CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNING OF SECULAR POETRY.

Teftazami. Cadi Burhan-ud-Din.

The earliest West-Turkish poets, the men whose work we have been considering, were all avowedly and exclusively mystics. But before the dawn of the fifteenth century a new note was struck, and secular, or at least quasi-secular, poetry — the eternal blending of love and religion renders dogmatizing dangerous — made its appearance alongside of verse confessedly mystic and naught beside.

Before, however, we turn our attention to the valiant and adventurous Judge who, so far as we know, was the first to invoke the new spirit, we shall glance for a moment at a work which though only a translation calls for a brief mention in these pages.
In his article already referred to, Veled Chelebi, after a few remarks on 'Ashiq's Gharib-Nâme, goes on to say that the next work in Turkish poetry is a versified translation of Sa'di's Bûstân or 'Orchard' made in 755 (1354) by the great and famous Persian schoolman Sa'd-ud-Dîn Mes'ûd-i Teftâzânî. Of this translation, I have seen no other mention; it is not referred to by either Kâtîb Chelebi or Von Hammer, nor is it spoken of in any work Oriental or European that has come under my notice. But Veled Chelebi says that he has examined it, and quotes a few of the opening lines as a specimen of its style. These show that Teftâzânî's version is in the same metre as the original and, if they are fairly representative of the whole, that his translation is very close. There are in Turkish several commentaries on the Bûstân, notably those by Surûrî, Shem'i, and Sûdí, all of whom flourished in the sixteenth century; but I am not aware of any other translation.

Teftâzânî, the translator, is one of the greatest scholars of Islam; it is he who resuscitated Muhammedan learning after the torrent of Mongol invasion had well-nigh swept all vestige of culture from those lands. Indeed, his appearance is looked upon by the 'ulemá throughout the Muslim world as the central point in their history, the men of learning who preceded the great scholar being called 'the ancients,' while those who have succeeded him are styled 'the moderns.'
Teftazani was born in Khurasan in 722 (1322), and died in 792 (1390); he was held in high honour by Timur who, for all his ferocity, knew how to reverence the representatives of learning.¹

¹ These are the lines quoted by Veled Chelebi from the opening of Tef-tazani's translation of the Bustân. The Persian student will observe how close they are to the original: —

ديريم آدین آنک کد بارانتی گدن - سوری دلاد حکمتان ایمدی روآن
دوشمار اسبین دوتسمق ایشهدور - لیصد خنا اعرقین ایشیدور
بونوی، ویرمین باباشمال باشی * ایشیکه‌ده سورونما آونر ایشی
نی عصری، اولانلی فینی دولت * نه صوجی اولانلی دیلو بیمار

I pronounce the name of Him who hath created the soul,
Who through (His) wisdom hath made speech flow on the tongue.
To take the hand of the fallen is His work;
Through grace He hearkeneth the excuse of faults.
The heads of kings who bow not the neck. —
Their work is grovelling at His threshold.
He seizeth not violently the rebellious,
Neither doth He push off the guilty.

The date of the translation is given in this passage which occurs in the canto on 'The Reason of the Writing of the Book': —

شوبیلده ن دوزنلی اشبوکناب * نیبی عاجزندن صورتیسه حسب
یبدیپور و أنلی بشیلی نمام * کد ترینچی پیلو نوکر خان و علم

And this year when this book was set out,
If the reckoning (thereof) from the Flight of the Apostle be asked,
It was seven hundred and fifty-five, exactly,
That the date thereof may high and low hold in writing.
From the days of the Mongol invasion till the time when Báyczíd the Thunderbolt brought the more westerly districts within the limits of the Ottoman Empire, the vast territories lying to the east of the Decarchy were in a state of seething anarchy. From Angora, which had been annexed by Murád I, away to the farthest limits of Azerbayjan was a welter of Turkman clans, ever at war with one another and with their neighbours, and owning no real allegiance to any ruler beyond their tribal chiefs. From out of this chaos there emerged in the last quarter of the fourteenth century four local Turkman dynasties named respectively the Qara-Qoyunlu or ‘Black Sheep’ at Erzerum, the Aq-Qoyunlu or ‘White Sheep’ at Diyár-Bekr,¹ the Zu-l-Qadr at Merêfash and the Benî-Ramazán at Adana.²

Somewhere about the time when the foundations of these little states were being laid, that is about the year 780 (1378), there was in the city of Erzinjan a very learned and accomplished Cadi or Judge named Ahmed Burhán-ud-Din. Our information concerning the career of this remarkable man who, if not actually the first, was among the very earliest of the literary lyric poets³ of the Western Turks,

¹ The Black Sheep and the White Sheep were so named from the devices on their standards.

² The Black Sheep dynasty existed for about seventy years when it succumbed to its rival the White Sheep which, in its turn, was overthrown by Shah Isma‘il of Persia early in the sixteenth century. The Zu-l-Qadr held out till the time of Sultan Selim I, the Benî-Ramazán till that of Suleymán I.

³ I say ‘literary’ lyric poets in order to exclude men like Vûnus Imre, who, though lyric poets, wrote without regard to the rules of the literary art.
is derived chiefly from the biographical work entitled Ed-Durer-ul-Kamine or 'The Hidden Pearls' of the famous Arab historian Ibn-Hajar. According to this contemporary writer, who is cited as their authority by Tash-köpri-zade, Ali and Sa'd-ud-Din, Cadi Burhan-ud-Din, as the poet is usually called, having completed his studies in jurisprudence in the city of Aleppo which was then, along with all Syria, in the hands of the Memlük Sultans of Egypt, returned to his native town of Erzinjan, where he speedily formed a close friendship with the Emir or King. This friendship between the Emir and the Cadi ripened into intimacy till at length the former gave Burhan-ud-Din his daughter in marriage. After this, for some unrecorded reason, their friendship changed into hostility, and Burhan killed his father-in-law and made himself king in his stead. He then seized the districts of Siwas and Qaysariya and joining them to that of Erzinjan, formed a little kingdom with himself as Sultan. Here he reigned, according to Sa'd-ud-Din, for some twenty or thirty years, continually raiding the neighbourhood and fighting with the tribes round about.

In 789 (1387), Ibn-Hajar tells us, a powerful Egyptian army was sent against Burhan, to which he, though he knew opposition must be vain, being of a very courageous disposition, offered a valiant but unavailing resistance. In 799 (1396-7) he found himself hard pressed by some of the neighbouring Turkman tribes, whereupon he besought aid of his quondam enemy the Memlük Sultan of Egypt, which, being granted, enabled him to overcome his foes. But towards

1 Ibn-Hajar el-Asqalani was born in Egypt in 773 (1371-2), and died there in 852 (1448-9). He is said to have written more than a hundred and fifty books. The full title of the work mentioned above is Ed-Durer-ul-Kamine fi A'yan-il-Mi'et-is-Samine, 'The Hidden Pearls, concerning the Notables of the Eighth Century;' the book is a biographical dictionary of the prominent Muslims of the eighth century of the Hijre (A. D. 1300-1397).
the end of the following year 800 (that is the summer of 1398) he was killed in a great battle with the White Sheep chieftain Qara-Ösmán the Black Leech.¹

In his narration of the events of the reign of Báyezídíd the Thunderbolt, Saʿd-ud-Dín gives a somewhat different account of the end of Burhán-ud-Dín. According to the Ottoman historian, Sultan Báyezíd having heard of the pretensions and excesses of the upstart ruler of Siwas, set out against him at the head of a large army. Burhán, terrified at the approach of so formidable an antagonist, abandoned his capital and fled to some high and steep mountains in the neighbourhood of Kharpút. Here he waited for a time, hoping that something would happen in the Ottoman dominions which would compel the Sultan to retire, and so allow him to return to his capital. Meanwhile his old enemy the Black Leech seeing Burhán’s extremity to be his own opportunity, suddenly attacked the fugitive in his retreat, and there slew him after a desperate conflict. Thus when Báyezíd and his Ottomans arrived, they had nothing to do but take possession of Burhán’s territories which were straightway incorporated with their own dominions, Zeyn-ul-ʿAbidín, Burhán’s son, having previously been sent off to his sister’s husband Nasır-ud-Dín Bey, the Zu-l-Qadr king of Merāsh, by the people of Siwas who were desirous that no opposition should be offered to Báyezíd.²

¹ Qara-Iluk or Qara-Yuluk, the ‘Black Leech,’ is the surname given on account of his bloodthirstiness to Qara-Ösmán, the grandson of Tur ʿAlí Beg, the first recorded chieftain of the White Sheep clan.

² In this place Saʿd-ud-Dín says there is some question as to the date of the death of Burhán-ud-Dín. He says that Molla İdrís mentions 794, but that he himself follows İbn-Shuhne and Sheref-ud-Dín-i Yeşidî who give 798, while İbn-Hajar has 799. Saʿd-ud-Dín here seems to forget that he had himself already given (in his notice on Burhán-ud-Dín among the learned men of Murād I’s reign) 800 on the authority of İbn-Hajîr. This last date is further given in the İqd-ul-Jumân li Târikh-Ehl-iz-Zemân, ‘The Necklace of
We have no particulars concerning the fatal quarrel between Burhan-ud-Din and his father-in-law and so can say nothing as to how far, if at all, the former was justified in bringing about the Emir's death. But Tash-köprü-zade, following Ibn-Hajar, speaks of Burhan's seizure of the government of Erzincan as 'the fruitage of the tree of craft and intrigue,' and this, taken in conjunction with the ambitious and aggressive temper which the Cadi-Sultan afterwards displayed, inclines one to suspect that this dim tragedy may have been in but too true harmony with the fierce spirit of that lawless age.

But be this as it may, all the authorities agree in lauding the learning and courage of the gifted and daring adventurer. When speaking of the resistance that he offered to the overwhelming forces of the Memluks, Ibn-Hajar, as reported by Tash-köprü-zade, says, that although Burhan-ud-Din knew it was impossible to stem the flood, yet his native valour impelled him to stand up against it; and farther on, when describing his character, he declares that 'courage and audacity were implanted in his nature, and he was passing brave and terrible, valorous and awful.' ^Ayni, another almost contemporary Arab historian, says of him, 'his was bounty indescribable; but he busied himself with hearkening to instruments of music and with drinking things forbidden; and his is fair poetry in Arabic, in Turkish and in Persian; and he was a lord of high emprize, and he bowed not his head to the Lord of Egypt, nor yet to the Son of 'Osman, nor yet to Timur.'

Pearls, concerning the History of the Men of the Time, by another Arab historian, Bedr-ud-Din Ayni, who died in 855 (1451). Katib Chelebi also gives 800 as the date of Cadi Burhan-ud-Din's death.

1 In direct contradiction to Sa'd-ud-Din's statement that Burhan fled on the approach of Bayezid.

2 In his Bibliographical Dictionary (vol. ii, p. 139) Katib Chelebi mentions
The best-known of Cadi Burhan-ud-Din's writings was his Terjih, a commentary on the great work on the principles of jurisprudence called the Telmih; both Tash-köpri-zade and Sa'd-ud-Din speak of this commentary as being in high repute among the 'ulema of their own time. Burhan wrote also a grammatical treatise which he called Iksir-us-Saadet or 'The Elixir of Felicity'; but it is his poetry alone that concerns us here.

Tash-köpri-zade, presumably following Ibn-Hajar, says, 'Mevlana Burhan-ud-Din was master of versification, and he was ranged and reckoned in the ranks of the poets.' On the same authority, Sa'd-ud-Din and 'Ali say, the first, 'he was master of graceful verse;' the second, 'as were his culture and his learning, so were his poetry and his courage.' 'Ayni says, as we have seen, 'his is fair poetry in Arabic, in Turkish and in Persian.' And that is all; the Ottoman Tezkire-writers pass him over in silence. Von Hammer makes no mention of him. Not a line of this old poet was preserved by any chronicler; and in the world of letters, where he had played as bold a part as he had in that of politics, his was but the almost forgotten shadow of a name.

a special history of Cadi Burhan-ud-Din under the title of تاریخ القاضی_

The History of the Cadi Burhan-ud-Din of Siwas.' He describes it thus: 'In four volumes; by the accomplished 'Abd-ul-'Aziz el-Baghdadi. Ibn-'Arab-Shah relateth in his History that he ('Abd-ul-'Aziz) was a marvel of the age in verse and prose both in Arabic and Persian, and that he was the boon-companion of Sultan Ahmed el-Jelayiri at Baghdad. On his (the Cadi's) alighting thereat (at Baghdad), the Cadi besought him ('Abd-ul-'Aziz) of him (Sultan Ahmed); and he (Ahmed) refused, and set up those who kept watch over him ('Abd-ul-'Aziz); and he ('Abd-ul-'Aziz) desired to go, and he laid his clothes on the bank of the Tigris and plunged in, and he came out at another place and joined his companions who had thought him drowned. And he was honoured and esteemed by the Cadi, and he wrote for him a fair history, and he narrated therein from the beginning of his affairs till near his death; and it is more beautiful than the History of 'Utba in its subtle phrases. And after the death of the Cadi he departed to Cairo, and there he fell from a roof and died, his ribs being broken.'
Little, if any, attention had been paid to the brief passages just quoted from the medieval historians till in 1890 the British Museum acquired from the executors of Mr. Thomas Fiott Hughes, a former Oriental Secretary to the British Embassy in Constantinople, who had there made a collection of Eastern books, a large and magnificent manuscript containing the Diwan of Cadi Burhan-ud-Din. This volume, which, as far as is known, is unique, was written in 798 (1395-6), two years before the author’s death. On several grounds it seems not improbable that this manuscript was prepared for Burhan-ud-Din himself. The date would favour such an hypothesis, while the beauty and richness of the decoration show that the volume was destined for some great personage. The scribe, who was certainly a client of Burhān’s, calls himself Khalil bin Ahmed el-Melēki es-Sultāni, that is, Khalil, the son of Ahmed, the Royalist, the Sultanist. By way of descriptive title he prefixes to the volume this sentence in Arabic: ‘of the Words of the Sultan, the Wise, the Just, the Gracious, the Bounteous, in whom are manifest the Apostolic Virtues, in whom is manifest the Mustafavian Faith, the Sultan of Sultans, the Essence of the Water and the Earth, the Proof of the Truth and of the World and of the Faith, the strengthened with the strength of the One the Sempiternal, the Lord of Victory, Ahmed, the son of Muhammed,— may God eternalize his Empire and manifest his Proof unto the Worlds!’ This panegyric is clearly the work of a courtier, and reads very much as though the volume had been intended for the library of the royal poet. In the same key are the brief phrases such as, ‘And by him: be his kingdom eternalized!’ ‘And by him: be his fortune

1 Or. 4126.

Mustafa is one of the names of the Prophet Muhammed.
The word Burhān means ‘Proof;’ Burhān-ud-Din, ‘Proof of the Faith.’
increased!" \(^1\) which the copyist has prefixed to each ghazel.

Burhán-ud-Dín is the earliest West-Turkish lyric poet of whose work we can speak with any confidence; as save for a few lines preserved by the biographers, the writings of his contemporary Niyází — of whom more by and by — have disappeared. His Diwán is thus the oldest monument of the literary lyric poetry of the Western Turks that remains to us; but it is more, it is in all probability practically the first collection of such that was made; as even should we eventually find the Diwán of the poet just mentioned, it would at best be contemporary, not earlier.

The volume consists of two sections, the first and by far the larger containing the ghazels, the second containing firstly twenty rubā'ís and secondly a much larger number of detached quatrains described as tuyughāt. \(^2\) Two points are to be noticed concerning the ghazels as differentiating this from later collections. The first of these is that the alphabetical arrangement universal in subsequent diwāns is here ignored, the poems following one another seemingly at hap-hazard, no order of any kind being observable. The second is that the poet never mentions his own name; the custom of using a makhlas or pen-name had not yet been introduced among the Turks.

We find in the ghazels the same prosodical peculiarity that we have noted in the mesnevis of Veled and ʿAshiq, namely, that while the metres are Persian, the feet are sometimes quantitative, sometimes syllabic. Here, however, the position of the two principles is reversed; it is the Persian or quantitative that is the more usual, the Turkish or syllabic falling into the second place. What may have been the case with

\(^1\) و نه زیب دوئن

\(^2\) Tuyughāt is a pseudo-Arabic plural form of the East-Turkish word tuyugh.
Niyazi's ghazels we cannot say, but in those of the lyric poets, Ahmed-i Dā'i, Ahmedī and Nesimi, who also were contemporaries of Burhan, though the bulk of their work is probably subsequent to Timur's invasion, we find the Persian system alone observed, and, moreover, fully accepted in its every detail. Burhan's is therefore the only diwan of literary ghazels we have which was completed, even to receiving the last touches it ever got, prior to the development that synchronised with the Tartar inroad; and consequently these ghazels are the only known poems of their class which present that compromise between the Persian and Turkish prosodical systems so distinctive of the earlier portion of the First Period. In the rubā'īs the Persian method is more consistently followed. These rubā'īs are probably the first ever written in the Turkish language.

Cadi Burhan-ud-Din is, so far as I know, the only literary poet among the Western Turks who has made use of the old native verse-form called Tuyugh. This, as may be remembered, is identical in rhyme-arrangement with the rubā'ī or quatrain; that is to say, it is a short poem of four lines, the first, second and third of which rhyme together. But it is not written in any of the Persian rubā'ī metres, being composed in lines of eleven syllables which are of course always scanned in the Turkish syllabic style. It is curious to note how in his tuyughs Burhan goes out of his way to be as much of a Turkman as he can. His ghazels and rubā'īs are written in a pure, though somewhat peculiar, West-Turkish dialect, but the tuyughs abound with East-Turkish words and grammatical forms which he uses nowhere else. In writing in what is essentially an East-Turkish form he

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1 See p. 90.
2 The cadence corresponds to the Persian Hexametric Remel: —

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seems to have very properly thought that it behoived him as an artist to express himself so far as might be in the fashion of his Central Asian kinsfolk.

The sentiment and manner of Burhán’s poetry are of course Persian; he learned, as was inevitable, from the only masters who were there to teach; and in his own way he learned his lesson quite as well as most of his more famous successors. It would perhaps not be quite fair to charge his Persian instructors with entire responsibility for all the gems of rhetoric that glitter in his verses, seeing that according to no less an authority than Mir ʿAlī Shīr, it is becoming to employ the tejnis or ‘homonym’ in the tuyugh, — a statement which seems to point to a native and inborn yearning after such pretty playthings. Burhán is indeed the first West-Turkish poet to pay serious attention to the art that is called Bedî’. Homonyms of many varieties, prominent among which is the favourite merfū or ‘repaired,’ meet us at every turn; while of course the popular arrangement of an internal sub-rhyme is well to the fore.

Daring and original as Burhán-ud-Dīn shows himself in his attempt to write West-Turkish lyrics in both the Persian and the East-Turkish styles, he proves himself no less so in his choice of subject. He is, as we have hinted, the first of the Western Turks to break away from the religious circle — be it mystic or philosophic — in which all the poetry of his people has hitherto revolved. Burhán is before all else a love-poet, the first love-poet of Turkish Asia Minor. ‘He busied himself with listening to instruments of music and with drinking things forbidden,’ says ʿAynī; but if the verses do at all reflect the singer, the delights of love must have claimed quite as much of his attention. Though from time

1 Mir ʿAlī Shīr-i Newāʿī, the famous East-Turkish poet and man of letters of the fifteenth century who has been mentioned on p. 127.
to time the mystic note is discernible, this comes faintly, as it were an echo from without; the true voice of the poet is heard in the praises of his mistress, glorying in the joy of her presence, wailing in the desolation of her absence.

To speak authoritatively concerning the literary side of Burhan-ud-Din's work would demand a careful study of his dialect as well as a more intimate acquaintance with the bulk of his poetry than I have had time to acquire. It is, however, clear that his conception of poetry was quite different from that of such men as Veled and 'Ashiq. To these verse was a vehicle—the most suitable and convenient they knew—for the exposition of their theory of existence; to Burhan it was before aught else an art, a field for the exercise of his wit and ingenuity. In direct opposition to his predecessors, he delighted in adorning his lines with all he knew of grace and fantasy; and in so far he, rather than any of them, is the true herald of the great army that is to come. That he had a genuine love of his art is self-evident; otherwise he never could have found leisure amid the cares and excitements of his busy and eventful life to produce so great a quantity of verse. This fecundity is the more remarkable in that he had no similar Turkish work behind him. The verse of his mystic predecessors was not of a nature to help here; such models as he had must have been exclusively Persian. His poems may have little to commend them on the score of actual accomplishment, but surely it is no mean achievement for a man who had to hold by the sword from hour to hour the kingdom he had created for himself, to have caught something of the spirit and the art of a foreign poetry and to have embodied this for the first time in an almost uncultivated language.  

1 An essay on the British Museum MS. of Cadi Burhan-ud-Din's Diwan, along with the text and a translation of the twenty rubais and of twelve of
In the following translations it has been possible to suggest some of the homonyms and other figures that form so prominent a feature of Burhan-ud-Din's verses; many, however, have had to be passed over unnoticed. The enormous difference between these verses and everything that has gone before will be apparent at once even through the veil of translation.

Ghazel. [13]

Thy ruby lips unto the sugar-bale have wroughten bale,  
And made this parrot-heart of mine in melody to wail.

I flung my heart, ah, woe is me, upon her heart's pathway;  
To save the vial cast against the stone, whate'er may vail?  

She bent her eyebrow-bow and notched the arrow of her eye;  
It seemeth then she would yon Turks unto this battle hail.

1 The 'ruby lips' — often contracted to 'the rubies' — of a beauty is a common-place of Persian and old Turkish poetry.
2 The 'sugar-bale' typifies sweetness.
3 The 'Parrot' is often mentioned by the poets, but not, as with us, to typify ignorant repetition; what the Easterns associate with this bird is, firstly, its faculty of learning human speech, and, secondly, the beauty of its plumage. When Burhan speaks of his 'parrot-heart' he means to imply that his heart has been taught to speak or indite in verse by the charms of his mistress.
4 The 'glass vial' represents the tender heart of the lover; the 'stone,' the hard heart of the beauty, — when these are thrown together the former must needs be broken. The metaphor is not unusual.
5 The 'eyebrow-bow' and the 'arrow' of the eye or glance are among the commonest of common-places.
6 The eyes or glances of a beauty are often compared by the Persian poets to 'Turks,' the latter being known to the Persians as people of handsome appearance and at the same time as bold marauders. They thus resemble the beloved’s eyes which are beautiful and yet steal the heart. Sometimes the beloved herself is called a 'Turk,' for the same reasons. The Ottomans and other Turkish peoples simply took over this fancy with the rest of the Per-
Her tresses and her locks do burn my soul like aloes-wood. 1
For this her rule with whatsoever she may to clutch avail.

Oh skinker, give into her hand the brimming bowl and see
The charm and seemliness she adds unto the wine vermeil. 2

Ghazel. [14]

O thou, white of chin! and O thou, black of hair!
A myriad the tangles thy dark tresses bear.

What though that the tongue of the taper be long,
Its place is the lantern through thy radiance fair. 3

sian paraphernalia, but it is not of very frequent occurrence in their verse.
Hafiz of Shiraz, the great Persian lyric poet, alludes to it in the opening
couplet of one of the best known of his ghazels:

اکر آن تسرک شیپرایی بلسان حسن آرد دل مرا
بخش عمدوبیش باخشن سرمند و بکمارا

If yon Shirazian Turk would deign to bear this heart o’ mine in hand,
I’d give unto her Indian mole Bokhara-town and Samarcand.
The phrase ‘to bear so and so’s heart in one’s hand’ means ‘to make much
of so and so,’ ‘to show him favours.’ In the second line the beauty’s mole,
which is of course black, is imagined as her Indian slave, and the poet
declares that if the lady were but kind to him, he would, in the exuberance
of his gratitude, give the cities of Bokhara and Samarcand as a ‘tip’ to her
black slave (her black mole).

1 Aloes-wood is burned for the fragrant incense-like perfume it produces.
The black locks of the beauty are like the black charcoal in the censer on
which the aloes-wood is laid to be burned. There is in this couplet a series
of untranslatable rhymes or amphibologies; the word ‘aloes-wood’ and ‘lute’
‘rule’ and ‘dulcimer’; ‘whate’ver’ and ‘flute’; ‘clinch’ and ‘clutch’; but I cannot make any clear sense out
of the verse taking these words as the names of musical instruments.

2 By her reflection falling on it, or merely by her holding it, or perhaps
by the fact that it will taste sweeter when drunk in her sweet company.

3 The ‘tongue’ of the taper is the wick. ‘To extend the tongue’ is a
phrase meaning ‘to be talkative,’ generally, in a bad sense. The idea in the
verse is that though the taper or candle (one of the conventional symbols for
a bright and smiling beauty) 4
Distracted and bewildered the soul for her locks,—
It maketh the nook of her eye its repair. 1

Mine eyes they are Jafer (yep, c'en as her lips), —
Huseyn and Hasan are the twain of them there. 2

I'll waste to a hair for her hair-waist my frame,—
The Uweysi Qaren 3 of her path will I fare.

Ghazel. [15]

How shall I live on; ah, how, afar from thee?
Know not I what I shall do, afar from thee.

O my Liege, from forth mine eyen pour the tears;
Poor am I, as beggar low, afar from thee.

left unheeded in the candlestick or lantern when thy far brighter radiance
shines forth. i.e. when thou gracest the banquet with thy lovely presence.

1 The eye of a beauty is conceived as restless, ever making assault upon
the hearts of lovers. So my soul knows no peace, — it is distracted for her
hair, yet it can fly for refuge only to her restless eye.

9 The poet here likens his eyes, stained with the tears of blood shed for
his love, to the red lips of his mistress, and to the early martyrs in their
gory raiment. Jaferi Tayyar, the brother of 'Ali, died fighting for the Prophet
at Muta. Huseyn and Hasan are the sons of 'Ali and the grandsons of the
Prophet. Huseyn was slain in the famous Battle of Kerbelah, while Hasan
was killed in Medina. Possibly Burhan may have had in his mind the Hadis,

Whoso dieth for Love, verily he dieth a martyr: مَنْ مَاتِ مَنْ أَنْتَعْشَف

There is further an iham or amphibology in the word
jafer, which besides being a proper name, means 'a stream,' to which the
poet may aptly compare his weeping eyes.

3 Uweysi Qareni (or Qaren), i.e. Uweys of the tribe of Qaren, a famous
saint of the early days of Islam, was a native of Yemen. Though contemporary
with the Prophet, he never saw him; but having heard that he had lost one
of his teeth, and not knowing which, he broke all his own to make sure
that the same one was gone. He was killed in battle in 37 (658), fighting
alongside 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, against the usurper Mu'awiya.
Burhan's idea is that he will waste his own body till it becomes very thin
and so resembles his beloved's waist, in like manner as Uweysi Qaren knocked
out his own teeth in order to resemble the Prophet whom he loved.
Thou wouldst have my heart; I give my life instead;  
Hard I'd hurt my heart all through, afar from thee.

Sad and woeful for each hair that thou dost wear;  
To a hair I'd wear me too, afar from thee.

Lo, my eyes have entered my heart's blood, alack!  
Fain of my eyes' blood I go, afar from thee.

To thy life my life is joined, O beauty bright.  
Like unto a veil I show, afar from thee.

Far from thee, ah, far from thee, I burn alway;  
Think not I am heedless, no, afar from thee.

**Ghazel. [16]**

See how ye dearest one again on us a ruse hath played, —  
To turn our tears to blood she hath her cheek with rouge o'erlaid. 1

Since I have seen that mouth of hers my life hath been a doubt; 2
Since she hath shown that waist of hers she's turned me to a shade. 3

1 The old idea was that tears are really blood which undergoes a process of distillation and so is turned into water; but as there is only a limited store of this water, if one weep much it is exhausted, and pure, undistilled blood comes from the eyes in its place. Thus to weep 'tears of blood' is a very common expression meaning to weep long and bitterly.

Burhan would suggest in this verse that he has wept away all his stock of tears of water, and that his heart has been melted for stress of love and become blood, which blood is now issuing in tears from his eyes.

2 i.e. my soul is joined to thy soul though my separate personality is interposed between us.

3 'Tears of blood,' see above, n. 1.

4 i.e. she has adorned herself so as to increase the stress of our desire. There is further a suggested association between the redness of the cosmetic with which she has painted her face and the redness of the tears of blood we are to shed through our passionate yearning therefor.

5 Smallness of mouth is one of the charms of the conventional beauty: this is sometimes exaggerated so that the fair one's mouth is called an atom or monad (jevher-i ferd, see p. 67, n. 1.) The analogy in the present line is between the smallness (as it were to vanishing point) of the beloved's mouth and the unsubstantiality (as it were even to the immateriality of a doubt) to
Her eyes my soul subduing, her ears my heart undoing,
Her words as honey flowing, my reason dumb have made.

Her absence I can bear not, her union I may share not, —
Yon Idol’s 1 fore whose face doth plenilune to crescent fade.

God’s grace that beauty is which she to us unlawful makes;
How is it lawful for her cyne her lover’s blood to shed: 2

A wand’ring vagrant is the wind since playing in her hair;
Not all ungrounded are the tales that thereanent are spread.

For all that at the fire of love of her she broiled the soul,
The moisture of her lip as cooling water she purveyed. 3

Ghazel. [17]

Is not her love the soul within this lifeless frame of me?
And yet, and yet, is not the heart sore smitten by her e’e?

My heart hath girt it round with love of her upon her path;
Will not the door whereat with love one knocketh opened be? 4

which yearning for this has worn the lover. Or yearning for her mouth,
which is so small that its existence is doubtful, has so preyed upon my life
that its existence has become doubtful likewise.

6 Slenderness of waist is another of the conventional points in a beauty.
The analogy here parallels that in the preceding line; it is between the
slightness of her waist and the slightness of the measure of life to which
desire therefor has reduced the lover.

1 The beloved is often called an ‘Idol’ as being the object of the lover’s
adoration. There was moreover an idea, perhaps derived from the images and
pictures in Christian churches, that an idol was a thing of beauty.

2 Her beauty is the grace of God, and being the grace of God, is lawful
for all; yet by denying it to us she acts as though the grace of God were
unlawful for us. Since she is so scrupulous as to make unlawful what is
really lawful, how can she hold it lawful to shed blood, an action which is
wholly unlawful?

3 i.e. she tempered her rigour with some kindness.

4 As says the Arabic hemistich which has passed into a proverb: —

وَ مَنْ دَخَلَ بَابَ الْكَرَامَةِ أَنْفَذَجَ

‘And whoso knocketh at the door of the generous, it will be opened (unto him).’
No riddle deem thou that the which her eyelashes have wrought;
Construed within the heart is not their cruel tyranny?

Though Noah reached his thousandth year, a thousand years it took:
Hath not the twinkling of an eye vouchsafed this age to me? 2

The Lover and the One Belov'd are one through fire of Love:
Is not the Lauder the Belauded then in verity?

**Ghazel. [18]**

O fairest one! O fairest one! O fairest!
Thy words, the Stream of Life, 3 thy love the clearest.

I drunken am, and save thy ruby liplets
Is none may heal the ill they've wroughten, dearest. 4

Oh what shall we? — thy tresses rest them never!
What do with these that rest not, fluttering rarest?

Behind us let us cast what nothing boots us,
And let us hale the thing that boots us nearest.

Here are a few of the ruba'is, which are interesting as being, as we have said, probably the earliest Turkish experiments in this form.

1 In the Koran, xix. 13, we read, 'And we sent Noah to his people, and he dwelt among them for a thousand years save fifty years; and the deluge overtook them while they were unjust.'

2 The poet here means to say that while it took Noah a thousand years to attain the age of a thousand, he himself has gained all the knowledge, experience and pleasure that would be won in a life of that length in the twinkling of an eye. i.e. 1

3 The legendary Stream or Fountain of Life, references to which are of constant occurrence, has already been mentioned, p. 172, n. 1. The mouth of the beloved is often compared to this Fountain, and the words issuing thence to the Water of Life that flows therefrom.

4 Love of her ruby lips has made him drunk or beside himself, so it is their kiss alone that can cure him.
Ruba‘i. [19]

I said: That 1 thy lip shall drain, may it be?
To this my pain, assain or bane may it be?
To union winning not, I am fallen far off;
In dreams that 1 thy lip shall drain, may it be?

Ruba‘i. [20]

What hurt were I made glad by union with thee?
And should I win not, what lack wouldst thou see?
Wound would I my heart, yea, to shreds it tear,
Knew I thy ruby lip the salve therefor would be.

Ruba‘i. [21]

Again for yon Leyli is my heart Mejnun-wode, 1
Again for yon dearling are my tears Jeyhun-blood. 2
May it be that her lips have torn this heart of mine? —
I looked, and behold, betwixen them was there blood! 3

Ruba‘i. [22]

Said 1: Thy lip! Said she: How sweet he speaks!
Said 1: Thy waist! Said she: How neat he speaks!
Said 1: My Soul, be all a ransom for thy locks!
Said she: This lack-all! of his wealth how feat he speaks! 4

1 Mejnun and his beloved Leyli are the Romeo and Juliet of Eastern romance and poetry; we shall learn their history in detail later on.
2 The Jeyhun is the River Oxus.
3 This is an instance of the figure Husn-i Ta‘lil, see p. 113. The poet here suggests that the moisture and redness of his beloved’s lips are due to the blood of his heart which they have wounded.
4 His speech is ‘sweet’ because it is of her lip which is sweetness itself; it is ‘neat’ because it is of her waist which is so slight and dainty. The last line is sarcastic: ‘this poor lover who has naught speaks yet of giving all things as a ransom for my hair.’
Rubá'í. [23]

Said she: Why thine eyen weeping fain do I see? And why thy heart full of pain do I see?
Said I: O Idol, 'tis for this, that thy lip I see not always, but only now and then do I see!

Rubá'í. [24]

Thy lips for my soul the cure or bane do I see? Thine eyen's wound the salve my heart to assain do I see?
Love's fire, the which doth burn up Either World, Weak for my heart alone and vain do I see.

Rubá'í. [25]

The heart for thine eyen to fragments torn must be; The soul in thy locks distraught and lorn must be.
For him who is hapless in thy hair, the balm, O Idol, from thy liplet born must be.

Rubá'í. [26]

Life for your Loved give! ye who Lovers be! Who seeks a Love nor gives his life, — a child is he!
Though all the world be gathered on the Judgment-plain, To me 'twill be a void so I but win to thee!

1 i.e. the wound dealt by thine eyen, — this is really a salve to my heart.
2 'Either World,' the Here and the Hereafter, the Worlds Spiritual and Material, Real and Phenomenal; the various significations are generally resent together in the mind when the poets use the phrase.
3 i.e. of all phenomena the heart alone can bear the mighty burden and stress of Love.
Tuyugh. 1 [27]

That which God, or yet time was, hath writ, shall be;
Whatsoe'er the eye's to see, 'twill surely see.
Refuge take we in The Truth in Either World;
What is Tokhtamish 2 or Halt Timur 3 to me?

Tuyugh. [28]

Thanks to God, 'tis now of heroes bold the day;
All the world doth view the age with sore affray.
From the land where sinks the sun to where it springs
Fles within one breath the man of Love 4 straightway.

Tuyugh. [29]

That on earth I have no share, full well I know.
Ah, from no one but my dearring comes my woe.
Hope is leader still in Either World, for sooth
Other store than that there is not here below.

Tuyugh. [30]

Beauties like to thee within the world are few:
'Coquetry' thine air the which I held for 'True.' 5

1 The eight Tuyughs translated here are among those printed by M. Melioranński whose selection is as good and representative as any other that might be made.
2 Tokhtamish is Burhân's form of Toqtamish, the name of the last of the Qipchaq Khans. This famous Prince, among whose exploits was the sack of Moscow, was eventually overthrown by Timur. He died, according to Sir H. Howorth's 'History of the Mongols' in 1406, according to Sâmi Bey in 799 (1396-7).
3 'Halt Timur;' the great conqueror walked with a limp, the result of an arrow-wound, whence the Persians call him Timur-i Leng or 'Timur the Lame,' which is the original of our corrupt forms Tamerlane and Tamburlaine.
4 'The man of Love,' i.e. the mystic lover.
5 Shehnaz i.e. 'Coquetry,' and Rast i.e. 'True,' are the names of two of
For the partridge-hearts there is no hawk on earth
Save thy falcon-eyne that fierce and swift pursue.

Tuyugh. [31]

Pity 'twere if aught hid in the heart remain: ¹
Life and Death do still the self-same beaker drain.
At the wild carouse of earth is Either World
By the man of Love as but one goblet ta'en.

Tuyugh. [32]

All our works and deeds before The Truth are known.
All the lawful and unlawful we have done.
O cupbearer, give to us the brimming bowl,
That the stain of rust from off our heart be gone.

Tuyugh. [33]

Youthful charmer like to thee I ne'er did see:
Let the soul, the world, be sacrifice for thee.
Did there reach us of thy grace one single drop,
'Tore that drop a myriad seas one drop would be.

Tuyugh. [34]

With that dearling we've made merry all the night,
With that roguish fair whose riever glances smite.

the Oriental musical notes and also of two well-known melodies; they are used here amphilo-logically, the literal and technical senses both being kept in view.

¹ This probably means that it were a matter for regret should any ill-feeling against another be harboured in the heart, life being so uncertain and the world so small a thing.

² 'Rust' is constantly used figuratively for sorrow, the idea being that sorrow eats into the heart, which is compared to a mirror, as rust does into the metal mirrors that were used in those days.
Come then, up, and let us do by her anon
What we never yet have done by any wight!

Tuyugh. [35]

Still the lover's heart doth burn and burn alway;
Still the stranger's eyes are weeping weeping aye.
Longs the devotee for prayer and prayer-niche; ¹
He who is a man, he craves the field of fray.

¹ The mihrāb or prayer-niche in a mosque indicates the direction of Mekka whither the faithful turn when worshipping. It corresponds in a manner to the altar in a Christian church.
CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST OTTOMAN POETS.


So far not one of the poets whose acquaintance we have made has been an Ottoman Turk. Several have been of Persian extraction, while all those of Turkish race have been born outside the limits of the Osmanic State. It would seem that until the days of Bayezid the Thunderbolt, who reigned from 792 (1390)\(^1\) to 805 (1403), there were practically no poets within the Ottoman borders. \(^5\)Ali finds a reason for this in the fact that almost all the subjects of the earliest Sultans were either rude Turkish or Tartar warriors or else the children of recent converts from Christianity, none of whom possessed so much as the taste for poetry, far less the culture needful to produce it.

\(^1\) Many authorities place the accession of Bayezid I in 791 (1389); but the late Ghâlib Edhem Bey, the learned and accomplished author of the Taqvim-i Meşkukâti ‘Osmaniya (Essai de Numismatique Ottomane) and other valuable works, who went carefully into the question, came to the conclusion that the true date is 792 (1390).
Before turning our attention to the two poets who are mentioned as having lived under Bayezid, we must glance for a moment at a dim form that looms scarce discernible through the thick mists of antiquity and oblivion.

Utterly ignoring all the writers mentioned in the preceding chapters (possibly because they were not Ottoman subjects) 'Ashiq Chelebi, in the Introduction to his Tezkire, declares that there was no Turkish poetry in Rûm during the reigns of 'Osmân and Orkhan.¹ But, he says, there arose in the time of the third sultan, Murâd I, who reigned from 761 (1359) to 792 (1390), a certain Ahmed who wrote in the metre of the Sháh-Náme² a romantic mesnevi which he called Suheyl u Nev-Bahár or 'Canopus and Vere.' This book, to which or to the author of which I have seen no other reference, was, "Ashiq tells us, even in his time extremely rare. He had, however, seen a copy in his youth, and is thus able to inform his readers that although the author translated from the Persian, he is not without some original ideas of his own, and that his phraseology is, according to the wont of his time, painfully 'Turkish.' So fascinated was "Ashiq by the Persian culture of his own day that this quality of being Turkish is in his eyes a grievous

¹ We have seen that 'Ashiq enters Yûnûs Imre in his proper place in his Tezkire, but without mentioning any date. Probably, like 'Alî later on, he was content to let matters rest as they had been left by Tash-köpri-zâde, who, as we know, placed Yûnûs among the men of Sultan Bâyezîd's time.

² The most popular of the Mutâqârîb forms:
blemish, a species of barbarism, such as our eighteenth century writers, moved by a similar spirit, would have called Gothicism; and, indeed, it is to the presence of this that he attributes the neglect into which the old poem had fallen. 'Belike,' he says, 'for that it had no face to show itself to the folk, its station is behind the curtain; for it is not that its face is veiled by reason of beauty and comeliness.'

'Ashiq quotes one couplet, descriptive of night, from this earliest of West-Turkish metrical romances.¹

¹ It is this: —

بِعُوْم وَرَمَش كُرْن كَوْرَت أُلُو دَمَي • زِمَّرَت دَكَزَّد دَوْ أُخْوَان كَمَي

The true sense of the first line of this couplet is not determinable owing to the absence of the context: the following rendering is merely conjectural: —

His (her, its, their) enemy (harm) must exist (arrive); watch that moment, —

On the emerald sea this golden ship.

The second line seems to refer to the crescent moon in the evening sky. This quotation shows that, as we should have expected, the Turkish prosodical system prevailed in this poem.
Of the two poets, Niyázi and Suleymán, who flourished under Sultan Báyezíd, the first is a scarcely more substantial figure than the shadowy singer of 'Canopus and Vere.'

Latífi, the earliest of our authorities, makes this old poet a native of Brusa; in this he is followed by 'Alí and Riyázi, the former of whom, however, mentions a report that Niyázi was by origin a Qaraman Turk, while Hasan Chelebi declares him to have come from Seres in Rumelia. This question of his birthplace is the only point in Niyázi's biography touched on by the chroniclers, and here, as we see, they are sufficiently at variance. For the rest, they confine themselves to saying that the poet left a complete Diwán of Turkish and Persian qasídas and ghazels which he dedicated to Báyezíd the Thunderbolt, in whose praise most of his verses were written.

Niyázi was the earliest Ottoman lyric writer, the fore-runner, as 'Alí says, of 'the ancient poets' Ahmedí and Sheykhí; and although his works have long since disappeared, it would seem that he was not without influence on the development of Turkish poetry. Thus Latífi tells us, and his statement is endorsed by Hasan and 'Alí, that most of the qasídas of Ahmed Pasha, the first great Ottoman lyric poet and the inaugurator of the Second Period, are nazíras or 'parallels' to poems of Niyázi's. Latífi particularises four of the Pasha's best-known qasídas which he says were thus suggested by poems of this early precursor; ¹ and he further declares that

¹ Those having for redif the words, La'l or 'Ruby,' Aftáb or 'Sun,' Shikár or 'Chase,' and Ab or 'Water;' this statement of Latífi's is reproduced by Hasan and 'Alí.
the most famous of all Ahmed's works, namely the qasida descriptive of the Palace of Sultan Mehemmed the Conqueror, was modelled verse for verse upon a highly elaborated poem of Niyazi's that had the same rhyme and metre.¹

Niyazi would thus seem to be, as Latifi maintains he is, the introducer of the Persian artistic lyric into Rum. No doubt Cadi Burhan-ud-Din was at least as early in the field; but his work is different in intention, he did not seek to substitute in poetry Persian for Turkish canons of art; whereas it would appear that Niyazi did, and for this reason the literary poets of Turkey are justified in regarding him as their true precursor.

Niyazi's Diwan, if it was ever popular, seems to have soon fallen from general favour. Latifi, who wrote barely a century and a half after the poet's time, says that his book was even then very rare, and his work in consequence forgotten among the people. Hasan Chelebi, writing forty years later, has the same story; he says that 'with the passing of the seasons and the ages the words of the poet have been forgotten and lost to mind, so that he might be described

¹ As an example Latifi quotes the following verse from Ahmed Pasha's Palace Qasida: —

أَهْيَّى فَلَكَ الْفَوْلِيُّ سَاحِرٌ شَيْرٌ لَمْ يَلْوَّت
خَوْنُ سَكْرِيْنَدُ دِمْ حَمْسَ إِيْلَدَيِّ دُمْ أَلَا

The fawn-heaven beheld at dawn thy lion-banner,
And at daybreak was it tail-splashed by its liver's blood,
which he says was modelled on this couplet from Niyazi's poem: —

أَهْيَّى فَلَكَ مَشْرِعٌ بَانْمَلْمَدُدُ إِيْمَيِّ دَر
شَيْرُ عُلْمَانِ سَعِيسَيْنِ أَهْمَيْنِ مَلْكَنَاء

The fawn-heaven is safe from the leopard-sphere
Since it hath made the shadow of thy lion-banner its refuge.
with the description: He is not a thing that is mentioned.' 1 'Ali's assertion that the Diwán was lost in the confusion caused by Timur's invasion is less probable than the statement of the earlier authorities that it disappeared through neglect. If 'Ali's story were true, Ahmed Pasha could not have made use of the Diwán, seeing that his poems were not written till half a century after the cataclysm at Angora.

Latifi quotes two couplets from an Arabic-Persian mulemma of Niyázi's in praise of Sultan Bayezid, the Turkish distich quoted in the note on page 229, and this other couplet, also in Turkish:

From out thy tresses' night, O love, the sun may rise on me, 2
If true indeed the ancient saying 'night is pregnant' 3 be. 4

The couplet just translated is quoted also by Hasan, 'Ali and Beligh, the last two of whom have this verse in addition:

What warders were her eyebrows for the garden of her grace? 5
For they've taken two marauders, yet they fondly these embrace! 6

1 A quotation from the Koran, lxvi, 1. 'Cometh there not on man a moment in time when he is not a thing that is mentioned?'
2 i.e. thy sun-bright face may shine on me from out thy night-black hair, i.e. thou mayest some day vouchsafe to me thy favours.
3 'night is pregnant,' i.e. we knew not what the morrow may bring forth, is a famous Arabic proverb often quoted by the poets. It sometimes appears in the Turkish form كيدیاجعل کی کیاجعل. In Turkish idiom 'the sun shall rise' is 'the sun shall be born,' hence the congruity of the quoted proverb.
4 زلفک کیاججالسدن باشوه کین یوهه پیارا
تاماقیق ایسه کر نکتهه اللیلةه حلیلی
5 There is an untranslatable amphibology in this line, the word hájib meaning both 'warder' and 'eyebrow.'
6 The 'garden of her grace' is her fair face; the 'marauders' are her eyes which the warders, instead of casting into prison, have taken to their embrace. The Turkish is: —

ابروسی نیاچه حاجه اوله حسینی پاغنه
الش ایکی حنواهی بیس ایکی قوجاغنه
In these few stray lines we see all of Niyazi's work that has come down to us.¹

¹ Ashiq omits Niyazi altogether. R尼亚zi, who wrote as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, would have us believe that Niyazi flourished, not under Bayezid I, but under Bayezid II who reigned from 886 (1481) to 918 (1512). He says that he has seen Niyazi's Diwan, and that most of the qasidas are parallels to poems of Ahmed Pasha — thus reversing the statement of the earlier writers. In a marginal note to my MS. of Riyazi's Tezkire it is said that Niyazi declares in one of his qasidas that he is writing it as a parallel to one of Ahmed's, that in some of his poems he mentions the Sultan as Bayezid the son of Mehemed (which would of course indicate Bayezid II), and that he died in 900 (1494-5). It is further said that Hasan Chelebi fell into error through copying Latifi. The origin of the error is pronounced to be the fact that the Sultan is called Yildirim Bayezid (i.e. Bayezid the Thundebolt) in some of the qasidas; but 'Yildirim' the writer declares was the original style of Bayezid II (as well as the surname of Bayezid I), in proof of which very dubious assertion he cites this line which he says comes from the Silsilet-uz-Zeheb of the Persian poet Jamî:

بايژيد يلديزم ٍاندل ٍلا دوان

'Bayezid Ildirim the King of the Age.'

The probability is that Riyazi has confounded the earlier Niyazi with a poet named Ilyas of Gallipoli who also used the makhlas of Niyazi, and who, as 'Ali, who had seen his Diwan, points out in his notices of the poets of Bayezid II's time, wrote verses in praise of Sultan Bayezid the son of Mehemed (i.e. Bayezid II).

Beligh, who wrote more than a century later than Riyazi, professes to give some particulars concerning Niyazi's life; but as he gives no authority for his statements, they can hardly be taken seriously.
Very different is the fate that has attended the labours of Suleyman Chelebi, the other of the two poets who lived under Bayezid.

This writer, who is called Suleyman-i Bursevi, that is, Suleyman the Brusan or native of Brusa, is the earliest strictly Ottoman poet whose work is in our hands. Of his life we have few details; the facts that he was a disciple of the famous teacher Emir Sultan; that he served as Imám or Precentor of the Divan to Bayezid the Thunderbolt, and that he became, after the death of that monarch, Imám of the great mosque which the latter had built in Brusa, represent the sum of our knowledge concerning his career. The date of his death is unrecorded; but it must have been later than 805 (1403), the year of that of Bayezid whom we are told he survived.

Suleyman's poem is what is called a Mevlid-i Nebi or Hymn on the Prophet's Nativity. The biographers relate a strange story concerning the circumstances which led to this poem's being written. This story differs somewhat as told by

1 Often called Suleyman Dede.
2 Mehemed Shems-ud-Dîn, surnamed Emîr Sultân, an illustrious sheykh of the Khâvêtî dervish-order, was a native of Bokhârâ whence he migrated to Brusa, where he settled and taught. He was greatly esteemed by Bayezid the Thunderbolt who gave him his daughter in marriage. His death took place in 833 (1429-30); and his tomb, which is in Brusa, is still a favourite place of pilgrimage.
3 Latîfî makes Suleyman the elder brother of the poet Atâ'i; but this, as 'Ali points out, is probably erroneous, as Atâ'i is spoken of as being a lad in the time of Murâd II.
4 The word Mevlîd is often written and pronounced Mevlûd.
According to the latter authority, whose version is more probable, a popular preacher was one day discoursing in Brusa on the text of the Koran which runs:

In the exercise produced by this speech— for Muhammed, as orthodox Muslims to be the greatest of the Prophets, extemporised this verse:

In the excitement induced by this speech—for Muhammed is of course held by orthodox Muslims to be the greatest of the Prophets—Suleyman was prevailed upon, and his famous Birthsong (Mevlid) is:

As told by the poet, this couplet so pleased the people that they entreated him to extemporise a formal panegyric in honour of his great Teacher Suleyman was prevailed upon, and his Birthsong was extemporised this verse:

This report that the person in question was a Persian merchant, not a preacher, as Latifi says.

1 "Ali and the Persian merchant.
2 Koran, ii. 279.
3 According to this story, someone substituted for him to Heaven.
4 Jesus, as well as Moses, David and the rest of them, is of course looked upon as Muslim; pre-Muhammedan prophets — Adam, Abraham, etc.— Judaism represented the True Faith, after which Christianity and Islam are thus

This couplet occurs in the poet's poem, near the beginning.
relates that when the preacher had announced his somewhat liberal exposition of the text already quoted, an Arab who happened to be present challenged his interpretation, telling him he knew nothing of the science of exegesis, else he would have known that the verse on which he was so ignorantly commenting signifies merely that in the office of apostleship there are no degrees, since were its application wider, there would be no meaning in that other Koranic verse which says, ‘These apostles have We preferred one of them above another.’¹ But the people of Brusa, continues Latifi, sided with their preacher, and heeded not the Arab, who went off to the Arab lands, Egypt and Syria, whence he returned armed with a fetwa or canonical decision granted by the Arab ‘ulemá requiring that the offending preacher should either recant or be put to death. But still the Brusans heeded neither him nor his fetwa. Six times did the Arab go between his own country and Brusa bringing with him on each occasion a fresh fetwa to the same effect, but all to no purpose. The seventh fetwa contained a threat that if its requirements were not carried out, the Ottoman dominions would be laid waste (presumably by the Memlúk Sultan of Egypt and Syria). Still the Turks were not to be cowed; so the Arab watched his opportunity, and one day ‘he fell upon the preacher before the mosque and slaughtered him as a butcher doth a sheep.’ It was while these events were in progress, adds Latifi, that Suleymán composed his Birthsong.

This tale of the Arab, which, by the way, does not seem to have very much to do with Suleymán and his Mevlid, is in all probability apocryphal; yet we can perceive from it the reputation for fanaticism which the Arabs had among

¹ Koran, ii, 254.
the Turks, a reputation for which we shall ere long see a
but too true warrant.

The poem which thus came into existence has at all times
enjoyed an extraordinary popularity. Many subsequent writers
have composed more or less similar hymns on the same
subject, but not one of these has ever succeeded in even
temporarily ousting this oldest of all from the public favour;
and while it still lives on, recited annually in thousands of
assemblies over the length and breadth of Turkey, its rivals
have one and all passed out of sight and are now practically
forgotten. The continued popularity of Suleyman's Birthsong
is no doubt attributable in part at least to the fact that it
is the first of its class and thus had a start of all the others
whereby it was enabled to win its way into the hearts of
the people and become indissolubly associated with many
hallowed memories before any competitor appeared upon the
scene. Its subject too was well calculated to win the public
sympathy; for this was not, as with Veled and 'Ashiq, a
transcendental philosophy appealing only to the elect; it
was the popular religion, and that in its most popular form.
For it is not merely the birth of Muhammed that the poem
celebrates, nor even that event treated as a natural occur-
rence; the Mevlid is really a versified account of the various
legends that had grown up round the simple story of the
Prophet's life; and thus it spoke directly to that feeling which
induces early communities to dwell most lovingly on the
supernatural element in the lives of their divinities and saints.

Suleyman's poem is written in mesnevi verse in the same
metre as Veled's Rebab-Nâme and 'Ashiq's Gharib-Nâme.

1 Suleyman's Mevlid-i Nebi does not appear to have been printed, but a
few extracts from it are published in the third volume of Ziyâ Pasha's Khara
bat. An abridged version is contained in the British Museum MS. (Sloane,
3633); and there are in my collection two copies, one apparently complete,
the other considerably curtailed.
The style is very simple, without art of any kind. All the same the work has, in great measure on account of this, a picturesque directness; while there is an artless charm in the naïve and childlike fashion in which the poet presents his marvels that is absent from the more laboured and pretentious productions of later years. The language, which is very similar to that of the Gharib-Nāme, we may take to be pure Ottoman Turkish, the dialect of Brusa the 'Osmánli capital. The book would thus be the oldest specimen of Ottoman Turkish extant and, could we have an early copy, would be of very great philological interest. It is noteworthy as exemplifying the gradual change that was coming over the technique of poetry, that while they still occur from time to time, there are far fewer instances of scansion according to the Turkish system in the Mevlid than in any of the earlier West-Turkish mesnevis: the preponderance of quantitative over syllabic lines is at least as great here as in the lyrics of Burhán-ud-Dīn.

Suleyman begins in orthodox fashion with a canto (here called Fasl) to the praise of God, then after a brief prayer to pious readers to repeat the Fāṭiha on his behalf, he tells how the Light or Essence of Muhammed was the first thing which God created, and how this Light shone upon the brow of Adam and all the subsequent prophets till Muhammed himself, in whose person having found its true home, it will never more appear on earth. This prologue finished, the poet begins the story of the Apostle's nativity, detailing the signs and wonders that heralded the advent

1 It was a common practice of authors and scribes in old times to pray the reader to repeat the Fāṭiha or opening chapter of the Koran on their behalf. The Fāṭiha, which is very short, consisting of only seven verses, occupies in Islam more or less the position that the Lord's Prayer does in Christendom.

2 See p. 34.
of the last of the Prophets, and the rejoicings of the angels and other citizens of Paradise. Having completed this, his proper theme, he proceeds to give a brief account of the miracles popularly attributed to Muhammed, such as the well-known legend of his splitting the moon in two halves by pointing his finger at it, the fable of his body casting no shadow because it was pure light, and that other of roses growing up wherever his perspiration fell. This is followed by a somewhat more detailed description of the Mi\raj or Ascension of the Prophet, a subject which, like the Nativity itself, was destined to become the theme of many a subsequent writer. This again is succeeded by the story of Muhammed’s last illness and death as presented in the legends; after which the poem winds up with a prayer for forgiveness wherein the writer mentions his own name.

It has been for centuries the custom in Turkey to chant portions of Suleyman’s Birthsong at the services both public and private which are held on the twelfth of the First Rebi¹ of each year to commemorate the nativity of the Prophet. On that day the Sultan and all his court in gala uniform attend one of the Imperial Mosques at which the state celebration of the festival takes place.² There are similar services in other mosques for the benefit of the humbler classes of society. It is reckoned a meritorious act for the well-to-do to give what is called a Mevlud Jemîyeti or ‘Birthsong Meeting’ in their private houses, to which their friends are invited. These meetings are generally held in the afternoon or the evening; and as it is impossible to have

¹ The First Rebi is the third month of the Muslim lunar year. The date generally given for the birth of Muhammed is the 20th, April, 571.
² In former times this ceremony used to be held in the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed. A full account of the ceremonial as it was performed in the eighteenth century will be found in D’Ohsson’s admirable ‘Tableau Général de l’Empire Othoman.’
them all on the same day, they are held through several weeks following the Prophet's birthday. When a certain verse has been reached in the recitation of the poem a number of servants hand round among the guests sherbet and sweet-meats, the latter contained in small packets shaped something like a sugar-loaf and known as sheker-kuláhi or 'sugar-caps.'

The chanters, who are called Mevlíd-khán or, in more everyday language, Mevludji, are selected on account of their sweetness of voice; and so affecting is the manner in which they recite the old verses that their audience is often moved to tears.

The custom of chanting this poem at those services and meetings is very old; the time of its introduction is not mentioned, but it was in full force when 'Ashiq Chelebi wrote his Tezkire, and doubtless had been so for long before.

As has been hinted, this custom has in all probability had much to do with the extraordinary and continued popularity of Suleymán's Hymn. To this popularity the pages of all the Ottoman biographers and critics bear ample evidence. Latifi says that he has looked over nearly a hundred Mevlids, but that not one among them has ever attained the reputation and celebrity of Suleymán's, the only one which might perhaps be worthy to be reckoned as a 'parallel' to it being that by the poet Hamdi. 'Ashiq too declares that although these many eloquent poets have written Mevlids, not one of them has surpassed this blessed poem or spoiled the market in its bazaar; while every year it is chanted in many and many thousands of assemblies throughout the realms of Islam. 'Ali seems deeply impressed by the abiding

1 These 'sugar-caps' are very like the pointed packets in which small quantities of sugar or tea are sold in this country.

2 This number must be a gross exaggeration.

3 Hamdi is a distinguished poet of the fifteenth century whom we shall meet in due course.
success of the Hymn: 'so he (Suleyman Chelebi) made that beloved book whereof the coming from the tongue of the pen to the written page was in a fortunate hour, indeed befell at a time free from the traces of maleficence when the most part of the stars were together in the signs of their exaltation, ¹ for that year by year it is read in many thousands of noble assemblies. And indeed he hath versified it in touching notes, for while there are many other hymns on the Nativity, not one of them is taken in hand or brought under the eye; 'tis as though he had written it by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.' ² Katib Chelebi has the same story; speaking of Suleyman's Hymn he says, 'and it is this which is recited at the assemblies and gatherings in the Turkish lands: others among the poets have versified the subject, but none is regarded beside it, neither is any other renowned.' In the same strain Beligh declares that as the book has been sealed by the approval of the King of the Prophets, never till the end of time shall the incense of prayer for the blessed soul of the poet cease to rise from the censers of the people's lips when at the annual assemblies of the Faithful is read the verse: —

Show to Suleyman the hapless of Thy grace, —
Make the Faith his fere and Heaven his dwelling-place! ³

And, adds the historian, though there are some twenty Mev-lids in verse and prose, none is so pathetic and affecting as this, nor has any won the same favour and renown.

Coming down to recent times, we find Ziya Pasha in the critical introduction which he has prefixed to his great antho-

¹ This imagery is of course taken from astrology.
² In Islam the 'Holy Spirit' is a title of the Archangel Gabriel, the medium of Divine revelation, according to the theologians.
³ ™ سليمان طفيلي، رحمته أيت • يولداجشن أيتان • يرسبت جنت أيت
logy, the Kharábát or 'Tavern,' corroborating to the full the judgment of his predecessors. He speaks of Süleymán as the imám or precentor of the poets of Rúm and the guide of the makers of verse, and says that his sacred poem is warrant enough of his genius. The Pasha confesses his inability to understand what such poetry may be which renders distraught all them that hear it. Although seemingly so artless, love and eloquence meet together in it; from beginning to end it is 'unapproachable simplicity.' During these four hundred years, continues the critic, none of the learned hath said aught to equal it; and although many have striven to 'parallel' it, it still remains 'virgin like the Koran.'

It is easy to understand the enthusiasm of the Turks for this ancient poem which is to them all that our Christmas hymns and carols are to us; but to the foreign student of their literature its chief interest must lie in the fact that it is the earliest extant monument of indubitably Ottoman work.

I have chosen for translation those parts of the Hymn which are usually chanted at the Mevlid Meetings. The first of these, the opening canto of the poem, is an invocation of God whose name it praises. This is followed by a brief supplication to the pious readers and hearers to remember the author in their prayers. Omitting the next canto, which discourses on the 'Light of Muhammed,' we go on to that which describes the birth of the Prophet and the portents that accompanied it; much of this section — which is the

The Kharábát or 'Tavern,' an anthology of Turkish, Persian and Arabic poetry, compiled by Ziyá Pasha, was published in three volumes, in Constantinople, 1291-2 (1874-5).

2 Scheh-i Mumteni, which I have rendered as 'unapproachable simplicity,' is a common term with Eastern critics to describe an expression which, though apparently simple, is hard to parallel.

3 It is an axiom that no one ever has produced or ever shall produce a work equal in eloquence to the Koran, — the uncreated Word of God.
kernel of the whole book — is put into the mouth of Amine, Muhammed’s mother. This is followed by a triumphant chorus of greeting to the new-born Prophet, after which there is an omission of many cantos, those describing the miracles and death of Muhammed, till we reach the verses in which the poet bids farewell to the Prophet now gone to his rest. With this, the true end of the poem, the recitations usually close, the epilogue which follows and winds up the book being as a rule omitted.

From the Mevlid-i Nebî or Hymn on the Prophet's Nativity. [36]

First, the name of God the Lord let us declare;
This behoveth every servant every where.
Whosoever doth first the name of God recite,
God will make for him his every business light.
Let the name of God begin each business then,
That the end thereof be sorry not and vain. 1
Let the name of God with every breath be said,
In the name of God be each work finished.
If the tongue but once with love God’s name do say,
All its sins will fall like autumn leaves away. 2
Pure becometh he who sayeth His pure name,
Whoso saith God’s name attains his every aim.
Let us from our hearts on you Provider call,

1 These opening lines paraphrase the Hâdis: ‘Every work of import that is begun not in the name of God is abortive.’

2 The simile in this line was perhaps suggested by the story which tells how when once the Prophet was walking with some of his Companions in the autumn he plucked a spray of half-withered leaves which kept falling off as the party proceeded on the road, whereupon Muhammed said, ‘The sins of him who repenteth unto God fall from him even as the leaves fall from this spray.’
Yon Creator who from naught hath made us all.
Come ye and on God now let us loveful cry,
Fearful let us weep and let us sadly sigh,
That yon King His mercy fair to us accord,
Yonder Gracious, yonder Ruthful, yonder Lord.
He Omniscient, He the Pardoner of ill,
He the Builder, Placable, Forgiving still,
He the Holy One who all in safety keeps,
He the Lord Eternal who nor dies nor sleeps,
He the King whose reign shall never pass away,
He the Mateless, He the Matchless, Peerless aye.
While as yet the world was not He made it be, ¹
Yet of aught created ne'er a need had He.
He is One, and of His Oneness doubt is none
Though that many err when'er they speak thereon.
Living He when was nor man nor angel fair,
Heaven nor earth, nor sun nor moon, nor ninefold sphere. ²
By His power creative all of these He made,
Yea, in these His might and glory He displayed.
Let us ever at His court our needs make known;
He is One, and other god than He is none.
Though such words be said till the Last Day do fall,
Fall might many a Last Day, yet unsaid were all. ³
So thou seesth from the fire to win thee free,
Say with love and fear: Be blessings unto thee! ⁴

Saintly ones, ⁵ we here begin another speech;

¹ Alluding to the Hadis ٌٌٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔٔ_
Unto you a testament we leave, to each,
Whosoe'er observes the testament I say,
Musk-like in his heart its scent will bide for aye.
May the Lord God give to him His ruth to share, —
Yea, to him who breatheth for my soul a prayer.
He who in this blessing lot and part would have,
Let him say the Fāṭiha for me his slave.

Lady Amine, Muhammed's mother she.
(From this Shell it was yon Pearl did come to be.)
When Muhammed's time to come was near at hand,
Ere he came were many signs seen through the land.
Now by 'Abd-ullāh his sire had she conceived,
And the passing weeks and days the term achieved.
In the night whereon was born that Best of Men
Many a marvel passed before his mother's ken.
On the twelfth 'twas of the First Rebf'' it fell,
On a Monday night it tided, wot ye well!
Quoth the mother of that God-belovéd one,
'I beheld a Light whose moth was e'en the sun.
'Sudden from my dwelling flashed the lightning forth,
'Mounted to the skies and lumined all the earth.
'Rank on rank the angels winged from Heaven their way,
'Round my house, as 'twere the Ka'ba, circled they.
'Quoth they, "Now that Prophet of most high degree
"Cometh, Master of the Holy House is he!"
'Straightway in the sky was spread a couch full fair,
'Sendal was its name, 'twas angels spread it there.
'Open the heavens, and the mirk was done away;
'Forth came angels three with flags in bright array:

1 Khayr-ul-Besher or Khayr-ul-Enām, i.e. 'Best of Mankind,' is a frequent title of Muhammed.
Habib-ullāh, i.e. 'Beloved of God,' is the special title of Muhammed.
The circumambulation of the Ka'ba forms an important rite in the Hajj or Mekka-pilgrimage.
One thereof they planted o'er the East to stream,
One thereof they planted o'er the West to gleam,
O'er the Ka'ba planted they the third with awe,
Passing great the reverence and humblesse I saw,
When these mighty portents round about me shone,
Dazed and wildered I abode there all alone.
Clave the wall, and issuing forth on sudden wise
Houris three stood visible before my eyes.

Then from these I knew that Prince of all mankind
Soon should come his place upon the earth to find.
Graciously those beauties moon-browed near me drew,
Straightway greeting me on courteous wise and true;
With all reverence and grace they greeted me,
And they spake some words right sweet and courteously.
And they came and sate them round about me then,
Wishing one the other joy of him full fain,
"Never any son like to thy son," said they,
"Unto earth hath come since the Creation-day;
Never any son in glory like to thine
Was to mother granted by the Lord Divine.
Born of thee this night shall be that Mustafa; ¹
Unto all a boon shall be that Mustafa.
O thou dear one, thou hast won to mighty bliss;
Born of thee shall be the Flower of all that is.
All the Saints would yield their lives to meet this night,
All the Saints would fain be slaves to greet this night.
He who cometh is the King of Heavenly Lore,
He who cometh is of Wisdom High the Store.
For the love of him who cometh turns the sky; ²
Yearning for his face do men and angels sigh.
He who cometh is that King, the Prophets' Seal, ³

¹ Mustafa i.e. 'Elect,' the second name of the Prophet.
² An allusion to the phrase mentioned on page 34: 'But for thee, verily I had not created the heavens!'
³ 'Seal of the Prophets' is another of Muhammed's special titles, he coming last in the series of the Prophets and confirming his predecessors even as the seal comes at the end of the letter or document and ratifies what goes before.
"He, that 'Mercy to the Worlds,' 1 Creation's Weal.

God the Living, Lord of Glory, hath made decree

That this night creation all perfection see:

Houris, Bowers, Gardens, yea, all Paradise,

All the Garth of Rizwân, 2 shine on glorious wise.

There above they celebrate this blessed night,

Paradise with gems and jewels have they light.

Houris, Youths of Heaven, 3 and every living thing

Fain will scatter gems and jewels o'er that King.

'Vea, and more, hath God commanded Gabriel:

— Make thou fast, O Gabriel, the gates of hell! — 4

For this night the Mercy of the Lord shall be,

Past the Awfulness is from His majesty.

Ay, this night is e'en the night when through his Light

Yonder blessed one shall make earth fair and bright.

This the night of yonder King, the Prophet's Seal.

Him, the 'Mercy to the worlds,' Creation's Weal.

He this night the world as Paradise hath made;

God this night to all things hath His Ruth displayed.

On this night are birds and beasts and men and jinn, 5

Whate'er is, revealed and hid, each living thing.

One and all a-dancing of their joyance fain

"For that comes the Ruth of God, the Best of Men!"

In this fashion did they celebrate his praise.

And the glory of yon Blessed Light upraise.

Amine saith, 'When was fully come the tide

When that Best of Men should come on earth to bide,

Passing sore a thirst came o'er me through the heat,

Then they gave to me a cup of sherbet sweet:

1 A quotation from Koran, xxi, 107, where God addressing Muhammed, says, 'We have sent thee only as a mercy to the worlds.'

2 Rizwân, i. e. Goodwill, is the name of the angel-warden or treasurer of Paradise, see p. 37.

3 The ghîlmân or youths of Paradise, see p. 37.

4 That none on this blessed night may enter the abode of woe.

5 The jinn are the 'genii,' the spirits or demons of earth and air, to whom, as well as to mankind, Muhammed's mission was addressed.
'Whiter 'twas than snow, and colder, saintly one,'1
'Sweetest sugar's sweetness was by it outdone.
'Straight I drank it, all my frame was whelmed in light,
'Nor knew I myself from that effulgence bright;
'When that gleaming Glory had enwrapped me round,
'Heart and soul of me a wondrous joyance found.
'Came a White Bird borne upon his wings straightway,
'And with virtue stroked my back as there I lay.'2
'Then was born the Sultan of the Faith that stound,
'Earth and heaven shone in radious glory drowned.'

So thou seest from the fire to win thee free,
Say with love and fear: Be blessings unto thee!

Glad rejoiced creation in delight and mirth,
Grief departed and new life filled all the earth.
Every atom in the world took up the tale,
Cried they all with voices high uplifted: Hail!
Hail to thee! O Sun of fulgent splendour! Hail!
Hail to thee! O Soul of Souls most tender! Hail!
Hail to thee! O Sun of all the Lover-crew!
Hail to thee! O Moon of all the leal and true!
Hail to thee! O Bulbul of E-estu's mead!4
All the world is drunken for thy love indeed!
Hail to thee! O Soul that is for ever! Hail!
Hail to thee! Cupbearer of the Lover! Hail!
Hail to thee! O Nightingale of Beauty's bower!
Hail to thee! O Loved One of the Lord of Power!
Hail to thee! O Mercy to the Worlds — to all!
Hail to thee! O Pledger for the folk who fall!
Hail to thee! O Refuge of the rebel race!
Hail to thee! O Helper of the portionless!
Hail to thee! O King of Glore! All hail to thee!

1 This 'saintly one' is an address to the reader, awkwardly enough introduced here.
2 It is when this couplet has been reached at the Mevlid Meetings that the sherbet and sweets are brought in and handed round; these are presented first to the chanter, then to the assembled guests.
3 The Bulbul is the Nightingale.
4 For the meaning of E-estu see pp. 22-3.
Hail to thee! O Mine of Lore! All hail to thee!
Hail to thee! Epiphany of God most Grand!
Hail to thee! O Leader of the Prophet-band!
Hail to thee! Un-setting Sun! All hail to thee!
Hail to thee! Unwaning Moon! All hail to thee!
Hail to thee! O Parrot of the world's herbere!
Wildered for thy love doth every soul appear!
Hail to thee! O Secret of the Scripture! Hail!
Hail to thee! O Balm for every dolour! Hail!
Hail to thee! O Coolth o' th' eyne!  
O Intimate!
Hail to thee! O Most Beloved of God the Great!
Hail to thee! O Moon! O Sun of God, most fair!
Hail to thee! who from the Lord art parted ne'er!
Hail to thee! of all the fond Desire art thou!
Hail to thee! to God most near and dear art thou!
Hail to thee! O thou of Either World the King!
Yea, for thee this universe to life did spring!
Thou art of Apostleship's high Throne the Seal!
Thou art of the Prophetship's bright Sun the Seal!
Thou whose day-like visage is the plenilune!
Thou who reachest hand to all the fallen down!
Even as thy Light hath all the world illumed,
Through thy rose-face hath the world a garden bloomed!
Lo, thou art the Sovran of the Prophet-host!
Light of eye to all the saints and all the just!
'Neath thy word is all the World of Spirit laid!
In thy field the man of Love hath staked his head!

So thou seekest from the fire to win thee free,
Say with love and fear: Be blessings unto thee!

Fare thee well! O Soul most tender! Fare thee well!
Fare thee well! O Moon of splendour! Fare thee well!

1 Qurret-ul-'Ayn, 'Coolth o' th' eyne,' is a favourite term of endearment.
2 i.e. Intimate of God.
3 Another allusion to God's address to the Light of Muhammad.
4 i.e. the Man of Love, the 'Lover,' is ready to die for thee.
Fare thee well! O Sovran of the Lover-band!
Fare thee well! O Lord! O King of every land!
Fare thee well! O Nightingale of Beauty's bower!
Fare thee well! O Loved One of the Lord of Power!
Fare thee well! O Union Pearl of lustre bright!
Fare thee well! O Motive of the Glorious Light!
Fare thee well! O Sovereign! O Monarch mine!
Fare thee well! O Balm for every pain and pine!

By you all from Mustafa be warning ta'en!
Ne'er an one of us, by God, shall here remain.
Howsoever long may any's life aby,
At the end this surely is his work — to die,
Come then, and for death prepare, be ready dight,
That your faces in the Presence there be white.
From thy hand, O Death, alack! ah, woe is me!
Neither king nor beggar e'er may win him free.
Woe is me, from yonder Prophet parted far!
Woe is me, for yonder Leader yearning sore!
Unto all of them who happy be and wise
Death for preacher and for counsel doth suffice.
So thou seekest from the fire to win thee free,
Say with love and fear: Be blessings unto thee!
CHAPTER IV.

RIVETING THE YOKE.

Prince Suleymán's Poets. Ahmed-i Dâ'i.

During the ninety years that elapsed between the time when ʿOsmán found himself independent and the accession of his great-grandson Bâyezid I — him whom the Turks call Yildirim Bâyezid or Bâyezid the Thunderbolt, — the Ottoman Kingdom had grown considerably. Not only had extensive territories been acquired in Europe, but in Asia many and important districts had been wrested from the Byzantines, and two out of the nine other Kingdoms of the West-Turkish Decarchy had been absorbed. Of these two, Qarasi was the first to disappear, it having been annexed by Orkhan in 737 (1336-7); the other, Hamid, was purchased by Murad I in 783 (1381-2).

Bâyezid the Thunderbolt lost no time; in 792 (1390), the very year of his accession, he annexed other five of those little states, Aydin, Saru-Khan, Menteshe, Germiyan and Tekke, in a single campaign. The remaining two, Qaraman and Qızıl-Ahmedli, soon followed; and thus, despite the temporary set-back caused by Timur's invasion, the West-Turkish Empire was re-established. In 800 (1398) a further step was taken; the districts of Siwas, Qaysanya, Toqat and Erzinjan, which had formed the little kingdom of Cadi
Burhán-ud-Din, were incorporated; and on the east and south-east the Ottoman frontiers marched with the territories of the newly sprung-up Turkman dynasties of the Black Sheep and of the White Sheep, of the Zu-l-Qadr and the Beni-Ramazán.

The work of building up the West-Turkish Empire was thus in full progress when the invasion of Timur, culminating in 804 (1402) in the Battle of Angora with the defeat and capture of Bayezid and the seeming annihilation of the Ottoman power, threw everything in Western Asia into momentary chaos and retarded for a brief period the development of Turkey. The dethroned kinglets of the seven little Turkish states annexed by the Thunderbolt re-entered into more or less short-lived possession of their own, while the Ottoman princes, Suleymán, 'Isa, Mūsa and Mehemmed, fought furiously with one another for what was left of their father's empire. For eleven years the fratricidal conflict raged, till in 816 (1413) Prince Mehemmed, thenceforward Sultan Mehemmed I — Chelebi Sultan Mehemmed or Sultan Mehemmed the Debonair, as his people loved to call him, — found himself sole survivor of the four brothers and undisputed sovereign of the Ottoman state. The empire to which Mehemmed thus succeeded did not materially differ in extent from that which his father had inherited quarter of a century before. The seven little kingdoms indeed were gone, but except for their loss the Ottoman frontiers were practically unchanged.

Timur's dash into Asia Minor was no true conquest of the country; it was but a raid on a grand scale; he harried Anatolia from end to end, and then departed to return no more. And so the confusion which followed was only superficial, no vital change was wrought; all that happened was a certain delay in the consolidation of the West-Turkish power.