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The Origins of Classical Ottoman Literature: Persian Tradition, Court Entertainments[1], and Court Poets

Halil İnalcık

Translated by Michael D. Sheridan

The didactic *mesnevîs* of 13th- and 14th-century court poets such as Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, Şeyhî, Ahmed-i Dâ'î, and Ahmedî represent some of the earliest examples of divan literature in the Turkish language. These works arose, to a great extent, from the tradition of palace and courtly etiquette, behavior, and ethics known as *adab*, which first emerged in Persia beginning around the 3rd century AH/10th century AD. The tradition of *adab* gave rise in its turn to an eponymous literary genre concerned largely with the dissemination of these values to the rulers and the nobility. This treatise—following an initial examination of some early examples of *adab* in the Persian tradition, particularly in relation to palace and court gatherings and entertainments—studies how the traditions of *adab* and the palace and court entertainments lie at the root not only of much Seljuk literature, but also of the aforementioned *mesnevîs* of the Germiyan court poets of the 13th and 14th centuries.

THE ORIGINS OF *ADAB* IN CLASSICAL LITERATURE: PERSIAN TRADITION

To understand the didactic *mesnevîs* and the party tradition of the 13th- and 14th-century Germiyan court poets, we must first look at the earliest period of acculturation to Islam. Within the Islamic caliphate, a strong movement against Arab sovereignty representative of ancient (pre-Islamic) Persian tradition came to light with the *Shu'ūbiyyah*.[2] When the Abbasid caliphate's central authority diminished in the 9th century, there arose in eastern Persia (Khorasan and Transoxiana) and along the shores of the Caspian Sea local dynasties that followed in the footsteps of ancient Persian tradition: the Samanids (AD 874–999), the Buyids (932–1048), and the Ghaznavids (977–1183). The Samanid dynasty linked itself to the pre-Islamic Sassanid shahs of Iran;[3] the Ghaznavids, while a Turkish dynasty founded by Sebük Tigin, emphatically identified themselves with the tradition of ancient Persia in terms of statecraft and culture. Firdawsī, who revitalized

Among Sufi poets, mystical intoxication and ecstasy came to be used in place of purely hedonistic themes. Wine came to be described as a manifestation of God, and drunkenness as "a casting off of the cares of the world". We can trace this mystical interpretation back as far as the second century AH, to Rābi`a. With Ibrahīm ibn Sahl al-Isrā'īlī (AD 1212/13–1251), wine, flowers, and love for the cupbearer (*sāqī*, *sâkî*) are so unabashedly depicted that we come almost directly into contact with the drinking party.

J.E. Bencheikh, in his discussion of the *khamriyyah* theme in Arabic poetry, links the trend to the Bedouin tradition and to a group in the Hejaz that held alcohol and music in high esteem; he does not discuss the Persian tradition and its influence. The presence of Persian words in the early Arabic poets is clear evidence that these poets—who spoke of wine, the garden, flowers, and music as well as of their boon companions (*nadîm*, *nedîm*)—had some contact with the palace drinking parties. The Umayyad caliph Walīd ibn Yazīd was a distinguished poet in this respect, and so it is worthwhile to discuss the drinking parties and drinking party environment of the famed Umayyad palace.

Under the influence of the Indo-Persian and Greek heritage, *adab* literature in Arabic and Persian developed a variety of branches: one branch, represented by the *Qābūsnamah*, worked on the determination of ethical rules of behavior for the elite; one branch, represented by Niẓāmī's *maṣnavī*s (Turkish *mesnevî*) on love, moved wholly in the direction of poetic and literary taste; and one branch produced works which brought together these two directions. Al-Jāḥiẓ, remembered as "the teacher of reason and of *adab*" (*mu`allimu'l-`aql wa adab*), brought in foreign elements so as to found an Arab humanism. Al-Jāḥiẓ is generally known for his effort to put Arab tradition before Persian tradition, but in actuality, and regardless of the source, it was al-Jāḥiẓ, a brilliant writer, who was the first to carry this ancient legacy over into the culture of Islam.[11] According to Pellat, al-Jāḥiẓ was the first great Islamic "humanist", kneading into his works not only the tradition of pre-Islamic language and literature, but also the Indian, Persian, and Greek traditions. The 9th-century translations of ancient Greek philosophy and literature, most especially those concerning Greek aesthetic and literary theories, later brought about a more sophisticated *adab* literature. In particular, the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon (ca. 430–355 BC) is considered to be of the utmost importance in this regard.[12] In this work descriptive of the Persian Empire, Xenophon offers advice concerning statecraft and governmental institutions. Al-Jāḥiẓ was familiar with the great intellectual currents, particularly the Mu`tazilah, which arose in Basra and subsequently developed in Baghdad. Special note should be made of the patronage of the open-minded caliph al-Ma'mūn. This "humanistic" literary tradition would later flourish, particularly as regards the relationship between bureaucrats and the palace, as evidenced by the work of Ibn Qutaybah. Al-Jāḥiẓ's own period of activity as a royal companion was short-lived. As with courtiers of later centuries, he was a teacher, an instructor in a great variety of subjects. Most of his treatises consist of answers to questions posed to him by his patrons. With the ultimate aim of educating rulers and courtiers, Al-Jāḥiẓ took up subjects as diverse as statecraft (the *naṣīḥatnāmah*s), literature and poetry, and erotica, as in his *Mufākharatu'l-Jawārī wa'l-Ghulmān* (In Praise of Concubines and Young Boys). Al-Jāḥiẓ's encyclopedic-didactic method can be traced through to Sa`dī, `Aṭṭār, and Niẓāmī in Persia, and to the literary tradition represented by Dehhânî, Şeyhoğlu, Şeyhî, and Ahmedî in Anatolia.

Prior to the *Qābūsnamah* of Kaykāvūs, the treatise of al-Washsha' (d. 325/936) featuring the same topics (the rules for attire, food and drink, protocol, and elegance appropriate to a man of the court) had made a name for itself. Works of this type were now being written in verse as well as in prose. In this period, encyclopedic works of an exclusively literary nature were again written, among them Ibn al-Mu`tazz's *Kitābu'l-Adab* (Book of *Adab*) and works instructing poets in the "fine art of poetry" (*ṣanā'i`-i shi`riyah*). (Fuzûlî stresses the importance of his long and detailed study of the "fine art of poetry" in his aim to become a classical poet in the true sense of the word).[13] In the Islamic world of the Middle Ages, the cultured upper class that had been raised on such books represented the *ẓurafā'*, chiefly poets, a composing scribal class pertaining to the palace and the bureaucracy.[14] Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) was the last exemplary founding father of Arab-Islamic *adab*; in the centuries after his death, this encyclopedic literature would be greatly enhanced and would branch out tremendously. In this new era, the scribal class of bureaucrats and courtiers would conform to the desires and requirements of the patrimonial ruler and of palace life in giving precedence to proffering such encyclopedic knowledge in the form of verse *maṣnavī*s on love, of which Niẓāmī's *Khamsah* is the most striking example. Subjects such as cosmography, astronomy/astrology, divination, medicine, and zoology were added into works of this type, and comprehensive works devoted entirely to the life of pleasure were produced alongside encyclopedias of a purely vocational nature. At the same time, Indian erotological works translated in ancient Persia, the *bāhnāmah*s, were introduced into Islamic literature.

We can locate the source of Islamic *adab* in ancient Persian tradition by means of the corresponding Persian term *āyīn* (and the later term *farhang*), chiefly through its occurrence in Firdawsī's *Shahnāmah*. *Adab* is defined as "refinement of thought, word, and deed". To achieve this, particular rules must be learned and put into practice, and

the general standard of these rules is "moderation", the middle way or golden mean. In the *Shahnāmah*, the ethic of the *javān-mard*, or gentleman, involves rules such as moderation, the avoidance of words that might offend others, generosity, and the giving of gifts in such a way that the recipient does not feel embarrassed or humiliated. The Pahlavi literature of counsel (*pand*, *andarz*) and works such as the *Shahnāmah*, the *Qābūsnamah*, and the *İskendernâme* (The Book of Alexander) all aim to provide instruction in this field. Any distinguished person wishing to become a refined *javān-mard* had, of necessity, to conform to these rules. One must not be immoderate in matters of food and drink and sexual relations, nor become a prisoner to one's passions and urges. These noble qualities were precisely the qualities that rulers and dignitaries had to make their own. Those "gentlemen" who had absorbed these rules and the culture of refinement (*adab*, *edeb*) and were of a well-cultivated soul are referred to in the Ottoman *tezkire*s (critical biographies of poets) as the *ẓurefâ*, or "refined men", of Rûm (Anatolia). In time, the *Qābūsnamah*, the works of the Germiyan court poets, and the *Mevâ`idü'n-Nefâis fi Kavâ`id'l-Mecâlis* (Fine Feasts in the Rules of Gatherings) of Mustafâ Âlî would become the works that taught these rules and perpetuated the tradition.

In early Islam, Abū Isḥaq (d. 236/850) divided *adab* into ten categories. The three categories of *Shāhrānī* consist of lute playing, chess playing, and spearmanship. *Anūshervānī* concerns medicine, geometry, and horsemanship. The "Arab" tradition consists of the sciences of poetry, genealogy, and history. Ancient Persian narratives (love *maṣnavī*s) were translated into Arabic in the Islamic era, and *khunyāgarī*—playing music, singing, and reciting poetry—was perpetuated as an indispensable proof of refinement at social gatherings.[15] These were given voice at parties through poetry recitals with musical accompaniment and through verse *maṣnavī*s. It is this 9th-century definition that explains the contents and aims of, and ultimately the tradition lying behind, the literary activities of Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, Ahmedî, and Ahmed-i Dâ`î in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The tripartite tradition of wine, music, and poetry, which originated in pre-Islamic Sassanid tradition,[16] was accepted as the *sine qua non* of the party or gathering, and it continued as such in Anatolia under the Seljuks, in the *beylik*s or territories of the Turkish beys, and in the sultanate. However, in the literature of the party (*bazm*, *bezm*) as found in the *sāqīnāmah*s (*sâkînâme*s), *işretnâme*s,[17] and *maṣnavī*s (*mesnevî*s) such as the *İskendernâme* and *Cemşîd u Hurşîd* (*Jamshīd and Khurshīd*), with their occasional scenes descriptive of such parties, the subject was placed within an Islamic framework, with the poet never neglecting to begin the work with *tawhīd* (*tevhîd*), *tamjīd* (*temcîd*), *tahmīd* (*tahmîd*), *munājāt* (*münâcât*), and *na`t*,[18] and always concluding the work in repentance (*tawbah*, *tövbe*). It has been proposed that the clashes in the era of the *Shu`ūbiyyah* were left behind beginning in the 11th century, a time when Turkish dynasties were in the ascendant and when the Persian tradition and Islam came into "balance" and were reconciled with one another.[19] On the one hand, the Turkish sultans lent strong support to the ulama with the construction of madrasas by means of endowments, while on the other hand they made endowments to Sufi lodges; yet at the same time, they continued unbroken the Persian tradition of gathering in palace gardens together with their courtiers and companions. This was a cultural symbiosis that had already taken shape in the time of the caliphate.[20] When Persian and Turkish dynasties were on the rise between the 9th and 13th centuries, new developments were seen in works of *adab* literature. New works on the etiquette (*adab*) of palace gatherings began to be composed for the ruler and the *ẓurafā'*.[21] The ancient tradition of Persia assumed an increasingly broader place in these works. The administrative and social understanding of the Germiyan and Ottoman elite found expression in the phrase *dîn ü devlet* ("religion and state"). The madrasas and Sufi lodges of the religious domain, and the bureaucratic scribal class, page boys, boon companions, and pleasures of the gardens of the Imperial Palace, all came together under the umbrella of the sultan, "the Refuge of the Universe" (*pâdişâh-i `âlempenâh*). The Ottoman sultans simultaneously paid respect to the hodjas of the ulama and the courtiers, companions, and Sufi shaikhs representative of Persian tradition. The above observations are equally true for the 16th-century Turkish-Ottoman society of much later times as well. Lâmi`î, the author of *Letâ`if* (Anecdotes), is a person of refinement, culture, and politesse; and the great bureaucrat Mustafâ Âlî, who represents *edeb* in all its breadth, separates the *zurefâ*, with its special learning and distinguished ethics and manners, from the common people, looking down on commoners as an uncultured mass.

Among the *ẓurafā'*, hundreds of narratives and *maṣnavī*s translated from Pahlavi, Greek, and Hindi were in demand. In the 10th century, Ḥamza of Isfahan mentions that works of this type were much sought after; he counts seventy such works. Over time, these works either disappeared or continued in the form of folk tales passed from mouth to mouth. In older Turkish literature, we see examples of this literary genre, such as *Süheyl ve Nevbahâr* (Süheyl and Nevbahâr), achieve fame first in the palaces of the Seljuk rulers in Persia (as in the case of Niẓāmī), and later among the court poets in the palaces of the sultans and beys in 14th- and 15th-century Anatolia. Together with heroic epics addressed to the ghazi beys and their followers, such as the *Battâlnâme* and the *Dânişmendnâme*, popular love themed *mesnevî*s, such as *Süheyl ve Nevbahâr*, include scenes of love and drinking particularly suited to the atmosphere of the palace parties.

THE ANCIENT PERSIAN TRADITION: THE *SHAHNĀMAH*, THE *QĀBŪSNĀMAH*, AND THE *SIYĀSATNĀMAH*

We have seen how ancient Persian, Indian, and Greek cultural traditions displayed a great power of continuity within Islamic civilization, existing side by side with the traditions of the Islamic religion and the madrasa. In the milieu of high culture, and especially among those within palace circles, this tradition was adopted as an alternative high culture tradition. It is this profane cultural tradition that is expressed in the term *adab*.

This ideal style of life found particularly brilliant expression in the heroes of Firdawsī's *Shahnāmah* and in the *Qābūsnāmah* of Kaykāvūs. In the *Shahnāmah*, an aristocratic and moderate bearing, coupled with a sense of honor and generosity, serves as the basic index of refinement and of the *javān-mard*, or gentleman. In the Anatolian *mesnevî* literature and in translations from the poets of Persia, this ideal type of the *javān-mard* is conveyed to princes and beys through appropriate stories found in the love *mesnevîs*.

The "literature of the upper class" (Köprülü)—that is, classical or "divan literature"—developed alongside bardic folk literature in the dynastic and elite circles of Persia, India, and Turkey. Kaykāvūs, author of the *Qābūsnāmah*, divides people into two classes: the commoners, and the elite. This distinction is emphasized in Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* and Mustafâ Âlî's *Kavâ`id'l-Mecâlis*. This literature of the "refined" (*ẓurafā'*, *ẓurefâ*) is dependent on the rules of the "fine art of poetry" that came into existence under the influence of pre-Islamic Arab and Persian traditions and of Greek literary theories (rhetoric, aesthetics, and diction).[22] Firdawsī's *Shahnāmah*, Niẓāmī's *Khamsah*, and the works of Salmān-i Sāvaji and Farīd al-Dīn `Aṭṭār are all representative of the masterpieces that blossomed, as part of the same tradition, in the palace environment of the Persian and Turkish dynasties that followed upon the Abbasid caliphate; in this literature, the pre-Islamic, "ancient" Persian tradition and its figures—the heroes of the *Shahnāmah*, Alexander, Jamshīd, Khusraw, Bahrām—are quite conspicuous. The palace entertainments and the worldview and ethic therein embraced are intimately connected to the ancient tradition of Persia.

I. THE *SHAHNĀMAH* (AD 1000?)

Firdawsī (934?–1020) collected old Persian legends current among the people to write the *Shahnāmah* (*The Book of Kings*). In the work, he depicts the magnificent entertainments of the kings, or shahs: Shah Kaykhusraw encounters Rustam returning from victory, and together they go to the pavilion at the palace: "they spread the tables [...] [the Shah] set wine on the board, called minstrelsy [...]". Then:

> They spent a week with wine in hand. The crown,
> The throne, and company rejoiced in Rustam,
> While some to melody of pipe and strings
> Sang in heroic strains his combatings.[23]

Manizhah, the daughter of Turanian king Afrāsiyāb, receives the hero Bizhan, the son of Giv, in her tent, where she readies drinks and entertainment. While the fresh-faced slave musicians perform, "harsh, strong, aged" wine is consumed. These festivities continue for three days and three nights. *Nawrūz* celebrations also afford an opportunity for entertainment. The celebrations take place in a luxurious environment, frequently a palace garden or pavilion; at the banquet, fresh-faced cupbearers serving wine to the accompaniment of musicians are an unfailing presence.[24] In the *Shahnāmah*, one finds many depictions of the fine gardens arranged for such gatherings. In one of these, the Shah, in his crown of gold, is seated on a throne near to young rosebushes:

> They had a tree
> Set up above the Sháh's throne to enshadow
> It and the crown. The stem thereof was silver;
> The branches were of gold and jewelry,
> The jewels manifold and clustering,
> The leaves of emeralds and carnelians,
> And fruit hung down, like earrings, from the boughs.[25]
> The fruits were golden oranges and quinces
> All hollow and all perforate like reeds,
> And charged with musk worked up with wine that when
> The Sháh set any one upon the throne
> The breeze might shower musk on him ...
> All the cup-bearers wearing coronets
> Of jewels, gold brocade, and robes of Chín,
> With torques and earrings, stood before the throne,
> All clad in gold. All hearts were full of mirth.
> The wine was in their hand, their cheeks were flushed ...
> The aloe-wood
> Burned and the harps descanted.[26]

When Rustam returns victorious from his quest to rescue Bizhan from Afrāsiyāb, Kaykhusraw prepares a great celebration in the palace[27]; at the banquet, they drink the whole of the night and become drunk in the company of "slaves, concubines, and earringed musicians". A gathering hosting the Shah's companions and noblemen would

sometimes last a week.[28] Under the caliphate and later Islamic states, the entertainments described in the *Shahnāmah* doubtlessly continued, being taken on fully as an ineluctable element of the regalia of monarchical sovereignty.

II. THE *QĀBŪSNĀMAH* (AD 1082)

The *Qābūsnāmah*, written in 475/1082 by Amīr Kaykāvūs b. Iskandar b. Kaykāvūs, is the oldest work to outline, in detail and for the benefit of courtiers, patterns of behavior, etiquette, and protocol, particularly in respect of the manners of the gatherings attended by boon companions (*nadīm*, *nedîm*) and poets. Kaykāvūs himself was a companion of Sultan Mas`ūd I of Ghazna.

The *Qābūsnāmah*[29] became the primary reference of the "courtiers" in Turkey. In the 14th century, at the request[30] of the Germiyan Bey Süleymanşâh (1368–1388), Şeyhoğlu Mustafa translated the work into Turkish. Sadeddîn Buluç reached the conclusion that an earlier translation had been inadequate. A third translation was carried out at the order of Hamza Bey, a confidant of the Ottoman Bey Emîr Süleyman.[31] The fourth translation was that presented to the Ottoman Sultan Murad II by Mercimek Ahmed. Ahmed had seen Murad II holding the *Qābūsnāmah*, and the Sultan requested a new translation, saying "it has some very salutary things and counsel in it, but it is in Persian, translated once into Turkish, but the translation is incomprehensible". At this, Mercimek Ahmed translated the work in an annotated form in 835/1431–32. (A subsequent translation was made in 1117/1705.) It is likely that a work translated so many times had a significance beyond that of being a mere guide to traditional upper-class manners for beys and men of refinement.

In the *Qābūsnāmah* are related those forms of behavior that, according to ancient Persian tradition, will ensure one's felicity in the life of high society; also considered are those subjects in which a courtier ought to instruct his lord. The party, the etiquette of wine-drinking, lovers, sexual relations, the hammam, hunting and games, knowledge of the stars, poets and musicians, the rules appropriate to boon companions and gentlemen: all of these subjects are treated at length. Interestingly, these subjects are the same as those taken up in such works as the *sāqīnāmah*s. Let us summarize the guidelines related to the party and to wine-drinking as presented in the *Qābūsnāmah*.

In the view of Kaykāvūs, drinking wine is, in fact, contrary to religion and is looked down upon by most; nonetheless, "young men never refrain" from drinking.[32] The writer of the *Qābūsnāmah* defends the drinking of wine at gatherings as an indispensable tradition, regardless of the religious prohibition.[33] At the conclusion of the party, the sinner, "[sets his] mind on repentance, pray[s] to God for the blessing of

repentance and [is] ever regretful for [his] misdeeds";[34] all *sāqīnāmah*s end with such contrition. The etiquette of wine-drinking is explained thus:

> Endeavor not always to be in a state of intoxication. The consequences for wine-drinkers are twofold—illness and madness [...] Why indulge in a practice of which the fruits are either sickness or madness? [...] [A]s far as possible, do not drink wine in the morning, for the custom of drinking early has been held by men of wisdom as one to be condemned. Its first reprehensible sequel is that the dawn prayers are omitted; the second that before the effects of the previous night's drunkenness have worn off that day's fumes are added to them, with the inevitable consequence of melancholia [...] [H]owever much you may indulge in wine, make it a rule never to drink on the night preceding Friday [...] And if you refrain from drinking wine on Friday, you will reconcile men to your drinking all the rest of the week and people will refrain from comment about your doings.[35]

When at a wine-drinking party with friends, "have herbs in abundance and engage sweet-voiced and expert minstrels to be present. Unless the wine is good, do not place it before your guests [...] [W]inedrinking is a transgression; if you wish to commit a transgression it should at least not be a flavorless one [...] [D]o not regard [your guests] as being under any obligation to you".[36] The custom of presenting guests with gifts, as well as the rights of the guest, is sacred. "[B]e sparing in your wine-drinking and never present yourself before your guests in a state of intoxication; ... and do not indulge in foolish laughter over nothing".[37]

When drinking, avoid becoming a subject of gossip as a result of encounters with a lover; make friends above all else. There is pain in being a lover, comfort in being a friend: when the sultan falls in love, the whole of the country is shamed. In his drunkenness, Sultan Mas`ūd of Ghazna made the mistake of letting it "[become] known that the object of his affection"[38] was one of his ten slaves, Nūshtagīn, who was his cupbearer.

Nevertheless, love cannot be dispensed with. "If there is someone of whom you are passionately fond, let it be a person worthy of love [...] [N]ot everyone can be Joseph son of Jacob,[39] yet there must be in him some pleasing quality which shall prevent men from caviling".[40] In this way, one will not become an object of censure. Sexual intercourse when drunk is to be avoided, [but if engaged in,] a slave or concubine is preferable, for any other will become an enemy.

As for the pleasures of hammams, they are "in themselves an excellent institution and from the time when wise men began to erect buildings nothing better [...] has been built".[41] The hammam is not to be visited every day. A slave is to be taken along for entertainment; one must avail oneself of song, music, and dance.[42] [In terms of the personal beauty of slaves,] "[T]he Turks win for freshness against all other

races. Without a doubt, what is fine in the Turks is present in a superlative degree, but so also is what is ugly in them".[43]

Knowledge of the stars will inform one of the proper course of action; that is, of when one need carry out an action:

> [T]he fruit of astrology is prognostication, and when you have constructed an almanack the advantage of it lies in its prognostications [...] It is only when the star-almanack is exact [...] that prognostication is accurate. [...] Whatever the decision you make, whether on a nativity or a hidden future destiny, do nothing until you are familiar with the states of the stars, the ascendant, the degree of the ascendant, the moon and its mansions [...] [N]or must the astrologer neglect the lots of [...] the house of detriment, joy, misfortune, apogee and perigee.[44]

Lucky and unlucky stars do not come together in one sign of the zodiac. (It is for this reason that the Germiyan poets, among them Ahmedî in his *İskendernâme*, constantly refer to stars and zodiac signs.)

Coming to "the manner of poets", poetry must not be obscure; meter and rhyme must be flawless; poetic devices such as paronomasia (*tajnīs*), parallelism (*taṭbīq*), antithesis (*mutaẓādd*), simile (*mutashābih*), and metaphor (*musta`ār*) must be well-organized; the poet must know the character of any person whom he praises, and what will please that person; he must not steal from another's poetry, yet he must "[l]earn anecdotes, rare quips, and amusing tales in abundance".[45] As for musicians, they must be pleasant, fragrant, and well-spoken. "Even if musicians are always male, they should always be feminine in manner". At a party, the tunes must be neither too frivolous nor too serious, so that they will please all those engaged in conversation.

As for the music to be played, tunes of a solemn nature were made for royal gatherings, but for the young and the old engaged in conversation, light and solemn tunes should be played in alternation:

> Next, exert yourself to become a raconteur; by telling a number of stories, witticisms, and jests you can rest yourself and so diminish the strain of minstrelsy. If, in addition to your musicianship, you are skilled in poetry, do not be enamored of your own verse nor let all your recitations be confined to your own compositions. [...] [M]instrels are rhapsodists for poets in general and not mere reciters of their own verse. Next, [...] [do not put down your instrument and join the dancing]. [...] [K]eep discreet measure, never singing (or learning) a lyric or quatrain out of time [...] Should you happen to fall in love with someone, do not every day be singing of what suits your mood [...] Let each of your songs be on a different theme; memorize large numbers of poems and lyrics, on parting and meeting, coyness, reproaches, upbraidings, refusal and consent, loyalty and cruelty kindness and yielding [...] [Do not sing] an autumn-song in the spring nor a spring-song in the autumn [...].[46]

One must observe those present at the gathering:

> If your audience consists of men especially qualified, elderly, and wise, who are acquainted with the profession of music, be lavish in your minstrelsy and play your tunes well; and let most of your songs then be about old age and scorn of the world. If your audience consists of young men and boys, [...] sing melodies picturing women or in praise of wine [...] First play something in the true key, then, in due order, in all the keys [...] Thus you will discharge the duty expected of you as a minstrel. Then return to the ordinary run of melodies, so that while you are executing the program of minstrelsy [the attendants] will have reached the stage of intoxication and taken their departure. Devote yourself to discovering what mode each [member of your audience] desires. When the cup in circulating reaches him, sing what he desires so that you may receive from him whatever it is that you desire. The greatest skill in a minstrel is the capacity to penetrate into the character of his audience. [...] Drink wine sparingly until you have received your fee; then, when you have [received your money], devote yourself to the wine. [...] [D]o not dispute with intoxicated men over any song they may call for [...] Take good heed never to engage in drunken brawling [...] You must understand that musicians are hired by topers, who refuse to pay quarrelsome musicians. If there is anyone in the company who applauds you, show yourself very much at his service [...] The highest form of skill in a musician is the ability to exercise patience with intoxicated men; those who cannot be patient with them always remain disappointed. Furthermore, it has been said that a minstrel should be deaf, blind, and dumb. That is to say, he should not [...] report anything which he has seen or heard in a particular company. The minstrel with those qualities will never lack a host.[47]

The *Qābūsnāmah* provides interesting information on the practices of the king's companions. Being a companion/courtier requires mastery of a whole set of accomplishments. The companion must always train his full attention on the king and be prepared to sacrifice his life for him. He must be of good appearance and skilled in writing. Companions are chosen from among poets, and must have committed to memory many poems in both Persian and Arabic. The companion must be conversant with the sciences of medicine and astrology. "[T]he king [should be] induced to repose confidence in you [...] [and the companion] should have some skill with musical instruments and be able to play".[48] The companion's duty is to entertain the king. He should "[retain] in [his] memory a large number of anecdotes, jests, and clever witticisms [...] Then again he should know how to play backgammon and chess".[49] He should know the *Qur'ān* and *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic commentary), and should be able to speak on any subject that may arise at the gathering. He should know by heart the stories of the kings of the past so that he may, by recalling their good and bad deeds, properly direct the king as to how to best serve the people. He must speak in an appropriate manner at the

appropriate time. The companion must also be a person of brave heart, possessed of "the qualities of chivalry and manliness":

> [T]he king is not perpetually engaged in pleasure. When the occasion arises for you to display the qualities of manliness, display them [...] Should it befall (which Heaven forfend!) that in the midst of a convivial gathering in the privacy of the palace someone conceives treachery against the king [...] you must do your duty as a man of valor to enable your patron to find deliverance through your efforts.[50]

Additionally, "[w]hen the cup-bearer passes the goblet to you, do not gaze into his face".[51] Accept wine when it is offered.

The *Qābūsnāmah*, so frequently translated into Turkish for the Turkmen beys, explains why court poets were present in the royal garden and how they behaved while there. The above description accords precisely with those later given by Ahmed-i Dâ`î, Ahmedî, and Şeyhî as regards gatherings in the presence of Emîr Süleyman.

III. THE *SIYĀSATNĀMAH*

Following the Ghaznavids, to whom we owe the *Shahnāmah*, the ancient (pre-Islamic) Persian cultural legacy and literature in the Persian language underwent great development in Iran and Anatolia during the time of the Seljuks (1040–1157). The primary reason for the continuation of Persian tradition under Turkish dynasties was the fact that the scribal class of these states was made up of Persians. This entrenchment became even more consolidated in the time of the Mongol Ilkhanate. Abū `Alī Ḥasan Niẓām al-Mulk (1018–1092), the great vizier of Alp Arslan (1072) and Melikşâh (1072–1092), describes in detail the ancient Persian state and its social traditions and procedures in his work the *Siyāsatnāmah* (*The Book of Government*), also known as *Siyar al-Mulūk* (Rules for Kings).[52]

The administration of the Great Seljuk Empire was under the control of the Persian Niẓām al-Mulk.[53] Niẓām al-Mulk would say to Sultan Melikşâh: "Do not forget that my pen-case and turban [the symbol of the bureaucrats] and your crown and throne are intimately bound together. The state only remains standing because of these two [elements]".[54] A request was made to the bureaucracy by Melikşâh to compose a work on statecraft, and it was Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsatnāmah* that received approval.[55] The *Siyāsatnāmah* is a work that covers Indo-Persian administrative theory and practice in Sassanid Persia, and it became a guide for the administrators of all Mongolian and Turkish dynasties up until the time of the Ottomans.[56] In his work, Niẓām al-Mulk "made over into formal state ceremony the banquets where alcohol was served"; as such, in the view of M.A. Köymen, the vitally important feasting and banqueting tradition of Turkish state tradition was in accord with Persian tradition.[57] While writing

the work, Niẓām al-Mulk did just as Firdawsī had done, collecting the knowledge of the Persian masters of his time.[58] The fundamental belief of the philosophy of the state was the *adalet-dairesi*[59] theory that had come from ancient Indo-Persian tradition.[60]

Niẓām al-Mulk makes, in Chapter XVII, this observation concerning companions (courtiers): the retention of companions by the sultan is a custom that cannot be dispensed with. A companion is a ruler's intimate friend, but while in the company of influential men of state, his allowing "a companion to speak in an open and brazen fashion" causes them to become aggressive and thereby harms the ruler's power and majesty. No official appointment should be given to a companion. On the other hand, the benefits of retaining companions are these: a companion will be a close confidant of the sultan day and night and make of himself a shield against any threat to the sultan's person that might arise. The sultan can bring up and discuss with the companion issues that he cannot with influential men of state; drunk or sober, useful information can always be obtained from the companion.

According to Niẓām al-Mulk, the companion must be dignified and brave, virtuous, imposing, chaste, a keeper of secrets, and dressed in clean clothing;[61] he must have a store of rare, witty, and solemn sayings and be able to tell them well; he must always have a smile on his face, must be a capable player of backgammon and chess, and preferably be able to play a musical instrument and use weapons; the companion must laud whatever the sultan does or says but must not presume to give advice; "[w]here pleasure and entertainment are concerned, as in feasting, drinking, hunting, polo and gaming—in all matters like these it is right that the king should consult with his boon-companions, for they are there for this purpose".[62] Nonetheless, it is only with the help of viziers and influential men of state that the sultan should come to decisions concerning the nation as a whole.

Niẓām al-Mulk reminds us that some sultans had their medical or astrological work done by companions. The astrologer observes the time and the hour and informs of auspicious and inauspicious times; he cautions the sultan to choose the right time to perform whatever action he might like to perform.[63] Niẓām al-Mulk recommends that the sultan keep both physicians and astrologers at arm's length, because, he says, they hold sultans back from the pleasures and appetites of the world and from doing work when work is necessary. They should only be called upon when necessary. A companion should be one wise in the ways of the world, who has been in the service of the great, who is an "experienced, good-natured, companionable, and respectful gentleman" (*khush-khuy va gushāda-ṭab` va burd-bār va javān-mard va ẓarīf va laṭīf*). The people measure a sultan by his companions.

Niẓām al-Mulk's insistence that companions not get involved in affairs of state was not unnecessary. Those offering advice for state reform (*lâyihacılar*), particularly Koçibey, as well as historians such as Selanikî, Âlî, and Naîmâ, considered at length the reasons for the decline of the Ottoman state in the 16th and 17th centuries and found the royal companions to be the primary reason behind this "deterioration and intrigue" (*tagayyür ve fesâd*). They showed that the grand viziers' loss of authority and independence was the result of unaccountable companions manipulating the sultan in regard to state affairs, and that it was for this reason that those affairs remained in the hands of irresponsible people. In general terms, the philosophy and conduct of the Ottoman bureaucrats in regard to statecraft came entirely from the Indo-Persian books of government and counsel.[64]

Niẓām al-Mulk adds a separate chapter "Concerning the rules and arrangements for drinking parties".[65] On a day when the entertainment is open to the public (*nishāṭ va ṭarab*), anyone who is properly prepared may come to the banquet. However, there are certain recommendations for those who come to the more restricted "royal drinking sessions" (*`ishrat-i khāṣ*): guests should not come with more than one page each, nor should they bring their own wine flagon or cupbearer, for it is the sultan who is the head of the banquet. Only wine of the best quality should be served at the royal entertainment. The sultan can grow weary of sitting with important men of state at official meetings and official discussions, and so it is at royal gatherings with his companions that he is free to have a good time, to laugh and enjoy himself, and to listen to stories and jokes.

PERSIAN CULTURAL TRADITION AMONG THE SELJUKS OF ANATOLIA

In the view of a modern Iranian historian, "we must accept the fact that the Persian influence is the dominant element" in the literature created by the Seljuks of Anatolia.[66] Both the Seljuk rulers and the Turkish people of Anatolia had a close relationship with the Byzantines and the Armenians; in his explanation, Dr. Mashkūr points out that this situation "resulted precisely in [the sultans'] adopting a tolerant attitude towards those things—painting, poetry, music, the free thought of Sufis—that the pious interpretation of Islam frowned upon". Those who fled to Seljuk Anatolia to seek shelter from the Mongol invasion of the Islamic world (1220–1258) "led to a wholesale strengthening of Persian influence on Anatolia".[67] The important Persian-language Anatolian Seljuk history writer Ibn Bībī Yaḥyā wrote a six-volume verse *Saljuqnāmah* in the style of the *Shahnāmah* on the subject of the Seljuk sultans, and a place in history was made for these couplets, [which were essentially] borrowed from the *Shahnāmah*.[68] It is thought that, in

this particular *shahnāmah*, Ibn Bībī imitated the royal poet Qāni`ī of Ṭūs, who had fled to India from his homeland of Ṭūs upon the Mongol invasion of 1220, and later opted to come to the court of Alâeddîn Keykûbâd I in Konya, where he became one of the "chief poets" (*melikuʾş-şu`arâ*). Qāni`ī had done a verse version of the Indians' wisdom/political tale *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*.[69] Qāni`ī's *Shahnāmah*, like the *İskendernâme* of the Germiyan poet Ahmedî, is a primarily literary work that deals—in a manner appealing to the taste of the sultan—with the history of old Persia, the history of Islam, and the history of the Ghaznavids and Seljuks. Qāni`ī was a friend of Mevlânâ Celaleddîn (Rumi). Nizâmüddîn Ahmed Erzincanî, one of the poets patronized by Alâeddîn Keykûbâd, also wrote his own *shahnāmah* in Persian, calling it *Fatḥnāmah* (The Book of Conquest).[70]

As a general rule, it is the inclusion of pre-Islamic practices—among them painting, sculpture, and heraldry—as works of art that stands out during the period of Alâeddîn Keykûbâd I. Alâeddîn had verses from Firdawsī's *Shahnāmah* carved into the city walls of Konya and Sivas.[71] So extensive was the adoption and continuance of Persian customs such as the gathering that it met with a reaction in Sunni Islamic circles. Against Gıyaseddîn Keyhüsrev I, the qadi Tirmizî issued a virulent fatwa concerning how, "by taking shelter under the rulers of Byzantium", he would not be worthy of the title of sultan due to "his engaging in forbidden confidences and corruption"; upon becoming sultan, Keyhüsrev had the qadi executed.[72] Following public reaction, the same sultan pardoned his successors. Due to this degree of latitude among the Seljuk sultans, it was alleged that they had returned "to their old idol-worshipping, Magian ways". Pre-Islamic Persian traditions continued to persist in the state system and in bureaucratic procedure. In Turkish states—particularly in the Seljuk and Ottoman states, with their large Christian populations—state authority and administrative procedure continued to operate under the system of customary law and books of statutes, with a distinction maintained between religious and state affairs.[73] The palace and the upper classes viewed all these as indispensable symbols of sovereignty. This cultural symbiosis was the result of a socio-cultural reality. In later Ottoman government and society, extreme movements opposed to "such innovations antithetical to Islam" would arise, among them Mehmed Birgivî in the 16th century, the Kadızâdelis in the 17th century, and more recently, in the 18th century, Wahhabism.

The Seljuk sultans themselves, just as they took names and titles from the Shahnāmah, assimilated this "high" culture even to the point of writing poems in Persian. Rükneddîn Süleymanşâh II, Gıyaseddîn Keyhüsrev II, and Alâeddîn Keykûbâd I are remembered as the sultans most distinguished in Persian poetry.[74] These sultans

were generous patrons of Persian literature. When Ẓāhir Faryābī presented him with a *qasīdah* (*kasîde*) in Persian, Sultan Rükneddîn rewarded him with "five slaves, five slave girls, 2000 pieces of gold, five camels, three horses, and fifty pieces of valuable whole cloth".[75] When the same sultan received Niẓāmī's *Makhẓan al-Asrār* (The Treasury of Mysteries), written in his name, he sent "together with one of his courtiers" a reward of five thousand pieces of gold along with other valuable gifts. Alâeddîn I, who had a penchant for art and for the party tradition, would read his own Persian ruba`is at gatherings. At Keykûbâd's gatherings, "Whenever qasīdahs and ghazals were recited, neys and saz' were played, and peşrevs were performed in his presence, the meanings, subtle points, artistry and meters of the poetry were discussed and the modes and rhythmic structures of the music were analyzed. There was no idle talk. All his boon companions were men of culture, letters and eloquence".[76]

It is said that the great Seljuk poet Hoca Dehhânî composed a *shahnāmah* of 20,000 couplets on the order of Sultan Alâeddîn I. Apart from this Persian work, however, Hoca Dehhânî is considered by literary historians such as Köprülü to be the first classical Turkish poet to pattern his work after classical Persian literature. His Turkish love poems, with their wine and their cupbearers, are poems that without doubt issue from drinking party circles.[77] As will be seen below, the first true representatives of Turkish literature—the Germiyan court poets Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, Şeyhî, Ahmedî, and Ahmed-i Dâ`î—would carry on this tradition. As courtiers and companions under the patronage of the Germiyan beys, the richest and most powerful of the beys of the western frontier, these poets would, in their capacity as "courtier-companions", produce for the beys didactic-encyclopedic works within the framework of the Persian poets' tradition of *adab* and love *maşnavīs*.

Among poets writing in Persian, Alâeddîn I showed special favor to Turkish poets, such as Hoca Dehhânî. Dehhânî, the great poet of the time, commemorates "the rich gatherings, replete with music and drink, of the shah of shahs" in his *qasīdah* dedicated to Alâeddîn.[78] At this time, gatherings had a socio-political function as a means of strengthening the bonds between the ruler and notables of the palace and the military. Often, the ruler's benefactions—such as gifts of favor (*in`âm*), rewards given to poets for eulogies (*câize*), robes of honor (*hil`at*), and promotions in rank—were bestowed at gatherings. Of course, another very important function of the gatherings was that they served as a competitive ground in the seeking out and rewarding of excellence in all varieties of the fine arts (*sanâyî`-i nefise*), particularly the arts of music and poetry. At one gathering, Alâeddîn, "as a way of testing", "made it known to the competitors [the artists] that they would compose well-balanced couplets on the name

of that place [Kayseri and Aksaray]". The sultan so liked what Münşî Şemseddîn wrote that he raised his rank.

The poets of this era were, for the most part, poets who served in the palace as courtier-companions. In the beautiful summer palaces that the Great Seljuk Sultan Alâeddîn Keykûbâd I had built on the hill at Alanya and by the lake at Beyşehir,[79] he would frequently assemble poets and musicians at his gatherings. The Seljuk poet and historian Ibn Bībī describes these parties: "The gathering was convened, ... they furnished and adorned [the place] with ruby wines and divers decorative trees, and minstrels like nightingales commenced their songs and soul-stirring melodies, and they occupied themselves with drinking from their wineglasses and attending to the minstrels' music, to their ouds and rebabs".[80] When winter approached, the sultan relocated to Antalya: "On that [night], there commenced the audience of poems and qasīdahs, and the cool and joyous cups of wine passed from hand to hand". Those at the party became drunk, "and the sultan removed himself to the women's apartments and to private encounters", and he gave to his men "counties and provinces".[81]

Like those in Firdawsī's *Shahnāmah*, those gatherings that were held in the Seljuk palace following a victory and that went on for days were artistic gatherings where masters of poetry and of music showed off their talents. At such a gathering, held upon the conquest of Sinop, İzzeddîn Keykâvus I (1210–1220) generously bestowed gifts on his companions and poets.[82]

In a book containing examples of Seljuk *inşa*, it is recorded that the "chief poet" (*meliku'ş-şu`arâ*) was appointed to the position by a warrant of the sultan.[83] This distinction of chief poet was given to Muhyiddîn Abu'l-Fezâ'il as a result of certain special tasks and services performed; we also know that poets such as Nizâmeddîn Ahmed and Baha'eddîn Ḳânî`î were appointed to the post of chief poet in the Seljuk state. The duties of the chief poet would be the same under the Ottomans as they had been under the Seljuks. The important duties expected from the holder of this post are expressed clearly in the warrant given to the Seljuk poet Muhyiddîn: to grant recognition in verse and speech, in his capacity as most distinguished poet, to the scholars, men of letters, poets, and government officials found in the sultan's court and assembly; to recite poetry before those present at religious festivals and other ceremonies; to make fine comments; and lastly, to pray for the sultan's government. (In *qasīdah*s, offering up a prayer at the end is an important duty; for Muslims, prayer is the strongest aid in securing God's approval).[84]

OLD TURKISH TRADITION AMONG THE SELJUKS OF ANATOLIA: FEASTS

While important works of classical literature were being produced in the Persian language in Seljuk Anatolia under the patronage of the palace, Turkish cultural tradition was continuing and Turkish was on its way to becoming a written language. The Seljuk sultans also held feasts (*toy*), which were old Turkish custom and followed a wholly separate trajectory from the private "gatherings", which term refers to those general banquets which were held in the royal garden and which included commoners and soldiers. According to Ibn Bībī's *Mukhtaṣar*,[85] following victory, bards with *kopuz*[86] in their hands would recite epic poetry:

> They readied the tools of their trade of entertainment, and the bards and *kopuz* players told of heroism and bravery in words of brilliance. After the royal [*khusrawānah*] khan had achieved victory, the feasting vessels appeared and the musicians, those singers of songs and dispellers of sorrow, [...] launched into heart-pleasing and joy-giving pieces and preludes, [...] and with the poets decorating the pages of Mānī with poems of prosperity, the musicians, with melody and harmony and correct tone, let all those present hear tell of the valor of heroes and of champions the color of blood.

The *Oğuznâme* (The Book of the Oghuz), the *Kitâb-ı Dede Korkut* (*The Book of Dede Korkut*), and the *Dânişmendnâme* (The Book of the Danishmends) are works which detail Turkish traditions in the "age of heroes".[87]

At this time, the Turkmens were far from being religious zealots: the warrior dervishes served as inspiration to the Turkmen people via their blend of the Shi'ite and Sufi movements with Central Asian Turkish traditions (e.g., Ahmed Yesevî, the abdāls of Anatolia (*abdâlân-i Rûm*),[88] Yunus Emre). In later times, Bektashism would emerge from this environment and take all dervish orders into its embrace.[89]

It is from heroic narratives (*menâkıbnâmes*) and epics that we learn of the life and activities of the heroes and warriors who devoted themselves to fighting for Islam on the frontiers of the Seljuk domain. The *menâkıbnâmes*, written in celebration of the successes and "heroic exploits" (*menkabe*) of Sufi sheikhs or of those fighting for the faith, are an important branch of Turkish literature. Âşık Paşazâde, in writing his history, explains that he is making "abridgements of [tales of] heroic exploits". (Two *menâkıbnâmes* of this type to have issued from the pen of the poet Ahmedî prior to the *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd* have thus far been "identified"; see below.)

In the epic *Oğuznâme*, the beys frequently hold feasts. Born among the nobility, the feast (*toy*) has the quality of a kind of ritual open banquet held for the first hunt, for [the granting of] a wish, for the staving off of disaster, for victory, and so on. According to the Orkhon inscriptions (AD 732/AD 735), the khan's duty is chiefly to "satisfy the people". The *toy* took the form of an open banquet with the attendance of the bey class, heroes, soldiers, and commoners, and it was considered indispensable to the sociopolitical order. Food and drink were consumed, games were played, and at the end of the banquet food was abundantly distributed;[90] this latter Turkish custom can be seen in Persian literature in the idiom *khvān-i yaghmā* ("food-plundering"). In like manner, the two main branches of the Oghuz—the Three Arrows (*Üç-oklar*) and the Gray Arrows (*Boz-oklar*)—would hold a great feast when they came together yearly. This ritual served as a symbol of peace and friendship between the two sides. Among the Candaroğlus and the Ottomans, the bey's preparation of a banquet table open to the public every afternoon[91] was long maintained as an important state duty. Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent held a great feast for the army upon their return from victory at the Battle of Mohács in 1526.

LITERATURE IN TURKISH IN THE SELJUK ERA

According to Köprülü, the *Maṣnavī-yi Ma`navī* of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn (Rumi) (AH 604–673) had an "overwhelmingly obvious" influence on the earliest works written in Turkish in the Anatolia of the Seljuk era.[92] Âşık Paşa was inspired by the *Maṣnavī*; his *Garîbnâme*, the most important work of Seljuk literature in Turkish, is a *mesnevî*. Âşık Paşa was consciously addressing the Turkmens, writing for them in Turkish. The *Garîbnâme* came into being with the aim of spreading conventional religious and Sufi ideas to the general Turkish populace. This tradition came to be best represented in the verses of Yunus Emre. During the Mongol invasion, with the Seljuk palace at Konya clearly falling under the influence of Persian bureaucrats, the Turkish language and the idea of being Turkmen came to represent a conscious reaction in Kırşehri (Gülşehri) and in the western frontier regions.[93] As for Rumi's Persian *Maṣnavī*, Köprülü views the work as, in fact, "a didactic work of Ṣūfī ethics written strictly to provide guidance to those on the mystical path".[94] In this sense, it can in one respect be compared with the *mesnevîs* of Gülşehrî (see below) and the Germiyan poets.

Claiming that, as compared with Persian, the Turkish language was not given the necessary importance during the Seljuk era, Köprülü says, "If the Seljuks had given value and importance to Turkish and tried to develop it, there might have been a rich literature in that language in Anatolia long before the formation of the Ottoman state".[95] However, Köprülü also observes that "a Turkish literature ... did develop in Anatolia" in the 13th and 14th centuries. In this connection, he makes reference to the *Şeyh San`ân Kıssası* (The Story of Sheikh San`ān), Şeyyâd Hamza, Dehhânî, Sultan Veled and Yunus Emre, Âşık Paşa as well as Gülşehrî and Tursun Fakîh. An "ethical Sufi" poem by

Şeyyâd Hamza, "written in simple [Turkish] and elementary [*aruz*] meter", has come down to the present day.[96]

The Turkish poems in the works of Sultan Veled are of a sufficient "quantity and quality to allow us to consider [him] as an early Turkish poet".[97] In terms of language and poetic technique, the Turkish couplets that he on occasion put into his Persian works—which were written with the aim of spreading the [ideas of] the Mevlevi Order—are "primitive" in the view of Köprülü. Veled explains his aim in the following couplet: "I would the secrets God has touched us with / To you bequeath, did I but know Turkish" (*Türkçe bilseydim ben eyderdim size / Sırları kim Tangrıdan değdi bize*). According to Köprülü,[98] Gülşehrî, whose direct influence on the Germiyan court poets has been established, is without doubt the most important representative of this period. Little is known of the actual identity of this poet, or of his influence on Turkish poets.[99] Gülşehrî lived in the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, dying before AH 717. The fact that Gülşehrî translated `Aṭṭâr's famed *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (*The Conference of Birds*) into Turkish[100] and expanded on it in the process shows how important he considered the Turkmens around him. We know that at this time Kırşehir was a consciously Turkmen center in opposition to Persian-dominated Konya. Gülşehrî is also the writer of a treatise on the sage of chivalry (*fütüvvet*), Ahi Evren (Nasîreddîn Mahmûd), who was from the same city.[101] His Turkish ghazals can be found in his *Mecmû`âtü'n-Nazâir* (Collected Verse).

In his Persian *Falaknâmah* (The Book of the Heavens),[102] dedicated to Gazan Han (1294–1305), Gülşehrî describes the stages of descent of the Spirit (*Rûḥ*) to the world from its divine source. In the description of one of those stages, we find the Spirit at a drinking party: "They began to drink; the guests were seated and began to grow excited; the bewildered cupbearers let loose mind and spirit from the crimson wine." The *Falaknâmah* also discusses the profane sciences, mathematics, astronomy/astrology, chemistry/alchemy and natural science, and grammar. What is more, in discussing the "science of music" (*`ilm-i musikî*), or musicology, it treats at length of musical instruments (the harp, the rebab, the oud, etc.). In terms of its discussion of such diverse branches of knowledge, the *Falaknâmah* can be put into the same category as the *mesnevîs* of the Germiyan court poets. It has been said that Gülşehrî was the master of Şeyhoğlu Mustafa and had a strong influence on Ahmedî.

It is clear that there is a direct connection in terms of language and poetic technique between these poets who first attempted to write in Turkish during the Seljuk era and the "court poets" who would go on to extensively write *mesnevîs* for their patron beys in Germiyan in the period between 1310 and 1420.

NIẒĀMĪ: SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR THE GERMIYAN POETS

The great Azerbaijani poet Niẓāmī, whose real name was Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Yūsuf, became the source of inspiration for the court poets of the Turkmen frontiers of western Anatolia, who were responsible for the first examples of classical Turkish literature. These poets adapted into a Turkish poetic language for their patrons the traditional Persian stories of love and adventure that Niẓāmī had written in an elevated poetic language for the rulers of his time and place. At gatherings—whose source also lay in ancient Persia—they would present their works, with their worldly philosophy of life, in an elevated poetic language.

Niẓāmī, who is said to have led an ascetic life,[103] also performed the service of a companion for a time.[104] Possibly he too, like Fuzûlî, was unable to find a suitable patron despite being desirous of such a life. However, we do see that each of his *masnavîs* of love and adventure addressed to gatherings were presented and dedicated to particular patrons: the *Makhzan al-Asrār* and *Khusraw u Shīrīn* (Khusraw and Shīrīn) to Sultan Tuğrul b. Arslan; *Laylī va Majnūn* (Laylī and Majnūn; compiled in 1188), to Shervānshāh Jelāl al-Dawlat; *Haft Paykar* (The Seven Beauties; compiled 1197), to Alā al-Dīn, the ruler of Meraga; and the *Iskandarnāmah* (The Book of Alexander; compiled 1210) to Atabeg Nusreddīn. Presumably, he received rewards from his patrons. He accepted as gifts the income of two villages from Sultan Jihān-Pahlivān and of one town from Sultan Tuğrul. Following the strongly religious and moral *Makhzan al-Asrār*, Niẓāmī increasingly adopted the style of the love and narrative *masnavî*. His works aim to provide the patron, in encyclopedic fashion, with didactic information, such as basic religion and ethics, statecraft, the protection of sovereignty (justice), battle tactics, astrology as it relates to sovereignty, the maintenance of [personal] health, and especially the customs (*adab*) of the gathering. Among the Germiyan court poets, the same didactic/encyclopedic organization is found, most often translated from Niẓāmī.

Such *masnavîs*, addressed to the elite cultural taste of the palace and of the men of refinement, represented a distinct literary form. The *masnavî* was essentially in a genre similar to that of the story/novel, but written in couplets. The Germiyan poets gravitated towards this type, sprinkling their works with the occasional ghazal and *terci`-i bend*. The *masnavî* form saw its first masterpieces (Rūdakī, Firdawsī) in eastern Persia in the 9th and 10th centuries; it subsequently developed in the rest of Persia in the time of the Great Seljuk Empire, particularly in Fars and Azerbaijan. Niẓāmī dedicated his works to the ruling elite, in whose name he had written them. In this era, with the ancient cultural tradition of Persia still greatly in force, the companions and courtiers under the patronage of the palace presented to their patrons, in the environment of the

party or gathering, the narratives and love stories of old, written in a highly literary style. These poems aimed, at the same time, to instruct the patron in the knowledge and rules necessary to a gentleman.

THE GERMIYAN *BEYLIK* AND CULTURE

The most powerful state in western Anatolia in the time of Yakub Bey I (1300–1340), the Germiyan *Beylik* and its capital Kütahya formed the most important center of culture along the frontiers. The Arabic source *Masâlik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (*Observations on the Character of the Lands of the Mamluks*),[105] describing the *beylik* in the 1320s, gives the following details:

> [The Bey of Germiyan] is the greatest of the Turkish kings. He rules over all of the Turks [the Turkish beys on the frontier]. Kütahya, the capital of the *beylik*, is a large city [...] It is said that there are a hundred cities and castles in the Germiyan lands. It has forty thousand soldiers [other reports say two hundred thousand cavalry and foot soldiers] [...] Their clothing is of red satin worked with silver thread [...] It receives from the master of Constantinople a yearly tribute of one hundred thousand gold [hyperpyrons, two of which equalled one Venetian ducat]. Under the Bey's command are pashas, qadis, scribes, an official retinue, slaves, treasurers, the stables and kitchens of the palace, and the royal adornments and regal garments and furniture.[106]

Germiyan had a close relationship with central Anatolia and the neighboring centers of high culture Konya, Kırşehir, and Aksaray. At this time, the Ottomans on the furthest frontier were seen as being well below Germiyan in terms of culture. Kadı Burhaneddîn, the Sultan of Sivas and representative of elite Islamo-Persian culture at its most elite, belittled the Ottoman sultan Murad I by calling him "a simple-minded Mongol" (*sâde-dil bir Moġol*).[107] Ahmedî, who was close to Murad I, describes him as a simple bey "pure in sincerity and in belief", "spend[ing] the whole of his life fighting for the faith out of love for God" and viewing himself as a miracle worker. Ghazi Murad, "the God-like" (*Hudâvendigâr*),[108] who first founded the Ottoman Empire by annexing all the local rulers of the southern Balkans and western Anatolia, captured Kütahya and the alum mines of Eğrigöz Gediz and then, in 783/1381, sent his 19-year-old son, the prince Bâyezid, to Kütahya as governor of a sanjak together with the experienced commander Kara Timurtaş Pasha. Bâyezid settled at the palace of the Germiyanoğlus, and it can be assumed that at that time some of the court poets entered the service of the new Ottoman bey.

The marriage ceremony of the prince Bâyezid and Devlet Hatun of Germiyan in 1381, in the time of Murad I, is a powerful reflection of how much care the Ottomans took to adopt the high culture of the palace that had blossomed in the Germiyan palace

at Kütahya. The magnificent ceremony, conducted at Bursa and Yenişehir, appears, judging from the chronicles of the time, to have been a highly important event:[109] the beys of Anatolia, the ambassador of the sultan of Egypt, and the governors of the country's sanjaks all attended the wedding, bearing valuable gifts. The *qadi* of Bursa, Koca Efendi—who was at the head of the Ottoman delegation that went to collect the bride—the *emîr-i `âlem*[110] Aksungur Agha, and the *çavuşbaşı*[111] all came to the palace at Kütahya, together with one thousand chosen spahis and several hundred ladies who were in the service of government officials. Banquets were laid in the palace, and gifts were given and received.

The Germiyan poets who were connected with the palace, particularly Ahmedî, now had need of wealthy and powerful new patrons, just as the Ottomans had need of these representatives of high culture. Bâyezid requested and received the bride from the man accompanying her, Paşacuk Agha, who was the head of the royal tasters and responsible for the banquets in the Kütahya palace. Paşacuk Agha was also the patron of the poet Şeyhoğlu Mustafa.

THE COURT POETS OF GERMIYAN

I. ŞEYHOĞLU MUSTAFA

The beys' inclination for the Seljuk-Persian centers' high culture of the refined (*zurefâ*) attracted a number of scholars and poets to the frontier regions, and the Turkmen beys became generous patrons. Among the Germiyan court poets of the palace, Şeyhoğlu Mustafa comes first and foremost.[112] His connection with the palace seems to have begun quite early: he is known to have entered into service at the palace, under the patronage of Paşa(cuk) Ağha, in the time of the Germiyan bey Mehmed (1340–1361). He became a courtier and confidant of the ruler during the reign of Süleymanşâh (1361–1387); the bey himself claims that Şeyhoğlu Mustafa is "his courtier".[113] Due to his skill in the official language of *inşa*, he served as the head of the correspondence office, as *nişancı*,[114] and later as the minister of finance.

Murad I took Paşacuk Agha, the arranger of palace banquets for the bey of Germiyan, into the Ottoman palace. It appears that, when Prince Bâyezid settled in Kütahya in 1381 as the governor of the sanjak, some of the court poets entered into Ottoman service.[115] Şeyhoğlu completed his love story *Hurşid ve Ferahşad* (Hurşid and Ferahşad) in the name of his lord and patron Süleymanşâh in 789/1387,[116] but presented the work to Prince Bâyezid in Kütahya upon the bey's death.[117] (Şeyhoğlu quoted not only from the Persian classics of `Aṭṭār, Sanā'ī, and Niẓāmī, but also from authors of

Turkish works of the Seljuk era, such as Hoca Dehhânî, Gülşehrî, and especially Hodja Mes`ud. In this way, he can be considered as one who continued the tradition of Seljuk literature in Turkish.) For his patron Süleymanşâh, Şeyhoğlu either wrote didactic-encyclopedic works dealing with palace life, protocol, and statecraft, or translated such works into Turkish from Persian. It is known, for instance, that there are translations of the *Qābūsnāmah* and *Marzubānnāmah* done in the name of Süleymanşâh.

Şeyhoğlu, like the other poets of Germiyan, was first under the patronage of the Ottomans, with Bâyezid I, and later, following the invasion of Timur, took on the patronage of Emîr Süleyman. He is known to have sketched out a plan for the writing of an *`Işknâme* (Book of Love) for Bâyezid, though the work is lost.[118] In 803/1401, during Bâyezid's reign, he completed a translation of Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's *Mirṣād al-`Ibād*, which he presented to his patron Paşacuk Agha.[119] Called *Kenzü'l-Küberâ* (The Treasury of the Great), it is a supplemented translation of Rāzī's work, which was written in Persian for Alâeddîn Keykûbâd I in the style of the *Siyāsatnāmah*. The work includes important details concerning the formation of the Seljuk state.[120] Şeyhoğlu's expressed wish was that readers "discover the value and pleasure that lie in the Turkish tongue" (*Türkî-dilde ol fâideyi ve safâyı bulalar*). In his *mesnevî Hurşid ve Ferahşad*, he describes the gathering (l.[121] 3366–3371, 7884–7893). The rivalry that existed under the bey of Germiyan between the influential Şeyhoğlu and Ahmedî, who seems to have arrived at Kütahya later, continued under Ottoman rule. Ahmedî was the palace courtier closest to the ruler during the time of Süleyman Çelebi (1402–1411). It is accepted that Şeyhoğlu died sometime around 807/1414.[122]

II. ŞEYHÎ

Known in the Ottoman palace since the time of Bâyezid I, the Germiyan poet Şeyhî—Sinânüddin Yusuf, to give his other name[123]—was, like Ahmedî, one of the courtiers under Süleyman Çelebi, also known as Emîr Süleyman. According to Sehî,[124] Emîr Süleyman, who took the Germiyan poets in among his companions, "seeing [in Şeyhî] a pleasant disposition and amiable speech, and perceiving his poetic nature, urged him to compose poetry", and would always hold "poetic gatherings" (*muṣa`ara*) with Ahmedî and Şeyhî, having them recite poems. The master Şeyhî, the "sheikh of poets" (*şeyhü'ş-şu`arâ*), went to Iran, where he encountered a number of great Sufis ("in the knowledge of the manifest and the nonmanifest he was possessed of the highest authority and in the science of unity and in Sufism of the greatest destiny").[125] He became an authority in medicine and gained a wide, encyclopedic knowledge of a number of fields. The *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn* (*Khusraw and Shīrīn*) that he wrote for his patron the sultan holds a

distinguished place among the *mesnevî*s of a didactic-encyclopedic nature. (Clarifying this, the biographer Latifî says "it may be ... a legend, yet from the standpoint of meaning it is a vehicle and a pretext for the display of the sciences and gnosis". In the *mesnevî* form, Şeyhî "is distinguished and superior", and in the ghazal form he represents "the foregone style" that was current among "the ancients" [*kudemâ*]).[126] After Bâyezid, Şeyhî became a courtier to Emîr Süleyman, Mehmed I, and Murad II. From 818/1415, when Mehmed I was called away for medical treatment, he spent "the larger part of his life as a courtier and companion, largely under Ya`kûb Bey but also to some extent under the Ottoman sultans".[127] His death occurred while he was serving as a courtier under Murad II (1421–1451). The claim[128] that Şeyhî was promoted to the post of official host (*mihmândâr*) in 1428, during a visit from Ya`kûb Bey to Murad I, is probably not true (cf. Sa`deddîn, I, 339–341, where the expression "royal gifts", *`atâyâ-i Şâhî*, was likely misinterpreted). As a result of the invasion of Timur in 1402, the Ottoman state entered a period of interregnum, and when the Germiyan Ya`kûb II returned to Kütahya to become bey, Şeyhî most likely went along with him: he is listed among the witnesses on the deed of a waqf established by Ya`kûb Bey II, and so it appears that he was in Germiyan between 1402 and 1415.[129] In one of his *kasîde*s, Şeyhî mentions the restoration of the "land of the Ottomans" by Mehmed I.[130] Akşemseddîn refers to him as "the Germiyan Turk".

Despite this, in terms of their development of a "divan" language as against more Persianesque examples, as well as in terms of the originality of their art, poets such as Şeyhî, Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, and Ahmedî—who all served as courtier-companions to both Germiyan and Ottoman rulers—certainly count among the founders of classical Ottoman literature. (Ever since F. Köprülü, Turkish literary historians have referred to Şeyhî as being the chief of the divan poets who arose in the 15th century. In fact, the poet who truly cleared the way for classical divan poetry after Şeyhî was Veliyüddinoğlu Ahmed Paşa. Subsequent to him, Necâtî, Melîhî, and Mesîhî count as the great representatives of the classical period.)

Apart from his treatise on medicine, his short *mesnevî* the *Neynâme* (The Book of the Ney), and a translation from `Aṭṭâr, the *Hâbnâme* (The Book of Sleep), Şeyhî's chief literary works are *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn*, his *Dîvân* of collected poems, and his satire, unparalleled in Turkish literature, the *Harnâme* (The Book of the Donkey). It is the general shared opinion of biographers and men of letters that his masterpiece is *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn*; as with all poets of the period, there is "a great amount of influence from and very many traces of Persian poets" in this work.[131]

According to one story,[132] the poet began to compile the 6,944-couplet *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn* for the Germiyans,[133] but later completed it at the command of Murad II, to whom he dedicated it. In the copy presented during the first reign of Murad, we find the couplet: "Should you ask who it is that is aided by God / I shall say, the son of Mehmed, Sultan Murad" (*Sorarsan kimdür ve Hak'dan müeyyed / Direm Sultan Murâd İbni Muhammed*).[134]

Just as the subject of the work is without doubt taken from Niẓāmī's *Khamsah*, so are several couplets literal translations therefrom. Nonetheless, in the view of Timurtaş, two-thirds of the work is Şeyhî's own: "Şeyhî was able to put the stamp of his own personality on the work".[135] According to Sehî, he "dressed [the translation] in Turkish attire, in a new and honorable robe. It is wholly just how, through his manner, he provided elegance and embellishment and, through his depictions, novelty and charm". "Of Persian dress he stripped that beloved / And quickly dressed her in Turkish mode" (*Acem tonından ol mahbûbu soydı / Hemân-dem Rûmi üslûbına koydı*).

As a whole, Şeyhî's *mesnevî Hüsrev ü Şîrîn* is a fine and successful example of the romantic/didactic style of *mesnevî* written in Turkish by court poets.

Like Niẓāmī's *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, Şeyhî's *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn* is a story of love, but at the same time a didactic and encylopedic work aiming to provide the patron with useful information in a variety of fields of knowledge. Like every court poet, Şeyhî too desired to present the sultan whose patronage he sought with a work both educational and pleasant to read. In presenting his work to Sultan Murad—who spent a great deal of time at gatherings, engaged "in private conversation" (*sohbet-i hassında*) with select poets—Şeyhî explains that he is "hungry, defenseless, estranged, sick and suffering and so withdrawn" (*bir köşede aç kimsesiz, garîb, hasta ve muztarib*), and that he awaits the favor of the sultan's patronage (l. 34). "O expert jeweller, it is time you sent / Some grace and bounty, for my jewels are spent" (*Getür vaktidür iy sarrâf-i mâhir / `İnâyet feyzi çün dökdi cevâhir*).

From the work's *kasîde* (l. 618–701) to Sultan Murad: "O exalted padishah, may you succeed / In the fight of Rustam and the cup of Jamshīd" (*Olsun sana müsellem iy pâdişâh-i a`zam / Hem rezm-i Rüstem hem câm-i meclis-i Cem*) (l. 699).

Şeyhî also included a book of counsel (*nasihatnâme*) in the work:

> Ki sultanlıkda bu dört iş güzîndür
> Sehâvet, pes şecâ`at `adl ü dîn'dür (l. 727)
>
> .....

> Buyurmış âkil ü sâhib-firâset
> Ki vâcibdür şehe şer` ü siyâset (l. 741)
>
> .....
>
> Ra`iyyet olsa mer`a şâh râ`î
> Kamu devlet devamına ola dâ`î (l. 752)
>
> For there are four things that best befit a sultan
> Bounty, then courage, and justice and religion[136]
>
> .....
>
> Charged to the king possessed of wisdom and insight
> Are the law of God and government, as is right
>
> .....
>
> Let the king shepherd the sheep in his field
> Let them pray for the state to never yield

Sharia law ("the law of God") and the sultan's political law ("government") are both necessary for the enactment of justice; the sultan, by ensuring the comfort of his subjects ("the sheep") and receiving their prayers, puts a guarantee on the continuance of his kingdom.[137] This idea would become the foundation stone of all Ottoman philosophy of the state.[138]

One of Şeyhî's stylistic innovations is the introduction of Turkish proverbs: "What do the rich know of all those in need? / Hunger is something the full cannot feel" (*Nite anlar ganî muhtâc hâlin / Ne bilsün tok olanlar āc hâlin*).[139]

The party scenes in *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn*, found in Section 55—"Description of Spring and the Preparation of a Convivial Gathering by Khusraw and Shīrīn" ("*Ṣifat-i Bahār va Majlis-i `ishrat sākhtan-i Khusraw bā-Shīrīn*")—are quite interesting. The description, which includes lively scenes and ghazals, is essentially a long *nevrûziyye*[140]*-sâkînâme* (l. 2863–3519). Spring, the garden, descriptions of flowers, trees, pools: "The water is flowing all round the lawn, / The royal pool, the spring, the fountain" (*Çemenler çevresi âb-i revâne / Bınâr u çeşme havz-i hüsrevâne*) (l. 2006).

With pavilions having been set up within the garden, the sultan arrived and greeted the lover; moon-faced ones (*mâhrûlar*) sat in golden and silver seats of honor, and in this paradise the drinking of wine was permissible. The cupbearer and assistants commenced their service:

Sular şurîde olup cûşa geldi
Çiçekler kopdı sankim hûşa geldi

.....

Konuldı kürsiler zerrîn ü sîmîn
Oturdu mâh-rûlar zühre-âyîn

.....

Çağırdı `akl virmen ömri bâda
Mübâh olur bilün cennette bâde

Gümüş bileklüler altun ayağı (kadehi)
Sürüp devr itdiler la`lîn tudağı

The waters frothed and churned up high
The flowers thrashed as though alive

.....

The gold and silver seats were placed
Beneath the new moon sat the moon-faced

.....

Reason calls, cast life not to the wind
But know that, in paradise, wine is no sin

The gold-stemmed cup those silvered wrists
Passed round and round to ruby lips

When the wine-drinking began, so did the music:

Mugannîler düzetdi sâz u âvâz
İdüp söz ü niyâz ile ser-âgâz
.....

Havâ-dâriydi Pervîz'ün kadîmî
Musâhib hem-demi vü hem-nedîmi

.....

V'eger ma`şûk ideydi vaslı dâ`im
Vücûdı `âşıkun kalmazdı kâ`im

.....

Kalurlar subha-dek bî-`akl u bî-cân

Minstrels instruments and voices tuned
With pleading words began their prelude

.....

Of old is his courtier an intimate friend
Khusraw's familiar and close companion

.....

And if the beloved let union persist
Lovers could not continue to exist

.....

Mindless and lifeless would they be till dawn

The tent was also set up beside the waters of the Aras, in Azerbaijan: "Love with wine and flute became a partner / With them the sultan made his head a blur" (*Mey ü ney `ışk ile olmışdı hem-dest / Şeh oturmuş ol üç hamr ile ser-mest*).

Khusraw enjoys the pleasure of the moonlight together with Shīrīn: "The royal party is on yet again / Venus the musician, the dancer the moon" (*Müheyyâ oldı gine meclis-i hâs / Olup Zühre muganni mâh rakkâs*).

III. AHMED-İ DÂ`Î

Ahmed-i Dâ`î was a Germiyan poet affiliated first with Bâyezid I and later with Emîr Süleyman. Dâ`î's *Çengnâme* (The Book of the Harp), which is representative of his particular poetic,[141] is one of the oldest works in Turkish to treat of the gathering in the style of the *sâkînâme*.[142] The work was written in the name of Süleyman Çelebi (1402–1411) and dedicated to him. In a 44-couplet *kasîde*, Dâ`î addresses his patron Süleyman as "His Majesty the Sultan" (*Es-Sultânu'l-a`zam*), seeing him as superior to his brothers, the Çelebis:

Bu `asr içinde bir devletlü Hândur
Yasağı muhkemü hükmi revândır

.....

Hakîkat kulları âzâdelerdir
Ana kulluk eden şehzâdelerdir

.....

Dükeli beğler etmişdür itâ`at
Anun kulluğudur Tanrı'ya tâ`at

A most favored Khan there is in this age
His law is firm and his orders obeyed

.....

Noble are the slaves of simple fact
To him the princes as slaves do act[143]

.....

All of the beys have submitted to him
Their submission is submission to Him

Subsequently, Dâ`î describes a battle from which Süleyman emerged victorious; this battle is likely the one fought against his brother Mûsa in the Balkans. Following this description, in the section entitled "The prayer for the continuance of the Great Ruler's governance" ("*Hudâvendigâr'un devâm-ı devleti du`âsın beyân ider*"), he speaks in support of the rule of his patron: "The world you are and the world's soul / The world has become the sultan's thrall"[144] (*Cihan sensin ve lîkin cân sensin / Kamu `âlem kulun sultân sensin*).

The *Çengnâme* was likely dedicated during a period of success for Süleyman:[145] "May your victorious soldiers triumph meet / And your enviers and enemies great defeat" (*Muzaffer leşkerin mansûr olsun / Hasûdun düşmanın makhûr olsun*).

There is no doubt that the *Çengnâme* is a *sâkînâme* that is typical, successful, and quite fine. As with all *sâkînâme*s, the work proper commences with a description of springtime: "The royal rider of Nawrūz has come / Now that the armies of spring have won" (*Bahârın leşkeri olduysa pîrûz / Erişdi şehsuvâr-ı şâh-i nevrûz*). It then moves on to a description of the garden:

Sular odsuz pınardan kaynar oldu
Balıklar su yüzünde oynar oldu

.....

Bulutlar gökyüzünde gerdi sâyvân
Sabâ ferrâş u sakkâ ebr-i nisân

Waters boil at their source with no fire
Towards the waves fish come ever higher

.....

Clouds canopy the sky, and Zephyr
For the April cloud's water sweeps all clear

Subsequently, there are varied descriptions of flowers: "Zephyr opened the veil of the budding rose / Dawn sprinkled rosewater on the face of the rose" (*Sabâ gül goncasın açmış nikabın / Seher gül yüzüne saçmış gülâbın*).

The gathering in the garden—with its variety of flowers including roses, violets, hyacinths, peonies, Judas flowers, narcissus, and irises—resembles paradise. Water flows from fountains on all sides, and the lightly blowing breeze adds to the pleasure:

Duru sular söğütler diplerinde
Durulmuş süciler bal küplerinde

.....

Cihan halkı dükeli hâs u `âmı
Edinmişler anı işret makâmı

O bağ içinde bir meclis kurulmuş
İrem bağına benzer taht urulmuş

Oturmuş bir nice nâzik yiğitler
Nedîm ü `âşîf ü çâbuk yigitler

At willows' roots clear waters shine
In honeypots sits settled wine

.....

All people of the world, and high and low
The station of pleasure now well do know

Within that garden a gathering began
On sofas, as in the garden of Iram[146]

There sat a great troop of good young men
Of friends and wise and agile young men

Those refined people who understand the notated books of music (*`ilm-i edvâr*) know all of the musical modes. The poet goes through the modes by name: *segâh*, *dûgâh*, *çargâh*, *nihâvend*, *hüseynî*, *isfahân*, *hicâz*, *nevrûz*, *rakîb*, *zâl*, *gazel*, *şehnâ*, *nuhüfte*: "The tones of *`irâq* bring up memories / And *isfahân*, it calls forth cries" (*Irak âhengini çün yâd eder ol / Sipahân içre çok feryâd eder ol*).

Each mode, with its particular qualities, creates a different effect upon the listener: a program of *rehâvî* stirs up enthusiasm in the audience, making them rise to their feet and dance:

Ne vaktin kim nevâht eyler rehâvî
Dinlerler terk iderler söz ü sâzı

.....

Anun vecdinde şevkile dururlar
Semâ` u raks iderler çarh ururlar

Each time *rehâvî* begins to play
Their words and the *saz* are put away

.....

All stop and listen, caught in a trance
Then form a circle, then start the dance

With music and wine together, one loses one's control and begins to plead with one's beloved:

Düz iy mutrib nevâ-yı erganûnı
Süz iy sâkî şarâb-ı erguvânı

.....

Yi iç hôş geç ki sultân devridür bu
Şehenşeh Mîr Sülmân devridür bu

Bu gün kim `ayş ile `işret demidür
Şarâb u şâhid ü sohbet-demidür

.....

Ki her bir `âşıka ma`şûkla hôş
Kenâr u bûse ve halvet demîdür

.....

Süci şerbetdür ol şîrîn ağızdan
Diken güldür yüzü gülzâr elinden

O minstrel, put the organ's notes in line
Cupbearer, filter pure the violet wine

.....

Eat, drink, be merry, for this is the time of the sultan
This is the time of the king of kings, Mîr Süleymân

Of joy and revelry, this is the hour
Of wine, beauties, and talk is this the hour

.....

For every lover is rapt with a beloved
Of hidden embrace and kiss is this is the hour

.....

Wine is sherbet when from that mouth so dear
And a thorn turns rose touched by rose cheeks fair[147]

Come morning, companion, musician, and cupbearer all lie down together, beneath the trees beside the water: "Deal with the morning inside the garden / In the shade of trees beside the water" (*Sabahın ihtiyâr it bağ içinde / Ağaçlar gölgesinde su kenârın*).

Speaking as himself, the courtier Dâ`î offers a clear description of the gathering:

Selâtîn sohbetinün hemdemi ben
Havâtîn perdesinün mahremi ben

I too breathe in sultans' conversation
I too am behind the ladies' curtain

The ascetics are in their cells and the Sufis[148] in their retreats:

Kamu ta`atların yîle virürler
Semâ`a raks ururlar şevk iderler

.....

Şarâb içmek şahid kocmak işimdür
Güzeller kande kim var yoldaşımdur

.....

Ururum taşa tövbe şîsesini
Korum bir yana zuhd endîşesini

They cast to the wind all pious acts
And rejoice and all together dance

.....

My job's to hug beauties and drink wine
Where beauties are there are friends of mine

.....

I break repentance's glass against a stone
Ascetics' worries? Those, I leave alone

Jokes and pleasantries are exchanged (*mutâyebât*)[149] with Süleymân Çelebi:

Gerçi huzûr-ı hizmete her dem erişmege
Muştâkdur muhabbet ile cümle tâyife

.....

Süciden özge hiçbir yakîmuz yok
Velîkin bir sakalsuz sâkîmuz yok

Yet to serve him in love in his presence
Is the desire of all this gathering of friends

.....

Wine alone can burn our wounds closed
On all our cupbearers a beard grows

The *Çengnâme* is, in truth, a fine *sâkînâme*. In Arabic and Persian literature, long before Dâ`î, *sāqīnāmah*s had taken root as a literary style, within a particular framework and with its particular poetic divisions, and virtually every known poet stuck to this framework and made use of the relevant motifs: descriptions of the gathering and the cupbearer (*sāqī*) in the *Shahnāmah*, in Niẓāmī, and in the *Falaknāmah* of Gülşehrî.

The sections or divisions that we see in Ahmed-i Dâ`î's *Çengnâme* are followed exactly in the 16th-century *İşretnâme* of Revânî. Through wine, the garden, spring, flowers, and musical instruments and modes, the poet depicts the party in all its fascinating details. In the *Çengnâme*, Dâ`î is faithful to the limitless ancient Persian tradition of taste and pleasure in [his treatment of] nature, poetry, and musical accompaniment. For he was a courtier of Süleyman Çelebi, a ruler who reckoned life itself as taste and pleasure.

IV. AHMEDÎ

Among the court poets of Germiyan, Ahmedî is undoubtedly the foremost in terms of the breadth and artistry of his works.[150] Mevlânâ Taceddîn İbrahîm b. Hızır (1334–1414), who chose the pen name "Ahmedî", travelled to Egypt in his youth, where he studied the classical Islamic sciences before coming to settle in Kütahya. He wrote the majority of his works as a courtier under the Germiyan beys Süleymanşâh (1361–1387) and Ya`kûb II (1387–1429), and under the Ottoman sultans Mehmed I and Murad II.

Upon his return from Egypt, Mevlânâ ("Master") Ahmedî became the teacher of Süleymanşâh, "Sultan of Germiyan" (*Sultânu'l-Germiyâniyye*). Because this Germiyan bey was so devoted to the art of poetry, Ahmedî gave himself over to this art "to an excessive extent" (*hadden ziyade*).[151] After Murad I had taken Kütahya and the northern part of Germiyan and installed his son, the prince Bâyezid, there in 1381, Süleymanşâh withdrew to Kula, in the western portion of the *beylik*, and remained there until his death in 1388. Ahmedî appears to have remained at his side until this date. In his *Gazavâtnâme* (see below), Ahmedî describes with eye-witness detail Murad I's 1386 Karaman campaign, and so the poet seems to have taken part in the campaign together with his master Süleymanşâh. Upon the death of Süleymanşâh in 1388, the now unemployed poet took to searching for a new benefactor. In the *İskendernâme*, he explains it this way:

Uc'dan uca araduk bu `âlemi
Bulamadık ehl-i kerem bir âdemi

Kim kerem-ehli kimi ölmüş durur
Kimi yokluktan nihân olmuş durur (l. 294–295)

We searched this world from end to end
Yet could not find a generous friend

Among the generous are some who have died
And some there are who, gone, still hide

When, in the spring of 1389, prince Bâyezid departed for the Balkans at the command of his father Murad I, eventually to take part in the Battle of Kosovo, he took Ahmedî with him. The details found in Ahmedî's *Gazavâtnâme* concerning the route taken by the army to Kosovo and the course of the battle itself are the strongest evidence of this. It thus seems likely that Ahmedî was already at Bâyezid's side in Kütahya before the battle. At the Battle of Ankara in 1402, the army of Bâyezid began to disperse when no hope remained following the defection to Timur's side of the Tatars and the spahis of Germiyan. It was then that "the pashas removed [Bâyezid's elder son] Emîr Süleyman from the fray". With the Grand Vizier Çandarlı Ali Paşa, the experienced Eynebeğ Subaşı of Karesi, and the Janissary Commander-in-chief Hasan Ağa at his side, Süleyman came to Bursa, taking control of the road to the Balkans.[152] According to Taşköprülüzâde, Ahmedî spent some time in the company of Timur, who so enjoyed his pleasantries that he presented him with valuable gifts. The poet's "humor lay in [his] perfection of wit" (*neş'esi kemâl-i zerâfet üzerine idi*).

Ahmedî went with Emîr Süleyman to Edirne and put his signature to a treaty with Byzantium.[153] In the section of his *İskendernâme* entitled "*Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân*" ("Annals of the Rulers of the House of Osman"), he consistently refers to Süleyman as "shah", "padishah", and "sultan": "Mîr Süleymân became shah in his place / Shone like the sun, what need for more witness" (*Mîr Sülmân oldı anın yirine şâh / Gün gibi rûşen ne hâcetdür güvâh*). The same section concludes with the line "The auspicious and martyred padishah and sultan Emîr Süleyman" (*Pâdişâhî-i Sultânü's-sa`îd'ş-şehîd Emîr Süleyman*), with the word "martyred" (*şehîd*) likely added later, upon the death of Süleyman in 1411. It is noteworthy that, in his lines written in praise of Süleyman subsequent to the time of Bâyezid I, Ahmedî explicitly refers to Süleyman as "padishah" and "sultan". Such expressions leave no doubt that he came out on the side of Süleyman.

Importantly, in the *İskendernâme*,[154] Ahmedî vows to write a book on the history of Süleyman, should he live long enough to do so:

Ömrden girü virilürse amân
Tangrının fazlıyile bir kaç zaman

Bir kitâba dahi bünyâd idevüz
Mîr Süleyman nitdi anda eydevüz (l. 7849–7850)

Should God with great generosity
A bit of time in this life decree

Another book there is we shall make
Of Mîr Süleyman's deeds we shall speak

This is said while Süleyman is still alive and well. The *İskendernâme* was dedicated to him, but when he, Ahmedî's patron, died in 1411, the promised book would be written as the *Gazavâtnâme*, covering the years 1385–1389 (see below).

Süleyman, who established contact with Timur by dispatching an envoy from Edirne, took control in the Balkans: according to Yazdī, Timur's historian, in an edict dated 6 January Timur recognized Süleyman as an emir of the Balkans ("the far shore" (*asra-yaka*)) bound to himself. Prior to his departure from Anatolia, Timur dismembered the empire that Murad I had established, binding each of the beys and nobles to himself by means of such edicts. At first, Mehmed Çelebi too recognized the authority of Timur. He sent a man to his elder brother Süleyman to recognize him as the "sultan", the one in possession of the throne of their father Bâyezid. In the meantime, Mehmed took Bursa, the capital of the state ("the sovereign abode" (*dâru's-saltana*)), from his brother İsa and relocated there. Süleyman became apprehensive at Mehmed's gaining of sovereignty in Anatolia and his relocating from Amasya.[155] A coin of Mehmed's, minted in Bursa in AH 806 (ad 21 July 1403–10 July 1404) and bearing Timur's name, has survived to the present day (Muhammed b. Bâyezid Khan, Demür Khan Gürkân, 806). In 1404, Süleyman moved into Anatolia, and Mehmed was forced to withdraw to the *beylik* of Amasya-Tokat.

It appears that Süleyman was present in Anatolia until the year 1406; Ahmedî was there with him. During that time, the beylik of Karaman—which also paid allegiance to Timur—moved against Ankara, laying siege to Sivrihisar; when the siege failed, a wooden tower was built and came under blockade. Süleyman, meanwhile, was busy with the joys and pleasures of the gathering: according to Ahmedî's *Menâkibnâme*,[156] Süleyman spent the years 1403–1406 engaged in conversation and drinking within the "Great Hammam".[157] With him were such prominent dignitaries of the time as Evrenos and Ali Pasha. There is no doubt that the poet Ahmedî served as a companion to Süleyman in this life of ease. In the *Düstûrnâme-i Enverî* (The Most Luminous Book of

Laws, 42; published by N. Öztürk), Ahmedî's service as a courtier of Süleyman is described as follows:

Mîr Süleymân dün ü gün sohbet eder
Ahmedîyle dem-be-dem `işret eder

Ahmedî dervişdi bay eyledi şâh
Oldı muhtaç ana cümle ehl-i câh

Mîr Süleymân converses night and day
With Ahmedî he drinks some time away

The shah made a bey of dervish Ahmedî
The dignitaries now of him have need

The relationship between Ahmedî, a companion of influence, and Vizier Çandarlı Ali Pasha was not a good one. In the "*Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân*", Ahmedî belittles Çandarlı Halil as a man of "little knowledge" (*ilmi azdı*):

Cûd u ihsân eyledi ol lâ-nazîr
Selanik'i elden çıkardı ol emîr

Anı İstanbûl Tekvûru alur
Hileyile böyle iş ana kalur[158]

That matchless prince generosity showed
By that great ruler's hand Selânik was sold

Now he's in Istanbul's ruler's hand
Free to work deceit at his command

The ceding of Thessalonica to the Byzantines in a pact of 1403 was considered unforgivable among the Ottomans. In 1406, Mehmed Çelebi and the bey of Karaman sent Süleyman's brother Musâ Çelebi to the Balkans to oppose him. Traveling from Kastamonu, Musâ joined Mirčea, the voivode of Wallachia, and, with the help of the beys of the Balkan frontier,[159] "captured the whole of the Balkans". When the news reached Süleyman, he, "being very grieved", decided to go to the Balkans. He most probably reached Edirne in 1406, accompanied by his court poets.

It was at this point that Çandarlı Ali Pasha, Süleyman's right-hand man in state affairs, passed away in Ankara, on 20 December 1406. In the *Menâkibnâme*, Ahmedî explains the decision to go to the Balkans: "Upon consultation with the other viziers, it

was seen that the proper course of action was to depart without delay ... [and] they departed from that place and came to Istanbul in all haste. Pledging certain lands to the Christian ruler of Istanbul,[160] they passed through that place.[161] Emîr Süleyman came to Edirne, sat upon the throne, and, busying himself night and day with entertainment and drink, attended to pleasure and conversation."[162] "Sultan" Süleyman's faithful companion at these gatherings was without doubt Ahmedî: "Ahmedî did great service for him / Gave up his life and the world for him" (*Ahmedî hem hizmetine irdi anun / Yoluna cân u cihânı virdi anun*).

The *İskendernâme* was completed at this time, with the addition of a history of the House of Osman, and presented to Süleyman. Those couplets in the work which refer to Süleyman's victory are doubtlessly related to his first victory over Musâ, which occurred on their first encounter in June or July of 1410. "Fleeing the Balkans, the beys submitted themselves to Emîr Süleyman" (*Beğler, Rûm-ili'nden kaçup Emîr Süleyman'a gelüp ita`at ettiler*).

Ahmedî describes Süleyman's state of mind at this time in the following lines:

Gerçi leşker ü var u genc u destres
Likin itmez mülk almaga heves

Himmeti katında anun mülk-i zemîn
Bir üvezün kanadıncadur hemîn

Mülk isdese olmadın arada harb
Feth olayıdı ana şark u garb

Ol mürüvvetlüdürür ehl-i `atâ
Ol fütüvvet işsidür ni`me'l-fetâ

Kibrden olup durur nefsi berî
Hem yavuz ahlâkdandur ol arı

.....

Bî-kerân nesneyi kimden kim bile
Ya anun şerhin tamâm idibile

With soldiers, wealth, and means he was blessed
Yet he did not desire conquest

His view was that the earth's material things
Were worth far less than a mosquito's wings

Were it land he wanted, both east and west
Would be in his power without contest

He is one who knows the generous art
A chivalrous one and great of heart

His soul is free of proud conceit
Tough is his moral stuff indeed

.....

Who but who can know what has no bounds?
And who can hope to fully him expound?

Dreaming of the continuation of his carefree life of pleasure with his patron Süleyman Çelebi, Ahmedî says: "May autumn never reach the garden of his days / May no one ever come to take his place" (*Ömr bağına erişmesün hazân / Yirine kimse getürmesin cihân*).

But this life of pleasure in Edirne would not last long. Mehmed found support in Ankara and Bursa. Moving out of Amasya, he came to Ankara, opened the gates of Bursa, and the western Anatolian lands of Karesi, Aydın, Saruhan, Menteşe, Teke, and Germiyan all recognized him as sultan. In the Balkans, the young and energetic Ottoman prince Musâ was making frequent raids, and finally achieved victory with one final raid undertaken by Mihaloğlu, the "wolf" of the frontier forces. In February 1411, he took possession of Edirne.

Ahmedî was an eyewitness to these events. At the time of the raid, Süleyman "was in the hammam, engaged in conversation and drinking wine"; he was alerted to what was occurring. Ahmedî, in the *Menâkibnâme*, gives a lively account of the close of this drama: "[Süleyman] nevertheless busied himself with conversation"; when Hajji Evrenos, the aged frontier bey and supporter of Süleyman, came to inform him that Musâ and his army were at the very gates, he drove him away with the reply: "Oh Hajji Lala![163] don't tear me away from my conversation".[164] When Hasan Agha—the Janissary Commander-in-chief since the time of Murad I and one of the makers of the 1387 treaty with Venice—came to warn Süleyman, he too was sent away contemptuously. At this, Hasan switched allegiance, going over to Musâ's side together with all of the palace guards. Musâ then advanced directly towards the hammam. It was only then that Süleyman, "throwing his glass to the ground and saying, 'Alas! all for desire have I thrown my honor and my name to the winds'", fled to the palace. Ahmedî vividly describes his state of disarray at the palace: "Once inside, with sighs and laments

Süleyman said, 'O woe! on what hard times have I fallen, and into what black corruption!'" and awaited the night. When night came, he began his flight to Istanbul together with a Turkmen guide, hoping to take refuge behind his friend, the Byzantine emperor. The Turkmen guide took him to his own people in Düğüncü, and there the Turkmens surrounded Süleyman, killed his men, and bound him. At this point, Musâ Çelebi arrived and sent forth a man known as Koyun-Musâsı: "Koyun-Musâsı came and through strangulation made a martyr of him". Following this tragic end, Ahmedî describes his master in this way: "The deceased was of beautiful countenance and enviable character, unparalleled in generosity and unequalled in bravery, free of pride and of jealousy, and looked upon well by all". Moreover, "Master Ahmed [speaking of himself], hearing tell in his time that he was possessed of divers kindnesses and great benevolence, in his name composed and committed to paper the *İskendernâme*".[165]

Musâ took control in the Balkans. In the *Menâkibnâme*, Ahmedî is opposed to Musâ, who was exceedingly harsh to those who had supported Süleyman. He threatened the emperor and, so as to demand protection money, sent Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha to Constantinople as ambassador.[166] Çandarlı İbrahim contacted Mehmed Çelebi in Bursa, informed him that the beys were in opposition to Musâ, and on Mehmed's invitation went to Bursa and became his vizier. It appears that Ahmedî, too, fled to Mehmed's side at this time. Certain interesting details given in the *Menâkibnâme* indicate that it was a "revolutionary" administration that came to the Balkans in the time of Musâ (1411–1413). Abandoning the policy of Süleyman, who had granted lands to Christian states and made concessions, and in place of an administration that had closed the doors on the participation of the young generation of Anatolia in the feudalistic system of the *timar*, the garrisons, and the navy; spent so much time on palace parties and entertainment; and, in a word, turned its back on the ghazi policy that had made the Ottomans great, Musâ reinstated an administration in line with the tradition of the frontier, appointing Ghazi Mihaloğlu, the leader of the beys of the frontier, to the office of *beylerbeyi* (governor-general) and the scholar of Islamic jurisprudence and revolutionary religious leader Sheikh Bedreddîn to the office of *kadıasker* (chief judge). Both were figures representative of the life and needs of the frontiers. In the anonymous *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osmân*[167] (The Annals of the House of Osman), which reflects the feelings of the common people, we read of the general reaction to the era of Süleyman:

> [A]nd [Bâyezid] came, and stopped in Edirne, and Vulk-oğlu gave his daughter to Yıldırım Khan [...] Before Vulk-oğlu's daughter came, Yıldırım Khan had not known the pleasures of conversation and drink. He neither drank nor engaged in conversation over wine [...] and never would they shame the ulama and go against their rulings,

> whatever they might be [...] [but] the moment that the Persians and Karamanids entered the court of the Ottoman beys, the Ottoman beys gave themselves over to all manner of sin.[168]

Süleyman had left affairs of state in the hands of Çandarlı Ali Pasha:

> As soon as Ali Pasha, son of Kara Halil, became vizier, debauchery and immorality increased; well-loved boys he gathered to himself; to this he gave the name "page" [*içoğlam*]. Many a time he did what was necessary in order to appoint [pages] to a high official post... The House of Osman was a people ruined, they [the Danishmends] came and started all manner of scheming... Ali Pasha was a prodigal man, and most of the people became bound by him [and his ways].

Ali Pasha had received a madrasa education; he was a statesman who, with the help of Azerbaijani Persian bureaucrats, made reforms to state administration and palace life by putting into practice classical Islamic institutions, the customs (*edeb*) of palace life, bureaucratic procedures, the *gulâm* system of educating young boys at the palace, and the management of state finances. The new administration that he instituted ran counter to that of those who were connected to the ghazi traditions of the frontier (Ali Pasha served as vizier from the time of the death of his father, Çandarlı Hayreddîn, in 1387). We know from a letter of the emperor Manuel II Palaeologus that, in the time of Bâyezid, the Ottoman palace was very much changed. Manuel speaks of his drinking parties and of the fact that he himself drinks alcohol.[169] At the time of Bâyezid's decision to construct the Great Mosque (*Ulu Cami*) in Bursa, "he renounced the drinking of wine and, after conversing with the illustrious ulama and the honorable sheikhs, became a virtuous person following the straight path [of the law of God]". Arab travelers put excessive emphasis on the Anatolian Turks' fondness for alcohol. According to al-`Umarī's narrator, who travels through Anatolia, the inhabitants of this land have an excessive devotion to alcohol, and think of nothing but drink and sex, and "thanks to their emirs, have not a single complaint apart from the cruelty of the cupbearer and the pain of love". When the Mamluk sultan Baybars came to Kayseri with his army in 1277, as al-`Umarī relates, he had the owners of places of amusement brought into his presence and commanded that their establishments be closed. In like manner, al-`Umarī's narrators say of Byzantine soldiers that they "have heard of their dressing up in silk finery and their excessive devotion to drink; they have no sorrows other than the sorrows of wine and cannot be counted as true soldiers". Moreover, "singers and providers of amusement are not lacking at the table of the emperor". Seljuk accounts indicate that Gıyaseddîn Keyhüsrev II discovered the pleasures of drink in Byzantium. In the time of Sultan Mehmed II, the Janissary Mihail Konstantinovic was an eyewitness to the fondness for drink prevalent among the Turks, and writes:

"Those connected with the palace, those who are servants, and some of the beys are in the habit of drinking wine, but as a general rule none drink wine when going to battle".[170] The oldest account is that recorded by Yahşi Fakih in the 1400s, stating that Osman I, together with the Christian ruler of İnönü, busied himself "with hunting and drinking".

COURTIERS AND THE GATHERING IN THE *İSKENDERNÂME*

The *İskendernâme* is both the history of Alexander and a history of the world. Among other things, it briefly relates the history of the rulers who reigned in Persia through the birth, miracles, and victories of the Prophet in the time of Nūshīrvān the Just (l. 5990–6016); the first four caliphs, the Umayyads, and the Abbasids (l. 6016–7140); the Mongols in Persia (61b–63b); and the Jalayirids (64a–65a). It comes to an end with Sultan Ahmed Bahadır (1382–1410). The section named "*Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân*" ("Annals of the Rulers of the House of Osman") was added to the work later, while Ahmedî was a courtier of Süleyman Çelebi; in most manuscripts, this section bears the heading "*Pâdişâhî-i Sultanu's-sa`îdi'ş-şehîd Emîr Süleyman*" ("The Auspicious and Martyred Padishah and Sultan Emîr Süleyman"). Owing to the didactic-encyclopedic character of the mesnevî, astronomical and astrological information is included (39a–b). From early Mesopotamian civilization on, the astrologer had occupied a position of great importance in the palaces of the East. It was believed that there was a definite relationship between the stars and people and events on the face of the earth. Alexander himself was born under a star of "conquest and victory": "A learned astrologer was brought to gaze / With astrolabe and read his fated days" (*Bir müneccim getirib her bâbile / Tali`in gördürdü usturlâbile*) (l. 488). In any important business that he will undertake, such as a military expedition, the ruler first learns from an astrologer of the most auspicious times for the endeavor.

The *sâkînâme*-style sections of the *İskendernâme* are given in the form of celebrations for occasions such as births, returns from battle, and hunts. There is a description, in lines 467–505, of the celebration that was prepared upon the birth of Alexander:

> Söz ile düzmişdi bülbül sâzını
> Râst itmişdi nüvâda âvâzını (l. 472)
>
> .....
>
> Nergis almışdı ele zerrîn kadeh
> La`l-gûn itmişdi gül yüzün ferah

Mutrib olmışdı nevâda perde-sâz
Sâki itmişdi çemende bezme sâz

Gâh mutrib düzeridi sâzı `ûd
Gâh bülbül sözile ederdi surûd (l. 480–482)

The nightingale tuned the music in its throat
And made its melody accord to *nevâ*'s note

.....

The narcissus took the golden cup in hand
Gladness turned the rose's face deep ruby red

The minstrel played his notes in *nevâ* fine
The cupbearer made his music pouring wine

At times the minstrel played his *sâz* and oud
At times the nightingale his song renewed

The gathering of Jamshīd (*Cem meclisi*)[171] is held at night:

Nice kevkeb ki ana gün hayrân olur
Nuru ile yeryüzü tabân olur (l. 490)

The sun adores many a star of the night
That in their brilliance can make the earth bright

There is no doubt that the details provided on the gatherings of Alexander give us an idea about the goings-on of the traditional party in the time of Niẓāmī and Ahmedî. The ruler emerges from "his private quarters" (the women's apartments) into the garden. In the first section, he begins by drinking wine from the hand of the beautiful cupbearer. At that point, ghazals are read to the accompaniment of the harp playing in the *işfahān* and *`irāq* modes; the pain of separation descends on the hearts of the audience of "lovers" (*âşıklar*); the drinking place turns to the house of Venus; then the player of the *ney* begins to play in "every key", "complain[ing] of separation" and dispelling anxiety from the heart. Here Ahmedî mentions his old age (l. 2809). The ruler continues to drink to the tune of the *ney*, and, pleasurably drunk, begins to give gifts: he distributes silken robes of honor and jewels, and then calls in his scribe to write down the demands and meet the wishes of those at the gathering.

So as to fulfill his duty as a courtier, Ahmedî repeatedly outlines for the ruler the conditions necessary for remaining on the throne, and advises the people not to stray from what is just. The description of the instruments played and musical modes used in the gathering are among the main common elements of *sâkînâme*s (cf. Ahmed-i Dâ`î). In the *İskendernâme*, Ahmedî does this through the [description of the] hunting party of the Indian king.

Ahmedî explains the duty of the courtier as such (l. 570–574):

Ahmedî'nün key sözin işidesin
Kendüzüne devleti iş idesin

Kim sözü anun kamu candan gelür
Her nekim iderse `irfândan gelür

Hatırı anun melâi`k câmıdur
Her ne söz dise hak ilhâmıdur

Ger anun söziyle idesin `amel
Her giz işinde bulunmaya halel

Let the sovereign hear the words of Ahmedî
To state and to himself make them agree

From his heart his words do come
All he does springs from wisdom

His mind is the mirror that angels hold
And his every word from truth unfolds

If the words that he says are put into effect
In nothing that is done will there be defect

Ahmedî also frequently addresses himself in the *İskendernâme* (l. 4439–4453):

Ahmedî'yi iy kerîm-i lâyezâl
Dünyenin hırsına itme pâyimâl

.....

Hâtırından `ışkını dûr itmegil
Gönlünü dünyâya mağrûr itmegil

.....

Kime ümmîdi olduyise mülk(ü) mâl
Sensin ümmîdi anun yâ Zu'l-celâl

O Eternal Gracious One, let not Ahmedî
Be crushed underfoot by this world's greed

.....

Keep your love not at great remove
Let your heart not disdainful prove

.....

Whosoever's hope lies in the things of creation
O Lord of Majesty, you are his hope's station

Ahmedî moves on to discuss the Sufi idea of the unity of being, or *waḥdat al-wujūd* (l. 4477–4479):

Cümle âlem andan almuşdur vücûd
Kamusına ol kılubdur feyzi cûd

Tâ ki kişi varlığını vermeye
Bir nefes mahbûbına ol ermeye

From Him all the world has taken being
In it is His bounty always effusing

If man does not his low self shed
He cannot reach the Beloved

Subsequently, Ahmedî gives advice to the ruler concerning the importance of administering justice (l. 2828–2852): "Should you say 'Let me rule and rule ever' / O seek and strive to always endeavor" (*Ger olayım der isen peyveste şâh / Cehd it kim olmaya ardınca âh*).

Before going into the mountains on a tiger hunt, Alexander once again holds a party (l. 2855–2917). The story begins with these lines, reminiscent of Khayyām:[172]

Her ne zerre kim tozıdur yerde bâd
Yâ Ferîdûn dür sorarsan yâ Kubâd

Düzdi bir meclis şehinşâh-i cihân
Kim virürdi bâg-ı cennetten nişân

Each mite of dust that by this wind is strewn
Is from the tomb of Qubād or of Farīdūn

The world's shah of shahs a gathering prepared
And its fame with heaven's garden compared

Only men are present at the gathering. In the section called "*Dar ta`rīẓ bar baẓi aẓ shu`arā*" ("On the imputations of some of the poets"), Ahmedî, reflecting the thought of his era, has little good to say about women:

Ol ki nâkis `akl u nâkis dîn ola
Adını kâmil getüre mi dilâ

.....

`Avretün herkim sözini söyliye
Kendinin naksını zâhir eyliye

.....

Çünki âdem bakdı `avretten yana
Huld bağı hâr-râh oldu ana

One whose mind is flawed and of flawed belief
O, can such a one a perfect name achieve?

.....

About his wife whatever he might say
Will bring his faults out to the light of day

.....

When Adam looked toward the woman at his side
To a thorned road was turned eternal paradise

AHMEDÎ'S TWO UNKNOWN PROSE HISTORICAL TEXTS: THE *GAZAVÂTNÂME* (1385–1389) AND THE *AHVÂL* (*MENÂKIBNÂME*)-*I SULTAN MEHEMMED* (1402–1413)

Neşrî's history is an anthology: taking texts chiefly from the histories of Âşık Paşazâde (hereafter *Aṣpẓ*) and Ruhî (or one of its sources), but also making use of the *Takvîm-i*

Hümâyûn (The Royal Almanac), he transferred them verbatim into his own work and arranged them in chronological order himself.[173] Additionally, Neşrî interspersed his history with the verse "*Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân*" that Ahmedî had added to the *İskendernâme*. It is understood as well that interpolated into Neşrî's history were two important prose works covering the events of 1385 to 1389, from the conquest of Niš to the death of Murad I at Kosovo, and the biography of Sultan Mehmed I Çelebi from 1402 to 1413.[174]

These latter two works are entirely different from Neşrî's other texts in terms of style and content, and the details which they contain give the impression of being related by an eyewitness to the events in question. It was P. Wittek and V. Ménage who first noticed these peculiarities,[175] but they were unable to establish the provenance of the texts.[176] The texts were translated into a difficult literary Persian by Idrîs Bidlîsî (*Hasht Bihisht* (Eight Paradises), 3rd *katîbah*), using Neşrî as the primary source. Later, and using the difficult style of *inşâ*, Hoca Sa`deddîn translated Idrîs back into Turkish (*Tacu't-Tevârîh* (Crown of Histories), I, Istanbul AH 1279), even using many of Idrîs' conceits (*maẓmûn*) with no alteration. However, we can see that, in many instances, Sa`deddîn condensed what Idrîs had written. It is for this reason that Western writers, following Sa`deddîn's history through Vicenzo Bratutti's Italian translation, missed out Neşrî's original text and/or that of Idrîs.

The *Gaẓavatnâme* concerns events from between the years 1385 and 1389. In the copy passed on by Neşrî, events occurring from the "*Hikâyet-i Feth-i Niş*" ("The Tale of the Conquest of Niš") to "*Sîret ve Âsâr-ı Murad Han Gâzî*" ("The Life and Works of Ghazi Murad Khan") are related in detail (Neşrî, I, 210–307). Neşrî took this chronicle of Ahmedî's into his own history without alteration. For subsequent events, Neşrî borrowed from *Aṣpẓ*. (Chapters 58–68; Atsız edition, pp. 134–147). However, in taking from these texts, Neşrî also added verse portions from Ahmedî's "*Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân*". Concerning Süleyman:

Çün bu şâh ıdı âferînişden murâd
Kamudan sonra geliben buldı ad

Ben dahı anun adını idüp hitâm
Eyledüm bu nazmı vasfiyle tamâm

Ahmedî hem hidmetine irdi anun
Yoluna cân u cihânı virdi anun

İrdi bu ikbâl ü `izze lâ-cerem
Ziy hudâvendi vü sultan-i kerem

Nesneye nakdin veren ebleh (Silay: eyle) olur
Fikrsüz iş işleyen gümrâh olur

Nice kim âlemde sâyevâr u nûr
Devletine irmesün anun fütûr

To rule was from birth his only aim
And in the end he built his great name

And I in his name have made complete
This eulogy with his traits replete

Ahmedî did great service for him
Gave up his life and the world for him

Little wonder he attained position and power
Under the beneficent sultan, the supreme ruler

Who pays money for baubles is dumb as a horse
Who does work without thinking has gone off course

As long as there is sun and royal shade
May nothing of sorrow come to his state

In Western historiography, it was Professor Stephen Reinert[177] who last attempted an appraisal of these texts of Neşrî. His idea is as follows:

> Historians to date have not fully established the causes, course, and results of the first battle of Kosovo Polje, and perhaps they never will. The central difficulty, of course, is the character of our sources. If any eye-witness accounts of the battle were written, none has survived. Otherwise, contemporary reports and notices are few, fragmentary and either laconic or dubious. Coherent, detailed narratives emerge from the 1430s through the end of the fifteenth century, most importantly in Serbian, Greek and Turkish. These accounts, however, are contradictory, and their sources and credibility are difficult to determine. Reconstructing the battle is thus an excercise [sic] in deciphering highly variable perceptions; the result is at best a shadowy outline.

He adds, saying that some historians, due to their general distrust of Ottoman sources, "revert[ed] to the less plausible Serbian annal entries". Yet he also continues to say that, in the "outline of the sequence from Pločnik [Niš] through Kosovo [...] [the historian] İ.H. Uzunçarşılı [...] tends to follow Nešrī rather uncritically", though also saying that, following Neşrî, Uzunçarşılı "[provides] considerably more information on the Ottoman side". Reinert, while very rightly mentioning all these points, of course

had no idea that the phrases had been written by a contemporary, namely, Ahmedî. In Reinert's view, the information provided by the source, particularly on Çandarlı Ali Pasha's conquests in Bulgaria, was astonishingly detailed and accurate. The more than thirty fortresses mentioned there have been identified by Bulgarian historians and, most recently, by Machiel Kiel.[178] The possibility that such a detailed account was told by someone present on the campaign, such as Ahmedî, or by someone who had learned of it from Ali Pasha, did not come to mind. Reinert considers the possibility of its being an eyewitness account purely "conjectural", and finds some of the details recounted in the text to be "laconic or dubious". According to Reinert, Lazar's vassalage to Murad, the secret agreement between Đurađ and Lazar, Murad's decision to campaign following the Bosnian rout of Kavala (Kefalya) Şahin, and Ali Pasha's Bulgarian campaign of 1388 are all fabrication. The historical truth of these events which Reinert considers "dubious" came to light once an analytical approach had been taken.[179] We now know that these events were recounted, unadulterated, by Ahmedî, an eyewitness who had been at the sultan's side.

Dr. M. Kiel, who has published an important study on the identification of the fortresses captured by Ali Pasha during the Bulgarian campaign, makes the following observation on this text: "In Neşrî's late 15th century compilation is included a detailed and well informed account of the events just before the Battle of Kosovo (1389). *This account, which is now lost, must have been written by an eye-witness*, or at least have been told to the writer by an eye-witness, perhaps at the beginning of the 15th century".[180] By drawing attention to the point that the narrative comes from "an eye-witness", Kiel shows that he has understood its authentic character better than Reinert. Ahmedî is the eyewitness in question, and Neşrî's interpolated text comes directly from the pen of Ahmedî. Stylistic and other evidence in the work bears this out. Here, we would only like to draw attention to the detailed information concerning the discussions held at the meetings prior to the battle, and the cities, towns, and mountain passes gone through by the army on its route from Gelibolu to the plain of Kosovo. The topographical veracity of this information (Ilidža–Uluova–Karatonlu–Kiçi Morova) has been checked against the map. The presence in the texts of Serbian words such as *vitozluk*, *kosbadar*, and *zabga* is also worth noting.

Analysis of the text has shown[181] that Ahmedî explains even adverse events—e.g., the Serbian rout of the Ottoman right wing on the battlefield at Kosovo, the sultan's mistaken notions in the field of military tactics, etc.—with all the meticulousness of a true historian. It has long been known that Ahmedî gave a summarized account[182] of the history of the Ottoman dynasty, from its beginnings to

the time of Süleyman Çelebi, in the "*Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i Osmân*" section of his *İskendernâme*, a work which itself has the character of a general history.[183] The history of the times of Murad I and Süleyman were written by Ahmedî, with earlier periods condensed from the history of Yahşi Fakih[184] and from a lost history used in the *Düstûrnâme*. In the *İskendernâme*, just as various rulers receive brief mention, so is the history of the Ottomans given as a verse summary.

From the time that he first came over to Mehmed I Çelebi until 1413, Ahmedî wrote against Çelebi's rivals directly in the style of a *menakıbnâme*, describing his "conquests", or heroic exploits, as taken from his own mouth during "conversation".[185] This "*Menâkibnâme*", the *Ahvâl-i Sultan Mehemmed*, ends with the death and burial of Mûsa in 1413. According to the *Hadâ`iku'ş-Şakâ`ik*, Ahmedî passed away in Amasya in AH 815 (13 April 1412–4 March 1413). It is thus understood that Ahmedî's death occurred in 1413.

COURT POETS AND THE TURKISH LANGUAGE

Mes`ud's Turkish *Süheyl ü Nevbahâr* (5669 couplets, written in 751/1350)[186] and Fahrî's translation of *Khusraw u Shîrîn* (written in 768/1367 for Aydınoğlu Mehmed, 4674 couplets), a sample of which was published by B. Flemming, are Turkish *mesnevî*s of love and adventure, in the manner of Niẓāmī, which emerged prior to the rise of the Germiyan poets. In them is depicted the classic gathering with all of its elements (*Süheyl ü Nevbahâr*: 27, 30, 58–59, 140, 350). Fahrî says to the Turkmen Aydınoğlu, regarding his native tongue: "We have composed in this dulcet Turkish" (*Şeker gibi bu Türkî dilce düzdük*; l. 230), and adds:

Zihî terk-i edeb bu tercümanlık
.....

Çü sultan emridür ben bende me`mûr
Meseldir dilde ki al-ma`mûr ma`zûr

What a breach of manners translating is!
.....

The order is the sultan's and I the servant used
It's said that, in language, what is fine is excused

The preference for Persian words and phrases began in the classical period; one of the "men of refinement of Anatolia" (*Rûm zurefâsı*) said that, had Fuzûlî used the [Persian] word *afzûn* rather than [the Azerbaijani word] *artuq* in a certain poem, it would

have been better. The Ottoman palace and bureaucracy typically took in Azerbaijani men of letters and poets—countrymen of Niẓāmī—who knew Turkish and Persian well. Among the creators of the language of Ottoman *inşa*—the official governmental language—it was the master of Persian *inshā* Idrīs Bidlīsī and (Sehî) Cezerî Kasım of Shiraz who were of primary importance. It is known that Mehmed the Conqueror invited Jāmī to Istanbul and sent him 5000 in gold.

In the view of A. Atilla Şentürk,[187] the Turkish *mesnevî*s preferred in the Turkmen *beylik*s and in palace circles "are more accurately characterized as translation than as poetry"; they can, however, "be considered important for bringing the style of Niẓāmī to Turkish readers of the time ... . These first [Turkish] *mesnevî*s developed through imitation and translation of Persian literature, and their phraseology, patterns, similes, and metaphors—as well as their stylistic peculiarities—are almost exactly the same as those found in the *masnavî*s of Persian literature".[188] Imitation (mimesis) is a phenomenon that applies in some degree to all world literatures.[189] Without some knowledge of the literature of the Italian Renaissance, it is impossible to understand Shakespeare.[190] By discovering and using Turkish equivalents of the conceits (*maẓmūn*) found in Niẓāmī, and by fitting Turkish into the prosodic system of *aruẓ*, the Germiyan poets truly laid the foundation for classical Turkish literature.

The early Germiyan court poets of the years 1350–1450 were referred to by the term *kudemâ*[191] ("the ancients") and considered representatives of the older era in the history of classical poetry in the Turkish language. As a result of the 13th-century and 14th-century divan court poets' frequent use of plain Turkish words and idioms in their verse, and also of their ability in adapting to the prosody of the *aruẓ* system, they were seen as representatives of the "ancient" style of a separate era. One of the important characteristics of the court poets was their effort to write in a rather simple 13th-/14th-century Turkish. The Turkish vocabulary (F. Timurtaş: *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn*, 77–96; K. Silay: 52–81) used by the court poets writing for the Turkmen beys, who were unfamiliar with literary Persian, has been partly catalogued.[192] The "robust" (*oğuẓane*) style of the *kudemâ* is still found, at quite a late date, in the work of Revânî, author of the *İşretnâme* and one of the poets writing in the time of Mehmed II, Bâyezid II, and Selim I. According to Latifi,[193] "the robust highlander [style] of old" was "seen as having bizarre words and savage diction". The Turkish idioms that were used "lacked polish and elegance", as they used the diction "of the people of Kura [in the Caucasus] and of the tribes of the mountains". In Latifi's view, it was Ahmed Paşa (d. 1467) who put an end to the style of the *kudemâ*, creating a "polished and elegant" style specific to the palace. Due to Ahmed Paşa's "ample study of books and divans in the Persian tongue", his poetry was

"selected largely from the divans of the Persians and taken into his own".[194] The result of the palace's effort, beginning with Mehmed II, to thoroughly appropriate the ancient Persian tradition of the "shah of shahs" (*şehinşah*) was that Ottoman poets painstakingly imitated the great Persian poets, and the poetic style changed; Persian and Arabic vocabulary and phraseology came to be seen as "expressions of ornament" and became increasingly widespread.[195] Latifî, a true literary critic, explained how it was necessary to evaluate every work of literature within the context of its own time, observing that "when the new makes its appearance, it comes to be in vogue and in demand among the people, and the old and outmoded falls from eminence and from popularity" (*Tezkire*, 216). In Latifî's view, it was with Nizâmî-i Karamânî—who very closely followed Persian literary models—and especially with Ahmed Paşa, that the new style in divan poetry first gained ground. Latifî says that Ahmed Paşa's divan is, "like the divans of Hâfiz and Jāmī, fresh and new however often it is read". He also points out that, in some respect, the "freshness" and originality to be found in Ahmed Paşa as well as in Necâtî results from their use of the "exemplary coinages" (*durûb-ı emsâl*), or proverbs, of Turkish. When it comes to Necâtî Beg, "[his] poetry was mingled with parable, and from his conversational manner all were able to take exemplary lessons".

PALACE GATHERINGS AND *SÂKÎNÂMES*[196]

Classical poetry, being representative of Persian tradition and addressed to the "men of refinement" (*ẓurefâ*), developed principally at palace gatherings or drinking parties. The most prominent poets were the palace companions (*nedîm*) and the poets who were invited to the parties. At the party, along with the drinking and feasting, poets would present their poems and a "chief of poets" (*meliku'ş-şu`arâ*) would be chosen. These—as well as those poets who were presented with rewards (*câize*) for their eulogies—served as the party's most prominent artists, being the courtier-companions of the sultan. In brief, the place where classical/divan poetry was represented at the highest level was under the patronage of the ruler, at the ancient Persian-rooted party, or—to use `Alî Şîr Nevâyî's expression—"The Exquisite Gatherings" (*Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis*).[197] Among the poems read at the party, the ghazal or gazel served as "an icon and symbol of the party. ...[T]he gazel shares enough significant properties with the party ... that it becomes a sign for the party even when it exists entirely out of the party environment. The gazel ... represents the party".[198] As it was in the Christian West,[199] so it was in medieval Islamic states that, from the earliest times, two activities occupied a position of utmost importance in the life of the ruler: *Raẓm*, or "war"; and *Baẓm*, the nighttime gatherings that went on for days in the royal gardens of the palace. According to a note in the

Saljuqnāmah, the Seljuk sultan "engaged in a week of *bazm* following the *razm*" (*Yak hafta az razm ba-bazm pardākht*).[200] Spending months on horseback enduring the hardships of a campaign, face-to-face with death and under threat of enemy attack, the ruler and his army would find consolation and strength in the thought of the "joy and pleasure" (*ayş ü işret*) that would greet them on their return. The poet Ahmedî[201] relates the following words, heard from the mouth of Murâd I, who had been patrolling the Balkan mountains with his army for weeks: "On the path of God Most High have I worked for the defense of the faith, leaving my own clime to venture a month in infidel lands; with full intent have I night and day spent my life in this holy war, abandoning joy and pleasure and enduring trouble and strife ...". Likewise, on the battlefield of Kosovo in 1389, the heralds (*çavuş*) would attempt to stir up the troops by going among them and crying: "O warriors of the faith ... all of the time that you have passed in joy and pleasure, in gladness and in conversation—it is all for just this moment".[202]

The word *`ayş* is derived from the Arabic root *`āsh* (ع ا ش), meaning "life", "lifestyle", "spending one's life in a pleasurable way". *`İşret*, from the same root, took on in Persian the meaning of "conversation, society, familiarity; pleasure, delight, enjoyment", as a collective noun (Steingass). In Persian literature, the word *bazm* is used to mean "banquet", "life of luxury", "convivial gathering". In the Turkish states of Anatolia, the words *ayş u işret* (usually as *îş ü işret*) together were used to mean a gathering and a spectacle replete with drinks, music, and recitations. In the quotations above, beginning with Firdawsī, we have attempted to show the custom and manners, or rather the tradition of *adab*, of the convivial gathering of *ayş u işret* as occurring in the royal garden of the sultan. In the palaces of the Central Asian Timurids of the 15th-century, the gatherings in the royal gardens took on the role of an academy of arts, where masters of every branch of the arts were in competition; miniaturists such as Bihzād and littérateurs such as `Alî Şîr Nevâyî were educated in just such an environment. These brilliant meetings of art and entertainment came to be remembered longingly in the Ottoman literature under the name "Sultan Bayqarah gatherings" (*Sultan Baykara meclisleri*).

We have attempted above to clarify how, like a number of traditions particular to the palace and the administration, the tradition of the party—with its carefully arranged gardens where wine is drunk at night, its great variety of pleasures and delights, its dancing and its spectacle—passed from ancient, pre-Islamic Persia into the Islamic caliphate and became established there, and we have attempted also to confirm the presence of the custom and manners, or rather the *adab*, of the traditional party in the *Shahnāmah*, the *Qābūsnāmah*, the *Siyāsatnāmah*, and the works of the Germiyan court

poets. The wine-driven revelry of these gatherings was a constant element, and wine—inasmuch as it was explicitly prohibited in both Sunni and Shi`ite Islam yet was also an indispensable element of such gatherings—constantly served as a topic of heated debate. On the other hand, in circles where Sufi thought was prevalent, wine came to be interpreted as a sort of gift granted by God in its capacity to facilitate the state of ecstasy, as for example in Salmān-i Sāvaji and in Gülşehrî's *Falaknāmah*. When *sâkînâme*s depicting the party became established as a literary style, both of these differing interpretations could be found in them, and yet there also developed a rule that every *sâkînâme* must begin with a *tevhîd*, *münacat*, and *na`t*, and end with an expression of repentance (*tövbe*).

A. Karahan, in his text "*Sâkînâmeler*" ("*Sâkînâme*s"),[203] and later T. Kortantamer in his article "*Sâkînâmelerin Ortaya Çıkışı*" ("The Rise of *Sâkînâme*s"), established that the style of the "*sâkînâme* as an independent form of *mesnevî*" arose at a very late date, with Nâvecî (d. 1455) and Revânî (d. 1524). Above, it was shown that this literary type was connected with the tradition of the party, which began in the palace culture of ancient Persia and continued on into Islamic civilization. *Sâkînâme*s are works that describe the palace gatherings. Texts of this sort had existed since the time of the earliest Islamic states, a truth which is not changed by the fact that it was only later that many poets transformed such a subject into a separate genre by taking it as the topic of independent treatises.

For hundreds of years, the tradition of the party in the high culture of the palace, being a symbol of the imperial regalia, continued in its role as an essential custom, preserving the same common elements under the great Islamic empires that shared this culture, from Persia in earliest times on to India and to Turkey. Wine, the classical "art" music appropriate to the time, select poets and "fresh-faced" cupbearers, the royal garden, rare and precious flowers, ornamented and ornamental trees, censers and lamps—all of these were the ever-present elements of this tradition.[204] The royal garden, with its painstakingly selected flowers and trees, shows how highly developed was the garden culture of the time. It would not be exaggeration to call Ottoman culture the culture of the flower or of the blossom (*şükûfe*), as can be seen in its entertainments, its tiles, its illuminated books, its poetry ... (Mehmed the Conqueror, in his famous portrait, is not depicted with a sword, but with a flower.) The flower is a vital element.

THE PRIVATE NATURE OF THE GATHERING

In springtime, on *Nawrūz*, "the embroidered royal tent and canopies" were set up in the garden.[205] In cold weather, gatherings were held in the palace garden in those architectural masterpieces, the winter pavilions, or kiosks. Many kiosks were built within the wide, walled garden of Topkapı Palace; over time, these would disappear (for example, we can see two elaborate kiosks on the slope descending to the shore). The Baghdad and Yerevan Kiosks of Topkapı were built adjoining the palace.

It is apparent that Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, took the old Persian tradition of the "shah of shahs" as a model for his own empire. Just as he had a Persian *Gazānāmah-i Rūm* (Book of the Holy War in the West) written in the style of a *shahnāmah* to celebrate his successes, so did he have the magnificent Tiled Kiosk built in the Royal Garden for the purpose of holding entertainments.[206] Entering into competition with Timur's grandson Husayn Bayqarah, Mehmed tried to attract to his court "the great masters of Arabia and Persia and Anatolia (*Rûm*)" (Sehî 97; cf. Lâmi`i, *Letâ`if*), inviting to his palace famed Persian poets, among them Jāmī. Literary biographers and historians are agreed that it was in Mehmed's time that the imitation of Persia in literature began in earnest.

The job of bringing together in the royal garden and arranging all of the necessary elements of the party—the poets, the courtiers and companions, the cupbearer (sometimes likened to the Magian priests of the Sassanid era and termed "the elder of the Magi" [*pîr-i mugan*]) and the "fresh-faced" beardless boys who were servers of wine, the instrumental musicians and the singers of ghazals—was the task of the "chief of the gathering" (*mîr-i meclis*). The chief of the gathering was one of the eunuchs of the Inner Palace (*Enderûn*).[207] In the sources, the gathering is always described as a meeting where alcoholic drinks are served, but which pertains specifically to the sultan's private life. State officials were not invited to the gathering; the sultan would drink and enjoy "pleasure and conversation with his companions" (*nüdemâsıyla zevk u sohbette*) alone.

At the party, alongside the eating and drinking, among the principal games and entertainments would be poets reading their poems, classical "art" music, dance, the "spectacle" of the Karagöz shadow theater, exchanges of jokes and pleasantries (*mutâyebât*), and chess.[208] Until the time of Mehmed II, bureaucracy and state affairs were left to the ulama, who were knowledgeable in law and administration (the first vizier, Alâeddîn Pasha, was from the ulama, and later came the Çandarlı family); the officer-beys busied themselves with *bazm* and *razm*. Mehmed had a preference for viziers picked from among the male slaves raised in the palace, most famously the

Serbian Mahmud Pasha Angelović; towards the end of his reign, he appointed Karamânî Mehmed, from within the ulama/clerical class, to the post, with the aim of making comprehensive legal reforms. Mustafa Âlî, who provides detailed information concerning gatherings and the manners to be observed therein, says that "asking the ulama to provide the munitions of battle and war is like asking ascetics to provide the pleasures and drinks of the party".[209]

As Ahmedî and Ahmed-i Dâ`î explain, the companions, the cupbearer, and the "fresh-faced" youths all come together as one. One of the gatherings of Shah `Abbās I (r. 1588–1629) was depicted on a wall panel at the Chehel Sutūn pavilion in Isfahan. There, just as described in the *sâkînâmes*, we can see people locked together in close embrace.[210] In the literature of Islam, the ancient Persian tradition of the party became symbolized in the figure of Jamshīd, whose name is always mentioned in the *sâkînâmes*.

Though the custom of the party was considered "among the ceremonies and requisites of sovereignty" (*Bâburnâmah*), not every sultan practiced the custom. Murad I is known as a pious sultan who was devoted to the prescriptions of religion, who considered himself a worker of miracles, and who spent the whole of his life in fighting for the faith in the Balkans.[211] Ahmedî, who was close to Murad, made this observation: "Never did he touch a glass of wine / And never did he listen to music fine" (*Almadı hergiz eline câm-i mey / Dinlemedi dahi hergiz çeng u ney*).[212]

Murad would arrange general feasts for circumcisions and weddings. Folk histories, namely the anonymous *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osmân*, propose that gatherings serving alcoholic drinks began during the reign of Bâyezid I, as a palace tradition instituted by Çandarlı Ali Pasha. It is recorded in the sources that the young Mehmed Çelebi, once urgent affairs had been dealt with, "would, with those of his court, occupy himself with pleasures and drink, with carousing and amusements, attending diligently to all this spectacle".[213] This was not recorded simply in the interest of stylistic embellishment. Murad II, who was passionate about such gatherings,[214] had a pavilion built in Edirne on the banks of the river Tundzha, to whose "watery clime he would come as a ghazi with his entourage and engage in pleasant conversation".[215] A contemporary astrologer said that, "as a result of" Murad II's acceding to the throne in the sign of Virgo, "our sultan is exceedingly preoccupied with joys, with amusement and pleasure, gaiety and merrymaking". It was for this reason that Murad was obliged to leave the throne to his son Mehmed in 1444.

As Niẓām al-Mulk indicated, high state officials were uneasy about the fact that those who were found in close companionship with the sultan—primarily poets—gave him advice about and interfered in state affairs. This was why the Grand Vizier Rüstem

Pasha, who formed an alliance with Süleyman the Magnificent's daughter Mihrimâh and wife Hürrem, was the poets' "merciless foe" (*düşman-ı bî-amân*). Rüstem did away with the stipends that had been given to court poets since the time of Murad II; the poets took revenge on him through satires and slander.

NOTES

[1] Translator's Note: The term işret meclisleri, and its singular form işret meclisi, refers to gatherings at which alcohol was served and whose guests typically included royalty—chiefly the sultan—along with royal companions (nedîms), poets, and entertainers, particularly musicians. The term has been variously translated throughout the work, most frequently as "gathering", but also as "party" (following Walter G. Andrews), "drinking party", or "entertainment", according to the emphasis most appropriate in context or to stylistic considerations.

[2] Translator's Note: The Shu`ūbiyyah—the word derives from the word *shu`ūb* ("nations") as found in the *Qur'ān* (49:13)—was a broad movement that has been defined as "a more or less successful attempt on the part of the different subjected races to hold their own and to distinguish, at least, between Arabism and Islam" ("Shu`ūbīya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Qtd. in H.T. Norris. "Shu`ūbiyyah in Arabic Literature". *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: `Abbasid Belles-Lettres*. Ed. Julia Ashtiany, T.M. Johnstone, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 31).

[3] C.E. Bosworth. *The Arabs, Byzantium and Iran: Studies in Early Islamic History and Culture*. London: Variorum, 1996; R.N. Frye. *The History of Ancient Iran*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984.

[4] Ch. Pellat. "Adab". *Encyclopedia Iranica*, I. Ed. E. Yarshater. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985. 431–444; D. Sourdel. *Le vizirat Abbaside de 746 à 936*. Damascus, 1959–1960.

[5] Translator's Note: Throughout the translation, non-English words and names have been transcribed according to the most appropriate context and by ALA-LC standards, with the exception of Turkish; i.e., in an Arabic-language context, words and names have been transcribed according to the ALA-LC standards for Arabic, while in a Persian-language context they have been transcribed according to the ALA-LC standards for Persian. For Turkish, in a Turkish-language context, the spelling and transcription used by Prof. İnalcık has mostly been preserved.

[6] "Adab". *Iranica*, I. 440. v. N. Çetin. *Eski Arap Şiiri*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1973.

[7] Translator's Note: *Inshā* (Turkish *inşâ*) was a sophisticated and ornate style of official prose.

[8] In his book *Rasā'il*. "Adab", 439.

[9] "Adab", 440. v. J.E. Bencheikh. "Khamriyya". EI, II; E. Yarshater. "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry". *Studia Islamica*, XIII (1960); M. Rosenthal. *The Honest Courtesan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*. Ed. J.W. Wright and E.K. Rowson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; A. Schimmel. "Eros—Heavenly and not so Heavenly—in Sufi Literature and Life". *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam*. Ed. A. Lutfi–S. Marsot. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1979. 119–141.

[10] See J.E. Bencheikh. *Poétique arabe*. Paris: Anthropos, 1975; "Khamriyya". *EI2*.

[11] See Pellat. "Ğahiziana". *Arabica*, 1954/2 and 1954/3; "Djāhiz". *EI2*.

[12] W. Knauth. *Das altiranische Fürstenideal von Xenophon bis Firdousi*. Wiesbaden, 1975.

[13] See H. İnalcık. "The Poet and the Patron: A Sociological Treatise Upon the Patrimonial State and the Arts". Tr. Arif Nat Riley. *Journal of Turkish Literature*, 2 (2005), 27.

[14] See "Adab", 432. In the classical divan literature of the Ottomans, fine poetry was termed *zarîf* and successful poets *zurefâ*.

[15] See "Adab", 434.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Translator's Note: A *sāqīnāmah* (*sâkînâme*), meaning literally "book of the cupbearer", is essentially a subgenre of *masnavī* (*mesnevî*) that is broadly descriptive of the party or gathering. An *işretnâme* is the same, and was used specifically as the title of the *sâkînâme* written by Revânî (d. 930/1524).

[18] Translator's Note: These are terms for particular sections often found at the beginning of longer poetic works: the *tawhīd* (*tevhîd*) is an expression of the fact that God is one; *tamjīd* (*temcîd*) and *tahmīd* (*tahmîd*) are, respectively, the glorification of and the praise of God; *munājāt* (*münâcât*) is an invocation or supplication to God; and *na`t* is praise of the Prophet (or Prophets).

[19] Ibid. 439.

[20] A fine Turkish-language work on the subject of culture and acculturation is: Doğan Özlem. *Kavramlar ve Tarihleri*. Ankara: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 2002.

[21] See "Adab", 443.

[22] For more on literary devices and rhetoric, see H. İnalcık. "The Poet and the Patron", 27–29.

[23] Translator's Note: *The Shâhnáma of Firdausí*, III. Tr. Arthur George Warner, Edmond Warner. London: K.Paul, Trench, Trübner, & co., Ltd., 1908. 269.

[24] For his magnificent [Turkish] translation of the *Shahnāmah*, a debt is owed to the late master of Oriental languages, Necati Lugal: *Şehnâme*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1994; A. Ateş. "*Şehnâme*'nin Yazılış Tarihi ve Firdevsî'nin Sultan Mahmud'a Yazdığı Hicviye Meselesi Hakkında". *Belleten*, XVIII (1954). 159–178.

[25] This is equivalent to the ornamental trees (*nahils*) found at Ottoman gatherings.

[26] Translator's Note: *Shâhnáma*, III. 329.

[27] Ibid. According to one story (Lugal, *Şehnâme*, "Önsöz" 21–22), Firdawsī earned the esteem of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud during a competition with other poets at a gathering in the palace, and the writing of the *Shahnāmah* was dedicated to him.

[28] Translator's Note: See *Shâhnáma*, III. 22, 269, 282.

[29] For the original Persian text, S. Nafīsī. *Kitāb-i Nasīḥatnāmah Ma`rūf ba-Qabūsnāmah*. Tehran, AH 1340 (AD 1921–22). For the English translation: `Unṣur al-Ma`ālī Kaykāvūs ibn Iskandar ibn Qābūs. *A Mirror for Princes: The Qābūs Nāma*. Tr. Reuben Levy. London: E.P. Dutton, 1951.

[30] The Germiyan "Süleyman, son of Muhammed Bey, … signaled that the *Qābūsnāmah* be translated again" (*Muhammed Bey oğlu Süleyman … şöyle işâret kıldı ki, Kabûsnâme dahi tercüme oluna*; Z. Korkmaz. *Marzubânnâme Tercümesi*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1973.)

[31] Atillâ Özkırımlı. *Kabusnâme. Tercüman: 1001 Temel Eser*. "Önsöz", 39.

[32] Translator's Note: See Levy, op. cit., 57.

[33] Ibid. Chapter XI, "The Regulation of your Wine-drinking", 57–58.

[34] Ibid. 58.

[35] Ibid. 59–60.

[36] Ibid. 62–63.

[37] Ibid. 64.

[38] Ibid. 75.

[39] Translator's Note: Joseph (*Yūsuf*) was said to have outstanding beauty, and as such was seen as the paragon of male beauty.

[40] Levy, op. cit., 75–76.

[41] Ibid. 79.

[42] *Kabûsnâme*, translation, Vol. 1, 221.

[43] Levy, op. cit., 103.

[44] Ibid. 176–178.

[45] Ibid. 185.

[46] Ibid. 187–188. Translator's Note: What Reuben Levy translates as "Do not sit down to teach backgammon nor take a hand yourself at backgammon or chess" is read by Prof. İnalcık as "Do not put down your instrument and join the dancing"; here, Prof. İnalcık's interpretation has been preferred.

[47] Ibid. 188–190.

[48] Ibid. 197.

[49] Ibid. 198.
[50] Ibid. 198–199.
[51] Ibid. 199.
[52] Nizamülmülk. *Siyâsetnâme*. Turkish tr. M.A. Köymen. "Önsöz", XVIII.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] See H. İnalcık. "*Kutadgu Bilig*'de Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri". Reşit Rahmeti Arat için. Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1966. 259–271.
[57] *Siyâsetnâme*. Fasıl 36: 8. 137–139.
[58] *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings: The Siyar al-Muluk or Siyasat-Nama of Nizam al-Mulk*. Tr. Hubert Darke. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002. "Prologue", 2.
[59] Translator's Note: *The adalet dairesi* (or *dâire-i `adliyye*) theory was, essentially, as follows: state power is dependent on a strong army; a strong army is dependent on a strong economy; a strong economy is dependent on a prosperous populace; a prosperous populace is dependent on a just administration; and a just administration is dependent on a strong ruler.
[60] See İnalcık, ibid.
[61] Original text: 94–95; Köymen 64–65; Darke 89–91.
[62] Darke 90.
[63] The schedules made for the sultans in Anatolia and called *ihtiyârât* ("observances for foretelling inauspicious days and hours for doing things" [Redhouse]), *ahkâm-i sal* ("regulations of the year"), or *takvîm* ("almanac") have been tabulated; see O. Turan. *İstanbul'un Fethinden Önce Yazılmış Tarihî Takvimler* ("Historical Calendars Written Prior to the Conquest of Istanbul"). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1954.
[64] See "Reîsülküttâb". İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 671–683; particularly see *Mustâfâ `Âlî's Counsel for Sultans of 1581*. 2 vols. Ed. and tr. A. Tietze. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979–1982.
[65] Darke, Chapter XXIX.
[66] Dr. M.J. Mashkūr. *Akhbār-i Salājiqah-i Rūm*. Tehran, AH 1350 (AD 1931–32). 213.
[67] Ibid. 214–215.
[68] Ibid. 24.
[69] One manuscript is in the British Museum; see Mashkūr, 26–27.
[70] Ibid. 27–28.
[71] Köprülü. *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 1st edition. İstanbul, 1918. 216; *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*. Ed. and tr. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff. New York: Routledge, 2006. 196.
[72] *İbn Bîbî Tercümesi*, 80.
[73] See *Early Mystics*, 195–96; "Kânûn", "Kânûnnâme"; *EI2*.
[74] *Early Mystics*; 219, Note 11.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid. Translator's Note: The *saz* is a plucked, stringed musical instrument essentially the same as the *bağlama*, with seven strings in courses of two, two, and three; it is the most typical instrument of the folk musician of Turkey. The *peşrev*, whose name derives from the Persian *pīshraw*, meaning "what goes before", is a type of instrumental composition that typically appears as a prelude or overture to a program of music, or *fasıl*.
[77] H. İlaydın. "Dehhânî'nin Şiirleri". *Ömer Asım Aksoy Armağanı*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1978. 137–177.
[78] Ibn Bībī. *al-Awāmīr al-`alā'iyya fi'l umūr al-`alā'iyya*. Facsimile. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1956. 459–461.
[79] R. Arık. Kubad Abad, *Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2000.
[80] For a description of a gathering of Alâeddîn's, see Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmīr*, 460–462; in the Yazıcızâde [Ali] translation: *Târîh-i Âl-i Selçuk*. Topkapı Saray Müzesi, Revan K., 1390. 137–170.
[81] Yazıcızâde, 236–237; for other descriptions of gatherings, see 180–183, 225–229, 243–245, 277.
[82] Ibid. 137.
[83] Osman Turan. *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1958. 57.
[84] In the preface to his Persian poetry (H. Mazıoğlu. *Farsça Divan*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1962. 6), Fuzûlî speaks of the quality of the poets who took part in the sultan's gatherings as "respectful of the sultans of praiseworthy morals; familiar with the great men of good taste; observers of the gardens that are like unto heaven; and enjoyers of the ebullience of fine wines" (*ba-murā`āt-i salāṭīn-i ḥamīdah-akhlāq va akhtilāṭ-i akābir-i ṣāḥib-mazāq va sayr-i bāgh'hā-yi bihisht-āsār va nashāṭ-i sharābhā-yi khushguvār*).
[85] "Selçuknâme-i İbn Bîbî Tercümesi", 348, 396; Köprülü. *İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 279, Note 4.
[86] Translator's Note: The *kopuz* is an ancient three-stringed instrument similar to the *modern* bağlama and related to the *komuz* of the Kyrgyz.
[87] Köprülü. *İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 274; for more on the epics, see F. Sümer. *Oğuzlar, (Türkmenler), Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilât, Destanları*. 5th edition, 1999; for a detailed bibliography of the epics: M. Aça. *Oğuznamecilik Geleneği ve Andalıp Oğuznâmesi*. İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat, 2003. 281–293; S. Tezcan. *Dede Korkut Oğuznâmesi Üzerine Notlar*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001; Necati Demir. *Dânişmend-Nâme*. Critical edition. Cambridge: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2002.
[88] Translator's Note: The "*abdāls* of Anatolia"—the term is used by Âşık Paşazâde—were the wandering dervishes active in Anatolia and are often associated with the Qalandariyyah tradition (see I. Markoff. "A cross-cultural examination of the expressive culture of Turkish-speaking Alevi/Bektashi and Alevi/Babai (Bobai) communities in the Eastern Rhodope mountains of Southern Bulgaria: in search of origins and parallels with Turkish Alevi/Bektashi and Tahtacıs". Congrès des Musiques dans le Monde de l'Islam. Assilah, Morocco, August 1997. http://www.mcm.asso.fr/site02/music-w-islam/articles/Markoff-2007.pdf. 2.), though they may or not have been an organized order and would later become closely associated with the Bektashis (see F. Köprülü. *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*. Tr. G. Leiser. Albany: SUNY Press, 1992. 99–108).
[89] Köprülü. *İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 214, Note 1; also see the studies of A.Y. Ocak.
[90] For the revolt of the Turkmens against Sultan Mu`iz al-Dīn Ahmad-i Sanjar, who neglected the tradition of the *toy*, see M.A. Köymen. "Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihinde Oğuz İsyanı". Ankara University Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Mezunlar Derneği, V, 563–620; for general information on dance: M. And. *Oyun ve Bügü: Türk Kültüründe Oyun Kavramları*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003. see Index: "Köçek"; M. And. "İslâm'da Raks Üzerine Yorumlar". Forum, 143 (1960); M. And. *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitolojisi*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998.
[91] Âşık Paşazâde, Chapter 8.
[92] Köprülü. *İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 255; Early Mystics; 206; see Köprülü. "Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları". Türk Tarih Kurumu: *Belleten*, VII (1943).
[93] M. Bayram was the last to strongly support this thesis, most recently in: *Türkiye Selçukluları Üzerine Araştırmalar*. Konya: Kömen Yayınları, 2003.
[94] Köprülü. *Early Mystics*. 205.
[95] Ibid. 208.
[96] Köprülü. *İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 264, Note 1; *Early Mystics*; 253, Note 79.
[97] See Köprülü's important article: "Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları". Türk Tarih Kurumu: *Belleten*, VII. 265.
[98] Ibid. 268.
[99] Köprülü. *İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 268, Note 1; *Early Mystics*; 256, Note 84. On Za`ifi's translation of *Mantiq al-Ṭayr*, see G.A. Tekin. "Zaifi Külliyatının Yeni bir Nüshası Hakkında". *JTS*, II (1978). 107–125.
[100] For the text: A.S. Levend. *Mantıku't-tayr*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1957.
[101] F. Taeschner. *Gülschehrîs Mesnevi auf Achi Evren den Heiligen von Kirschchehir und Patron der Türkischen Zünifte*. Wiesbaden, 1955.
[102] For the text and an analysis in Turkish, see *Gülşehrî ve Feleknâme*. Ed. S. Kocatürk. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982.

[103] Ahmed Ateş. "Nizami". *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. 318–327.
[104] Ibid. 319.
[105] See F. Taeschner. *al-`Umarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masâlik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*. Leiden: O. Harrassowitz, 1919.
[106] Though coming much later, Evliya Çelebi provides a description (*Seyahatnâme*, IX. 19–20. M.Ç. Varlık, 98) that gives some idea of the size of the Germiyan palace in Kütahya: it was a palace of 300 rooms, with an audience hall, hammams, and a large garden.
[107] A.E. Esterâbâdî. *Bazm u Razm*. İstanbul: Kilisli Rifat, 1928. Kilisli Rifat attempts at great length to prove that the Ottomans were not Mongols (382). The truth of the matter is this: the Mongolian Samagar and Barımbay tribes—neighbors of Kadı Burhaneddin—were known only for warring and plundering; Kadı Burhaneddin was attempting to belittle Murad I by comparing him to them.
[108] See "Murad I". *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*; I am considering expanding this article and publishing it as a book.
[109] Âşık Paşazâde (Âşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Âşıkî). *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman*. İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947. Chapters 51 and 52, 130–131.
[110] Translator's Note: *The emîr-i `âlem* was a low-level pasha who, on campaigns, would march at the head of the flagbearers, himself bearing the sultan's banner.
[111] Translator's Note: The *çavuşbaşı* was the head of the sultan's company of heralds and messengers (*çavuş*).
[112] Ö.F. Akün. "Şeyhoğlu Mustafa". *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Vol. 11. 481–485.
[113] M.Ç. Varlık. 122: Şeyhoğlu describes his patron Süleymanşâh as one who is humble as a dervish, generous, and knowledgeable about poetry. He also makes clear that he is Süleymanşâh's courtier in the following couplets:

Sözü nakşın bilürdi her ne dinse
Erün bahşın korıdı her ne yinse

Hususâ çünki buldı ben za`îfi
Ki olmuşdum gice gündüz harîfi

Özimi nice duta bilmez idi
Sözümün birin iki kılmaz idi

Hem iç idüm kamu hem daş idüm ben
Nişân u defter u mâl u hazîne

Kamusun ben kula bildimiş idi
Sözüme şol kadar tergîb iderdi
Ki Sahbân böylece ta`yîb iderdi

For whatever was said, he would have a fine word
He'd protect a man's portion, whatever occurred

Me he chose, for I was weak above all
And night and day he had me in thrall

Yet my true self he could not hold
He, too, would do what he was told

I served in the palace and outside it as well
As a royal secretary and financial official

All of himself he told to me, his slave
Such did he praise my words and name
That eloquent Saḥbān* was put to shame

*Translator's Note: Saḥbān, or more fully Saḥbāni Wā'il, was the name of a man who was famed for his eloquence (Steingass).
[114] Translator's Note: The *nişancı* was an officer of the state who would inscribe the sultan's tughra on official correspondence.
[115] A note of Uzun Firdevsî's must be interpreted as such; see Kilisli Rifat. "*Süheyl ve Nevbahar*'a dair". *TM*, I.
[116] "It was in the year seven hundred and eighty-nine that this *Hurşîdnâme* came to an end".
[117] Akün. "Şeyhoğlu Mustafa", 482.
[118] Ibid.
[119] M.Ç. Varlık. *Germiyanoğulları Tarihi*. Ankara, 1974. 123.
[120] See Köprülü. "Anadolu'da Türk Dili ve Edebiyatının Tekâmülü". *Yeni Türk Mecmuası*, IV; M.Ç. Varlık, ibid., 123–126, where it is acknowledged that the information pertaining to administration belongs to the Seljuk period.
[121] Translator's Note: Here and throughout the translation, references to particular couplet (*beyit*) numbers are given with the traditional abbreviation for a numbered line of poetry, "l".
[122] Akün, ibid. 482.
[123] See F.K. Timurtaş. *Şeyhî'nin Hüsrev ü Şirin'i*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963; with its detailed "Preface", XIII–XXXII.
[124] Timurtaş, XX: "Courtier of the Germiyan bey".
[125] Latîfî. *Tezkire*. İstanbul: A. Cevdet, AH 1314 (AD 1896–97). 245.
[126] Ibid. 215–216.
[127] Timurtaş, ibid. XVII, XX.
[128] Ibid. XXVII; taken from J. von Hammer.
[129] Ibid. XXVI.
[130] Ibid. XXVII: "Mehemmed Şeh" is interpreted as Mehmed Paşa.
[131] Ibid. XXXI.
[132] Ibid. 3.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Translator's Note: Any discrepancies that might be found in the meter of the quoted Turkish verses are due to the original transcriptions as rendered editorially in Prof. İnalcık's original text.
[135] Ibid. 36. *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn* was evidently a work that continued to be read for a long time: "The true art is to make a great city / And fill its people's hearts with felicity" (*Hüner bir şehr bünyâd eylemekdür / Der ü dîvârın âbâd eylemekdür*) (Translator's Note: Translation revised from Prof. Talat Sait Halman's translation). In the 15th century, this couplet was used by Sultan Mehmed II in the deed for a newly created waqf: "It is skill that does a city construct / To make the hearts of the people happy" (*Hüner bir şehr bünyâd eylemekdür / Re`âyâ kalbin âbâd eylemekdür*).
[136] Translator's Note: Couplet translated in collaboration with Prof. Talat Sait Halman.
[137] Translator's Note: cf. the *adalet dairesi* theory, Note 59 above.
[138] H. İnalcık. "Adaletnâmeler". *Belgeler, Türk Tarihi Belgeleri Dergisi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, II/3–4 (1965). 49–145.
[139] Translator's Note: The proverb in question is, in perhaps the shortest of its several forms, *Tok, acın hâlinden bilmez* ("One who is full can know nothing of hunger"), meaning broadly that the "haves" cannot easily understand the "have-nots". Couplet translated in collaboration with Prof. Talat Sait Halman.
[140] Translator's Note: *Nevrûziyye* is the name given specifically to *qasīdah*s whose beginning section (*tashbīb, teşbîb*) is descriptive of Nawrūz, or the beginning of spring, and which were written to be presented at that time of year.

[141] İ.H. Ertaylan. *Ahmed-i Dâ`î, Hayatı ve Eserleri.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1952.
[142] Ertaylan, 82, facsimile: 155–267; T. Kortantamer. "Sakinamelerin Ortaya Çıkışı". *ETE: Makaleler.* 192.
[143] Süleyman became Bâyezid I's "great son" (*ulu oğlu*) and settled in Edirne in 1402. Even if Bâyezid's other sons did recognize Süleyman's precedence, they did not dare to appropriate the title of "sultan" until Timur was out of Anatolia. It is interesting that Süleyman's brothers are accounted as "slaves".
[144] Translator's Note: Couplet translated in collaboration with Prof. Talat Sait Halman.
[145] For more on Süleyman's victories, see below, Ahmedî.
[146] Translator's Note: The "garden of Iram" refers to the sumptuous garden and palace complex of the city of Iram on the Arabian peninsula, constructed by Shaddād b. `Âd. The city is mentioned in the Qur`ān (89:6–8) in connection with God's destruction of Iram owing to the city's iniquity.
[147] For the lover (*`âşık*) and beloved (*ma`şûk, mahbûb*) in the party tradition, see W.G. Andrews and M. Kalpaklı. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society.* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005.
[148] Translator's Note: The actual word commonly used for Sufis was *sofu* or *sofi*, which in poetry typically carried negative connotations of asceticism and excessive piety.
[149] At the party, witty remarks (*latîfes, letâ`if*) that result in laughter are exchanged; this practice is known as *mutâyebât*, and it is a custom that gave rise to the *letâ`if* literature; see Lami`î. *Letâ`if*; for more on Lami`î Çelebi, who was known for exercising a profound influence on Ottoman literature through his translations from Persian, see "Kültür Hattında İki Sufi: Emir Ahmed Buhari ve Lamii Çelebi". *Bursa'da Dünden Bugüne Tasavvuf Kültürü Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı.* Bursa, 2002. 215–225.
[150] "The greatest of the Ottoman poets to arise in the 14th century" (F. Köprülü. "Ahmedî". *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi.* 165–167). For notable works on Ahmedî see below, Bibliography.
[151] Usâmeddîn Taşköprülüzade. Translation of *ash-Shakâ`iku'n-Nu`māniyyah fî Ulamâ`i'd-Dawlati'l-`Uthmāniyyah*: Mehmed Mecdi, *Hadâ`iku'l-Şakâ`ik.* İstanbul, AH 1260 (AD 1844). 70–71; Taşköprülüzade praises the encyclopedic quality of the *İskendernâme.*
[152] *Kitâb-i Cihan-nümâ* (Neşrî Tarihi) I. Eds. F.R. Unat and M.A. Köymen. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1949. 350, 364.
[153] For the terms of the treaty, see John W. Barker. *Manuel II, Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship.* New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1969. Index: "Süleyman Çelebi". 224–228.
[154] *İskendernâme,* I. Ünver facsimile, l. 7849.
[155] Neşrî, II. 430.
[156] Concerning the previously unknown *Menâkıbnâme* written by Ahmedî on the struggle between the Çelebi brothers for the sultanate, see H. İnalcık. *Ahmedî'nin Bilinmeyen Gazavâtnâme ve Menâkıbnâmesi* (to be published).
[157] *Menâkıbnâme* (Neşrî, II, 472): "The entrance of that hammam is now a grain market".
[158] K. Silay. *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and their Royal Holy Raids against the Infidels.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Turkish Sources LV, 2004. l. 143–144.
[159] Ibid. 476.
[160] Translator's Note: The Byzantine emperor, often referred to as *Tekvûr* or *Tekfûr.*
[161] The emperor Manuel II used the opportunity of rival princes crossing the Bosphorus to snatch up compensation in the form of land.
[162] *Menâkıbnâme* (Neşrî, II, 478).
[163] Translator's Note: Historically, *Lala* was a title used by the sultan to address his grand vizier, as well as a term used for a manservant who was or had been responsible for the care of a child.
[164] Süleyman, "when he sat down to drink, would stay for months".
[165] *Menâkıbnâme* (Neşrî, II, 486).
[166] In the *Menâkıbnâme,* the time of Musâ is seen as a revolutionary period. The "ghazi policy" of the frontier beys gave direction to Musâ's government. In such an atmosphere, there was no room for the style of life longed for by those such as Ahmedî. See P. Wittek. "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople". *La Formation de l'empire Ottoman.* Ed. V. Ménage. London: Variorum Reprints, 1982; Turkish translation: "Ankara Bozgunundan İstanbul'un Zaptına (1402–1455)". *Belleten* (H.İ.), XXVII (1943). 557–589.
[167] Editor's Note: See *Anonim Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman* (F. Giese Edition). Ed. N. Azamat. İstanbul: M.Ü. Yayınları, 1992.
[168] Ibid. 30–33.
[169] Barker, *Manuel II.* 80–81.
[170] *Bir Yeniçerinin Hatıratı.* Tr. K. Beydilli. İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2003. 8
[171] Translator's Note: The "gathering of Jamshīd" (*Cem meclisi* or *meclis-i Cem*) is an epithet for a party or gathering at which wine is served, in reference to the belief that it was Jamshīd who first discovered wine.
[172] Khayyām (1123–1186), who lived in the time of the Great Seljuk Empire, tried to forget the transitoriness of the world through wine, and brought the philosophy of the drinking party to life in his *ruba`îs.* In one *ruba`î,* he says of the potter: "What are you thinking, putting on the wheel / Farīdūn's fingers and Kaykhusraw's hands?" (*Angusht-i Farīdūn u kaff-i Kaykhusraw / Bar charkh nihādah'ī chah mīpindārī*).
[173] For more on Neşrî, see V.L. Ménage. *Neshrî's History of the Ottomans: The Sources and Development of the Text.* Oxford University Press, 1964; H. İnalcık. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography". *Historians of the Middle East.* Ed. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962. 152–167.
[174] Neşrî introduces texts quoted from Âşık Paşazâde and other sources by means of expressions such as "they relate that" (*rivâyet ederler ki*).
[175] See Ménage ("interpolations": 48–49), who surmises that these sections were added to Neşrî's work at a later date. In the Menzel manuscript, copied in 1493 and the oldest extant version of Neşrî's work (F. Taeschner. *Ğihānnümā, die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlānā Mehemmed Neschrī.* Band I, Einleitung und Text des cod. Menzel. Leipzig, 1951.), the sections covering the time from the conquest of Niš to the death of Murad I (pp. 58–83) include the text that is attributed to Ahmedî here. *The Ahvâl-i Sultan Mehemmed* is in the Neşrî-Menzel manuscript on pages 98–141. These texts are also found in the Oxford manuscript (MS Marsh, 313), and attributed to Ruhî. They were shortened in *Bihiştî.*
[176] I first made brief mention of the fact that the text is Ahmedî's in: "Ahmedî's 'Gazânâme' on the Battle of Kosova". *Kosovo.* Paris, 2000. 21–26.
[177] S.W. Reinert. "A Byzantine Source of the Battle of Bileca (?) and Kossovo Polje: Kydones Letters, 396 and 398 Reconsidered". *Studies in Ottoman History in Honor of Professor V.L. Ménage.* Ed. C. Heywood and C. Imber. İstanbul: ISIS Press, 1994. 250-52.
[178] M. Kiel. "Mevlana Neşrî and the Towns of Medieval Bulgaria". *Studies in Ottoman History in Honor of Professor V.L. Ménage.* 165–187; A. Kuzev. "Notizen zur historischen Geographie der Dobrudza". *Studia Balkanica.* Sofia, 1975. 124–136.
[179] See H. İnalcık. "Murad I". *DİA*; besides the summary in this encyclopedia, the reader will find more extensive information on Murad Hudâvendigâr in my forthcoming book.
[180] Translator's Note: Kiel, op. cit., 165. Emphasis added by the author.
[181] For details, see H. İnalcık. "Bir tarihçi olarak Ahmedî: *Gazavâtnâme* ve *Menâkibnâme*'si" (in preparation).
[182] Ahmedî, İskendernâme: "Those rulers of whom I have spoken" (*Ol melikler ki anları zikr eyledum*) (l. 7539).
[183] Last published by: K. Silay. *History of the Kings of the Ottoman Lineage and their Royal Holy Raids against the Infidels.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Turkish Sources LV, 2004.
[184] Of which there will be an analysis in my forthcoming work.
[185] *Ahvâl-i Sultan Mehemmed*: Neşrî, I, 366–419; II, 422–516.
[186] J.H. Mordtman, Hanover 1925 edition.
[187] *XVI. Asra Kadar Anadolu Sahası Mesnevîlerinde Edebî Tasvirler.* İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2002. List of *mesnevîs*: 5–11. On descriptions of spring.
[188] Ibid. 42–46.
[189] On mimesis, see P. Ricoeur. *Time and Narrative.* Tr. K. McLaughlin and D. Pellauer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984–1985; K. Hume. *Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western*

Literature. New York: Methuen, 1984; E. Auerbach. Mimesis: *The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Tr. W.R. Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

190 A.L. Rowse. *Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age: Simon Forman the Astrologer*. New York: Scribner, 1974.

191 M. Çavuşoğlu. "Fâtih Mehmed Devrine kadar Osmanlı Edebi Mahsullerinde Muhtevanın Tekâmülü". *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuâsı*, XI:2, 1982. 31–32; this equality, or even consciousness of superiority, first appeared and was emphasized in Central Asia, see A.E. Bodrogligeti. "Klasik Orta Asya Türk Edebiyatı". *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi*, 54, June 1992. 57; H. İlaydın. "Anadolu'da Klasik Türk Şiirinin Başlangıcı". *Türk Dili*, 277, October 1974. 765–774; Ö.F. Akün. "Divan Edebiyatı". DİA. 389–428. According to Âşık Çelebi (278a), it was Şeyhî in the mesnevî, Ahmet Paşa in the qasîda, and Necâtî in the ghazal who caused all those who had come before them to be forgotten.

192 Following the studies of M. Mansuroğlu, S. Çağatay, and Z. Korkmaz on "Old Turkish", a number of 14th- and 15th-century texts were published; see particularly: *Tarama Sözlüğü*, I–VI. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1965, which provided rich material on "Old Turkish"; see finally the following dictionary: Eski Oğuzca Sözlük: Bahşayiş Lügati. Ed. F. Turan.

193 Latîfî, 216.

194 Latîfî, 77; for Ahmet Paşa, see A.N. Tarlan. *Ahmed Paşa Divanı*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1992.

195 For more on poets in the system of patronage during the time of Mehmed II, see H. İpekten. "Edebî Muhitler". 25–44.

196 On poetic circles, see H. İpekten. "Türk Edebiyatında Edebi Muhitler (XV–XVI. Asırlar)". İstanbul, 1996; İ. Pala. *Şürler, Şairler ve Meclisler*. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1997; A.A. Şentürk, op. cit.; G. Kut. "Divan Edebiyatında Bezm: Âlât-i Bezm, Âdâb-i Sohbet". *Osmanlı*, IX. 616–629; R. Canım. *Türk Edebiyatında Sakinâmeler ve İşretnâme*. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1998.

197 Translator's Note: *Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis* is the title of a work, written in Chagatay and dating from the late 15th century, that is considered to be the first example of a tezkire, or critical biography of poets, to have been written in a Turkic language.

198 W.G. Andrews. *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985. 174.

199 *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Ed. V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne. London: Duckworth, 1983.

200 Ibn Bîbî. Mukhtaşar. Ed. Mashkûr. 53.

201 Gazavâtnâme (Neşrî, I, 216).

202 Neşrî, I, 288; the words are in fact Ahmedî's (see above).

203 A. Karahan. "Sâkînâmeler". *Eski Türk Edebiyatı İncelemeleri*. 117–123.

Yarshater. "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry". *Studia Islamica*, XIII, 1960; concerning the culture of the palace, see Osmanlı Uygarlığı, I. Ed. Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2003; S.P. Stetekevych. "Intoxication and Immorality: Wine and Associated Imagery in al-Ma`arri's Garden". *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*. Ed. J.W. Wright, Jr. and E.K. Rowson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. 210–232.

204 Concerning wine, see "Hamr", İA, 195–199; A.J. Wensinck, "Khamr", EI; and J.E. Bencheikh, "Khamriyya", *EI*. Concerning the royal garden, see S.H. Eldem. *Türk Bahçeleri*. İstanbul: Eğitim Basımevi, 1976; N. Atasoy. *Hasbahçe: Osmanlı Kültüründe Bahçe ve Çiçek*. İstanbul: Aygaz (Koç Yayınları), 2002, see particularly the miniatures printed therein; *The Islamic Garden: Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture*, IV. Ed. E. Macdougall and R. Ettinghausen. Dumbarton Oaks, 1976; Gülrü Necipoğlu. Architecture, *Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Mass., 1991. In the palace, there were florists (şükûfeciler) under the command of a head florist (şükûfeci-başı); concerning flowers, see *Takvîm*, British Library, MS Or. 6851; concerning the passion for the garden, the party, and Ottoman poetry, v. W.G. Andrews. "Ecology of the Song". *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985. 143–174; B. Ayvazoğlu. "Gül". *Türkler*. Ed. H.C. Güzel and K. Çiçek. Ankara, 2002. 856–870.

205 The great fondness for the party set the stage for the early death of rulers, removals from the throne, and even in some circles fights and murders. In the Sivas-Amasya-Samsun region, the emirs would leave

administrative business to *qadi*s and the *ulama* and devote themselves to *`ayş u `işret*, sometimes dying in the course of "drunken quarrels" (*gavgâ-yı mestâne*).

206 S.H. Eldem. *Köşkler ve Kasırlar I–II*. İstanbul: İstanbul Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1969; G. Necipoğlu. "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture". *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*. Ed. A. Petruccioli. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997.

207 Concerning the page boys who were musical masters in the Seferli Ward of the Inner Palace, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı. *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988; Santûrî Âlî Ufkî (Albert Bobowski) (d. 1675) explains how a special musical ward or section (*koğuş*) was set up in the palace for pages talented in music: Albertus Bobowius or Santûrî Ali Ufkî Bey. *Topkapı Sarayında Yaşam*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları, 2000. 74–84.

208 Mehmed Çelebi "would, with those of his court, occupy himself with pleasures and drink, with carousing and amusements, attending diligently to all this spectacle" (Ahmedî. *Menâkibnâme*. Neşrî, II, 430). [The historian] Nâimâ, who speaks of the gatherings of İbrahim I (IV, 297), touches on the pleasures and entertainments that went on through the night until the morning: "dancers" (*rakkâs*) and the "shadow theater" (*hayâl-i zıll*) and "amusing toys" (*âlât-i lehv*). For more on the "spectacle" (*temâşa*) of the royal garden, see M. And, op. cit. Note 58 above.

209 Âlî. *Mevâ`id*. Ed. M. Şeker. 346.

210 Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Art Islamique*, MAD 690; L.P. Peirce. "Seniority, Sexuality, and the Social Order: The Vocabulary of Gender in Early Modern Ottoman Society". *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600–1800)*. Ed. M. Zilfi. Minneapolis: *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 1988; M. Rocke. *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996; E. Baer. "The Picture of the Beloved". *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 26/1, 2002. 53–59.

211 *Gazavâtnâme*. Neşrî, I, 306.

212 Silay: l. 272.

213 *Menâkibnâme*. Neşrî, II, 430.

214 "A drunkard to the greatest degree and extremely crude, of a pleasant and a delicate nature" (Sehî 94); cf. H. İnalcık. *Fâtih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954. 59.

215 Beşîr Çelebi. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. Ed. İ.H. Ertaylan. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1946.

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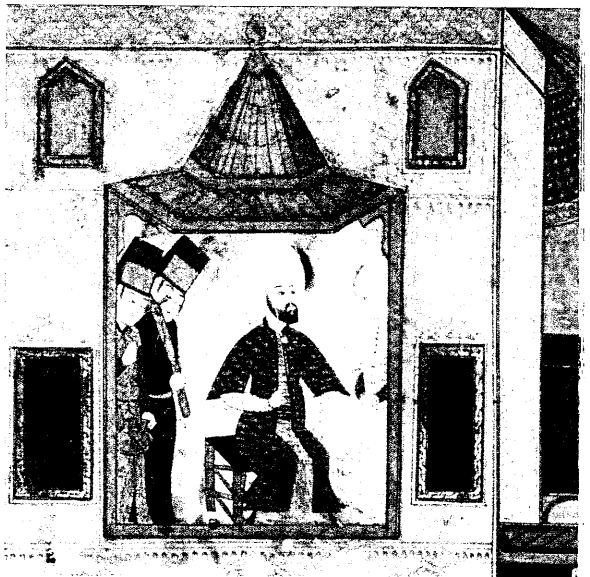
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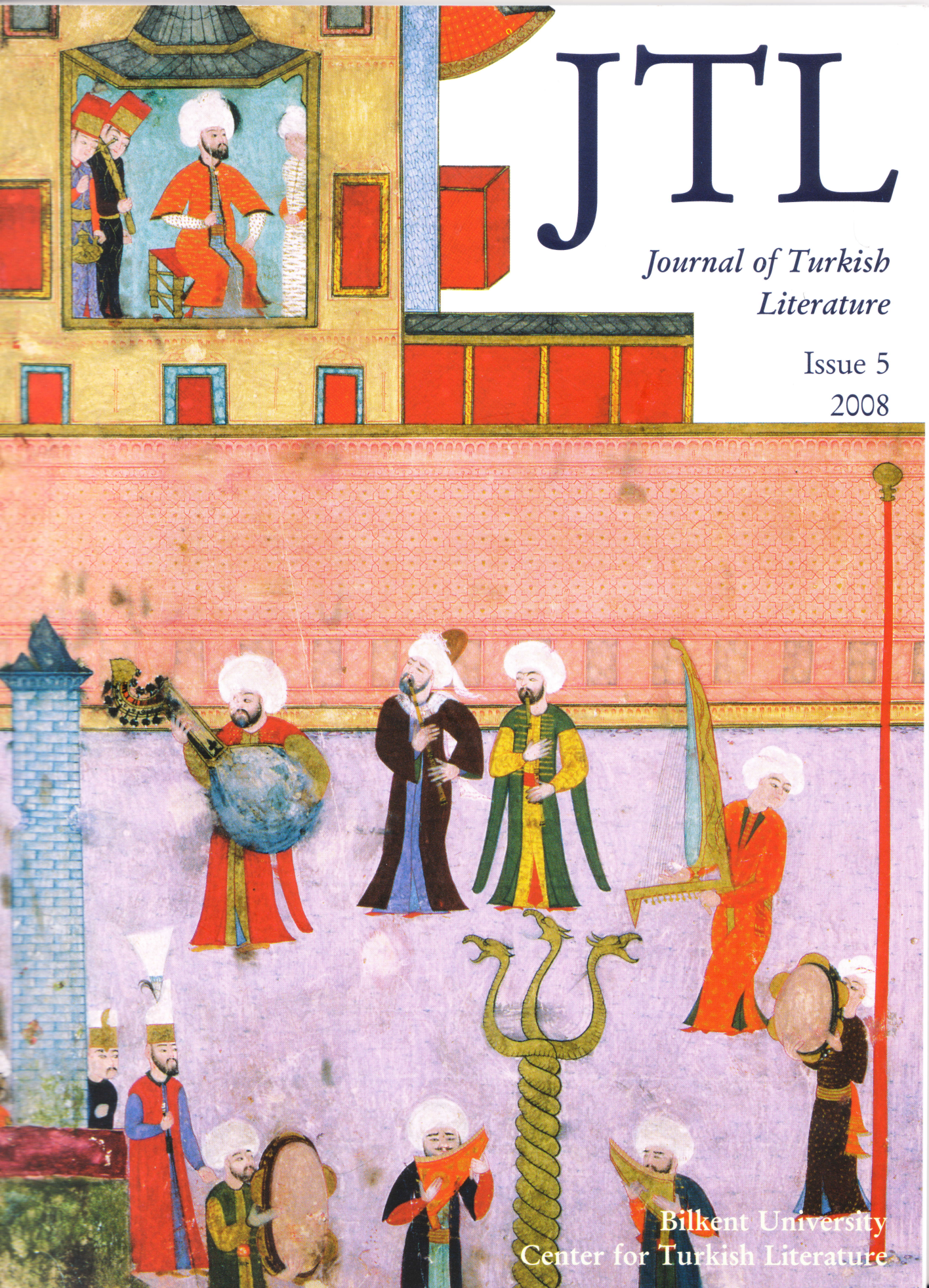
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