marks an epoch; for although it does not differ in the least in purpose from the lyrical work of Ahmedî and other similar writers, not only is it more highly finished and therefore — looking to the ideals of the school — more successful than theirs, but it is the first truly artistic verse in that dialect which was destined to be used, to the practical exclusion of all others, for literature among the Turks of the West.

So much is this the case that, as was said on a previous page, the history of strictly Ottoman poetry begins with this writer. There certainly had been Ottoman poets before him, such as Suleyman and Yaziji-oghli; but those early workers stand as it were isolated, outside the line of development of this poetry. They were but dialect-poets, writers in one out of a number of sister-dialects; they had no followers, their verses influenced no successor; Ahmed would have written just as he did, had they never lived. With Ahmed it is altogether different; he founded a school, he inaugurated a period; all the lyric poets who succeeded, down to the time of Báqí who died in 1008 (1600), followed in the way he led. Many among them far surpassed him, but they did not deviate from the path that he marked out. Ashiq and Hasan, both of whom wrote while the style which Ahmed established was still exclusively followed, are in agreement here; the former observing that it is universally admitted that he was the leader of the poets of Rûm, and of more importance than all his predecessors; and the latter, that as he was the earliest to give grace and force to Turkish poetry, he is the 'First Master', and that the robe of his verse is embroidered with the saying 'Honour to the pioneer;' for in truth before his time Turkish poetry was barren of grace

2 The Arabic of this phrase is ^بُسَرَتْ بِنَاحِيَةٍ.}
and eloquence. Riyāzī, who wrote at the very beginning of the Third Period, says of Ahmed that he was the first to give form to Turkish poetry; and Belīgh, at the beginning of the Fourth, that he was the first to adorn that beauty, Turkish poetry, in heart-bewitching language. Ziyā Pasha, in the nineteenth century, in the Introduction to his anthology, credits Ahmed, along with his two successors Nejātī and Zāṭī, with having laid, and laid well, the foundations of the Turkish literary language.

The Ottoman critics of all periods are thus at one in regarding Ahmed Pasha as the true founder of Ottoman poetry; and in so far as he was the first to produce any appreciable amount of artistic verse in the Ottoman dialect and the first to inaugurate a school among the Western Turks, the judgment they have pronounced is fully justified. But on those two circumstances alone rests Ahmed’s claim to distinction; in other respects he is not superior to his predecessors; in some, indeed, he is inferior to many of them. He has less versatility than Ahmedī, less inspiration than Nesīmī. He was, the biographers tell us, a diligent student of the Persian poets; and every line that he composed is eloquent of the thoroughness of his studies. His favourite model, for the ghazel at any rate, was evidently Hāfiz, echoes from whose Diwān may be heard on well-nigh every page he wrote. We are further told that after Ahmed made acquaintance with the thirty-three ghazels of Newāzī his style considerably improved. Thus Hasan writes that he heard from his father that his grandfather Mīrī Efendi,¹ who belonged to the generation immediately succeeding that of

¹ Mīrī was the pen-name of Emr-ālāḥ of Isparta in what is now the vilāyet of Qonya. He died in 967 (1559—60) as cadi of Pechin in Aydīn. According to his grandson Hasan, Mīrī left a complete Diwān of poems, mostly in the style of his contemporary Nejātī.
Ahmed,¹ used to say that the earlier verses of that poet had comparatively little force or sweetness, while those composed subsequently to his study of Newā'ī were in a greatly improved style and were much esteemed.

There is little reason to question the justice of this criticism, which doubtless reflects the literary opinion of the early sixteenth century. Ahmed learned from Hāfiz and the other Persians what manner of things to say and in what way these should be said; but as those masters all wrote in their own language, he could not learn from them how with elegance and force to express in Turkish what they had taught him. For this he would have either to go back to the earlier Turkish poets or to rely upon his own adaptive skill. But there was practically no artistic Ottoman verse behind him, while he was unhappily almost helpless where any form of originality was involved. It was here that the example of Newā'ī would be of immense assistance. Like all other Persian and Turkish lyric poets of the time, Newā'ī also was of the school of Hāfiz; his purpose therefore was the same as Ahmed's. But he was beyond question the most artistic poet in any Turkish dialect who had yet appeared. It is true that he wrote in Eastern, not Western, Turkish; but the difference, especially in those days, was not very great, certainly not great enough to interfere with his value as a model for a writer in any branch of the language. So from him Ahmed would learn how to handle the Turkish language with dexterity and grace, how to manipulate it so that it should express with elegance and force the lessons taught him by his Persian masters, in short how to fashion of that speech an adequate medium for artistic verse.

¹ In his account of the poet Nejātī, Hasan speaks as though Mirī Efendi had been one of Ahmed Pasha's circle at Brusa. The two men may very well have been friends, but Mirī must have belonged to a younger generation, as he did not die till 967 (1559—60) while Ahmed died in 902 (1496—7).
The great defect of Ahmed's poetry is, as we have hinted, the almost entire absence of originality. That he should model his work on that of the Persians is not only excusable, it was inevitable; but he was not content with this, he appropriated the ideas of those poets in the most wholesale manner and inserted them in his own verses without the faintest suggestion that they were a loan. In some cases he carries this system of annexation to such a point that his lines are scarcely to be distinguished from a literal translation. It may be said that there could be no attempt at wilful deception here, as everyone who cared at all for poetry was so familiar with the Díwáns of Háfiz and the others that recognition of the borrowed passages must have been at once inevitable, and consequently these would stand in no need of acknowledgment. This may very well be the case; but none the less this wholesale borrowing unquestionably detracts from Ahmed's merit as a poet, and has always been regarded as a grave defect in his work. Thus Latífí, while he praises the Pasha's learned and masterly style, and quotes, by way of partial extenuation, this Persian couplet:

'The thought that is fair is always a beauty of flawless shape,
How diverse soever the garbs be wherein they may her array',

adding that Ahmed clothed in the raiment of Rúmí speech the beauty, thought, that up till then had been clad in the vesture of Persian words, yet frankly admits that the poet's original ideas are extremely rare, and that most of the fancies to be found in his Díwán have been transferred from the works of the Persians. But for this, adds the biographer, it is generally allowed that he would be the greatest of the poets of Rúm.
An extreme instance of Ahmed's appropriations of this nature is given by Professor Nājī in his little book on the old poets entitled 'Ōsmānīlī Shā'īrları, 'Ottoman Poets.' 1 In one of the ghazels of Hāfiz occurs this line: —

"That is no fire on the flame whereof the taper 2 smiles,
But that is fire which consumes the stackyard 3 of the moth." 4

In a ghazel by Ahmed we meet the following: —

1 Printed in Constantinople in 1307 (1890). Several articles belonging to the series, but not included in the book-issue, appeared in the literary paper called Mejmū'āt-i Mu'allim, The Professor's Scrap-book', which the same writer edited from Muharram 1305 (Sept. 1887) to Rebi'-ü'l-Evvel 1306 (Nov. 1888).
2 The 'taper' (the symbol of brightness and cheerfulness) is conceived as laughing with its flame.
3 The khīrmīn is the yard or court (generally circular in shape) where stacks of grain are piled. Sometimes the lightning strikes this yard and burns up all the harvest of the husbandman. So the poets often speak of one's stackyard being burned, meaning thereby that the person in question has lost his all, it may be his heart, or even his life.
4 The 'Moth' is the symbol of the perfect lover. It is always presented as the lover of the 'Taper', but instead of wailing and crying as that other lover, the Nightingale, does for the Rose, it perishes silently, without a groan or a word of reproach, in its beloved flame. [Compare a celebrated verse occurring in the Gulistān of Sādī which runs as follows: —

اَیِّ مَرْغ سَبْکَر عَشَف زِیْرُوْانه بِیْلَمِرَ\nکَأَن سُوختُرا جَان شَدْ وَآوَّازْ نَیاَمَندُ
ایْبِن مَّدْعُوْیاَن دِرِّ تَلَّبِش بِیْلَمِرْانَزِدَ\nکَأَنْاَوْا کَہْ خَبَر شَدْ خَبَرْ بَزَّرِنَامِدُ

"O bird of the dawn, learn Love from the moth, which yielded up its life in the flame without uttering a cry: Those pretenders in His Quest are without knowledge (of Him), for of him who hath attained such knowledge no tidings return". Ed.]

The idea in the couplet is that that is not true Love whereof the canting dervishes or 'Sāfīs' prate or which inspires the fanatics or jugglers among them to play with fire and knives and so on; but that the True Love is that which, when it falls on a man's soul, not only consumes all his earthly interests, but annihilates his individuality in voiceless union with the Beloved.

The original of Hāfiz's line is: —

آَتْش آَن نِیِسْتَ کَذِ در خَرْمُه پِرْوَانْه زَندَ
آَتْش آَنِسْت کَذِ در خَرْمُه پِرْوَانْه زَندَ
'How should that be fire on whose flame the taper laughs and smiles? —
'That indeed is fire which consumes the stackyard of our moth'.

There were, however, it would seem, certain persons to
whom lack of originality was a point of but minor importance,
and who were inclined to exalt unduly the position of Ahmed;
for Latifi quotes the following lines directed against such
critics by the contemporary poet Ja'fer Chelebi in his Heves-
Nama or 'Book of Love-Desire': —

'We know the case of him they 'master' call;
'His poems are translations first of all.
'To those who like 't this may a trifle be,
'But it is sheer ineptitude to me'.

It must be to members of this school that 'Ashiq and
Hasan refer when they tell of some people who used to
prefer the verses of Ahmed to those of his successor Nejáti who was unquestionably a writer of much greater originality
and of at least equal grace. Those critics, it appears, seized
upon a couplet improvised by Nejáti, in which that poet
modestly infers that Ahmed is superior to himself, and
presented this as serious evidence that Nejáti himself really
regarded his predecessor as the greater poet. The story of
how this couplet came to be uttered is told by Latifi in
his notice of Nejáti, where it is related to prove that the
latter's name was 'Isa (Jesus), and not Xúh (Noah), as some
asserted. The biographer, who received his information from

1 أول نه آتش أواه كم شعلة نه شمع كيلر
آتش أواه كه يقه خرس برونдер

2 A notice of this poet and his work will be found in chapter x.

3 سرآمد دیدیکنکه بلای خالی ایسوسیرد ترجمه اوله حسنین
بواعل اولهی یانغمکه سیلدلر سیل بنم قانمده بالکه چیلدیدر جهید

These lines occur in the printed edition of Latifi, p. 77.

4 An account of Nejáti's life and works is given in chapter v.
certain old men, contemporaries of Nejáti, says that on one occasion there was a discussion at a party of men of letters as to the respective merit of these two couplets, of which the first is by Ahmed, and the second by Nejáti: —

'Sever thou my hand, it yet the garment of thy grace will clutch;
'Sever thou thy skirt, my hand then holds the garment of thy grace'.

and: —

'E'en so fast the hold that on the dear one's skirt for love I lay,
'They must either hack my hand off or must rend my fair's array'.

The dispute had waxed warm when Nejáti himself unexpectedly entered, and having heard what was the question, answered it with equal modesty and wit by improvising the lines: —

'Though dead he be, doth Ahmed rank before Nejáti yet alive;
'For Jesus, though aloft he soar, delights to speak of Ahmed still'.

The tradition referred to in this verse has been mentioned before (vol. 1, p. 233; n. 3); it is to the effect that Jesus did not die, but ascended alive into the skies, and is now in the Heaven of the Sun awaiting the advent of the Mehdi, when he will again descend to earth. Further, when the Prophet Muhammed or Ahmed, (for these are but two forms of the same name: cf. vol. 1, p. 34, n. 1), who died like an ordinary man, made his famous Night-Journey or Ascension (vol. 1, p. 366, nn. 2, 3, 4) he visited his predecessors in their several abodes and spoke with each of them, when...
And this was the verse which the admirers of Ahmed paraded as Nejáti’s confession of inferiority. There can be no doubt as to what the biographers themselves thought on the matter. ‘Ashiq says, ‘In truth it is well known to them of taste, who are able to discriminate, what degree of savour and of elegance and of fluency there is in the poetry of Nejáti.’ And Hasan, ‘It is evident that this (the judgment of those critics) is a hundred stages from the road of justice, and it is clear and manifest that their words have emanated from the extreme of jealousy.’ Hasan evidently means that those who thus avowed their preference for Ahmed and put this forced interpretation upon Nejáti’s couplet were persons jealous of the reputation of the latter poet.

It should be added that Ahmed’s loans were not made exclusively from the Persians; he was quite as ready to press into his service the works of his Turkish predecessors, when he found anything among them that seemed to answer his purpose.

Here are some couplets from one of the most famous of Ahmed Pasha’s qasidas,¹ that which he composed in honour of the great Palace built by Mehemed II in Constantinople in 865 (1460—1), that Palace which in the West has ever since been known as The Scraglio.

Jesus received him with great respect and acknowledged the superiority of his mission. So Nejáti, whose personal name was ʿIsá, i. e. Jesus, means to say, ʿas Jesus (the Prophet), though alive (in the skies), speaks with pride of Ahmed (the Prophet Muhammed) who is dead, so Jesus (the poet ʿIsa Nejáti), though he is still living, admits the superiority of Ahmed (Pasha the poet), notwithstanding that he is now dead’.

¹ This poem is referred to on p. 229 of vol. 1, where it is said that Latiff declares it to have been modelled on a qasida by Niyázi. The Diwan of Ahmed Pasha has never been printed. There is a MS. in my collection.
From the Palace Qasida. [77]

O Palace Heaven-lofty! and O Arch of haught degree! ¹
The Shrine Sublime. ² elsewise the most High Ka’ba thou must be. ³
No House within the skies may be auspicious as thy roof, ⁴
Nor any throne in Paradise high as the floor of thee. ⁵
Thy threshold fair for Zāti-i Ḥaṃd is the high estrade; ⁶
Thy door, the Station Laudable’s ⁷ utmost expectancy.
Thy marble white a mirror is that showeth things unseen,
For lo, it pictures Either World day-like in clarity. ⁸

¹ In the term Arch (Ṭaq) we have a reminiscence of the name of the palace of the Chosroes, the Taq-i Kisra or 'Arch of the Chosroes'. See vol. 1, p. 270, n. 1.
² This refers to the Qibla, the place or object towards which one turns when worshipping; for Muslims it is the Ka’ba at Mekka.
³ By 'the most High Ka’ba' is here meant the Heavenly Ka’ba, the 'Frequented House', (see vol. 1, p. 37). This line is an example of the rhetorical figure called Tejāhul-i 'Arif or 'Feigned Ignorance' (see vol. 1, p. 114). The poet of course knows quite well that the Sultan’s palace is neither the earthly nor the Heavenly Ka’ba; but in order to exalt its glory, he declares it must be one or the other.
⁴ This line means that the roof (or rather ceiling) of the palace is in happier state than even the 'Frequented House', the word here translated by 'auspicious' being the same as that rendered by 'frequented' in the term 'Frequented House'. This word (ma’mar), applied to a house or place, suggests the idea that the place in question shows the signs of care and attention; it is perhaps most nearly represented in English by the word 'flourishing' when said of a town or country.
⁵ The floor, the lowest part of the palace, is higher than even the thrones of Paradise!
⁶ For the story of Zāti-i Ḥaṃd, 'the Many Columned (Irem)', see vol. 1, p. 326, n. 5. Here the suggestion is that Sheddād and the people of the Many Columned Irem, for all their haughtiness, would reckon the threshold of this palace, that place where clients and servants wait, as their estrade or seat of honour.
⁷ The ‘Station Laudable’ (Maqām-i Mahmūd, but here for the sake of the metre, Menzil-i Mahmūd) is the name given to the place in Paradise prepared for the Prophet. This name is taken from the following passage of the Koran (XVII, 81), where God, addressing Muhammed, says: 'As for the night, watch thou therein for an extra service; it may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a station laudable'.
⁸ It is here hinted that the polished marble of the palace is like the 'Preserved Tablet' on which are inscribed all things. See vol. 1, p. 35.
The sevenfold Sphere is but one single step upon thy stair,
The nine vast Domes one cupola upon thy balcony. 1
From off thy court when building fell two bricks into the sky,
And these are one the moon, and one the sun of radiancy. 2
Who looketh from the summit of thy high pavilion sees
The nine Duomos as a mustard-seed for parvity. 3
'Twould cause his cap to fall from off his head upon the Sphere,
Did one look downward from thy court the outmost heaven to see. 4
That hall which I sing is such, did Paradise but hear
The tale thereof, 'twould hide away in meet humility.
You palace 'fore whose solar disc 5 so shamed is the sun
That fain to hide ameth the veil of night each eve is he.
The spherical bride doth open through the niche of chrysoprase
A golden bull's-eye that she may that glorious palace see. 6

1 The seven planetary spheres, for all their vast size, are but a single step on the stair of this mighty palace; while all the nine spheres, that is, the whole contingent universe, are but a cupola over its balcony. For the spheres, see vol. 1, pp. 43—4.

2 This and the two following couplets are intended to suggest the loftiness of the structure. Here we are told that two bricks, such as are used in laying tessellated pavements, fell from the court, but even this, the lowest part of the palace, is so high that those bricks, when falling earthwards through the sky, became the one the sun and the other the moon! So we get a hint not only of the great height of the building, but of the splendour of the materials of which it is constructed.

3 The 'Nine Duomos', i. e. the Nine Spheres. The summit of the palace reaches so far beyond the ninth sphere (the limit of the contingent universe) that any one looking down from it towards that sphere would see the same like a mustard-seed for smallness!

4 So far does even the court, which, as already said, is the lowest part of the palace, soar above the ninth sphere, that in order to see this therefrom one would have to bend over the edge of the court to such an extent that his cap would fall from off his head and alight upon the outer surface of that sphere!

5 The 'solar disc' (shemse) is the gilded ornament, often in the shape of a sun, that is placed over a dome.

6 In Eastern rooms there is often what is called a táq (or táqche), that is, an arched hollow in the wall, which forms a niche wherein a book, or vase of flowers, or other object, may be set. The wall at the back of this recess is sometimes pierced with a small window. Great ladies in the East do not (or at least, did not) go much abroad, but contented themselves with looking from their windows at what was going on outside. Here the poet says that the 'spherical bride', that is, simply the sky, in order to see this palace, has
Yon Eden-bower fulfilled of houris and celestial youths

Mesceem the most High Ka'ba 'tis, athrong with angelry

Through longing for thy fair carouse doth Nāḥid yearning sing

Whene'er thy minstrels head in hand the lute and psaltery.

To hear thy songster's voice, doth radiant Zuhre every night

Fetch forth her harp and come to learn her craft's last mystery.

Yon cypress that the picturer hath pictured on thy wall.

'Twere seemly that compared thereto should be the Tūba-tree.

made a 'golden bull's eye' or small round window (revzen), that is, the sun, in the 'chrysoprase niche', that is, the azure arch of the heavens.

1 The 'Eden-bower' is the palace, the 'houris' are the beautiful slave-girls therein, the 'celestial youths' are the Imperial pages. See vol. 1, p. 37.

2 The most High Ka'ba', that is, the Heavenly Ka'ba, the 'Frequented House', which is daily visited by 70,000 angels. See vol. 1, p. 37.

3 An ancient legend, touched upon in the second chapter of the Koran and very frequently referred to by the poets, tells how two angels, Hārut and Mārīt by name, who scoffed at man's weakness, asked God to endow them with human passions and send them down to earth. Their request was granted; but instead of showing themselves superior to mankind, they plunged into all manner of sin with more than human zest. At length they endeavoured to seduce a beautiful lutanist, called in Persian Nāḥid (old Persian Anāhīta, Greek Anā̱tēs) and in Arabic Zuhre, who feigned to listen to their proposals in order to learn from them the word which was the passport to Heaven. No sooner had she obtained it, than she uttered it, and was straightway translated to the planet Venus. The angels sought to follow her, but in imparting the password, they had forgotten it. So they were refused admission; and as a punishment for their sins they were hung up by the feet in a well near Babel (Bībil), where they will remain till the Judgment Day, and where they teach the science of magic to all men who apply to them. When Hārut and Mārīt are mentioned by the poets, it is generally in connection with magic and with Babel where they teach it. The lutanist Nāḥid or Zuhre is always associated with music, and so fills the part played by St. Cecilia in the West. The names Nāḥid and Zuhre have been transferred to the planet Venus whither the minstrel passed; and so the planet itself is constantly personified as a lovely female musician.

4 Here, for instance, the minstrel Zuhre is identified with the star Venus, her dwelling-place.

5 In old times rooms were often decorated with a painted frieze; this frequently represented a landscape, in which the cypress-tree formed a prominent feature. The practice has nearly died out.

6 For the Tūba-tree, which grows in Paradise, but which might take it as a compliment to be compared to the cypress painted on the wall of this palace, see vol. 1, pp. 36—7.
How liken these thy halls unto the Sphere whose moon is one,
When every corner here is filled with them of sun-bright blee: ¹
Ay, here the fawns are fairy-formed, and musky-fragrant they; ²
And here the parrots sugar-sweet of smile and parlance be. ³

The following are a few couplets from Ahmed Pasha's Sun-Qasida.

From the Sun-Qasida. [78]

To the Sun, the Orient's Kisrá, ⁴ rears in heaven's Arch his throne,
Flings his orange mantle round him, and puts on his radiant crown.
Now the welkin-couch becomes the dais of the morning King,
And the Sun from plates of turkis showers of gold and gems hath strown. ⁵
Opes the Sun the scryne of chrysoprase and scatters jewels wide, ⁶
That this earthly nook through him may be as hoard of jewels known.
For to sink the silvren shallops sailing on the Indian Sea ⁷

¹ In the heavens there is only one moon, but every corner here is filled with moons (bright young beauties) radiant as the sun.
² Elsewhere fawns have the shape of beasts, but here the fawns (graceful young beauties) have the form of fairies with musk-fragrant hair. As musk is obtained from the musk-deer (vol. 1, p. 294, n. 4.), its association with fawns is congruous.
³ A beauty is often called a 'parrot', and the parrot is associated with sugar, its favourite food, and with speech, its accomplishment. See vol. 1, p. 214, n. 3.
⁴ The poet having called the sun the Kisrá or Chosroes of the Orient, naturally speaks of the heaven or sky as the 'Arch' (Taq); see p. 59, n. 1. The 'orange' mantle of course refers to the bright colour of the sun, and the crown to his rays.
⁵ It was the custom on the accession of an Eastern monarch, and on some other state occasions, for plates or bags containing coins or precious stones to be held or waved for a moment or two over the king's head, and then laid down among the courtiers or royal servants, who took one or more of the pieces or stones, which they kept as souvenirs. This ceremony, which was called nisár or 'strewage' (probably the coins were originally strewn over the king), arose from an idea that the coins or stones thus passed over the sovereign's head took away all ill-luck from him.
The present verse alludes to this practice, the sun being the king; the stars, the coins or gems; and the blue reaches of heaven, the turkis-hued plates.
⁶ Here the 'scryne of chrysoprase' is the blue-green dome of heaven, and the rays of the sun are the jewels.
⁷ The 'silvren shallops' are the stars. Night is called the 'Indian Sea', India being associated with the idea of blackness on account of the dark tint of its inhabitants.
Hath the Sun equipped a golden ship with sails from radiance spun. 1
See, a peacock golden-winged that every morn picks stellar grains. 2
In the moon's stackyard, 3 then spreads his vans and fleeth is the Sun.
Sure the Sun must be the morn's Nushirewan who hangs a chain
Wrought of gold adown the azure dome that justice may be done. 4
Either is the Sun a Joseph-beauty throned upon the sphere, 5

1 We have here an example of a rhetorical figure which is very common in Eastern poetry. By this figure, which is a combination of metaphor and personification, the subject is presented at one and the same time, by metaphor, as such a ship, and, by personification, as the user or maker of that thing.

Thus in this instance, the sun which, because of its brightness and its passage across the sky, suggests a golden ship, is presented, by metaphor, as such a ship, and, by personification, as the equiper or navigator of the same.

I have not been able to discover any special name for this favourite figure in the works on rhetoric which I have consulted.

2 Here the sun is presented as a brilliant-plumed peacock that every morning eats up the stars which are like seeds or grains lying about in the 'stackyard of the moon'.

3 The phrase khirman-i mâh or 'stackyard of the moon' is stereotyped. Sometimes it refers more particularly to the halo; at others its application, as in the present case, is wider; thus the moon being as it were the Lord of night, all the night sky may be conceived as its 'stackyard'. For the term 'stackyard' see p. 55, n. 3.

4 Nushirewan, who reigned from A.D. 531 to A.D. 578, was one of the best and most illustrious kings of pre-Muhammedan Persia. His justice was such that it became a proverb for all succeeding ages. The allusion in the text is to the story that outside his palace, and accessible to all comers at all hours, was suspended a chain which communicated with a bell in the interior, and that whosoever desired justice had but to pull this chain, when he was at once admitted to the king's presence. This chain is often referred to in literature as zinjir-i Nushirewan 'the chain of Nushirewan', or zinjir-i 'adâlet 'the chain of justice'. [The story is given in full in the Nizâm'ul-Mulk's Siyâsat-nâma, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891, pp. 36—7, ed.]. Nushirewan was the builder of the Tâq or 'Arch' mentioned on p. 59, n. 1; he was the grandfather of Khusrav-I Perviz the royal lover of Shirin. [His proper name was Khusrav (Khusrav according to the Turkish pronunciation) which was corrupted into Chosroes by the Greeks, and Kisrâ by the Arabs. Nushirewan (Pahlavi Anoshak-râbân) "of immortal soul", was a title conferred upon him in recognition of his vigour in suppressing the communistic heresy of Mazdak. — ed.]. Here the chain that the Nushirewan-sun is conceived as hanging down the azure dome of heaven is of course his beams.

5 Joseph, as we shall often see, is the type of youthful beauty.
Elsewise 'tis as bright Zelikhâ with her golden orange shown. 1
Nay, the truth is this: the Sun to view the King's Divan hath oped
There a ruby window whence to look that gilded dome upon. 2

We shall now look at a few examples of Ahmed's ghazels.

Ghazel. [79]

Since thou hast turned thy blended brows to bended bow, 3 my love,
Thou'st made my soul the butt for all the shafts of woe, my love.

What time thou mad'st yon cypress sway upon its way, 4 thou mad'st,
Ah, wel-a-way! a well from forth mine eyes to flow, my love. 5

Since thou hast shown unto the world thy heart-adorning grace,
Thou'st bade the face of earth a Paradise to grow, my love.

The zephyr fills the world with wafts of odour sweet, belike
From those thy locks of ambergris thou musk dost throw, my love. 6

1 There is here an allusion to an incident in the story of Joseph and Zelikhâ (Potiphar's wife) which is told in ch. vi. Here, by the figure described on p. 63, n. 1, the sun is represented at once as Zelikhâ who holds the orange, and as the orange that she holds.

2 In this couplet the poet passes to the praise of the Sultan (Mehemmed II). He says, 'no, all these pictures I have been presenting are mere fancies; the real truth about the sun is, not that it is a king or a ship or a peacock; but that it is a celestial being who is looking through a round window of ruby (i. e. itself), which it has opened in the dome of heaven in order to look down on this far more magnificent dome of the Divan-chamber of the Sultan'. It will be noticed here again that the sun is presented at once as the window and as the looker through the window.

3 It was considered a beauty to have meeting eyebrows; and when this peculiarity was not present naturally, it was sometimes brought about by art. Such eyebrows are often likened to a bow, the glances being the arrows, and the lover's heart the target.

4 The 'swaying cypress' is the lissom figure of the beauty. When thou mad'st this 'sway upon its way', i. e. when thou didst depart and leave me.

5 This couplet is full of equivoques; I have endeavoured to suggest this in the translation.

6 In this poetry the locks of a beauty are always conceived as dark and sweet-scented. The zephyr likewise is always conceived as bearing the perfume of the flower-garden. Hence it is a favourite fancy to attribute the sweet scent with which it is laden to its having played among the tresses of the beloved.
What marvel were the heart of Ahmed straitened for thy lip? —
Since rosebud-like in gore thou'st garred his vitals glow, my love.  

Ghazel. [So]

For that those thy locks have smit with melancholia 2 the soul,
O thou cordial-lip, 3 with thy sweet healing honey 4 make it whole.

Chide not though my heart be broken by that hard, hard heart o' thine;
For the fragile flask availeth ne'er the stone's assault to thole. 5

From thy skirt thy tresses shook the perfumed dust by thee betrod,
For that mask while still in China unalloyed remains and sole. 6

Sovereign of beauty, seek not peace or patience from the heart;
Monarchs gather not from ruined cities aught of tax or toll.

When the clay for thee was kneaded, O thou dainty frame, meseems
Earth of Paradise was mingled with Life's Water bright of roll. 1

1 The beauty's lip is like a rosebud, being red and small; and longing for
this has wounded and straitened the poet's heart till it also resembles a rosebud.
2 Melancholia (sevdâ) was one of the 'four humours' (see vol. 1, p. 301, n. 1.); when in excess it was supposed to produce a kind of moody madness,
which was called by its own name of 'melancholy'. The cure for this was in
pleasant foods and drinks and cheerful surroundings.
3 i. e. O thou whose lip is invigorating as a cordial; such compound
epithets are very common.
4 i. e. with the honey of thy kisses. Honey was popularly reckoned a sort
of universal panacea; for there is a passage in the Koran (xvi, 71) where,
speaking of the bee, it is said: 'there cometh forth from her body a draught
varying in hue, in which is a cure for men'.
5 We have had this favourite conceit before; vol. 1, p. 214, n. 4.
6 i. e. the dust through being trodden on by thee (O beloved) becomes
sweet-scented; some of this dust has been stirred up and has alighted on
thy skirt; and thy long tresses, hanging down, have wiped it away, because
when musk is in China (its native land where it is plentiful) it is unnecessary
to make it go farther by adulteration with any inferior perfume. By this it is
implied that the beloved's locks are like China, themselves the home of
sweet perfume, and so it is needless to sprinkle them with any less precious
scent, such as would be the sweet-smelling (yet not so sweet-smelling) dust
on which she has set her foot.
7 The bodies of all animals, as well as those of all plants and minerals,
are composed of particles of the elements earth and water, variously modi-
ified by air and fire.
Pure the love of thee is waxen, biding long within the heart;
Clearer growth wine the longer while it bides in crystal bowl.  

Since the dervish Ahmed turned a beggar in the dear one’s ward 2
He is grown earth’s King with naught of need of throne or crown or stole.

Ghazel. [81]

He who fain would buss the Dearling’s ruby lip must life disdain,
He must yield his head who seeks yon darkling tresses’ scent to gain.  

Passion’s raging fires were never stanch’d by gazing on her ward;
Eden-bower may ne’er content him who is of the Vision fain.  

Vonder sugar-lip hath rid his cheek of down; come, where art thou
Who to company with thornless rose desirest to attain?  

Hair by hair hath he rehearsed the reckoning of thy gathered locks;
By the crack of doom! a zone he seeketh in death’s bitter pain.  

1 The heart, being pure and fragile like crystal and being a receptacle
for love, is compared to a flask: and as wine improves and grows clear by
being kept long in bottle, so has the poet’s love grown pure by being long
treasured in his heart.

2 As we have already seen, the poets often speak rapturously of the ‘ward’
(kuy) in which the beloved dwells; indeed there is a saying يوُدَى جَنَّان
‘the loved one’s ward is Paradise’. To be a beggar, or even
a dog, in this ward, is pictured as a position of supreme felicity.

3 See vol. 1, p. 163, n. 2. Ahmed says in another ghazel: —

وار ای نِریق عَشَقِه نَدیبیت بیلام صنان
جَنَّان وَبیمک ابنددا درَا یوُتَدَر انتِبِالا

‘Begone, O thou who thinkest, ‘I shall reach Love’s pathway’s end’!
To yield thy life is the first stage; there is no end thereto’.

4 Here we have the ‘ward’ again: but Ahmed says that this, the shrine of
the sentimental poet, cannot satisfy the passionate lover, just as Paradise (to
which this ward is often compared) is valueless in the eyes of the fervid
saint whose heart is on fire for the Beatific Vision (see vol. 1, p. 37).

5 The idea is that the beautiful youth has removed the incipient beard,
the hairs of which, like so many thorns, were disfiguring his rose-like
face. In the second line there is an allusion to the well-known proverb,
‘there is no rose without a thorn’.

6 In this compleat the dying lover is conceived as speaking of his beloved’s
tresses with his latest breath. These tresses of the cruel fair are, as we have
O'er the rose-garth fair 1 her eyebrows, look ye, have pavilions reared; 2 'Let him come who seeketh garden-feast!' is her eyelids' refrain.

So thou seek for union with her, plunge within Love's sea straightway; Learn to know the ways of ocean, 3 thou who wouldst pearls obtain.

Though to love the fair be Ahmed's failing, 'tis no fault in sooth: Whoso seeketh friend that's faultless, friendless will on earth remain. 4

Ghazel. [82]

That curl o' thine which o'er thy rosy cheek doth play, O love, Is Eden's Pawn 5 who spreads his plumery-array, O love.

He who hath made thy down a talisman to guard thy lip Hath writ with musk a charm for sweetness, by my fay, O love, 6 seen, often compared to the paynim 'zone', which itself is frequently taken as an emblem of infidelity (p. 44, n. 4). It is therefore very strange that a Muslim at the time of death, when all his thoughts ought to be concentrated on things of the Faith, should speak about matters closely associated with infidels. The poet has here contrived to bring together a number of congruous words; the 'gathered' locks (i. e. the mass of hair) suggests the 'gathering together' of mankind at the Last Judgment; the 'reckoning' which each must then give; 'By the crack of doom!' literally 'Oh the Resurrection!' (an interjectional phrase implying consternation) is self-evident.

1 The 'rose-garth' is of course the beauty's rosy face.
2 Here again the eyebrows are presented at once as tents or pavilions (because of their arched shape) and as the raisers of those pavilions.
3 There is here an untranslatable equivoque: the phrase 'learn to know the ocean' means also 'swim the ocean'.
4 This line يَرَسُ السَّنَّة يَرَبَّر جَهَنَّمَة عِيْبِسُ يَارَ أَسْتَيْنَ has passed into a proverb.
5 The resplendent Pawn (i. e. Peacock) of Paradise, whose plumage shone like pearl and emerald, and whose voice was so sweet that he was appointed to sing the daily praise of God. He plays a part in the Muslim legend of the Fall; for it was he who induced the serpent to bring Satan hidden in his tooth into Paradise, in punishment whereof he was deprived of his lovely voice.

In the present verse the waving curl of the beauty represents this Peacock, her rosy cheek being the Garden of Paradise.
6 Here the hairs of the down on the face (or of the young moustache, if a youth be intended,) are taken to represent the magic characters of a talisman which has been written with dark sweet-smelling musk (the usual simile for hair) and placed over the beloved's lip to protect the sweetness.
Come, hie not to the rival's dwelling-place, for well thou know'st
Where'er there be a dog no angel goes that way, O love. 1

Thy dusky locks have come not forth from 'neath thy bonnet fair;
For fresh and fragrant musk is wrapped in silken say, O love. 2

The eye became not warm, so wept not at the preacher's words; 3
No pupil may perspire if dull and cold the day, O love. 4

Say, with what face should Ahmed rub not at thy feet his face? 5
Upon what head yield not his head for thee, I pray, O love?

Ghazel. [83]

That night in which our comrade is yon sugar-liplet bright, —
Grant thou the dawn no power to draw one breath, 6 O Lord of Night.

hidden there, Talismans were often written with water in which perfumes
and other ingredients were mixed.
1 The Prophet is reported to have said that an angel never enters
where there is a dog. On the other hand, he is credited with the saying,
حُبُّ الْعَرْقِ مَنْ أَلْبِمَانَ 'love of the cat is part of the Faith'.

In the present verse 'the dog' is of course represented by the rival, 'the
angel' by the beloved.
2 It was usual for druggists to wrap up parcels of musk in red silk, a
practice frequently alluded to by the poets.
3 The 'preacher' is taken by the poets as a type of the rigid and austere
orthodox, the opposite and antagonist of the 'lover', just as is the zealot, the
legist, and so on (vol. i, p. 360, n. 1.)
1 The 'pupil' (pupilla i. e. 'little girl') of the eye is called in the East
the 'mannikin' or 'babe' of the eye, the name in each case being taken from
the little reflected image seen in the apple of the eye.

Ahmed here fancies the tears as the 'perspiration' of this pupilla or man-
nikin. But perspiration comes only when one is heated; now there have
been no tears, as the frigid address of the preacher did not rouse the enthusiasm
of his hearers; hence the conceit that the pupilla has not perspired because
of the chilly air.
5 'To rub one's face in the dust at a great man's feet', i. e. to humble
one's self before him.
6 The 'breath of dawn' is an idiomatic expression answering to our
'peep of day'.
Thy beauty’s dawn is e’en a brilliancy-diffusing day
Enclosed on either side between thy darkling tresses’ night.  

O houri fairy-visaged, it is thou, an so there be
Embodied radiance the which in soul for frame is dight.

O heart, behold her cheek and curl, nor take thy leave of us,
Nor start on journey, for the moon in Scorpio’s alight.

The reason why I kiss the dust afore thy gate is this,
That gilded plate beside the door is surely meet and right.

O tear, go hide so soon as thou the loved one’s face dost see:
’Tis seemly that the stars be lost when comes the sun in sight.

A kiss of yonder lip of thine sick-hearted Ahmed craves;
Is ’t strange if fever make a man unfitting words recite?

1 Here the bright face of the beauty, enclosed on either side by her black hair, is compared to a lovely day, which is of course set between two nights.

2 If there be such a thing as an embodied Light, the body for which is formed, not of earth and water, but of soul, it is thou, O fairy-visaged houri, i. e. O beautiful girl.

3 Scorpio, according to the astrologers, is a most inauspicious sign, being ‘the house of death, of travail, of harm, of strife, of battle, of guilefulness, of falseness and of fraud’. It is, moreover, the ‘dejection’ of the moon (see vol. 1, p. 328, n. 3), and when the moon is in it her influence is most unfavourable. Hence to say that the moon is in Scorpio, is to say that the aspect of things is very threatening.

Here, by a common conceit, the beauty’s face is the moon and her hair is Scorpio, the twisting curls being something like a scorpion’s claws. So the heart is warned not to start on its love-quest at so menacing a time.

4 i. e. humble myself before thee, as in n. 5 on the previous page.

5 A gilt plate or tablet, bearing an inscription, was often placed over or by a door.

Here the poet likens his face, sallow through love-longing, to such a plate.

6 Here the poet compares his tears to the stars and his beloved’s face to the sun; and as the stars vanish when the brilliant sun appears, so must his tears cease in the glory of gazing on her face.

7 He having no right to ask so great a favour.
CHAPTER IV.

PRINCE JEM.

The story of the life and adventures of the poet-prince Jem Sultan, who unsuccessfully contested the throne with his brother Bâyêzîd II, forms one of the most romantic chapters in Ottoman history. ¹ This ill-starred Prince, whose courage and talents, combined with his misfortunes, render him so interesting a figure, had, however, no real right to the crown for which he fought, as he was the younger son of the Conqueror, having been born on the 27th Safer 864 (23rd Dec. 1459), while Bâyêzîd had been born thirteen years earlier.

About the beginning of Rejeb 873 (end of Dec. 1468), Jem, who had just entered his tenth year, was, in accordance with a custom already mentioned, ² sent as nominal governor to Qâstamuni, and while there he began his literary studies. In the middle of Sha'ban 879 (Dec. 1474), when he was fifteen years of age, he was appointed governor of the newly conquered province of Qaraman, which office he continued to hold till his father's death. The six and a half

¹ M. L. Thuasne, whose volume on the visit of Gentile Bellini to the court of Mehemed II has already been mentioned, has written an interesting, and, so far as European and translated Turkish records go, exhaustive work on the life of this Prince, under the title of 'Djem-Sultan, Étude sur la Question d'Orient à la Fin du XVe Siècle'. Paris, Leroux, 1892.

² See p. 29 supra.
years that he spent in that province formed probably the happiest period of his life. With his head-quarters at Qonya, the old Seljúq capital, and surrounded by congenial and trusty friends, he was able to give himself up unreservedly to his favourite pursuits. He lived a merry life; ‘in his hand,’ says ‘Ashiq, ‘the Cup of Jemshíd’ replaced the Seal of Solomon, and with him the voice of minstrels was heard for the drum of victory.’ ‘The vapours of the wine of mirth were the diadem on his head, and the flowing locks of the beloved were his tugh and standard.’ Here in all probability the greater part of his poems was written; for, as ‘Ashiq continues, ‘most times was he inditing poetry, while his (chief) occupation was to study the writings of the poets.’

The biographer adds that while here the Prince arranged his Diwán and dedicated it to his father, though in another place he speaks of the Diwán as being written out by Sa’dí, one of Jem’s followers, when they were in exile in Europe. It is not improbable, as we shall see by and by, that there were two editions. Schí Bey attributes to the

1 The Jám-i Jemshíd or Jám-i Jem, i. e. ‘the Cup of Jemshíd’ or ‘the Cup of Jem’, is famous in Eastern lore. Jemshíd or Jem is the name of a semi-mythic Persian King belonging to the first (the Píshdádí) dynasty, who possessed, among other wondrous things, this Cup, round the inside of which were engraved seven lines representing, according to one account, the Seven Climates of the habitable earth (see vol. i, p. 47, n. 1), the various cities and so forth being marked each in its proper place. When the King emptied his Cup, the whole world was thus presented to him, whence the name Jám-i Jihán-numá or Jám-i Giti-numá, i. e. ‘World-displaying Cup’, by which it is often called. The poets frequently speak of the wine-cup as the Cup of Jem (or Jemshíd), seeing how it expands the heart of the drinker so that he feels as though all the world were his, and from this usage the term came to be employed figuratively by the mystics to denote the esoteric knowledge that lays all things bare before the gnostic.

2 For Solomon and his seal, see p. 39, n. 1.

3 A tugh is a pennant of horse-hair which, attached to a flag-staff, was formerly given to Pashas as an ensign of rank.

4 According to Schí, the Prince’s khoja or tutor was a poet called Turábi.

5 In his notice of Sa’dí.
Prince a romantic mesnevi entitled Khurshid and Ferruhk-Shâd. It is probably to the same work that Sa'd-ud-Dîn, the historian, refers when, speaking of Jem's pursuits at Qonya, he says that, besides writing his Dîwân, he whilst there translated, and dedicated to Sultan Mehemed, Khâja Selmân's romantic mesnevi of Jemshid and Khurshid. The Prince's attention, however, was not wholly devoted to merry-making and poetry-writing, for, as the same historian informs us, while in Qaraman, he perfected himself in warlike exercises, and added several pounds of rings to the maces of the old Seljuq Sultan, ʿAlâ-ud-Dîn, which were preserved at Qonya and Larende, 6 while Schí tells us that in his time the Prince's mace, which no other man of his day could swing, was still to be seen at the Harbour Gate (Iskele Qapusi) of Constantinople.

The names of several of the poets who were with Jem in Qaraman have been recorded, notably those of his nishânji or chancellor Sa'dî (already referred to) and of his defterdar or treasurer Hayder, both of whom accompanied him to

1 Perhaps the same story as that told by Sheykh-oghli, see vol. 1, pp. 427—31.
2 For Sa'd-ud-Dîn and his famous History, see vol. 1, p. 164, n. 1.
3 Schí and Sa'd-ud-Dîn are alone in mentioning a mesnevi by Jem; no such work is referred to by any other Tezkire-writer or by Kâltîb Chelebi.
4 For Selman and his Jemshîd u Khurshid, see vol. 1, p. 286.
5 It was the custom with Oriental athletes to add to the weight of their arms, etc. by affixing thereto heavy iron rings.
6 We are not told which of the two Seljuq Sultans named ʿAlâ-ud-Dîn is here referred to.
6 Larende, the old name of the town of Qaraman. See vol. 1, p. 151, n. 1.
7 This Sa'dî, whose personal name was Sa'd-ullah, and who was popularly known as Jem Sa'dî or 'Jem's Sa'dî', was a native of Seres. He was one of the Prince's most faithful followers, accompanying him to Mecca and to Europe, and at last giving his life in his service. His verses are said to have been mostly of a bacchanalian character. As we shall see, he is probably the author of a well-known poem usually attributed to Prince Jem.
8 Hayder likewise was a native of Sivri-hisâr, and he too went into exile with his master, with whom he remained to the end. His verses are described
Europe. The biographers speak likewise of a Sháhidí who also is said to have been defterdár to the Prince (possibly he preceded Hayder in the office), while Sehí and Latifi mention further a Qandi and a La’lí; and the former biographer speaks of a Sakha’í.

When Sultan Mehemed died on the 4th of the First Rebi 886 (3rd May 1481), this chapter in the life of Jem came to a close. No sooner was the Conqueror’s death known in Constantinople than the partisans of the two Princes there sent word to their respective candidates. Bâyczid, who was governor of Amásiya, received his message first, and, hastening to Constantinople, he there assumed the crown. But Jem, nothing daunted, assembled an army, marched northward, and possessed himself of Brusa the old capital. Here he reigned for eighteen days, minting money and causing the khutbe to be read in his own name, the two official prerogatives of an independent sovereign in the East. As soon by Latifi and Hasan as being simple and without art. ‘Ashiq does not mention him; Sehí calls him Hayderi.

1 Sháhidí, whom also ‘Ashiq omits, was a native of Adrianople. His verses are said to have contained little beyond trite and threadbare ideas. According to Kášíb Chelebi, this Sháhidí composed a mesnevi on the loves of Leylá and Mejnán, which he completed in 881 (1476–7), and which was therefore probably the first Ottoman poem on the subject.

2 Qandi is said by Sehí, who brings him from Seres, to have been a great favourite with Jem, whom he accompanied into the exile in which he died. Latifi says that he was a master confectioner, whence his pen-name Qandi, i. e. ‘he of Candy’. He wrote parallels to the poems of Jem and Sa’dí.

3 La’lí is mentioned by ‘Ashiq and Hasan as well as by Sehí and Latifi, but the two former say nothing about any connection between him and Jem. Sehí says he accompanied Jem to the ‘Arab lands’.

4 Sehí alone mentions Sakha’í; he too is said to have gone with Jem to the ‘Arab lands’.

5 As Jem’s ‘reign’ was so brief, his coins are naturally excessively rare; but Ghálib Edhem Bey had in his collection an asper (aqcha) of the Prince, which he has described and represented in his Taqvim-i Meskukat-i ‘Osmaniye.

6 The khuthe is a special homily and prayer, delivered by an official preacher, called a khatíb, before the midday service in mosques on Fridays. It is divided into two sections, of which the first, called khutbet-ul-wa’z, is
as his preparations were made, Bâyezîd crossed over to Asia at the head of his army, when Jem, who probably mistrusted his own power to cope with the Imperial forces, sent an embassy to his brother proposing that they should divide the Empire between them, Bâyezîd keeping the European territories while he himself retained the Asiatic. Bâyezîd very properly refused to listen to this proposal; and in the battle that followed, Jem was utterly defeated, whereupon he fled with all the speed he might to Qonya, the capital of his old government of Qaraman. Here he rested for three days, after which, taking with him his mother and his wife and family, he continued his flight until he had left the Ottoman frontier behind him and was safe in the territories of the Egyptian Memlûks. He went first to Aleppo, and then to Damascus where, by order of Qayt Bay the Sultan of Egypt, he was received with every honour. From that city he went, by way of Jerusalem, to Cairo, his host's capital, which he entered in state on the 1st of Sha'âbân (25th Sept.), being met and welcomed by Qayt Bay himself and all his court. After a stay of four months in the Egyptian capital, Jem set out for Mekka, where he performed all the rites of the pilgrimage, 1 returning to Cairo, after an absence of some three months, in the spring of 887 (1482). He there received letters from a number of disaffected Ottoman officers in Anatolia as well as from Qâsim Bey, the heir of the dispossessed kings of Qaraman, telling him that a favourable opportunity had arisen for the prosecution of his claims and praying him to come across and once again try the fortunes of war. Jem gave willing ear to these overtures and, disre-

1 According to Mouradjian D'Ohsson and Von Hammer, Jem and a daughter of Sultan Mehemmed I are the only members of the Ottoman Imperial family who have made the Mekka pilgrimage.
garding a letter from his brother in which he was offered a handsome allowance if he would relinquish his pretensions and live in peace, he left Egypt, furnished by Qayt Bay with men and money, and set out for the Ottoman lands. On the journey he met Qâsim Bey, with whom he made a pact of alliance in which he promised, in case they were successful, to restore to Qâsim the Kingdom of Qaraman. But this was not to be; after vainly besieging Qonya, Jem marched upon Angora, and there his army deserted him. Bâyezid again offered him peace and an annual allowance

1 According to Sehi and Latifi, Jem sent (presumably about this time) the following couplet to Bâyezid: —

"A smile on bed of roses dost thou lie in all delight,
In dolor's stove-room* mid the ashes couch I, — why is this?"

to which the Sultan returned this answer: —

"To me was empire on the Fore-eternal Day** decreed,
Yet thou to Destiny wilt yield thee not, — why, why is this?"

"A pilgrim to the Holy Shrines am I" thou dost declare,
And yet thou dost for earthly Sultanship sigh, — why is this?"

* The kulkhan or ‘stove-room’ of an Eastern public bath is a large and gloomy chamber, generally below the level of the street. In it are the stoves or furnaces by which the bath is heated, and it is always grimy with fuel and ashes. It opens on to the street, and on cold winter nights miserable and homeless lads sometimes creep into it and lay themselves in the ashes before the stoke-holes of the stoves, where they are allowed to sleep in peace. Such lads are called kulkhani or kulkhan beyi, and have a very bad reputation, somewhat equivalent to that of our ‘hooligans’. In poetry the kulkhan or bath stove-room is often taken as typical of the lot of the wretched, in opposition to the gulshen or ‘rose-garden’ which represents the lot of the happy.

** The Fore-eternal Day, i. e. the Day of E-lest, the Primal Day, see vol. 1, p. 363, n. 9."
if he would retire and settle quietly near Jerusalem; but even now Jem refused, declaring he would be content with nothing less than a share of the Empire. Bâyêzîd therefore ordered his troops to march against him, but the Prince managed to elude them and make his escape to the coast, whence he sent a message to D’Aubusson, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, at Rhodes, praying his hospitality and assistance against his brother Bâyêzîd. This the Grand Master gladly consented to give, as he knew that the possession of the Ottoman pretender would be a powerful weapon in his hands should the Sultan ever think to threaten the territories of the Order. He accordingly sent a vessel, in which Jem embarked on the 26th July, 1482, when he took what was to be his last farewell of the land of his fathers.

A short voyage brought the Prince and his followers to Rhodes, where the Grand Master and his knights received them with every mark of honour and respect. The Prince was magnificently entertained, but the courtesy of his hosts was only surface-deep; before he placed himself in their power, they had pledged to the fugitive their knightly word that he would be free to leave their island in all security when he pleased, but they knew the value of the prize that fortune had put within their hands, and were fully determined that it should not slip from their possession. And so, that they might keep him in the greater security, they shipped Jem off to France, and straightway entered into an agreement with the Sultan whereby, in return for an annual payment of 45,000 florins, they undertook to hold the Prince in safe custody.

Jem, accompanied by a suite of thirty followers, had left

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1 In the contemporary European records the name of Jem appears under the corrupt form of Zizim or Zizimi. The Italians of those days seem to have used the letter Z to represent the sound which we give to j (or ch), thus 'Janizari' for the Turkish Yeni-cheri.

2 For the value of the florin, see p. 26, n. 2.
Rhodes after a stay of thirty-four days, having been persuaded that the King of France would espouse his cause, and full of hope that with this assistance and that of the King of Hungary, on which also he reckoned, he would be able to invade the Ottoman territories. After an eventful voyage, in the course of which they encountered a furious storm, saw Mount Vesuvius in eruption, and went near to being captured by the galleys of the King of Naples, they reached the town of Nice on the 16th of October. Jem, who so far does not seem to have suspected the bad faith of his hosts, appears to have been pleased with the entertainment he here received and to have enjoyed the to him unaccustomed freedom of life offered by a European city. Ashiq says that he passed his time feasting and making merry with the young Frankish nobles, and he quotes the following couplet which, he says, the Prince composed in praise of the French city:—

1 How wondrous nice a town this town of Nice,
2 'Where none is questioned, whate'er his caprice!' 3

As we have already seen, Ashiq says in one place in his Tezkire that it was while Jem was at Nice that his Diwan was written out. This, he further informs us, was done in

1 As the price of their assistance his Christian allies were, among other things, to receive back part of the territories wrested from their co-religionists by Mehemed the Conqueror.

2 The freedom with which in European cities everyone may enjoy himself as he pleases, is one of the first things to strike the Oriental fresh from a Mohammedan country with its muhtesibs or censors of public morals whose duty it is to prevent drinking and gambling and other unlawful pleasures or amusements, and to arrest those who indulge in them.

3 As a wondrous town is this town of Nice,

1 'A wondrous town is this town of Nice, Where whatever one do, it remaineth with him' (i.e. he is not called to account for it).

The merit, such as it is, of this couplet lies in the tejnis (see vol. i, p. 116) formed by nitse 'Nice' and nitse 'Whatever he do'. The 'Nice' and 'nice' of the translation are intended to take the place of this.
a place ‘now known as Jem’s garden (Jem Baghchesi)’, Sa'dí, the Prince’s nishánji, acting as scribe and making his copy on what the biographer describes as káfírí kharti. 1 'Ashiq speaks as though he had seen this identical copy of Jem’s Diwán, which he says ‘is now in the possession of Baba Chelebi’, and in the colophon of which the scribe gives the date of transcription and mentions his own name, Sa'dí the son of Mustafa.

According to Latifi, this Sa'dí, who, as we know, was himself something of a poet, composed and presented to his master during their sojourn at Nice a poem in which he sought to cheer him in his ill-fortune by pointing out how destiny may not be evaded, and how even now he was enjoying every delight which kingship could procure. This poem, which later writers such as 'Ashiq and Hasan attribute, not to Sa'dí, but to Jem, eventually acquired considerable celebrity as the work of the Prince himself. I am, however, inclined to think that Latifi, our earliest authority, 2 is right in his attribution, and that the piece of verse in question is really from the pen of the nishánji. Not only would such an authorship harmonize better with the wording of the poem, which is throughout addressed to Jem, who is thrice mentioned by name, but the work, both in language and in spirit, is quite unlike the ghazels in Jem’s Diwán, the manipulation being much less skilful and the ideas much more matter-of-fact. But as this production, apart from any question of authorship, is very interesting as being quite unusually realistic for a Turkish poem, and as presenting an obviously true picture of the Prince’s life at Nice, I give a translation of it at the end of this chapter. 3

1 دَرَبُي چِرَنِي, by which 'Ashiq probably means paper of European manufacture; but I am not certain.
2 Sehi does not refer to the matter in question.
3 Latifi wrote a takhmis (see vol. 1, p. 93) on the opening couplet of
Sa'dí met with a tragic fate. At some unspecified time Jem sent him to Turkey with letters to certain of his adherents in Constantinople and with instructions to find out how things were looking there. He set out in disguise, taking with him, besides the letters, the copy of his master’s Diwán which he had himself written out. He reached Rhodes, whence he passed over to the province of Aydin, and thence he made his way north, travelling during the night and hiding by day. But at length he was discovered, arrested as a spy, and flung into the harbour of Constantinople with a stone tied about his neck.

Jem remained at Nice some four months till an outbreak of the plague in that city rendered his removal desirable. By this time the Prince had begun to realize that his hosts were in truth his gaolers, and that he was in fact, though not in name, a prisoner in the hands of the Knights of St. John. They had attempted on one pretext or another to separate his followers from him; and although they still professed to treat him as their guest, they henceforth determined his movements precisely as they pleased, without the slightest regard to his own desires. And now began a long journey through Provence; the Knights took Jem and such of his suite as were left with him to one after another of their castles in that country, stopping for a few months at

this poem which will be found in the printed edition of his Tezkire. I may remark that the poem does not occur in my MS. of Jem’s Diwán, but such an omission would not necessarily prove that he was not the author, as in very many cases MS. Diwáns are by no means complete. The text of the poem is printed in the 4th. vol. of the Tārikh-i Ṭāā, where it is attributed to Jem, and where it is called a Hasb-i Ḩal or ‘Plaint’. Von Hammer published five couplets from it in an article on the adventures of Jem in Europe which he contributed to the Journal Asiatique for Nov. 1825, under the title of ‘Sur le Séjour du Frère de Bayazid H en Provence’. Von Hammer calls those five couplets (which by the way are full of mistakes and misprints) a ghazel, and this he attributes to Prince Jem.
each. The route followed, and the names of the towns through which they passed and of the castles at which they rested, are mentioned in histories both Turkish and European. There is no need to reproduce them here; it is enough to say that in the course of this journey Jem met the only two Europeans who, so far as has been recorded, showed him any disinterested kindness. One of these was Duke Charles of Savoy, a gallant and generous young prince, who in February 1483 visited Jem at Rumilly, and, filled with pity at his unhappy position, promised to do his utmost to assist him, a promise which he loyally kept, though all his efforts proved unavailing. The other was the fair Philippine-Hélène of Sassenage who gave Prince Jem her love. In the early summer Jem had been transferred either to the castle of Sassenage, the lord of which was the father of this young lady, or to some other castle in the neighbourhood; and there Prince and damozel met and fell in love. In the words of Sa’d-ud-Din, ‘now the lord of that castle had a wonder-lovely daughter, and she inclined unto the Prince, and there befell between them mutual love and interchange of letters.’

Jem remained seven years in France, from 1482 to 1489. He was then transferred to Italy, and there the rest of his life was passed. The custody of claimant of the Ottoman throne had now become a matter of contention among the potentates of Christendom. Apart from the money which could always be extorted from Báyezíd for the safe-keeping of his brother, the possession of the latter, who any day could be let loose upon Turkey, placed a formidable weapon against the common enemy in the hands of his custodians.

1 The memory of the loves of Jem and Philippine-Hélène lingered long in the district. In 1673 the local traditions on the subject were collected by Guy-Allard and worked up into a kind of historical romance under the title of ‘Zizimi prince Ottoman, amoureux de Philippine-Hélène de Sassenage’.
who thus acquired considerable influence among their fellows. And so by a judicious combination of cajolery and bribery Pope Innocent VIII contrived to get the Prince out of the hands of the Knights of St. John. In spite of his promise to assist Jem, who had implored his protection, Innocent kept him a virtual prisoner in the Vatican. While there the Prince learned, through an ambassador of the Sultan of Egypt, of another knightly action of his former 'host' the Grand Master D'Aubusson. That gallant and pious gentleman had sent forged letters to Jem's mother and wife at Cairo, in which the Prince was made to say that he had remained in Europe of his own free will, but that he would now return if they would send 20,000 florins to cover the expenses of his journey. When Jem and the ambassador charged D'Aubusson with this crime at the Papal court, he was unable to deny his guilt, though an immediate payment of 5,000 florins sufficed to procure his exoneration.

In 1492 Innocent died and was succeeded on the Papal throne by the infamous Alexander Borgia who then assumed the style of Alexander VI. Charles XII of France entered Rome at the head of his army on the last day of 1494. He compelled the Pope to place the Ottoman Prince in his hands. Charles then marched upon Naples, taking Jem with him. On the 17th February 1495, at a place called Thiano, about a league from Capua, Jem fell ill. He was placed in a litter and borne to Naples, and there, on the 29th of the First Jemázi 900 (25th Feb'y. 1495), he died, poisoned, according to both Turks and Europeans, by order of Pope Alexander VI.

The Ottoman historians differ from the European only as to the manner in which the crime was carried out. According to the former, who in this particular are the less likely to be correct, the Prince's death was brought about through
his being cut with a poisoned razor by the barber whose duty it was to shave him; according to the latter, the poison was administered to him in his food. Both, however, are agreed in saying that the murder of the hapless Turkish Prince was the revenge taken by the Pope on the French King who thought to steal away his prize.

According to Sa'd-ud-Din, the news of Jem's death was conveyed to Turkey by one of his suite named Khatib-záde Nasúh Chelebi, who at the same time brought with him the late Prince's personal effects. Latifi and Hasan, however, assert that this was done by Hayder Chelebi who had been his defterdár in Qaraman and had accompanied him to Europe. These biographers tell us that Jem had a white parrot of which he was very fond, and in teaching which to speak he had whiled away some of the dreary hours of his exile. On the Prince's death, Hayder dyed this bird's plumage black and taught it to say, 'It is God's to decree! long live the Pádisháh!' and brought it thus wearing the colour of mourning and uttering the words used in condolence, into the presence of Báyezíd, who, pleased with the little trick, granted Hayder a valuable fief.

The body of Prince Jem was embalmed, taken back to Turkey, and buried in Brusa hard by the mosque of Sultan Murád.

While the treachery he met with at the hands of those

[The two Arabic words which begin this sentence were originally adopted by the Khárijítes (Khawárij) or 'Seceders' as their distinctive war-cry, in the sense of 'to God alone belongs the arbitrament'. Herein they desired to express their disapproval of the arbitration proposed by Mu'áwiyá and unwillingly accepted by 'Ali after the Battle of Siffin. Ed.]

2 Sa'd-ud-Dín also has this parrot story; but according to him, it was Khatib-záde Nasúh who brought the bird to Constantinople, having taught it to say 'God's mercy on Prince Jem!' (a phrase which implies that the Prince is dead) in place of 'God aid Prince Jem!' which it had been accustomed to repeat.
in whose honour he trusted cannot but arouse our pity for the unhappy and misguided Prince whose career we have just sketched, we must not lose sight of the fact that his misfortunes were in great measure the result of his own actions. Possessed by an overpowering ambition, he was driven not only to his own destruction but to the total disregard of his duty towards his country. It would no doubt be too much to look for what we call patriotism from an Oriental Prince of the fifteenth century, but it were not too much to expect that such a Prince should have some consideration for the interests of his race and his religion. Yet Jem twice plunged the land in civil war in pursuance of a purely personal and quite unjustifiable pretension. He would, moreover, have dismembered the Ottoman Empire in order to make himself master of part of it. He entered into alliances with the hereditary enemies of his house, the Sultan of Egypt and the Prince of Qaraman, and by his pact with the latter he would have undone his father's work. On the chance of dispossessing his brother, he would have let loose the Franks and the Christians of Hungary upon the Muslim lands.

It was conduct such as this, and Jem's was neither the first nor the last instance of it, that led public opinion to sanction the seemingly barbarous rule which allowed a Sultan in old times if he thought fit, to order the execution of his brothers on his accession to the throne. While it cannot be doubted that as a consequence of this rule, which was in reality a measure of precaution, many an innocent victim perished, it is at least equally certain that it was the means of preventing a far greater effusion of blood by obviating wars of succession, and that it tended greatly to promote the stability of the state by enabling her to husband her resources for employment against foreign enemies.

The poetical works of Prince Jem, so far as they are
known to us, are wholly lyric. We have seen that Sehí and Sa'íd-ud-Dín speak of a romantic mesnevi. This poem, if it ever existed, seems to have disappeared. All that we have now is a Diwán. Copies even of this are rare, and apparently have long been so, as ʿAlí thinks it worth his while to chronicle the fact that he possessed one. There is a manuscript in the Royal Library at Berlin, another among the Schefer MSS. at Paris, and a third in my own collection.¹ The last of these would seem to represent what we might call the second edition of the Diwán, that which Sa’dí copied out in the garden at Nice and took with him on his ill-starred journey to Turkey. My reason for thus thinking is that the manuscript in question contains no dedication of any kind, whereas we are distinctly told, by ʿAshiq as well as by Sa’dí-ud-Dín, that the Diwán which the Prince wrote and arranged while in Qaramán was dedicated to his father. Such dedication might very well be omitted from the second edition, that drawn up at Nice after Sultan Mehemed’s death. If this supposition be correct, this manuscript will contain the poems written by Jem while he was still in the East, together with any that he may have composed during the first weeks of his residence in Europe. But it will not present a complete collection of his works; those many pathetic ghazels which Sa’dí-ud-Dín tells us the Prince composed during his long exile in Europe will be absent. And it is worthy of note, as supporting this supposition, that the one fragment of verse which the biographers quote as the production of that period is not to be found in this manuscript. That many of those later poems have been preserved

¹ The Diwán of Prince Jem is unpublished; a few extracts from it are printed in vol. iv of the Tārikh-i ʿAtá. As said above, there is a MS. in my collection, which, however, unfortunately wants a page or two; as it stands it contains nearly 320 ghazels, when it was perfect, it doubtless contained fully that number.
is very doubtful. There is no record that they were ever collected; and such as were conveyed to Turkey by the survivors of Jem’s suite, if not brought together or incorporated with the author’s earlier works, would soon be dispersed and either lost or forgotten.

We may then take it that the manuscript at our disposal contains the poems written by Jem up to about the year 1482. These will therefore be contemporary with the earlier works of Ahmed Pasha and with the ghazels of the writers who style themselves "Adlí and "Adnî. On examining them we find that they are very similar to the verses of these three poets. There is the same triteness in the high-flown sentiments, the same almost child-like naiveté in the poses and affectations, and the same ungainliness in the somewhat laboured attempts at verbal jugglery, all of which show the writers to be pre-occupied in wrestling with a language not yet wholly adequate to the expression of a highly artificial style.

What distinguishes Jem from his contemporaries is his greater individuality. Even when he is saying the same things as Ahmed and the others, he does not say them quite in the same way. His verse is no smoother than theirs, his ideas and metaphors no more original; but there is in his work a personal note which theirs lacks. Those poets studied the Persian Diwáns in order to learn what to say, Jem studied them in order to learn how to say what he himself felt. And in this lies his merit as a poet. His ghazels did nothing to assist the development of Ottoman poetry, his Diwan marks no stage in its history; but mirrored therein is a personality so strong that not even the incubus of precedent and the dead-weight of Persian culture sufficed wholly to stifle it.

For some reason, possibly because the display of any marked sympathy with an enemy of a Sultan, in however
distant a past, was against the rules, the Ottoman biographers are singularly reticent with regard to Jem's poetry. They give the outline of his life-story and quote a few couplets from his ghazels, but of the eulogies of which they are usually so lavish there is hardly a trace. Sehí alone speaks of him as a peerless poet whose verses are full of fantasies and his ghazels of metaphors. Latíífí says that by common consent of the poets Jem is the most highly gifted of the Princes who wrote poetry, just as Selím I is of the Sultans. ʿAlí will not admit even that; he maintains that the poems in which Jem bewails his misfortunes are surpassed in pathos by those of Prince Bāyezíd, a son of Suleyman I, who wrote under the pen-name of Sháhí, and whose unhappy lot bore considerable resemblance to that of the elder Prince. ʿAshiq and Hasan say absolutely nothing as to Jem's position as a poet.

I have selected the following ghazels from Prince Jem's Díwán.

Ghazel. [84]

Though my life-thread by thy wanton ways is ended, loveling mine,
Never have I seen a hair's good from thy flowing locks a-twine.

O thou Idol, though the Real Love be guide upon the way,
If I turn me from thy Typal Love, a paynim I indign.¹

Though toward her ward I bow me, zealot, see thou chide me not;
Better far than all thy prayers is one bow toward yon shrine.

Since the hand of Time thine ear hath twisted like the lute's. O heart,²
Fire is fall'n on highest heaven from these burning songs of thine.

Nought from all thy prayers hast thou won, O heart, go, heed no more;
For the heedless heart no longer prays thee, beauty haught and fine!

¹ For the 'Real' and the 'Typal' Loves, see vol. 1, pp. 20–1.
² The 'ears' of the lute are the pegs by screwing up which it is tuned.
They have burned the taper's tongue and hanged her in the market-place, for that of thy hidden secret, Idol, she hath given sign.  

Ha! how brave a lover, Jem, art thou, for ne'er may scape or flee One of all the city-beauties from thy sweetheart-hunting eye.

Ghazel. [85]

I've learned how thy despite of me was truest plight, O love;  
How yonder thought I had of thee was all unright, O love.

Oh! drive me not from 'fore thy gate, I pray, for by Merve-hill!  
To compass that thy Ka'ba-ward 2 is my Delight, O love. 3

I joyed a-saying, 'In my dream have I beheld thy locks!'  
But, ah, it was a dragon 4 met my waking sight, O love.

I bound my hope unto thy locks for all that well I knew  
They too were, even like to life, of faithless plight, O love.

He sought to win unto the board of union 5 with thee;  
Alack a blessing was Jem's only share or right, O love. 6

1 Another instance of husn-i ta' lil. The wick of the taper is lighted, and it is then hung up, enclosed in a lantern, in a public-place to give light; but the poet feigns that its tongue (i.e. wick) is branded or burned (i.e. lighted), and that it is hanged (i.e. hung up) in the market-place, as a punishment for its having given a hint concerning the secret of his beloved's beauty, the taper being, as we know, a recognised symbol of the beloved. (See vol. 1, p. 215, n. 3.)

2 In this couplet the 'ward' of the beloved is considered as the sacred Ka'ba, the compassing of which is an essential ceremony of the pilgrimage.

3 Merve and Safa are the names of two small hills or rises in Mekka, between which the pilgrims make seven courses in commemoration of Hagar's running about to seek water for Ishmael.

The word safâ means, among other things, 'delight'. It is thus used amphilo- logically in this verse, the second line being:—  
'To compass that thy Ka'ba-ward is my Safâ or delight, O love'.

4 We have often seen the beloved's locks compared to a snake or dragon.

5 'The board (i.e. feast) of union with thee' means simply, the delight of union with thee.

6 Alluding to the phrase, 'God give (to thee and to us) a blessing!' said when refusing alms to a beggar, the implication being that we too require assistance and so cannot help him. Here of course the inference is that Jem's prayer for union was rejected.
Ghazel. [86]

Ah! thy rosebud-face is veiled mid thy hair!
Midst the clouds the sun is hidden, I would swear! 1
Whoso sees me kiss the dust before thy gate
Sayeth, 'Lo, with golden plate this door is fair!' 2

Fled the heart from spite, it went to thy dear ward;
Well it knew in Heaven could be nor pain nor care! 3

Every moment pour mine eyeen stained with blood
Where thy feet have trodden, pearls of lustre rare. 4

Proferring my life, I pray thy lip a hint
Of the mystery of thy mouth, it answers ne'er. 5

Mid the ruined heart is throned thy fantasy;
Therefore wreck it not with uttermost despair. 6

Yea, the soul of Jem is sacrifice for thee;
This the saying is 'God knoweth best!' 7 for e'er.

Ghazel. [87]

Set thou my heart-string at thy face's taper's flame alight;
Make thou my lantern glow, so God shall make thine glow forthright.

No one had ever called the ocean of my tears a flood,
Had not what flowed 8 been that which showed the name to fit the plight.

1 The clouds being her hair; the sun, her face.
2 We have had this fancy in one of Ahmed Pasha's ghazels, see p. 69, n. 5.
3 The ward of the beloved being Paradise, see p. 66, n. 2.
4 The pearls are of course the tears that he sheds in his beloved's footprints.
5 Her mouth being so small that its very existence is a mystery (see vol. 1, p. 217, n. 5.) When Jem speaks of asking her lips to give him a hint of the existence of her mouth, he probably means that they should do so by giving him a kiss.
6 This is the same idea as in 'Adli's ghazel (p. 32, n. 1.) Though the conception in these two cases (as in several others) is practically identical, it does not follow that either poet borrowed it from the other; they probably got it independently from some Persian writer.
7 This is the Arabic phrase quoted in vol. 1, p. 298, n. 1.
8 The expression 'what flowed' (má-jerd) means usually 'occurrences', 'events'
The afterglow its nurture draws from my Canopus-tears,
And thence it comes that with Yemen carnelian hues 'tis sight. 2

The violet's roll a letter is beside that script, thy down; 5
The rose's book a leaf beside that tome, thy beauty bright. 6

"Jem likewise hopeth in thy kisses' alms to share', quoth I;
She rose-like smiled and said, 'Fore God, he hath thereto a right!' 1

Ghazel. [88]

Where now the time when I thy Ka'ba-ward for home did know? —
Yon threshold shone the stead whereto my heart for rest would go.

Where now the time when fresh to keep the green and tender herbs
Of yonder rosy garth, I made my tears as water flow?

(generally of a disagreeable nature); here the literal signification, as referring
to the flowing tears, is also kept in view.

1 The 'after glow' (shefaq), is very brilliant in the East, and in poetry is
always associated with the idea of redness.

2 Yemen was famous for its carnelians, as Badakhshan was for its rubies,
and 'Aden for its pearls.

3 Many wonderful virtues were attributed to the star Canopus (Suheyl),
amongst others that of imparting to carnelians their red colour.

Here Jem compares each of his bright round tears to this star, and says
that it is by virtue of those tears of blood that the crepuscle acquires its
glowing hues, just as it is by the influence of the fostering beams of Canopus
that the carnelians of Yemen attain their red colour.

4 As the petals of the violet are dark-hued and somewhat curled, this
flower is occasionally compared to the hair. (See vol. 1, p. 293, n. 1). Here
the poet considers the curled leaf of the violet as a written roll, and says
that this is but a single letter compared to the script written by the down
on his beloved's face.

5 The comparison of the down on a beautiful face to writing is very
common, and is greatly furthered by the circumstance that the same name,
khatt, is given both to this down and to any kind of hand-writing.

6 The rose is often conceived as a book, each petal being a leaf. [Compare
the couplet of Hafiz imprinted on the title-page of the edition of his Diwán
published by Rosenzweig-Schwannau. ed.] Here the poet says that this lovely
rose-book is no more than a single leaf in comparison with the volume of the
beloved's beauty.

7 In this answer there is an allusion to the fact that in Islam certain
classes have a legal right to participate in the public alms. These classes
are enumerated in Koran, ix, 60.
Where now the time when, like the shadow of the huma’s wing,  
The shady dust along thy path a canopy would throw?  
Where now the time when every nook in gallery and spire  
Of that thy dwelling to this bird, my heart, a nest would show?  
Where now the time when in thy palace court-yard of delight  
The caravans of heart went ever guest-wise to and fro?  
Where now the time when was thy threshold unto Jem a home?  
Alas! ‘tis gone, nor knew we then how sweet that long ago!

These three couplets, which are quoted by Latífí and  
‘Alí, form the fragment which I spoke of as being attributed  
to the period of the author’s European exile.

Fragment of a Ghazel. [89]

Lo, how the torrents smite their breasts with stones as on they go!  
Lo, how the realm of Space and Being pitieth my woe!

For dolour and for teen the afterglow hath rent its robe;  
Lo, how where dawn should be, the sky hath made its blood to flow!

The clouds of heaven, weeping, wander o’er the mountain-peaks;  
Lo, how the burning thunder yonder moaneth deep and low!

Here is a translation of the poem which Latífí attributes  
to Sa’dí, and which the later writers attribute to the Prince  
himself.

Nazm. [90]

Drain, O Jem, thy Jemshid-beaker: 4 here in Frankish land are we!  

1 For the huma-bird, the shadow of whose wing brings good fortune, see  
vol. 1, p. 331, n. 5.

2 So delightful was the mere act of going to visit the beloved that the very  
dust raised by his horse’s hoofs when on the way to her dwelling appeared to  
the lover as a grateful canopy to shade him from the sun, and to shade  
him, moreover, with a shadow auspicious as that cast by the huma’s wing.

3 Numbers of pigeons and swallows frequent the courts of palaces and mosques  
in the East, and have their nests in the nooks of the galleries and pinnacles.

4 The ‘cup of Jemshid’ mentioned on p. 71, n. 1.

5 i.e. this is no Muslim country, where prying censors are ever on the
What upon his head is writ shall tide to man, 'tis Fate's decree. ¹
That thou once hast gone and compassed the Ka-ba-shrine of God
Is a thousand Persias, Qaramans or 'Osmán thrones to thee.²
Thanks abounding be to God that thou art come to Frankland whole;
Whosoever health and strength hath, in himself a king is he.

Look thou lose not the occasion; make thou merry with all cheer;
Fortune bideth aye with no man, fleeting is the World, ah me!
Make thou merry in this city with the King's Son of the Franks,
For that he's a wondrous lovesome chieftain of the fair and free.³
Cypris-figured, silver-bodied, fair the Frankish lovelings show;
Dazed for love of their bright beauty sun and moon reel giddily!⁴
That with all this grace they offer thee the wine-filled beaker, Prince,
China's throne is, Yemen's kingdom, yea, or Persia's empery!
Kingship can be naught beyond this, O Prince Jem, I tell thee true,
Drain the bowl and glad thy spirit, 'tis the revellers' feast of glee.
Glory be to God, O Khusrev, ⁵ 'fore thee as thy vassals stand
 Beauties, Bans the sons of Bans ⁶ amazed thy graciousness to see.
 Left and right they flock around thee, 'fore thy feet they cast them prone, —
Every one a Ban full noble in the Frankish signiorie.
Harp and tambourine and organ dulcimer-like sweet resound,
For the sigh of flutes is Frankland all a-wail, in verity.

watch lest one should drink or indulge in other forbidden pleasures; but it
is the land of the Franks, where every one is free to enjoy himself as he
pleases without fear of being called to account (see p. 77, n. 2.) Von Hammer
remarks that this line is often quoted by Turks travelling in Europe, as
analogous to their situation!

¹ It was formerly believed that each man's fate is written upon his skull,
the statures being the writing, which, however, none can read.
² Alluding to Jem's having made the Mekka-pilgrimage.
³ I cannot say whether any particular individual is referred to in this couplet.
⁴ The Sun and Moon, revolving round the earth in their respective spheres
(vol. 1, p. 43), are conceived as reeling, dazed by the lustrous beauty of the
young Franks, for all that they are themselves known as the 'Two
Lights' or the 'Two Luminaries' (Neyyirán), as being the most brilliant
objects in creation.
⁵ 'Khusrev', i. e. 'Chosroes', is often used for 'Sultan' or 'Prince'.
⁶ Ban is a military title in certain districts of Hungary, Slavonia and
Croatia. It is really the Persian word, بان, 'warden' or 'keeper', and is
said to have been brought into Europe by the Avars who ruled in Slavonic
countries subject to Hungary. In the present poem it is erroneously applied
to Frankish (Western European) nobles.
Beauties sing in their own language songs and carols passing sweet;  
Each of those who gracious dancest, sooth a heavenly houri she.  
Twelve the Bans, the sons of Bans, who 'fore thee drain the golden bowl;  
Eighteen skinkers grace this banquet; fair a life is this, perdie!  
All begirt with golden sashes, all yclad in gold brocade,  
Golden caps upon their tresses, bare their arms for all to see.  
Honey yea, and sugar, sweetmeats, likewise dates full moist and fresh,  
Many diverse dainty comfits for refection eke there be.  
Many a wastel-cake with milk and sugar kneaded sweet is here,  
Over which are freshest almonds ranged like columns orderly.  
Here are apples, pears, and oranges untold of many a kind,  
Nuts and grapes, jujubes and apricots, and herbs of fragrancy.  
Lo, before thee sons of Bans with hands in reverence folded stand.  
Yea, thy banquet-place is Paradise, thy stead the flowery lea.  
Purest wine, sev'n years in bottle, sooth a ruby bright of ray,  
Handed by a skinker silvern midst the toper-company.  
O thou youthful Prince, O Jem, to pass one joyous night with those  
Midst of fair delicè were sweeter than aught else on earth to thee.  
Khusrev, let thy heart be merry, yield thee ever to liesse,  
For at last must earth's fair palace fall in ruins, woe is me!  
They who rule o'er this world's kingdoms, whether East or whether West,  
Be they Solomons or Alexanders, naught but guests they be.  
He alone is King, unto whose Being cometh ne'er decline,  
He the Mighty, the Creator, He, the Everlasting, He!  
His it was to bid the world arise with but one single word,  
His 'twill be again with but one word to bid it cease to be.  
Pray to Mustafá that God have ruth upon those youths who lie  
Bounden in the Frankish dungeons, that His grace may set them free.  
Go thy way, O Bâyezîd, and take thy joyance of thy lot;  
Should they tell thee empire bideth, learn thou 'tis a lie from me!  
1 These things were eaten as appetizers when wine was drunk.  
2 Unnâb, i. e. the fruit of the jujube-tree (the zizyphus); it is pulpy and  
resembles a small plum, but is rather elongated in shape. It is red in colour,  
and the henna-stained fingers of a beauty are often compared to it by the  
Eastern poets.  
3 Mustafâ, i. e. the Prophet. (See vol. i, p. 244, n. 1.)  
4 It is impossible to say to whom this refers; there may have been some  
Turkish prisoners of war in the hands of the Franks of Nice when Jem and  
his followers were in that town.  
5 Here the Sultan is addressed.
CHAPTER V.

NEJATI.

Ahmed Pasha was not destined to long enjoyment of his reputation as the greatest lyric poet of Rûm. He was still alive when his pre-eminence was menaced, if not actually overthrown, by Nejâtî the first lyric poet of real distinction to appear among the Ottoman Turks.

Concerning the origin of this Nejâtî we are somewhat in the dark. Sehi says that he was born in Adrianople; while the other biographers tell us that he began life as a slave in that city, his owner being, according to Latifi, a poet named Sâ’ili,¹ and according to ‘Ashiq, a woman of the middle class who adopted him as her son and had him carefully educated. It would follow from this that, whatever Nejâtî’s origin may have been, it was not Turkish, as no native Turk could be a slave in the Ottoman dominions. It seems probable that he was the child of some captive who had been taken in one of the constantly recurring wars or forays and had been sold as a slave in Adrianople, and there become the parent of the future poet, the child born of a slave being by law himself a slave. ²

¹ There is no poet of this name entered in the Tezkire either of Sehi or of Latifi. ‘Ashiq and Hasan have a Sâ’ili; but as they say nothing as to any connection between him and Nejâtî, and as ‘Ashiq speaks of having met him, it is unlikely that he is the person here referred to by Latifi.

² Latifi calls Nejâtî ‘the son of ‘Abdullâh’; but this goes for little. ‘Ab-
The democratic nature of Turkish society, as well as the composite character of the Ottoman nation, is well illustrated by the case of Nejáti. He was an alien by birth and began his career as a slave; but he became an Ottoman by adoption and education, and so took his place among the native Turks as one of themselves. No stigma attached to him because of his foreign origin or of the lowly position he had once held; everyone looked upon him as a Turk, the equal of every other Turk. The biographers make no reference to his birth; he was for them, as for the rest, simply a Turk like any other and it is only from their statement as to his having been a slave in early life that we learn he was not born an Ottoman.

For some reason Nejáti, while still quite young, either went or was taken to the city of Qastamuni, and it was while residing there that he began to make his name as a poet. This is shown by the statement referred to on a former page which Hasan Chelebi makes on the authority of his father ʿAlí. It is to the effect that Mirí Efendi, the father of ʿAlí and grandfather of the biographer, used to relate that during the time when he formed one of the circle of Ahmed Pasha at Brusa, a caravan arrived from Qastamuni bringing news of the appearance in that town of a wonderful and most eloquent poet whose name was Núh and whose pen-name was Nejáti, in proof of which assertion two ghazels with the ‘rereword’ of ‘dune-dune’ (‘a-turn a-turn’) were handed by the people of the caravan to the Pasha and his friends.

While this story is quite probably true in essentials, it is certainly incorrect in at least one detail. Passing over the dūllāh might of course be the name of some definite individual; but on the other hand it is usual to call slaves of whose parentage nothing is known ‘the son (or daughter) of ʿAbdullāh,’ as that name, which means ‘Servant of God,’ is considered a suitable designation for any man.

1 p. 52, n. 1.
question, on which we have already touched, as to whether it is likely that Mírí was an intimate of Ahmed Pasha, we may recollect that we have read a story of which the express purpose is to prove that Nejáti's name was "Isa and not Núh. ¹ With regard to the poet's name there seems no room for doubt; the three earliest biographers, Schí, Latífí, and ⁶Ashiq, agree in saying that "Isa was Nejáti's personal name, and in this they are supported by the later writers ⁷Alí and Riyázi; but that a report as to the poet's name being Núh was current as early as Latífí's time is indicated by that biographer's deeming it necessary to relate the anecdote already mentioned in order to refute it. ²

The young poet, who according to ⁶Ashiq was skilled in calligraphy and in the composition of prose as well as of verse, made his way to Constantinople some time towards the end of the reign of Mehemmed II. A marginal note to my manuscript of ⁶Ashiq's Tezkire tells us the curious way in which Nejáti contrived to bring himself under the Sultan's notice. According to this story, which is given on the authority of one Naqshí Chelebi, ³ who had it from Nejáti's son Huseyn Chelebi, the poet wrote on a sheet of paper one of his ghazels which begins with the couplet: —

⁴What shall I? the sigh of day-break maketh none impress on thee!

O my love, may God the Lord bestow of gentilesse on thee! ⁵

This paper he set in the turban of a familiar of the Sultan,

¹ pp. 56—7: ² Hasan is thus alone in making Nejáti's name Núh; he was probably guided by his grandfather's story. ³ This Naqshí Chelebi is possibly the same as the Naqqásh Bayrán whom ⁶Ashiq mentions farther on as one of the friends of Nejáti's last years and as one of the chief sources of his own information concerning the poet. ⁴ The idea was that sighs breathed at day-break were more efficacious in softening the hard heart than those uttered at any other hour. So the sigh of dawn is often mentioned by the poets.

ابثر انعمر نبیله فِقَآ سَحْکَرْنَا سَكَتا مَكَر افْتُحاف وَبِرْهٔ دُوْسَتْمُ اللَّه سَكَتا
named Chekraghi,¹ when the latter was about to go into his master’s presence. While playing a game of chess with his favourite, Mehemmed noticed the paper in his turban, took it out, and read it; and so pleased was he with the verses that he at once appointed the poet to a secretoryship with a daily salary of seven aspers.

Hasan says that it was during a severe winter that Nejáti arrived in the capital, and that he composed and presented to the Sultan a qasída describing the rigour of the season which met with much approval, as did another equally beautiful poem that he wrote when spring came round.

The accession of Báyezíd II, which took place in 886 (1481), was duly celebrated by Nejáti; and when in the same year Prince ʿAbdulláh, the eldest son of Báyezíd, but still a mere lad, was made governor of Qaraman in place of his uncle Prince Jem, the poet was appointed to his service with the position of Secretary of Divan.² In the Ramazán of 888 (Oct. 1483) Prince ʿAbdulláh died at his seat of government, and Nejáti returned to Constantinople, where he presented the Sultan with a beautiful elegy he had composed on his late master.

For the next twenty years we lose all sight of Nejáti. We are told that during this period he wrote much poetry and fell into poverty. He seems, however, to have contrived to make some influential friends (amongst whom was the famous Muʿeyyed-záde), and through their influence he was made Nishánji or Chancellor to another of Báyezíd’s sons, Prince Mahmúd, when he went out as governor of Saru-Khan

¹ The transliteration of this name (چهکرگی) is only conjectural: Von Hammer has Tschekrighi. The name is not Turkish; it appears to be European possibly Greek or Italian.

² ‘Secretary of Divan’ (Kâtib-i Diwán, or, Diwán Efendisi) was the title of the official secretary of a vezir or other high functionary.

Latifi says that Nejáti served the Prince in the capacity of Nishánji.
in 910 (1504—5). Mahmud, who was then in his thirtieth year, showed the greatest esteem for Nejâtí, upon whom he conferred many favours, distinguishing him above all others at his court. ¹ If 'Ashiq is to be believed, this kind treatment had its effect upon the poet’s work, as that biographer informs us that Nejâtí’s best poetry was composed while he was in this Prince’s service. It is certain that he now collected his Dīwān, which is dedicated to Mahmúd, although, as he himself tells us in the preface, the idea had been suggested to him by Mu’eyyed-zâde. Mahmúd’s career was unhappily but brief; he died at Maghnisa, the capital of his government, in 913 (1507—8), and so Nejâtí, after three years of prosperity such as he had never before enjoyed, found himself again without a patron.

Much as the death of his former master had grieved the poet, he was yet more distressed by the loss of Prince Mahmúd, whom also he mourned in a fine elegy. He returned to Constantinople; but although his friends there tried to persuade him to accept some other court appointment, he declined all their offers, and retired into private life with a monthly pension of 1,000 aspers. He took a house near the Wefá Square, ² close to the spot where he lies buried; and there he spent most of his time in the society of his intimate friends. The names of some of these are recorded; prominent among them were Şehí Bey the author of the first Ottoman Tezkire, a pupil of the poet called Sun’î, and a certain

¹ It was probably on account of his official position under either this Prince or his elder brother that Nejâtí received the title of Bey which is usually added to his name.

² Wefá Meydâni, ‘Wefá Square,’ owes its name to Sheykh Wefá, a famous saint who came from Qonya to Constantinople in the time of Mehmed II. He was distinguished by his piety and by his gifts as a preacher. He died in 896 (1490—1), and was buried in his own cell, which adjoins the square that bears his name. His tomb is still a place of pious visitation.
Naqqásh Bayrám who resided in Wefá Square and whom 'Ashiq describes as a gay liver who passed his time in mirth and merriment. It was from him and from Sehí that 'Ashiq learned most of the particulars concerning Nejáti recorded in his Tezkire. These were his intimates, but we are told that Nejáti used often to go to pay his respects to his kind friend Mu‘eyyed-záde.

But this quiet life was not for long; the poet died at the time of the evening prayer on Friday the 25th Zí-l-Qa‘de 914 (17th March, 1509). 'Ashiq tells us that Nejáti, when he felt his end approaching, summoned before him his sons, his son-in-law, and his intimate friends, and handed them a ghazel which he repeated, saying, when he had finished, 'This is my farewell to poetry and to you.' And that ghazel begins with this couplet:

'They have deemed worldly fortune, though so brief, eternity;
They have thought this fading garden's joy the universe to be.'

Or according to another account, it was the one which begins thus:

Zephyr, thou the beauty's curling locks to scatter musk hast made;
Thou the broken-hearted, who are dust, amid the dust hast laid.

1 The word naqqásh is applied to a miniaturist or illuminator of MSS., or to an embroiderer; here it probably refers to the occupation of this Bayrám.

2 'Ashiq says that Nejáti composed his last important poem, a qasida in praise of the Prophet, beginning:

That speech which the model of the perfect ones is to be
Must put to shame Selsebil in its clearness and fluency,' in consequence of a dream in which Muhammed appeared to the poet and said, 'Let thy last words be in praise of me.'
Nejáti was buried hard by the convent of Sheykh Wefá and quite near to his own house. His friend Sehí Bey, the biographer, raised a marble tomb over the grave, and had carved upon it in Kufic characters this chronogram which he himself composed on the poet's death: —

1 'As the passing of Nejáti is an epoch for the world,
2 'Sehí hath said its chronogram: Gone is Nejáti, ah!'

and also two passages from the master's own Diwán, namely, this couplet: —

1 'I pray you for the love of God go build Nejáti's tomb
2 'Of marble, for he died of parting from a stony-heart.'

and this quatrain: —

1 'Nejáti, though thou'st blackened the leaves of thy Diwán,
2 'Dost hope the book wherein thy deeds are writ will white appear?
3 'Unless, may be, the living do forget not from their prayers
4 'Those who are gone and who of such remembrance worthy are.'

Nejáti had two or more sons (one of whom, Huseyn Chelebi, has already been mentioned), but none of them lived for

The biographers say that one of the poet's pupils Suní (who was known as Nejáti Sunísi or Nejáti's Suní) thought to improve this chronogram by changing letters thus,

'Thou art gone, Nejáti, alas!'
long. He had also a daughter who was married to a distinguished member of the 'ulemá named Umm-ul-Veled-záde 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, and who died without issue.

It is doubtful whether Nejátí left anything besides his Diwán. Sehí tells us that he wrote a fine mesnevi entitled Munázaire-i Gul u Khusrev or 'The Contention of (the) Rose and (the) Chosroes;' but that copies of it were not forthcoming. He however, quotes from it this passage descriptive of the bow: —

As the bow is stretched the arrow forward flies,
E'en as doom unto the soul, the arrow flies.
To the nail the arrow's drawn, to utmost pitch,
Tappeth it the nail that far its flight may reach. 1
Sang the string, it sang a sad and plaintive song: 2
Bravo for the one who drew it stark and strong!
If the target had not intervened between,
Both the worlds 3 as but a single step had been!
If the bow but once should make the string to sing,
Many a host to state of carded wool 4 'twould bring! 5

Latífi says that nothing except the Diwán is known among

1 When the bow is stretched to full, the arrow-head touches the thumb-nail on the hand of the extended arm.
2 When the bow is fully drawn, the string makes a singing noise.
3 For 'both the worlds' see vol. i. p. 56.
4 In the Korán, ch. 4, it is said that on the Last Day the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool. To such a state would one shaft from the mighty bow bring many an army! There is a further allusion: the process of teasing cotton is accompanied by a noise something like that emitted by the full-drawn bow-string.
5