexander, when the great conqueror, having asked the philosopher whether he could do anything to oblige him, received the answer, "Yes, you can stand out of the sunlight."

Whosoe'er hath scarred his breast and burned thereon the brands afresh
Wanteth not to sight the garden, nor to view the bower is fain, [1]

He who to Love's folk pertaineth bideth in the dear one's ward;
For he wanteth not to wander wild and wode o'er hill and plain. [2]

O Muhibbí, whoso drinketh from the loved one's hand a cup,
Wanteth not Life's sparkling Water e'en from Khizr's hand to drain.

Ghazel. [165]

Naught among the folk is holden like to fortune fair to see;
But no worldly fortune equal to one breath of health can be.

That which men call empire is but world-wide strife and ceaseless war;
There is nought of bliss in all the world to equal privacy.

Lay aside this mirth and frolic, for the end thereof is death;
If thou seekest love abiding, there is naught like piety.

Though thy life-days were in number even as the desert sand,
In the sphere's hour-glass they'd show not as a single hour, ah me!

O Muhibbí, if thou cravest rest, withdraw from cares of earth;
There is ne'er a peaceful corner like the hermit's nook, perdie.

As we have already said, five of Suleymán's sons wrote poetry; these five are the Princes Muhammed, Mustafá, Báyezíd, Jihángír, and Selím. The last-named, the youngest of all and the successor of his father on the throne, was undoubtedly the most distinguished as a poet; but we shall defer considering his work till we come to speak of the poets of his reign. None of the others wrote much, a ghazel or two by each being all that has come down to us. All

[1] As wounds are poetically compared to flowers, he whose breast is torn through the anguish of love has but to look thereon so to find a garden.

[2] Alluding to the stories of Ferhád and Mejnún who, the poets tell us, thinking thereby to magnify their passion, went mad for love and wandered among the mountains and deserts; but Muhibbí here says that the true lover is fain to abide near his beloved, and does not seek to fly from her vicinity.

four predeceased their father. Muhammed and Jihángír died natural deaths. Mustafá fell a victim to the intrigues of the Russian Khurrem, who stopped short of nothing to secure the succession for her son Selím. This Mustafá was a promising and gallant young prince, and much beloved by all classes of the people. He was a kind friend to literature, and in his suite was the famous savant Surúrí, who dedicated to him his interesting and valuable work on prosody and the poetic art in general, which is known as The Ocean of the Sciences.[1] His execution in 960 (1552) created so strong a feeling of animosity against Rustem Pasha, who was regarded as the tool of Khurrem, that that statesman had to retire for two years from the Grand Vezirate. Prince Mustafá took the makhlas of Mukhlisí in his poems. Prince Báyezíd determined not to resign his right to the throne in favour of his younger brother, and got together an army wherewith to make good his claim. But being defeated near Qonya, he fled to Persia, where after a time the authorities gave him up to the Ottoman emissaries, by whom he was put to death (969 = 1561). He wrote under the name of Shāhī. The following sad little ghazel is the work of this luckless Prince.

Ghazel. [166]

With long-protracted hope why make my weary soul to mourn? —
Naught of the world's desire abides now in my heart forlorn.

Have done with thought and care thereof,[2] O bird, my soul, for lo,
This cage, the body, falls to wrack, with years and dolour worn.

The jangling of the bells of yonder caravan[3] addrest
To Death's dim land, O heart, e'en now down on mine ear is borne.

[1] Bahr-ul-Maʿárif.
[2] That is, of the body.
[3] When about to start, the conductors of a caravan sound horns, gongs, or

Be heedful, ope thine eyes and gaze with truth-beholding sight,
Nor look on any brake or brere or ant or fly with scorn. [1]

What woe may tide to Shāhī, sick of heart and stained of sin,
If thou, O Grace of God, reach hand to aid him sad and lorn?

A good deal has been already said (vol. II, chapter XIII, pp. 347—363) about Shems-ud-Dín Aḥmed Ibn Kemál, better known as Kemál-Pasha-záde, [2] who belongs, indeed, more to the previous time than to that which we are now considering, since his literary activity falls chiefly in the reigns of Báyezíd II and Selím. His most beautiful poem, however, was not composed until after the death of the last-named Sultan; and to its mention, which falls naturally in this place, some further remarks will be added on his most important, or at any rate his longest poetical work, the Yúsuf and Zelíkhá.

This mesneví on the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife is said to consist of 7777 couplets. That it is one of the author's early compositions is shown by its dedication to Sultan Báyezíd, and it may perhaps have been written in emulation of Hamdí's poem on the same subject, concerning which Ibn Kemál is said to have expressed himself in disparaging terms. [3] All the same he was not above taking a hint

bells, to warn the travellers that the time of marching is come. [Cf. vol. I, p. 313, n. 1, and the well-known couplet of Háfiz of Shíráz: —

مرا در منزل جانان چه جای عیش چون هر دم
جرس فریاد می دارد که بر بندید محملها ED.]

[1] This couplet, the meaning of which is, Regard nothing as common or unclean, appears somewhat out of place here, and breaks the continuity of thought which runs through this ghazel. Perhaps it is an interpolation.

[2] In this, as in many other cases, the Persian word záde ("born of," i. e. "son" or "child of" the person denoted by the immediately preceding proper or common noun) is used (like its Turkish and Arabic equivalents -oghlu and Ibn) in the wider sense of "descendant of." Thus these words are employed to form patronymics in exactly the same way as the Scottish "Mac" and the Welsh "Ap." This Ahmed was in reality the grandson of Kemál Pasha.

[3] See vol. II, pp. 148 and 356—357.

now and then from his forerunner, certain of whose ideas and phrases (ideas and phrases not to be found in Jámí, the common source of both Turkish works) reappear in the poem of the later writer. But be this as it may, one thing is certain, that Ibn Kemál's rendering of the old Hebrew story never attained anything like the popularity of Hamdí's. Neither Latífí nor Qináli-záde does much more than mention this work, quoting a few couplets by way of examples of its style. To me Ibn Kemál's treatment is more picturesque than Hamdí's; his pages glow with brilliant descriptions and are bright with a glitter and vivacity which we seek in vain in the more formal and academic work of his predecessor. But his peculiar characteristic, one which was doubtless regarded by his contemporaries, and, for many a long year, by his successors also, as a grievous defect, and which may in some measure have been the cause of the unpopularity of his poem, lies in his endeavour to make his work both in language and phraseology as Turkish as possible. He never uses an Arabic or Persian word where a native one will do as well; he never employs an Iranian construction where the exigencies of the case will permit a Tartar idiom. To write in this fashion was to fly in the face of all that was then deemed culture and to run counter to the genius of the whole Classic Age. But this bold attempt to graft purely Turkish poetry upon the Persian metrical system was not in all respects happy, and Ibn Kemál's poem cannot be pronounced successful as a work of art. The metre in which he wrote was, like all those employed in his day, Persian; it had not been constructed to suit the peculiarities of Turkish speech; and to adapt whole lines of Turkish vocables to it, or to any other of the Persian metres, is a hard task, demanding for its successful accomplishment a higher artistic talent than Ibn Kemál possessed. Owing to the absence of long vowels

in Turkish, this work of fitting the native words into their proper places in the Persian metres has always been one of the greatest technical difficulties in Ottoman poetry, [1] and it has given rise to what is perhaps the commonest of all verbal faults with the old writers. This is what is called in Turkish the imála, and consists in making long and throwing the stress upon a syllable which is naturally short and ought not to be dwelt upon in correct pronunciation. [2] It is true that in old times the imála appears to have been looked upon rather as a poetic licence than as an absolute fault; but although instances of its use are to be found in probably every poet down to the Modern Period, [3] few writers of

[1] It will be remembered that native Turkish poetry, such as the national ballads and folk-songs, is purely syllabic.

[2] Such as writing بیير bīr for بر bĭr = one; ییير yīr for یر yĕr = place; ییيل yīl for یل yĕl = wind; and so on. The converse of the imála is the ziháf, which consists in treating a long syllable as if it were short; this is reckoned a much worse fault than the imála, and is studiously avoided by careful writers. The following examples are from Ekrem Bey's Course of Literature (Taʿlím-i Edebiyyát).

حيرت آلير عقلمى باقسهم گوزينه قاشنه
صد هزاران آفرين اول صورتڭ نقّاشنه

'Bewilderment seizeth my understanding, if I look on her eye, on her eyebrow:
A hundred thousand plaudits to the Artist of that form!'

In the first line we have three imálas, ālir, guzinā, qāshina, for ălir, guzină, qăshina.

آيا كه بو دوستميدر يا دشمن   يا رب بو خضرميدر يا رهزن

'Who then is this — friend or foe?
O Lord, is this Khizr or a brigand?'

Here we get a ziháf as we have to read dŏst in place of dōst; and yet this couplet is by Nábí. There is something like a ziháf in Moore's well-known line:

''Tis the last rose of summer left blooming alone;'

where the word 'rose' is slurred over in an unnatural way.

[3] Imálas (but never, or very rarely, ziháfs) are to be found in the works of even the greatest poets, Fuzúlí, Nefʿí, Nedím, Ghálib; but when such writers use them it is not the result of feebleness or carelessness; it is deliberately done for the sake of emphasis or for some other special purpose.

repute have carried it so far as Ibn Kemál, in whose mesneví it is by no means unusual to come across lines containing as many as three syllables thus treated. Although the pronunciation of Turkish was no doubt different in those days from what it is just now, and it is quite probable that the imála may have been less offensive to medieval than to modern ears, still as it is opposed to the genius of the language, it can at no time have been other than a flaw in a poet's work. This author's attempt to revert to a more purely Turkish, and therefore more natural, diction was courageous, and deserves credit as an effort in the direction of truth; but the result proves that it was a right instinct which impelled the Ottoman poets, so long as they servilely adhered to every detail of Iranian literary culture, to compose their works in that hybrid Perso-Turkish dialect which, although always artificial and generally incomprehensible to the multitude, was after all the only means whereby their language could be forced into the Persian mould and yet retain something of grace and lightness.

The following passage from Ibn Kemál's Joseph and Zelíkhá tells how the Grandee of Egypt (Qitfír = Potiphar) went out in state to welcome the Princess on her approach to the Egyptian capital, when coming from her home in the Sunset-Land. [1]

From Yúsuf u Zelíkhá. [167]

From stage to stage and post to post they fared
Until what time the litter [2] Egypt neared.
The heralds to th' Egyptian Grandee sped;

[1] In Tabarí's great Chronicle (Ser. I, p. 379) Potiphar's name is given as Itfír and his wife's as Rá'íl. For an epitome of the romance, see vol. II, pp. 151—172.

[2] The camel-litter in which Zelíkhá travelled.

'The Sugar-Bale [1] to Egypt's [2] come,' they said.
And mickle gladness from this news he found,
As the sick heart from julep fresh and sound.
He handselled them who brought the news of grace;
And throbbed his soul and beat his heart apace.
And straight he mounted and rode forth to greet,
With banners waving and with tabors beat.
He filled with criers the Egyptian coast;
Behind his horse march'd the Egyptian host.
All they of Egypt-city, small and great,
Came forth to follow in this march of state.
Whatever be of reverence high and fair,
They do it all, no smallest whit they spare.
On elephant beat India's King the drum,
The Russian band with trump and cymbals come.
The thunder of the tymbals rent the air,
Gleamed the flag-foliage with levin-glare.
With shimmer of pomegranate-cheeks that tide
The heaven's raiment rosy-red was dyed. [3]
And as the flags to heaven reared the head
They sewed gold spangles on that raiment red. [4]
Sweeper and waterer were wind and sky, [5]
Which swept and watered rock and mountain high.
The sea of men surged upon every hand,
On rolled the mighty army, band on band.
Each wore upon his head a dome of light, [6]
Camphor's own self thou wouldest deem forthright. [7]
The morn upon the throng of men did gaze,

[1] The Sugar-Bale is of course the sweet Zelíkhá.

[2] Egypt here means rather the Egyptian capital, the word Misr being always used in the romance for country and capital indiscriminately, just as in modern parlance it is used equally for Egypt and for Cairo.

[3] The lustre of the cheeks red as pomegranate-blossom of the fair youths and girls in the procession being reflected on the sky, imparted to it a ruddy tinge.

[4] Referring to the gilt balls or other ornaments surmounting the flagstaffs.

[5] A Ferrásh is a servant one of whose duties it is to sweep the path for his master; while it is the duty of the saqqá, or water-carrier, to lay the dust. Here the breeze and the rain are said to perform these tasks.

[6] A burnished helmet.

[7] Camphor being the type of anything white or bright.

It struck its hands together for amaze,
Onward upon one leg the flags advanced,
The tugh [1] cast loose its flowing locks and danced.
From tramp of horse arose to heaven the stoure,
Unto Suhá [2] was joined the earthy floor.
The Aqueous Sign to Terrene changed apace, [3]
The Sun a veil of dust hung o'er her face.
The wayside hills and rocks at this affray
Awoke, and raised their heads, nor slept that day.
They marched from Egypt with this bravery,
And started forward with their soldiery.
Glad was the Grandee's soul, his heart was bright,
The dear one's image filled his heart with light;
Now to his heart the sweetheart's scent-wafts streamed,
And all his soul with union's Oxus gleamed.
A-yearning for his love, his vitals burn;
Like his who falls mid fire, his case is lorn.
Saying, 'What time shall I the loved one see?'
Love-fraught, and lost of heart, on farèd he.
Like wind or rushing stream he sped in haste,
And passed by many a hill and many a waste.

What I have alluded to as being Ibn Kemál's most beautiful poem is his Elegy on Sultan Selím. In this famous work of his maturer age he has abandoned the exaggerated Turkicism of his early years and adopted the Persianised dialect which experience has shown to be the fittest medium for Ottoman poetry of the Iranian school. What is lost in originality is

[1] The tugh was a pennant of horsehair, attached to a flagstaff, and used as an ensign in former times. A Pasha of the lowest grade had one tugh, those of superior rank had two, while the Vezirs had three, whence the old phrase 'a Pasha of three tails', the tughs being taken for horse-tails. When the Sultan took the field he used to be accompanied by seven of these pennants. The tugh is a very ancient Turkish ensign; while still in Central Asia the Turkic tribes used as their standard the tail of the yak, for which they substituted that of the horse on their settlement in Asia Minor.

[2] Suhá is the name of a faint star in the tail of the Great Bear: it is known to modern astronomers as 80 Ursae Majoris.

[3] For Aqueous and Terrene Signs, see vol. I, p. 328, n. 3.

made up for by increased euphuism; indeed the poem is so characterised by the verbal adornments of Persian rhetoric that Sir James Redhouse is justified in describing it as a model of those parallels of sense and assonance, so higly esteemed by the early Eastern writers, where every phrase is nicely balanced and every word has its counterpart. Possibly the author may have adopted the Persian style in compliment to the monarch he was lamenting, whose predilection for Iranian culture is well-known. Ibn Kemál's talent displays itself in the vigour and directness which distinguish this poem; these are qualities hard to combine with a highly artificial style, and very rare indeed in the Persianised poetry of Turkey. If the Yúsuf u Zelíkhá failed to elicit any great enthusiasm, the same cannot be said of this noble Elegy. One verse especially has called forth the admiration of well nigh every writer on Turkish poetry since the days of Latífí, that, namely in which, referring to the great achievements accomplished by Selím in his brief reign, the poet compares him to the setting sun, which makes the shadows, symbolic in the East of protecting power, stretch long and far, but passes away so swiftly from our sight.

The following is the concluding strophe of the Elegy, which alone is usually quoted and which alone has attained celebrity.

Elegy on Sultan Selím I. [168]

An elder in cautel, a stripling in spright;
Of glaive aye triumphant, of rede ever right.
An Asaph [1] in wisdom, th'adorn of the host,
Him listed nor vezir nor mushir in fight. [2]
His hand was a falchion; his tongue was a dirk;
His finger an arrow; his arm a spear bright.

[1] Asaph, to whom many of the Psalms are dedicated, is said to have been Solomon's Grand Vezir, and is quoted as the type of ministerial wisdom.

[2] Vezír = minister; mushír = marshal: Selím needed neither councillor nor general.

In shortest of time many gests hath he wrought, —
Encompassed was earth of the shade of his might.
The Sun of his Day, but the sun at day's close,
Far-casting his shadows, soon sinking from sight. [1]
Of throne and of diadem soverans vaunt,
But vaunted of him throne and diadem bright.
His heart found delight in that festal carouse
Whereunto the sabre and trumpet invite. [2]
The sphere [3] never gazed on his equal or peer
In the mirth of the feast or the mirk of the fight.
Flashed he to the banquet — a Sun shedding light!
Dashed he to the battle — a Lion of might!
What time that the 'Seize! Hold!' [4] resounds shall the sword
Remember this Lion and weep blood forthright. [5]
Alas! Sultan Selím! alas! woe is me!
Let reed and let falchion alike mourn for thee! [6]

Like some other legists who wrote poetry, Ibn Kemál did not adopt any makhlas; the reason being, according to Latífí, that he set but little store by his verse. According to ᶜAhdí he left a Díwán of ghazels; he was also the author of numerous fragments of verse, but none of these are of much importance. The following is well-known:

Qitᶜa. [169].

To what thing may I compare thee, Radiance incorporate? — [7]
The young sapling of the meadow yields no fitting type of thee,
Seeing it doth gain in glory, clad in leafy robe of green,
While that thou, divest of every garment, loveliest dost be. [8]

[1] This is the famous verse. [2] That is, the battlefield.

[3] The personified Sphere.

[4] The Persian phrase dār ū gīr (= 'hold and seize!') is used to indicate the tumult of battle.

[5] The sword weeps blood, i. e. recalling his loss it is bitterly grieved; also, inspired by his memory, it strikes down the foeman and drips with his blood.

[6] The reed, i. e. the reed-pen, because the Sultan was a great poet; and the falchion because he was a great warrior.

[7] The 'Radiance Incorporate,' or embodied light, is the poet's beloved.

[8] This fragment is probably an echo of the Arabic lines:

قاسوه بالغصن الرطيب جهالةً   تاللّه قد ظلم المشبّه فاعتدى

حسن الغصون اذا اكتست اوراقها   وتراه احسن ما يكون مجرّدا

CHAPTER II.

POETS OF THE EARLIER SULEYMANIC AGE.
926—964 (1520—1556).

Lámiʿí. Fighání. Ghazálí. Isháq Chelebi. Usúlí.

Mention has already been made of Lámiʿí as one of the most prolific of Turkish writers. The biographers give but few particulars concerning his life, which appears to have been entirely devoted to studious and literary pursuits, and to have been passed in his native city of Brusa in uneventful tranquillity. His personal name was Mahmúd, and he was the son of one ʿOsmán, who had been a defterdár under Sultan Báyezíd. But official life had no charms for the youthful poet, who inherited rather the artistic temperament of his grandfather ʿAlí, a man whose talents had gained for him the surname of Naqqásh, the Painter or Broiderer, two designations alike applicable in his case. [1] Lámiʿí at first turned his attention to secular studies, but soon passed from these to join the disciples of the great mystic teacher Sheykh Bukhárí the Naqshbendí. He must have been about sixty years of age when he died; for in the preface of his Sheref-ul-Insán he tells us that in 933 (1526—7) his years numbered fifty-five, and we know that he died in either 937 (1530—1) or 938 (1531—2). [2]

[1] This ʿAlī is said to have brought the first embroidered saddle into Turkey from Samarcand; he was also celebrated as a painter, probably of miniatures in manuscripts.

[2] The Táj-ut-Tewáríkh gives the first of these dates, Hajji Khalífa the second.

Many of Lámi^cí's numerous works are in prose; indeed, if we may judge by the comparative frequency with which the manuscripts occur, the most popular of all his writings was the ethical prose romance entitled Sheref-ul-Insán, or The Noblesse of Humanity. This work, which Latífí regards as his masterpiece, is a free translation of the well-known Arabic apologue, the Contest of Man with the Animals, which forms the twenty-first of the Tracts of the Brethren of Sincerity (Resá'il Ikhwán-us-Safá). [1] The ^cIbret-numá, or Exemplar, is a collection of wild and fantastic allegories. He translated Fettáhí's Husn u Dil, but his version is said to be inferior to that of his predecessor Áhí. [2] These, along with a translation of Jámí's famous biographical work on the mystic saints, known as Nafahát-ul-Uns, or the Wind-wafts of Intimacy, form the most important of Lámi^cí's prose writings.

In mingled prose and verse we have the Munázara-i Behár u Shitá, or Contention of Spring and Winter, [3] a beautiful allegory in which the succession of the seasons is figured as the warring of rival kings. As I have already observed when describing the different varieties of poetry in olden times, the Munázara is as a rule a poem of very moderate length; but Lámi^cí has here expanded the Contention between Spring and Winter into a finished romance.

The poetical work of Lámi^cí consists for the most part of romantic mesnevís, no fewer than seven such poems being due to his pen. He is perhaps the only Eastern poet who has written so many metrical romances; for although Jámí's

[1] [The original Arabic text has been edited by Dieterici (Leipzig, 1881), who also published a German translation (Berlin, 1858). ED.]

[2] A full abstract of the story, as given in Áhí's version, will be found in vol. II, pp. 292—311.

[3] Perhaps Munázara-i Behár u Khazán, Contention of Spring and Autumn, may be the correct title; some authorities give the one, some the other.

Haft Awrang does indeed comprise seven poems, only three of these, the Joseph and Zelíkhá, the Leylá and Mejnún, and the Selámán and Absál, are really romances, Lámiᶜí had the good sense to pass by the hackneyed tales of Joseph and Mejnún and seek the subjects of his poems among the less familiar legends of ancient Persia, so that most of his stories are new to Turkish literature. From Jámí he borrowed the history of Selámán and Absál, which Fitzgerald's translation has made familiar to English readers; from Fakhr-i Jurjání he got the tale of Vísa and Rámín; while it is probably to the old poet ᶜUnsurí that he is indebted for the story of Vámiq and ᶜAzrá. [1] The rich mine of old Persian lore supplied him with the subjects of two other poems, the Ferhád-Náma, or Ferhád Book, and the Heft Peyker, or Seven Effigies. The last-named is a translation of Hátifí's Heft Manzar, or Seven Belvederes, which is itself but a modification of Nizámí's well-known poem, also entitled, like that of Lámiᶜí, Heft Peyker. [2]

Besides these five legendary poems, this author left two allegorical romances, the Gúy u Chevgán, or Ball and Bat, and the Shemᶜ u Perváne, or Taper and Moth. These two works belong to a class of allegorical poems at one time very popular in the East, in which certain inanimate or irrational objects which poetic usage represents as lover and

[1] [Fakhr of Jurján or Gurgán (the ancient Hyrcania, situated near the south-east corner of the Caspian sea) wrote his Vís u Rámín (variously ascribed by Dawlatsháh, pp. 60 and 130 of Browne's edition, to Nizámí of Ganja or Nizámí of Samarcand) about 440 (1048). This poem was published at Calcutta in 1865 in the Bibliotheca Indica. As regards the story of Vámiq and ᶜAzrá, Dawlatsháh (p. 30) mentions a Pahleví version composed for Núshírván (sixth century of our era), of which a copy extant in the ninth century was destroyed by order of ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Táhir, the Governor of Khurásán; and Dr. Ethé mentions (Grundriss d. Iran. Philolog., vol. II, p. 240) six Persian versions besides that of ᶜUnsurí who died in 441 (1050). ED.]

[2] Hátifí, a well-known Persian poet and nephew of the illustrious Jámí, died in 927 (1520—1).

beloved are personified and made to pass through a series of adventures, the incidents of which are derived from their associations, and which are intended to figure forth the experiences of the mystic lover. Thus the Ball is held by the poets to typify the all-enduring lover who so often as the beloved Bat drives him away, still ever returns, though but to be beaten off again. [1] Of the fabled love of the Moth for the Taper we have heard before. Lámiʿí probably derived the idea of his Ball and Bat from either ʿArife or Tálib-i Jájarmí, two Persian poets of the preceding century, each of whom left a Gúy u Chevgán, in which the Ball and the Bat are personified as types of mystic love, whilst all the images are borrowed from the favourite game of polo. The source of the Taper and Moth is most likely the poem of the same name composed by Ahlí of Shíráz in 894 (1488—9).

Lámiʿí has further a sacred mesneví the Maqtel-i Hazret-i Huseyn, or Martyrdom of Saint Huseyn, in which he tells the sad story so dear to the Muslim and above all to the Shíʿí heart, of the woeful end of the Prophet's grandson. Concerning this work we are told that Monlá ʿArab, a preacher evidently of some importance in the Brusa of those days, having heard of Lámiʿí's production, declared from the pulpit that it was blasphemy to recite poems on so sacred a subject at public gatherings and meetings, whereupon the poet invited all the notables of the city, including the said preacher, to assemble in the great mosque, and let him read to them some passages from his work, whereat all were moved to tears and doubtless convinced that the Monlá had been a little too precipitate in his judgment.

Over and above these eight mesnevís Lámiʿí wrote a complete Díwán of ghazels and qasídas as well as a Shehr-

[1] As in polo, tennis, and similar games.

engíz of Brusa, which Von Hammer declares to be the best poem of its class in the language.

It will have been observed that although Lámi'í composed so much poetry, his works, apart from his lyrics, were all translations from the Persian. [1] He displayed no originality except in his choice of subject; but, so far as I know, not one of his seven romances, except Vámiq and 'Azrá and the Heft Peyker, had ever before been treated by a West-Turkish poet. [2] All the same, Lámi'í's poetry would seem never to have been popular, since manuscripts of his poems very rarely occur; the British Museum possesses only one, a copy of the Vís u Rámín, [3] and this, along with a few extracts from the Spring and Winter published in Wickerhauser's Chrestomathy, and a ghazel or two quoted by Qináli-záde, are the only specimens of his poetical work that I have been able to see. [4] My account of his poems must therefore be in great measure taken from Von Hammer who gives elaborate and detailed descriptions of several of his works. Indeed the Austrian scholar appears to me to have overestimated both the importance and the merit of this author, who was little more than an industrious translator, of no very remarkable poetic power, but to whom nevertheless he accords the longest notice in his book, a

[1] The Maqtel-i Hazret-i Huseyn is almost certainly no exception, but so many Persian writers have handled the subject that it would be hazardous to guess which among them Lámi'í followed.

[2] 'Ulví of Brusa, an obscure writer of the middle of the fifteenth century, is said to have written a Heft Peyker; while Vámiq and 'Azrá is mentioned as being one of the five poems included in Bihishtí's Khamsa; but neither of these works seems to have attracted any attention.

[3] Add. 24,963.

[4] [Though I have left this passage as I found it, I feel sure that the Author would have altered it, had he lived to revise this volume; for, as may be seen by referring to p. XXI of vol. II, his library contained manuscripts of the Kulliyyát, Husn u Dil, Sheref-ul-Insán, 'Ibret-numá, and Behár u Shitá of Lámi'í. ED.]

notice which extends over one hundred and seventy-four pages.

Qinali-záde offers no opinion as to the literary merits of Lámiᶜí's poetry; but in my copy of Latífí there are several passages in which his work is criticised. It is there said that he was an enthusiastic student of the early poets (Persian rather than Turkish being understood), to whose literary style he assimilated his own; and that his writings, which are for the greater part mere translations of these, although displaying something of the strength of the old authors, are none the less, owing to their almost complete absence of originality, defective in brilliancy and spirit. But while declaring that the continual recurrence of common-places and threadbare similes and metaphors has seriously injured the work of this writer, Latífí does ample justice to his marvellous fecundity, which, as he truly says, surpasses that of all the other poets of Rúm.

Such of Lámiᶜí's writings as have come under my own notice I find comparatively simple and lucid in style, and distinguished by graceful and picturesque imagery; but how much of this latter may be due to Lámiᶜí himself, and how much to the Persian writers whose works he translated or adapted, I cannot say.

The legendary mesnevís form the most important section of Lámiᶜí's poetical work. The stories of Selámán and Absál, of Vámiq and ᶜAzrá, and of Vísa and Rámín are among the oldest surviving Persian romances outside the cycle of the Sháh-Náme, and probably all date from pre-Muhammedan times.

Selámán and Absál was the first of these legends which the Ottoman poet took in hand, as is shown by its dedication to Sultan Selím, while the two others are inscribed to Suleymán the Magnificent. The story of Selámán and Absál, as

given by Jámí and as adopted from him by Lámi'í, is remarkable from the introduction of a number of short didactic anecdotes illustrative of some point raised in the poem, but having no connection with the progress of the history itself. As here treated, this history, while outwardly a romance, is confessedly a pure allegory designed to show how the soul can be freed from the lusts of the flesh. From a comparison of the extracts from Lámi'í's poem translated by Von Hammer with the corresponding passages in Jámí's work, the Turkish poet would appear to have made considerable additions, in the way of detail and elaboration, when translating the Persian original. As he was a somewhat diffuse writer, it is not improbable that such was his general rule when engaged on works of this class.

Vámiq and 'Azrá is, according to Von Hammer, the oldest of all the Persian romances. A Pehleví version of it had been made in Sásánian times, but wellnigh all recollection of this had passed away in the troublous years of the Arab conquest; and when 'Unsurí determined to revive the ancient story in the fifth century of the Hijra, nothing remained beyond the names of the hero and heroine and the vague tradition of their love. [1] The romance as we have it now is therefore in all its details the work of the Mussulman poet 'Unsurí. In one particular the story of Vámiq and 'Azrá differs widely from the general run of Eastern poetical romances, for it stops short at the culminating point of the history, when hero and heroine are at length after many vicissitudes united in happy wedlock; it does not, after the usual fashion of such poems, follow the principal actors to the grave. In this the work approaches more nearly to the European idea of an epic. Lámi'í's poem consists of about three thousand couplets.

[1] See n. 1 on p. 22 *supra*.