

THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN IN  
OTTOMAN LITERATURE: THE READER NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPT  
OF THE STORY OF *FÎRÛZŞÂH*

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ISTANBUL SEHIR UNIVERSITY

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Cultural Studies.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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## ABSTRACT

### THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN IN OTTOMAN LITERATURE: THE READER NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE STORY OF *FÎRÛZŞÂH*

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In contemporary studies of Ottoman literature, a two-layered scheme is used which divides Ottoman literature into two parts, ‘folk’ literature and ‘court’ literature. In these studies, the oral is totally attributed to folk literature, while court literature is considered entirely written. However, these two ways of producing, transmitting, and consuming literature, the oral and the written, have always existed together, nourishing and transforming each other. This thesis challenges the constructed binary opposition between the oral and the written in Ottoman literature studies, focusing on a popular work called the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, widely read throughout the eighteenth century. For the purposes of this thesis, *Fîrûzşâh* is especially important because of its paratextual elements. The manuscript under study, actually the forty-fifth volume of the entire story, contains many marginal notes. These notes give information about the names of the public readers, and the places and dates of the public readings. In addition, there are notes that show the daily, aesthetic, and even political reactions of the readers in the eighteenth century. Depending on these reactions, four types of readers were identified and named the romantic, the pedantic, the foul-mouthed and the Janissary. Focusing on the case of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, it has been shown that aspects of oral culture and their everyday expressions can also be traced from written texts.

Keywords: Ottoman literature, popular culture, paratext, reading practices, oral literature

## ÖZ

### OSMANLI EDEBİYATI'NDA SÖZLÜ VE YAZILI OLANIN İLİŞKİSİ: *HİKÂYE-İ FİRÛZŞÂH* YAZMASININ ÜZERİNDEKİ OKUYUCU NOTLARI

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Günümüz Osmanlı Edebiyatı çalışmalarında, Osmanlı Edebiyatı ‘halk’ edebiyatı ve ‘divan’ edebiyatı olmak üzere iki katmanlı bir şema içerisinde ele alınmaktadır. Bu çalışmalarda, sözlü olan tamamen halk edebiyatına atfedilirken, divan edebiyatı da tamamen yazılı addedilmektedir. Halbuki, bu iki üretme, iletme ve tüketme biçimi hep birlikte var olmuş, birbirlerini beslemiş ve dönüştürmüşlerdir. Bu tez, on sekizinci yüzyıl boyunca okunmuş olan *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh* adlı popüler bir hikâyeye odaklanarak, Osmanlı Edebiyatı çalışmalarında inşa edilen sözlü ve yazılı arasındaki ikili karşıtlığı çözmeye girişimidir. Bu hikâye, böyle bir çalışma için özellikle parateksti bakımından önem arz etmektedir. Aslında tüm hikâyenin kırk beşinci cildini teşkil eden bu yazma, birçok kenar notu içermektedir. Bu notlar, toplu okumadaki okuyucu ve mekân isimleri ve okuma tarihleri hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Ayrıca, on sekizinci yüzyıl okuyucusunun gündelik, estetik ve hatta politik tepkilerini gösteren notlar da vardır. Bu tepkilere dayanarak, romantik, ukala, küfürbaz ve Yeniçeri olmak üzere dört okuyucu tipi saptanmıştır. Böylece, *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh* örneğine dayanarak, sözlü kültüre ve gündelik ifadelerle dair özelliklerin izlerinin metinlerden de sürülebileceği gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı edebiyatı, popüler kültür, paratekst, okuma pratikleri, sözlü edebiyat

To my grandmother Vesile Sezer, from whom  
I first heard samples of oral literature

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After finishing this thesis, I understand better the meaning of the *cliché* sentence, “This work owes its existence to the efforts of many people.”

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## NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

### 1. For the Transcription of the Manuscript (Appendix I)

- The International Transcription Alphabet was used, as shown in the following table:

ا ( )	a, ā	ص	ş
ا ( )	a, e, i, ī, u, ü	ض	ž, đ
ب	b, p	ط	ṭ
پ	p	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	‘
ث	ṯ	غ	ğ
ج	c, ç	ف	f
چ	ç	ق	q
ح	ḥ	ك	k, g, (ñ)
خ	ḫ	ك	ñ
د	d	ل	l
ذ	z, ḏ	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	و	v, u, ū, ü, o, ö
ژ	j	ه	h, a, e
س	s	لا	la, lā
ش	ş	ی	y, ī, i, ī
		ء	’

- Capitals were not used in proper names.
- Punctuation marks were not used.
- Misspellings were not corrected, as for example in *dāhi* instead of *dahî*; or *yarâgına* instead of *yarağına*.
- The verbal adverbs of *-ib*, *-ib*, *-ub*, *-üb* were changed as *-ip*, *-ip*, *-up*, *-üp*.
- Highlighted words on the text were underlined on the transcription as in *râvî* *eydür*.
- Colored words were showed in brackets. E.g. [red] for red words and [blue] for blue words.
- Pages were ordered in accordance with the facsimile of the manuscript.

- Marginal notes were given in the footnotes of their respective pages.
- People's names were taken from: *Love and War: Adventures from the Firuz Shah Nama of Sheikh Bihgami*, trans. William L. Hanaway, Jr. (Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1974). Names not found there were estimated in accordance with Ottoman Turkish phonetics.
- Unreadable words were indicated with an ellipsis: '(...)'.

## **2. For Quotes in the Body of the Thesis**

- Transliteration rules were applied in quotes from the manuscript. Only long vowels (â, î, û) and *ayn* (‘) were indicated.
- Capitals and punctuation marks were used.
- In translations from Ottoman Turkish into English, contemporary English orthography was used.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the nineteenth century, historiography in different fields ranging from art history to political history was mostly concerned with the grand narratives of humanity describing, for instance, political or economic relationships between the great powers of the past. For this reason, historical studies sought the texts, documents, and archives of previous centuries.

Also in the nineteenth century, an interest towards the oral cultures of ‘non-Western countries’ arose in the West – an interest that would later also influence non-Western academia – under the title of ‘folkloric studies.’ This process, which Peter Burke has called “the discovery of people,”<sup>1</sup> was mostly nourished by colonialism and orientalism. Anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and many others spent their time doing field search to record ‘the disappearing authenticity’ of oral cultures.

However, what is oral and what is written are not totally separate from each other in any culture; they sustain their existence in an interactive relation. This is why twentieth-century scholars such as Walter J. Ong, Mikhail Bakhtin, Jack Goody, and many others started to realize the transitional relationship between the oral and the written. They also discussed, from different perspectives, the fact that orality and literacy are not stable phenomena, but appear in different forms in the manuscript, lithography, typography, and digital eras. The First Chapter includes a literature survey on these discussions concerning different forms of the oral, the written, and the interface between the two.

The Second Chapter focuses on the same subject, but this time within the frame of Ottoman culture and literature. The Islamic and mystical background of Ottoman culture attributes a special value to the acts of reading and writing. At the same time, oral transmission of culture and the role of the teacher (*hoja*) maintain their importance, as is quite visible, for example, in the teaching and transmission of Ottoman calligraphy (*hüsn-i hatt*) and Ottoman/ Turkish Classical Music. In the context of Ottoman literature, one of the best examples of the interface between the oral and the written, ‘books read aloud from texts’ —in other words ‘performed texts’— will be discussed in this section.

In the Third Chapter, the possible reasons for the academic neglect of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* in Turkish literary studies during the Republican period will be discussed. *Fîrûzşâh* is originally a Persian story that was told and written for many centuries in many Middle Eastern cultures including the Ottoman. During the Republican period, the first problem with the story was its inappropriateness for nationalist ideology. The story tells about the gallantries of the Persian shahs against the Yemenites, Indians,

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 1994).

and Turks. During the nationalist era, when identities were constructed based on nationality rather than religion or culture, a story like *Fîrûzşâh* which belonged to the Middle Eastern epic tradition could not be welcomed by Republican scholars. Apart from the effect of the period's dominant ideologies, primarily nationalism and pan-Turkism, another reason for the exclusion of the *Fîrûzşâh* story from Ottoman/Turkish studies was its in-between-ness among the binary oppositions of 'folk literature' vs. 'court literature' and 'oral literature' vs. 'written literature'. That in-between-ness is, of course, one of the main reasons for its selection for analysis in the present study, as evidence of the interaction between the oral and the written in Ottoman literature.

### 1.1. Different Versions of the *Fîrûzşâh* Story

*Fîrûzşâh* is an oral epic – *sîrat* in Arabic and *dastân* in Persian – from the Middle Eastern epic tradition. Its plot is inspired by one of the episodes in Ferdowsî's *Shahnâme*:

King Bahman of Iran rapes his daughter who becomes pregnant. After the child is born she puts it in a basket and throws it into the sea. The little boy is found by a fisherman and raised by him and his wife. When the child kills a lion, they are sure he is from royal descent, so they take him to the queen of Iran. She recognizes him as her son and the boy becomes king of Iran with the royal name of Dârâb who is the father of Fîrûzşâh.<sup>2</sup>

The exact dates of its writing are unknown, but there are many manuscript versions, enough to show the popularity of the story in various languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, and Chaghatai. According to Kenneth Grant:

There are two manuscripts in the Royal Library of Berlin, both dated around 1800. There is one Persian manuscript in the Revan Library of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, dated Tabriz 1483. Another Persian version belongs to the Uppsala University Library, Sweden, which is dated 1787. A third Persian manuscript belongs to the collection of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal' dated 1783 in Behrûg. Two Ottoman manuscripts are to be found at the Royal Library of Berlin. The first one is dated 1712. The second manuscript is undated. A third Ottoman manuscript of *Sîrat Fîrûzşâh* is in Gotha. There also exists a Tchagati version of the story, which was written by Haydar Mîrzâ with the title *Sahânnâme*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Grant, "Sîrât Fîrûzşâh and the Middle Eastern Epic Tradition." *Oriente Moderno* 22/83 (2003), 523.

<sup>3</sup> Grant, "Sîrât Fîrûzşâh", 522-3.

This list lacks many of the Turkish versions of the story such as the *Kıssa-i Fîrûzşâh* of Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi (d.1565-6),<sup>4</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûz Nâme* (1842),<sup>5</sup> *Menâkıb-ı Fîrûzşâh*,<sup>6</sup> *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*,<sup>7</sup> two copies of *Kıssa-i Behmen Şâh ve Fîrûz Şâh* (1540 and 1544),<sup>8</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûz-nâme* (written in Persian and Turkish),<sup>9</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûz-nâme*,<sup>10</sup> another *Terceme-i Fîrûznâme* copied by Hasan in 1574,<sup>11</sup> the *Fîrûz-nâme* of Kâmi Mehmed Edirnevi (d. 1723),<sup>12</sup> and the thirty-third and forty-fifth volumes of the anonymous *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*,<sup>13</sup> written in the eighteenth century.

The *Kıssa-i Fîrûzşâh* of Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi is the first known Turkish version. He must have translated it from the first written Persian version, an edition of the stories told by Mowlâna Sheikh Muhammad Tâheri, known as Bighami. Bighami “was probably a professional storyteller of the late fifteenth century.”<sup>14</sup> This is one of the signs that starting with the very first written versions, the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was always connected with oral story-telling. And this situation continued until the twentieth century, when the Arabic version was printed in Cairo in 1946-7, and the Persian version in Tehran in 1960-3.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.2. The Forty-Fifth Volume of *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*

In this study, the forty-fifth volume of *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*<sup>16</sup> will be examined. It is undated, but by looking at the dates that take place in the notes written on the

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<sup>4</sup> *Kıssa-i Fîrûzşâh*, Süleymaniye Library, 07 Tekeli 755.

<sup>5</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûz Nâme*, National Library, 06 Hk 3786.

<sup>6</sup> *Menâkıb-ı Fîrûzşâh*, Gazi Hüsrev Library, 2576.

<sup>7</sup> *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, Library of Turkish Language Institution, Yz. B 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Kıssa-i Behmen Şâh ve Fîrûz Şâh*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R. 1485 and H. 1120.

<sup>9</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûz-nâme*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1117.

<sup>10</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûz-nâme*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1118.

<sup>11</sup> *Terceme-i Fîrûznâme*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1119.

<sup>12</sup> *Fîrûz-nâme*, Konya District Manuscript Library, 42 Kon 3466/7.

<sup>13</sup> *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, National Library, 06 Mil Yz A 1285/1 and 06 Mil Yz A 1285/2.

<sup>14</sup> William L. Hanaway, Jr., trans. *Love and War: Adventures from the Firuz Shah Nama of Sheikh Bighami* (New York: Persian Heritage Series No. 19, 1974).

<sup>15</sup> Grant, “Sîrât Fîrûzşâh”, 522.

manuscript – ranging from 1144 (1731-2) to 1238 (1822-3) – it is not hard to guess that it was not written much before the beginning of the eighteenth century. This ninety-page-long version is anonymous, and two scribes can be detected based on the difference in handwriting and the changes in the manner of narration. We do not know whether these scribes adapted the story or just copied it from another manuscript, but they do not seem to be professionals. This issue, however, can only be elucidated through a study of other Turkish versions of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, a task which is beyond the scope of this work.

The story of this volume covers the adventures of Melik Bahman who is the son of Fîrûzşâh.<sup>17</sup> Fîrûzşâh, who still carries the features of a traditional warrior, fights against his enemies together with his son. The stage opens with detailed scenes of wars between Persian *ayyârs*<sup>18</sup> and the Indians. The Iranians take back Bihrûz *ayyâr* and two girls named Khorshid Chehr (the lover of Melik Bahman) and Mehr, who had been kidnapped by Göredis,<sup>19</sup> the king of India. At the same time, Fîrûzşâh, together with his son and his *ayyârs*, demolishes the temple of fire worshippers. The story in this volume ends with Bahman seeking Khorshid Chehr who has been kidnapped again. Apparently, this is not the last volume because, in the end, the narrator announces the events in the next volume.

This version was chosen for this study especially because of its close relationship with oral culture. First of all, the story-teller is involved throughout the story. As far as can be seen from the text, he tries not to lose the attention of the audience by taking pauses or giving little explanations and details of the interesting points such as war scenes or romantic moments. In this respect, it resembles today's TV series. Different colors and highlights on the manuscript probably served the purpose of facilitating the performance of the text.

### 1.3. Reader and Reading Notes on the Manuscript

This particular version and volume is also important because it carries a lot of notes on the cover pages and the margins which can be divided into two categories. The first category gives information about public readings, as in the following

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<sup>16</sup> *Hikâye-i Fîruzşâh*, National Library, 06 Mil Yz A 1285/1.

<sup>17</sup> Grant states that it is the characteristic of the Anatolian cycle to tell the Fîrûzşâh story after the wedding of Fîrûzşâh and 'Ayn-al-Hayât which is the end of the story in the Yemenite, Levantine, and Chinese cycles. "Sîrât Fîrûzşâh", 523.

<sup>18</sup> Hanaway explains the term *ayyâr* as follows: "Essentially it was a male fraternal organization having connections with various other social and religious institutions. The theoretical manuals, the Fotovvat-Nâmas in Persian, indicate a well-developed ideology rooted in Islam, and having a strong esoteric side. The group of javânmardân were initiatory and hierarchical, and stress a well-articulated code of personal and group values." *Love and War*, 10.

<sup>19</sup> His name is Kударis in the Bighami version.

example: “This book was read by Hüseyin Efendi in the coffeehouse of the barber el-Hac Süleyman Ağa in Akarçeşme near Ebû Eyyûbî Çömlekçiler on 18 z. 1238 [26 August 1823].”<sup>20</sup> As can be seen, the names of the readers are given; they can also be thought of as performers. Apart from the dates of the readings, the names of the locations where the readings took place are also given; these might be a coffeehouse, a street, or the house of an important person. The general climate of the public reading might be added to those notes, such as “the audience enjoyed it a lot” or “the audience found the story very sorrowful”. These kind of notes are significant to find out some information about the reading practices of the period, which were very different from modern reading practices. Accordingly, Chapter Five examines such notes with the purpose of reaching some clues about the collective readings of eighteenth-century Istanbul. These notes show that the text was not always independent from the performance which took place before the audiences.

Chapter Six analyzes the notes determined as the second type which consists of the individual reactions of the readers who read the story alone. It was observed that the owners or borrowers of the manuscript used it as a medium to share their thoughts, emotions, or suggestions with future readers. Some are so much into the story that they ask other readers to pray for its characters. Some give advice and moral lessons based on the events of the story. Some just use the papers of the manuscript to write down lyrics of a song or their own poems. Love poems and advices for other readers are the main contents of these kind of notes. I refer to the aforementioned note-writers as romantics and pedantics. Unfortunately, we have two volumes of this entire corpus remained today while it is highly probable that each one involves this kind of notes which are very valuable to resolve the codes of the oral features of Ottoman oral culture. However, this volume is prosperous enough to evaluate some of those.

Other than this purpose of readers – who thereby turn into a kind of co-writer – namely sharing their opinions, emotions, and reactions, this manuscript is also a stage for people with oppositional political views. Abdi Efendi, the owner of the manuscript for a certain period, was a Janissary who belonged to the fifty-sixth regiment. This can be surmised from the sign (ك٦٥[K56]) and two pictures of a galley, the symbol of the fifty-sixth regiment (see Appendix II). However, someone was really angry to see his name and his signs, as evidenced by notes full of swearwords near the signs of Abdi Efendi. Giving his original name as Hasan Süleyman, he insulted Abdi Efendi by saying that “he had had his wife fucked by the fifty-sixth regiment on the date of twenty three [presumably 1223, i.e. 1808-9].”<sup>21</sup> The mystery behind this note could

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<sup>20</sup> “Halâ bu kitâbı, Ebû Eyyûbî Çömlekçiler kurbunda, Akçeşme’de, berber el- hâc Süleymân Ağa’nın kahvesinde Hüseyin Efendi kırâat eylemişdir 18 z. 1238.” *Hikâye-i Fîrûşâh*, 32a.

<sup>21</sup> “Bu ‘abdi efendi evvelî zannım Hasan Süleymanmış, yigirmi üç târihinde avretini elli altılara sikdürmüşdür. Kendüsü pûzeveng kâtilin olmuşdur. Efendim yani iftirâ sanman.” *Hikâye-i Fîrûşâh*, 45a.

not be resolved for the time being, but it is highly probable that this reaction was somehow related to the Janissary uprisings of the period. In the *Çardakçı* Incident, the fifty-sixth regiment had played an important role precisely on the date of 16 Ra 1223 (12 May 1808).<sup>22</sup> It can be learned from a contemporary writer, Georg Oğlukyan<sup>23</sup> that other regiments were very uncomfortable with the acts of the fifty-sixth regiment, especially after this incident. They killed many of its members in order to punish this ‘undisciplined’ and ‘self-ordained’ regiment that had defamed the reputation of the Janissary corps. Considering the similarity in handwriting, it is highly probable that Abdi Efendi’s attacker, to whom I shall refer as the foul-mouthed reader, was also a Janissary from another regiment.

It should be noted that the importance of this manuscript, stemming from its marginal notes, has been previously noted by two scholars. It was first noticed by Mustafa Nihat Özön, while preparing a bibliography; he noted that there were some popular versions of certain stories which were read aloud in public. He used this volume of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* as an example of this category, and gave several examples from its marginal notes.<sup>24</sup> The other scholar who mentioned this manuscript is Tülün Değirmenci in her article “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı’da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler.”<sup>25</sup> However, she did not examine many other notes on the manuscript, focusing only on the ones mentioned by Özön. Actually, the manuscript consists of approximately sixty five notes, each of which is very valuable for the study of Ottoman culture, literature, and even politics.

Although scholars started to realize the importance of marginal notes in manuscripts, available sources have not yet been fully made use of in Ottoman/Turkish literary studies. In this respect, the present thesis makes a significant contribution to the field. The main target of this work is to evaluate the readers and reading notes on a manuscript in order to understand the codes of the reading/listening practices and the possible reactions of the readers/audiences in the eighteenth century. With the involvement of the story-teller and the popularized form of narration, this manuscript serves as a good example for the interactions between the oral and the written in Ottoman literature. In a broader perspective, the manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* proves that one can trace the features, contents, and manners of oral culture and literature through written texts.

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<sup>22</sup> Aysel Yıldız, “Vaka-yi Selimiyye or the Selimiyye Incident: a Study of the May 1807 Rebellion”, Ph.D. dissertation, Sabancı University, 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Georg Oğlukyan, *Ruzname: 1806 - 1810 İsyancıları: III. Selim, IV. Mustafa, II. Mahmud ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972).

<sup>24</sup> Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1993), 78-85.

<sup>25</sup> Tülün Değirmenci, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı’da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler”, *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 13 (2011).



## CHAPTER 2

### THE TRANSITIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORAL AND WRITTEN CULTURES

Earlier academic perceptions of oral and written cultures and the strict separation between them only began to dissolve during the twentieth century. Previously, as a result of folklore studies mostly conducted by nationalist or colonial scholars, a hierarchical relationship had been constructed between oral and written cultures, one that attributed the former to Third World countries and the latter to Europe. During the twentieth century, however, ‘orality’ and ‘literacy’ started to be perceived as distinct media that may be situated in any culture and its cultural products. Thus, the notion has gained acceptance that the oral and the written as media are easily separable. This chapter, discusses the main arguments and different approaches taken in twentieth century academia on the transitional relationship between orality and literacy.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, the characteristics of oral culture as well as their differences from and similarities to those of written culture have been widely discussed by European scholars. Different reasons may be offered to explain the rising interest in this subject at that particular time and place, ranging from the aesthetic to the intellectual and political. In accordance with such motivations and intentions, it can be seen that academic studies on oral culture developed and diversified under a number of new categories such as ‘folklore’ studies, or studies of ‘popular’ or ‘underground’ culture, with the consequence that the study of oral culture has been assumed merely to be of marginal interest.

Throughout the twentieth century, and especially during its second half, this marginalization underwent a change, and, with a shift away from textual analysis that may be summarized by the motto ‘the medium is the message’ – scholars started to focus on the processes of composition, transmission or performance of a text (both oral and written) along with the text itself.<sup>26</sup> The revival of studies on orality and literacy gradually caused the previous approaches to be challenged.

In general, previous approaches implicitly presumed historical and geographical hierarchies. According to such approaches, oral culture was regarded as belonging solely to ‘developing countries’. Thus, oral culture was equated with ‘backwardness’, whether that indicated sympathy from or the arrogance of the researcher. Ruth Finnegan draws our attention to the quite subjective and emotional tendencies of researchers in different disciplines while dealing with oral culture:

For some, like the traditional folklorists and earlier anthropologists, the topic is closely connected with ‘tradition’, with nationalist movements or with the faith

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<sup>26</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

in progress which expresses itself in the theory of social evolution. For others, it forms part of a left-wing faith and a belief in 'popular' culture, along with a revolt against 'bourgeois art forms' or 'the establishment.' In others it goes with a romantic ideal of the noble savage and of the pure natural impulses which, it is felt, we have lost in the urban mechanical way of life today. Many of the positions taken up implicitly link with scholarly controversies about the development of society, the nature of art and communication, or various models of man.<sup>27</sup>

Peter Burke too criticizes the nineteenth century perspective according to which non-Western or rural Western cultures were seen as monolithic and homogeneous. He calls the rising interest in oral culture in the nineteenth century 'the discovery of people':

Thus to read the text of a ballad, a folktale or even a tune in a collection of this period is much like looking at a Gothic church which was 'restored' at much the same time. One cannot be sure whether one is looking at what was originally there, at what the restorer thought was originally there, at what he thought should be there now.<sup>28</sup>

Oral culture as an academic field had been re-constructed by scholars with different tendencies, ranging from romantic to nationalist, from orientalist to traditionalist. With few exceptions, these scholars studied oral culture in accordance with their emotions and intentions, but not with academic motivations.

Because the arguments of the conception of oral culture were based on the dichotomies of 'simple'/'advanced', 'pre-literate'/'literate' or 'western'/'non-western' (societies), it was not surprising to see that some of the strongest oppositions to the dichotomy of 'oral'/'written' culture came from the field of anthropology. Jack Goody and Ian Watt are important figures who criticized the lack of interest in the examination of this dichotomy. They state:

It is especially surprising that so little interest in literacy—and the means of communication generally—has been shown by social scientists. Those working in 'advanced' societies have taken the existence of writing for granted and have therefore tended to overlook its enabling effects on, for example, the organization of dispersed parties, sects and kin. On the other hand, social anthropologists have thought of their discipline as being primarily concerned with 'preliterate', 'primitive', or 'tribal' societies and have generally looked upon writing (where it existed) as an 'intrusive' element. But even where writers are specifically investigating the differences between 'simple' and 'advanced' societies, peoples, mentalities, etc., they have neglected to examine the implications of the very feature which is so often used to define the range of

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<sup>27</sup> Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1977), 7.

<sup>28</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 20.

societies with which they claim to be dealing, namely, the presence or absence of writing.<sup>29</sup>

In *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*,<sup>30</sup> Goody argues against the separation of cultures into oral and written, because no society is completely oral or completely written. Every society, even those whose members do not know how to read and write, is affected by the logic and cultural legacy of the written world. In Brahmin and other higher castes of Hindu India, for example, reading and writing have been deliberately restricted. In the same way, some Shi'ite groups in Iran find written texts unreliable.<sup>31</sup> However, this does not mean that they are free from the influence and the codes of the written world.

A contrary claim exists as well. Goody says that it is more appropriate to divide cultures into 'the oral and the oral plus the written, printed, etc.'<sup>32</sup> because where people exist, there is oral communication. In addition, some scholars extend the meaning of oral interaction from daily, face-to face communication to more complex transmission channels and tools in the digital era such as the TV, the Internet, and other technologies. Walter Ong, for example, divides orality into two, as primary and secondary, where primary orality has a meaning of general use, including pre-writing periods, and secondary orality occurs in the present era, due to the developments in technology:

Like primary orality, secondary orality has generated a strong group sense, for listening to spoken words forms hearers into a group, a true audience, just as reading written or printed texts turns individuals in on themselves.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the rapid flow of information, actors and subjects of the electronic world — defined as a 'global village' by McLuhan<sup>34</sup>— contribute to a sense of global community. In the modern world, one can talk about a much wider group sense and faster communication, and the basic features of the digital era have much in common with primary orality according to him:

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<sup>29</sup> Jack Goody, ed. "Introduction", *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1968), 1.

<sup>30</sup> Jack Goody, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>31</sup> For a good analysis of the Shi'ite approach to writing: Michael Fischer and Mehdi Abadi, *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Post-modernity and Tradition* (Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

<sup>32</sup> *The Interface*, "Introduction", xxi.

<sup>33</sup> Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (Taylor & Francis e-library, 2005), 133.

<sup>34</sup> McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*; Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

In the electronic age, which succeeds the typographic and mechanical era of the human past five hundred years, we encounter new shapes and structures of human independence and of expression, which are 'oral' in form even when the components of the situation may be non-verbal.<sup>35</sup>

By drawing a parallel between the post-typographic era of the twentieth century and the times when communication between people was direct, both Ong and McLuhan imply that oral and written ways of communication can and do continue to coexist.

Regarding the field of literature, one can also see that oral and written literatures<sup>36</sup> influence each other, making it difficult to separate one from the other. The literary productions that are defined as 'oral' by folklorists cannot be seen as totally foreign to the written world, mainly because they are conveyed to the most recent members of society by means of writing. For example, once written down, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* or the *Epic of Gilgamesh* or any other piece that was first composed orally changed in nature and entered the logic of writing. Then, as Goody argues, events such as the invention of the alphabet or typography changed the overall condition of the world literature and deeply affected even the 'exotic' or 'untouched' (difficult to speak of for the twentieth century) cultures and their literary productions. On the other hand, it is more difficult to speak of a story, poem, or novel, one that was written down first-hand, which has not been nourished by oral elements. In his theory of discourse, Mikhail Bakhtin proposes a division similar to that of Ong and McLuhan, classifying speech genres (*rechevoi zhanr*) as primary and secondary.<sup>37</sup> The primary (simple) speech genre includes expressions formed in the directness of daily life and conversation, while the secondary (complex) speech genre involves forms such as articles, theatre, stories and especially novels. Secondary speech genres have the power to transform the primary speech genres and incorporate them into their own structure. With this insight, Bakhtin presented an alternative approach to the issue. He did not categorize genres simply as oral or written, but instead preferred to emphasize their heterogeneity by saying "the wealth and diversity of speech genres are boundless because the various possibilities of human activity are inexhaustible, and because each sphere develops and becomes more complex."<sup>38</sup>

The categories, 'oral' and 'written' are already heterogeneous concepts within themselves. The historical development of each term displays diversity, which makes it difficult to ignore their constantly changing historical context. 'Oral', as a matter of course, gains its particular identity in relation to its opposite ('written'), and this causes

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Ong objects to the term, 'oral literature,' as he finds it anachronistic. He writes: "Thinking of oral tradition or a heritage of oral performance, genres and styles as 'oral literature' is rather like thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels." *Orality and Literacy*, 12.

<sup>37</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, "The Problem of Speech Genres", *Speech and Other Late Essays* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1986).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 60.

a transformation in its meaning in accordance with the developments in the technology of writing. For instance, Ong writes that “Plato was thinking of ‘writing’ as an external, alien technology, as many people today think of the computer. Because we have by today so deeply interiorized writing, made it so much a part of ourselves, as Plato’s age had not yet made it fully a part of itself, we find it difficult to consider writing to be a technology as we commonly assume printing and the computer to be.”<sup>39</sup> This internalization of writing in its modern form by modern people causes us to overlook its dependency on the historical evolution of different mediums of writing (such as pictorial, ideogrammatic, hieroglyphic, manuscript, or typographic), and practices of reading (such as collective, isolated, aloud, silent, or whispering).

Today, when one talks about writing and literacy, one is usually not aware that one is intending to mean the modern form of writing. Finnegan, Rosenberg, and others think that the term ‘oral’ preserves its ambiguity because one is not asking the fundamental question, which is whether one means orally composed, orally transmitted, or orally performed in their historical progress.<sup>40</sup> In its contemporary condition, a text is accepted to be, first, written by a specific author or authors in their private and isolated areas, and addressed, whether implicitly or explicitly, to an imagined – or ideal – reader. After that, it is reproduced by a mechanical and finally meets the reader who will establish a passive and silent relationship with the unchangeable and untouchable text. However, as many statistical and analytical studies indicate, this is a relatively modern and specifically western perception of literacy, which has different meanings<sup>41</sup> and qualitative variations<sup>42</sup> changing with respect to time and geography. For this reason, every literary and historical study based on documents should factor in the practices of reading and writing as their cultural context. It should not be forgotten that such practices are the product and reflection of the general character of their own periods, and they are closely connected with the habits and practices of the societies in which they were produced. A good example to show how reading tastes and writing choices are interrelated with social life is Elizabeth Long’s *The American Dream and The Popular Novel*.<sup>43</sup> Long analyzes the

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<sup>39</sup> Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 80. For further information on the relationship between oral and written in Ancient Greece, see: Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (New York: The Universal Library, 1967); Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960).

<sup>40</sup> Bruce A. Rosenberg, “The Complexity of Oral Tradition”, *Oral Tradition* 2/1 (1987), 75.

<sup>41</sup> For example, “in medieval terminology, *litteratus* referred to one who was learned in Latin, not someone able to read. Consequently, an *illeteratus* was someone not learned in Latin. *Illetaratus*, in other words, is a term which says very little about the rank, education, ability and importance of the person concerned in any sphere of activity in the early Middle Ages other than Latin literature.” Rosamand McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3.

<sup>42</sup>For example, semi-literacy, which means the capability of reading without being able to write.

transformation of the idea of the ‘American dream’ in bestseller novels during the post-War years from 1945 to 1975. She explains her reason for picking bestselling novels for her study as follows:

As a literary form, novels are also remarkable because they depict society with complexity and particularity. Although an individual, or several individuals, provide the narrative focus for most novels, the individual is seen as most explicable, or ‘readable’, in terms of novelistic conventions, when acting within networks of personal and social relationships and in a variety of institutional settings.<sup>44</sup>

Throughout her book, as seen in the quotation above, Long highlights the interrelation between the inner and external worlds of people over the genre novel.

The discussion of how the perception of reading and writing are constructed by historical conditions has also led to studies of the history and features of ‘print culture’. As one can guess, this kind of discussion was made possible by displaying the differentiating features of print culture in comparison with the previous writing system, which was manuscript culture. Now it will be useful for us to make a reverse reading of this discussion and highlight the aspects of manuscript culture in relation to the main argument of this study.

Until the changes ushered in by the use of typography, the supremacy of the ear over the eye is obvious in manuscript culture:

Manuscript cultures remained largely oral-aural even in retrieval of material preserved in texts. Manuscripts were not easy to read by later typographic standards, and what readers found in manuscripts they tended to commit at least somewhat to memory. Relocating material in a manuscript was not always easy. Memorization was encouraged and facilitated also by the fact that in highly oral manuscript cultures, the verbalization one encountered even in written texts often continued the oral mnemonic patterning that made for ready recall. Moreover, readers commonly vocalized, read slowly aloud or *sotto voce*, even when reading alone, and this also helped fix matter in the memory.<sup>45</sup>

Since mass production did not exist and texts were not easily available at the time, manuscript culture preserved the dominance of the ear through the encouragement or necessity of memorization, and with the vocalized reader who used to read the text aloud even if on his own.

The authors in manuscript culture had a special relationship with the reader, because their texts were open to intervention in the processes of both composing and performing. This situation does not require a formal grammar and critical rules in the modern sense of the terms. H.J. Chaytor writes:

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<sup>43</sup> Elizabeth Long, *The American Dream and The Popular Novel* (Boston, London, Melbourne, Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 3-4.

<sup>45</sup> Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 117.

Medieval language and literature produced little formal criticism in our sense of the term. If an author wished to know whether his work was good or bad, he tried it on an audience; if it was approved, he was soon followed by imitators. But authors were not constrained by models or systems...the audience wanted a story with plenty of action and movement, the story, as a rule, showed no great command of character drawing; this was left to the reciter for portrayal by change of voice and gesture.<sup>46</sup>

One does not witness a concrete and ultimate literary text, but something always under formation and change in accordance with the tastes and reactions of the readers.

This condition does not seem to change even when the reader is not physically present, as can be observed especially in the margins of manuscript pages:

[M]anuscripts, with their glosses or marginal comments (which often got worked into the text in subsequent copies) were in dialogue with the world outside their own borders. They remained closer to the give-and-take of oral expression. The readers of manuscripts are less closed off from the author, less absent, than are the readers of those writing for print.<sup>47</sup>

Most of the manuscripts one comes across are full of marginal notes, to a degree that would even warrant calling them a second text. This allows figures other than the author proper, such as copyists or individual readers, to participate in the creation of the concrete text. “[T]he margin might affirm, summarize, underwrite the main text block and thus tend to stabilize meaning, but it might equally assume a contestatory or parodic relation to the text by which it stood.”<sup>48</sup> The margins of the manuscripts are open to the authority of readers and their reactions. The involvement of the reader/listener and posterior writers allows one to experience different voices which is not possible with the printed books.

In this chapter, some significant works in the literature and discussions of oral and written culture have been briefly summarized. In the twentieth century, due to the changed approach towards the text, scholarly interest was focused on the medium rather than the message of the text. The text should not only be considered in the modern sense of the word, but also in its other forms such as pictorial, ideogrammatic, hieroglyphic, manuscript, and typographic. Because the constructed hierarchical structures (developed/under-developed, literate/illiterate societies) related with the subject lost their popularity, the subjective evaluations of the oral/written dichotomy gave its place to the recognition of grey areas and transitional points between oral and written productions. In the twentieth century, orality and literacy started to be treated as inseparable elements, beyond their literal meanings, because they coexist to varying degrees in every kind of fictional production. The ambiguity of the terms caused by

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<sup>46</sup> H.J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1945), 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, 130.

<sup>48</sup> Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Virginia: The University of Virginia, 1993), 6.

the changes of the practices of 'orality', 'literacy', 'reading', and 'writing' throughout time and space has been examined by many important scholars of the twentieth century.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE INTERFACE BETWEEN THE ORAL AND THE WRITTEN IN OTTOMAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE

Since it was generally nourished by Islamic culture, Ottoman culture and literature had a special kind of interface between the oral and the written. And even though it was largely known as one of the important written cultures, oral ways of composing, transmitting, and performing texts were also rather common. This chapter discusses the transitional relationship between the oral and the written by evaluating some important issues such as the Islamic background, the role of the teacher in the transmission of knowledge, oral features in art forms other than literature, and various reading practices in Ottoman culture and literature.

Compared to the sacred books of other religions, the sacred book of Islam, the Qur'an, was revealed within a relatively short time after the religion's emergence. There is much historical evidence and many sources that support the notion that the whole Qur'an was put into writing during the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime by the Scribes of the Revelation.<sup>49</sup> Although the Prophet is said not to have known how to read or write, the first *ayah* (verse) that was revealed said: "Read! In the name of thy Lord who has created-created man from a clot. Read! And thy Lord is the most bounteous, who teaches by the pen, taught man that which he knew not." (Q96:1-5)<sup>50</sup> When we consider this verse and the other *ayat* (plural of *ayah*) of the Quran, it is possible to see that 'reading', 'writing', 'text' and 'pen' have not only literal but also metaphorical meanings that inspired Sufism and other mystic traditions.

According to Schick, it should be noted that the signs of an ultimate text created by God are not restricted solely to the Qur'anic words. The universe and its component, as the creations of God, are the material proofs of his existence. This idea takes place in *Surat al-Baqara* as follows:

Behold! in the creation of the heavens and the earth; in the alternation of the night and the day; in the sailing of the ships through the ocean for the profit of mankind; in the rain which God sends down from the skies, and the life which He gives therewith to an earth that is dead; in the beasts of all kinds that He scatters through the earth; in the change of the winds, and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth; (Here) indeed are signs for a people that are wise (Q2:164).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> For an article examining these sources: Ziya Şen, "Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Yazılması", *İlmi Dergi Diyanet*, 46/1 (2010).

<sup>50</sup> Hasan Tahsin Feyizli, *Feyzû'l-Furkân Kur'ân-ı Kerîm Meali* (İstanbul: Server İletişim, 2007). See also İrvın Cemil Schick, "Text", *Key Themes for the Study of Islam*, ed. Jamal J. Elias (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2010): 312-35, 420-2.

In *Of Grammatology*, Jacques Derrida declares that there is nothing outside the text (*hors-texte*). By these words, he does not simply mean that there is no material reality outside the world of texts in its literal meaning, but intends to emphasize the human mind's ability to access the outside world through the mediation of signs.<sup>52</sup> The Qur'an inspires people to observe the power and mercy of God through the mediation of the material reality in addition to the spiritual, as can be deduced from this *aya*:

And among His signs is this, that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that you may dwell in tranquility with them, and He has put love and mercy in your (hearts): verily in that are signs for those who reflect (Q30:21).<sup>53</sup>

Accordingly, we can say that the act of "reading" has a special place and meaning in the Qur'an that has affected the Islamic cultures and religious traditions enormously. Hence, it is difficult to find a mystic tradition that does not engage in a discussion regarding the essence of Quranic words and letters, a situation that has led to the production of new currents and perspectives in Islamic philosophy. One of these traditions is Hurufism which was founded by Fadlullah Astarabadî in Iran in the fourteenth century, and whose traces can be found in Anatolia and the Balkans until the seventeenth century:

*Hurûfis* base their philosophy on the ontological primacy of letters. Creation begins with the voice consisting the letters (نك). Everything in the universe potentially or actually carries the voice, and there are 32 voices, which means 32 letters. These 32 letters are the foundations of existence... If this is the case, then in some way, they should be visible on all creation. In the same way, all creation should be seen on these letters.<sup>54</sup>

Certainly, there are many other mystical and exoteric systems of faith that attempt to explain letters and turn them into symbols according to their transcendental existence, such as Mandaism, Kabbalah, Christian agnosticism, ancient Greek philosophy, etc. Likewise, the practice of assigning numeric values to each letter, a tradition called *abjad* in Arabic and used for divination or date recording, also existed in many cultures. However, it should also be noted that Hurufism is different from these belief

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<sup>51</sup> Schick, "Text", 323.

<sup>52</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 158.

<sup>53</sup> "Text", 323.

<sup>54</sup> "Hurufiler felsefelerini, harflerin ontolojik önceliğinden hareketle temellendiriler. Yaratılış harflerden oluşan sesle (نك) başlamıştır. Evrendeki her şeyde bilkuvve veya bilfiil ses vardır ve bu sesler en fazla 32 tanedir, ki bu 32 harfe karşılık gelir. Bu 32 harf varlığın temelidir. Mademki harfler varlığın temelidir, bir şekilde tüm mevcudatta görünebilir müşahede edilebilir, aynı şekilde tüm mevcudat bu harflerde görünebilir." Fatih Usluer, *Hurûfilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren* (İstanbul: Kabalıcı Yayınevi, 2009), 125-6. (my translation)

systems since it does not use letters and their numeric values for certain functions, but bases its particular philosophy on the relationship between ontology and letters.<sup>55</sup>

Other than mystical movements, there are some other examples indicating a special place for writing in Islam. For instance, the beautiful product of the Arabic letters' artistic potential, the art of calligraphy (*khatt*), "is the means not only to preserve the text in its beautiful form, but also to inscribe onto human creations the mark of the one true Creator."<sup>56</sup> Even today, in the daily life of the layman, texts written in Arabic letters are treated as if sacred writings, regardless of their content. The concept of "Fate" itself is symbolized as a kind of writing; "the sentence, 'It was fated' is often rendered into Arabic as 'written' (*maktûb*), and one's fate is described in Turkish as 'the writing on the forehead' (*alin yazısı*)."<sup>57</sup> Jack Goody asserts that "the writing in Islam influenced millions of non-readers, not only because of its religious content but by giving the written word prestige even in the eyes as well as in countless other ways."<sup>58</sup> Because it is basically the Qur'anic alphabet, the Arabic letters have a sacred status in the eyes of the 'ordinary' people. Hanging texts written with Arabic letters on walls, or avoiding stepping on them, even when the meaning is unknown, are the still continuing signs of this respect for writing. Altan Gökalp calls this 'the magic of letters (*la magie des lettres*),' which can be observed "in their magical uses such as apotropaic charme in a significant way, writing in the Arabic alphabet is used as if to mark the symbolic, religious dimension, where its powers are based."<sup>59</sup> However, deducing from these practical and philosophical approaches to writing that Islam is completely dependent on written culture would not be valid. As was discussed previously, this is not possible for any culture, including Islamic culture which has a rich oral tradition.

Although Islam started and developed as a written religion from its emergence, it is believed that the Qur'an was memorized before being written down, first by the Prophet Muhammad, and then by his companions (*sahaba*). Memorization has remained an important activity until today in the form of *hâfizlik*,<sup>60</sup> due to the religious value it has. Especially during the periods when the literacy rate was low, the Qur'an

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<sup>55</sup> Usluer makes a detailed analysis of the differentiating points of Hurufism from interpretations of other groups. Usluer, *Hurufilik*, 173-8.

<sup>56</sup> Schick, "Text", 321.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 328.

<sup>58</sup> Jack Goody, "Questions of Interface in Turkey", *Orient*, (1995), 12.

<sup>59</sup> "Dans ses usages magiques comme pour les charmes apotropaiques, de manière significative, l'écriture utilisée est celle de l'alphabet arabe, comme pour en marquer la dimension symbolique, religieuse, qui fonde ses pouvoirs." Altan Gökalp, "Le Règne de l'écriture pour Oreilles Averties," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Mediterranee*, 75-76 (1995), 25. (my translation)

<sup>60</sup> Memorization of Qur'an. The person who memorizes is called *hâfiz*; it is an onerous training done especially during childhood.

and the hadith were conveyed by reading out aloud. “It is the presence of this restricted literacy that makes the reading aloud of the written texts so important as a means of imparting book knowledge to the *idioti*, those who could not read, or could do so only with difficulty.”<sup>61</sup> As happens in other genres, especially stories, with the Qur’an too, the literal text becomes a mediator in the transmission of knowledge between literates and illiterates. “The Qur’an is a similar collection, of different genre (having different functions, constructions, uses), of story-tellings, and is received by most believers in oral modalities.”<sup>62</sup>

There are also large Islamic groups, notably the Shi’ite sect, that are known for their antipathy towards written texts. Fleischer and Abadi discuss the relation between Islam and orality in connection with culturally dominated groups as following:

The Islamic emphasis on the oral or dialogic over the textual might be compared with that of 18<sup>th</sup> century Japanese ‘nativism’. In neither case does the oral exclude the literate; rather, the literate is problematized and kept from being a tyrannical authority. Both cases involve deep historical traditions, and develop discourses that attempt to re-cognize a more pristine past that might act as a moral critique of the ill effects of hegemonic discourses (Chinese textualism in the Japanese case; Arabic textualism, but also ‘Westernization’ with its development schemes, and harnessing to the industrial, capitalist machinery in the Iranian case).<sup>63</sup>

Although Fleischer and Abadi fell into the trap of generalizing to all Islamic traditions on the basis of the Shi’ite attitude, their work is still useful for us to see that the written world is perceived by some as the domain of the majority and authority, which is Sunna in the case of the Shi’ites. Therefore, it is possible to say that the oral domain has the capability to function as the domain of freedom, and can undertake a role that can be expressed through the metaphor of ‘the voice of the voiceless’ like the Shi’ites, illiterates, villagers, women, children, and many others.

### 3.1. Oral Transmission in Ottoman arts: Calligraphy and Music

An oppositional attitude towards authority is not the only reason for the problematization of the written. There is also the supposedly reliable nature of oral teaching, which is conducted under the guidance of a mediator who is mostly a teacher (*hoja*). It is worth remembering Imam Ali’s well-known lines: “He who obtains knowledge orally from a master, he is safe from being misled and from misreadings. But he who obtains knowledge from books, his knowledge is nil according to those

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<sup>61</sup> Goody, “Questions of Interface in Turkey”, 12.

<sup>62</sup> Fischer and Abadi, *Debating Muslims*, XIX.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, XXIV.

who know”<sup>64</sup>. Likewise, in the Ottoman world, the figure of *hoja* was respected and trusted for his knowledge. Fine arts practices as well as the transmission of scholarly knowledge were realized under the control and guidance of a mentor-like teacher. In education, which was mostly held at *madrasas*, one “learn[ed] one text from one teacher, though [one] could go to others for the same or different texts. Under this system the genealogy of teachers became very important and was embodied in the *ijaza* document. The *ijaza* is a license to transmit what you have learnt, a text in a particular tradition.”<sup>65</sup> The role of the teacher was crucial in the pre-modern times when the production and preservation of texts were highly laborious. But other than technical reasons, a teacher’s status reinforced with the *ijaza* was the result of a common respect toward and trust in the knowledge coming from them.

*Ijaza*, the document certifying a teacher’s capability in oral teaching, was also required for the training of calligraphy (*khatt*). The process of learning the fine art of *khatt* included the accumulation of a teacher’s personal knowledge, which was more important than knowledge learned from books. The difficulty of the practical aspects of *khatt* training, which requires constant and laborious study, definitely plays a role in this situation. But as mentioned above, the major significance and meanings attributed to beautiful writing in the Islamic tradition has just as much effect on this perception. Thus, the appropriate and necessary way to practice and get the philosophical taste of *khatt* is only under the guidance of a reliable teacher. One of the famous calligraphers of the Safavid period, Sultan Ali al-Mashadi notes in his poetic work from 1514: “Because the art of calligraphy is secret / One cannot know it if he does not work hard / Unless your teacher does not tell it with his tongue / You can not write easily / If the purpose is to transmit knowledge / All difficulty gets easy with it.”<sup>66</sup> Sultan Ali was not the only one who wrote on the importance of being trained by a teacher, symbol of the oral tradition and the accumulation of knowledge by means of face-to-face education called *mashq*<sup>67</sup> in the calligraphic tradition.

In addition to calligraphy, Ottoman/Turkish traditional music has been transmitted by the *mashq* system almost until the nineteenth century. *Mashq* in music was a simple process:

The teacher makes the student write the lyrics of a composition or use an anthology of lyrics (*güfte mecmu’ası*). Each composition has a particular rhythmic circle (*usûl*). If it is necessary to make the student remember, this rhythmic cycle is practiced by the student a few times before the start... The teacher makes the student sing again and again, part by part and as a whole,

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 106.

<sup>65</sup> Goody, “Questions of Interface in Turkey”, 14.

<sup>66</sup> Ahmed İbrâhimî Hüseyinî, *Gülistân-ı Hüner*, ed. Ahmed Süheylî Honsârî (Tahran: İntişârât-ı Bünyâd-ı Ferheng-i İnan, 1352). Cited in İrvin Cemil Schick, “Bedensel Hafıza, Zihinsel Hafıza, Yazılı Kaynak: Hat Sanatının İntikalinin Bazı Boyutları”, *Nasıl hatırlıyoruz? : Türkiye’de bellek çalışmaları*, ed. Leyla Neyzi (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür yayınları, 2011), 24.

<sup>67</sup> Literally means ‘affection’.

until he memorizes it completely and perfectly... The ultimate purpose is to imprint the trained composition onto the memory of the student.<sup>68</sup>

This is not a necessity or technical inadequacy, but a choice. We know that the Ottoman musicians were familiar with some notation systems such as *abjad*, Hamparsum's musical notation, or even the Western notation system. In the seventeenth century, Nâyi Osman Dede (1652-1729) used the *abjad* notation system; Kantemiroğlu (Dimitrie Cantemir, 1673-1723) used the letter notation system, and Ali Ufqî (Albertus Bobovius, 1610-1675)<sup>69</sup> used an adaptation of the western notation system to record the compositions from the oral cultural heritage of the period. However, these exceptional names are not enough to overturn the consensus that the Ottoman/Turkish music tradition was an oral one.

### 3.2. The Oral/Written Interface in Ottoman Literature

When we come to the subject of orality in Ottoman literature, a huge field that is impossible to investigate in any single study welcomes us. In Ottoman literature, there are several genres and variations, composed, transmitted, and performed orally. Some have been forgotten over time, or their traces continue to live on in other written forms or in everyday languages and cultures.

Because what is problematized in this study is the interface between the oral and the written, it is necessary to distinguish the oral as the source or the mediator of the written text, from orality that covers all the processes of production. Being aware of this fact, Rémy Dor, in his article "Ecrire l'Oral, Traduire l'Écrit: Quelques Remarques Centrées sur des Matériaux Ouzbek", formulates a categorization by dividing orality (pure orality and mediated orality) and literature into two sub-forms (literature and mediated literature).<sup>70</sup> Dor points out the difference between written and oral in language and literature, which is basically a constructed, not a natural separation if we take into account terms such as 'orature littéraire' (spoken words written down) and 'littérature orale' (the speaking of written words). Naturally, both phenomena exist in Ottoman literature. There are countless examples and genres that can be seen as 'orature littéraire.' Writing down the improvised poems of an *âşık*

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<sup>68</sup>"Geçilecek eserin güftesi talebeye yazdırılır veya yazma ya da basılmış bir güfte mecmuasından yararlanılır. Geçilecek eserin usûlü bellidir. Eğer hatırlatmaya gerek varsa esere başlanmadan önce bu usûl birkaç kere vurulur...Hoca eseri kısım kısım (zemin, nakarat, meyan, varsa terennüm vs.) ve bir bütün olarak öğrencinin hâfızasına iyice ve eksiksiz yerleşinceye kadar defalarca okutturur...Nihai amaç meşkedilen eserin tabelebenin hâfızasına nakşedilmesidir." Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz: Geleneksel Osmanlı/ Türk Müziğinde Öğretim ve İntikal* (İstanbul: YKY, 1998), 16. (my translation)

<sup>69</sup> Ali Ufqî, *Mecmua-i Saz u Söz*, ed. Şükrü Elçin (Ankara : Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000).

<sup>70</sup> Rémy Dor, "Ecrire l'Oral, Traduire l'Écrit: Quelques Remarques Centrées sur des Matériaux Ouzbek", *Oral et Écrit dans le Monde Turco-Ottoman* (Paris : Edisud, 1996), 29-151.

accompanied by his *bağlama* or *kopuz*,<sup>71</sup> or recording the conversations (*sohbet*) about mysticism (*tasavvuf*) as in the example of Zâti's (1471-1526) autobiographical work, *Letâyif*,<sup>72</sup> about his humorous memories, or, Şeyh Muhammed Hüdâ'î's (1542-1628) *Vâkıât*,<sup>73</sup> are samples of *orature littéraire*. These can be considered examples of the general assumption that the transmission of a text is always from oral to written. First, stories, poems, and jokes are generated with oral circulation and then they are transmitted to the written world by means of compilation.

This kind of interface, and the conversion of oral culture into written, have been studied by many scholars of Ottoman/Turkish literature. And beyond doing research, especially during the first years of the formation of the Turkish Republic, scholars were also the primary actors of this process in their attempts to write down oral works such as the *Menâkıb*,<sup>74</sup> fairy tales, shadow theatre, lullabies, poems, stories, etc. However, the oral performance of written texts, called the 'speaking of written words' by Dor, is usually disregarded. The fundamental reason for this is the negative effect of present established perceptions about reading and writing practices.

Group reading aloud was very common among the Ottomans as in other cultures based on manuscripts. The rarity of books and literate people had made it necessary to form reading circles (*meclis*) in different sizes and places. Apart from being a technical necessity, it was also one of the ways of collective entertainment, which could be compared to today's football matches or TV shows. Group readings were held in private locations such as homes, *konaks*,<sup>75</sup> *yahıs*,<sup>76</sup> but also in public spaces, mostly coffeehouses:

The coffeehouse is an ancient institution. The first ones opened in Istanbul in 1555, probably thanks to the permission of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). The success was immediate. They integrated in the urban spaces, in the hearts of community quarters, close to the souks and mosques; they were soon to become one of the characteristic elements of the cities in the Muslim orient.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Both are stringed instruments.

<sup>72</sup> Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 'Zati'nin Letayifi', *TDED* XVIII, 1970, 25-51.

<sup>73</sup> Mahmûd Hüdâ'î, *Vâkı'ât* (also known as *Al-tibr al-masbûk*), Hüdâyi Lib.249. Information is from Cemal Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken* (İstanbul: Metis, 2009), 45.

<sup>74</sup> Hagiography.

<sup>75</sup> The grand, multi-storey houses of wealthy families.

<sup>76</sup> Waterfront houses, particularly along the Bosphorus.

<sup>77</sup> "Le café est une institution déjà ancienne. Les premiers sont ouverts à Istanbul en 1555 probablement grâce à la faveur du sultan Soliman le Magnifique (1520-1566). Le succès est alors immédiat. S'intégrant dans l'espace urbain, au cœur des quartiers communautaires, près des souks ou de la mosque, ils vont vite devenir un des éléments caractéristiques des villes de l'Orient musulman" Frédéric Hitzel, "Manuscrits, Livres et Culture Livresque a Istanbul, *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no 87-88, 30-31. (my translation)

Then, in the nineteenth century when reading practices started to change partially through the use of typography, *kıraathanes*<sup>78</sup> would replace the coffee houses in terms of being the most common reading circles.

Tülün Değirmenci, in her article, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı’da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler”<sup>79</sup> displays the atmosphere of these reading circles by means of the marginal notes written in publicly read manuscripts about the place, the people, and the reaction of the audience. Thus, for example, the anonymous author of *Süleymannâme*<sup>80</sup> (1227/1812-3) asks his readers not to write anything on the margins and damage his book: “It bestows enjoyment to the reader. Don’t ruin my book by damaging it or writing on the margins. I am asking the mercy of my friends. For *Süleymânâme* is not easy to find everywhere, and when it is found, then it does not give pleasure to the reader.”<sup>81</sup> As if the author knew what would happen to his book in the future, he complains beforehand about the notes. In the first note, it is written that the story was told on 27 July 1812 and was widely appreciated by the audience. Then it warns the next reader about the story plot in which the character Rüstem loses the fight against his enemies, although he had not lost in seventy-two volumes of the *Şehnâme*.<sup>82</sup>

Değirmenci suggests that even the reason for writing this kind of book was to be read in reading circles:

These works written mostly by anonymous authors, give the impression that they were written for a general listener/reader audience. In the notes that were written on the first or last pages, or between pages, after saying where, how, and for whom the book was read, it is also added that an enjoyable time had been spent with friends. In some, the names of companions, in other words, of listeners, are cited, and a detailed description of the place where the reading activity held is given. The existence of such notes and the mentioned companions show that these readings were performed aloud to a certain group.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Literally means “house of reading.”

<sup>79</sup> Değirmenci, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur?”

<sup>80</sup> *Süleymânâme*, London British Library, Or.14944.

<sup>81</sup> “Okuyan ehîbbâya safa bahş ider. Kerem [ü] ‘inâyet idüp bozayım yahûd kenarına bir şey yazayım diyüp kitabımı berbâd itmeyesin. Efendim ehîbbâya niyâz olunur. Zirâ Süleymânâme her yerde bulunamıyor, bulunursa ol da ehîbbâya safâ virmiyor. Murâd olan kıssadan hissedir. Ve’s-selâm. Ibid, 25. (my translation)

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 26.

<sup>83</sup>“Pek çoğu anonim yazarların kaleminden çıkan bu eserler daha çok genel bir okuyucu/ dinleyici kitlesi için yazılmış izlenimi verirler. Bu kitapların başına, sonuna ya da sayfa aralarına düşülmüş okuyucu notlarında genellikle kitabın nerede, ne zaman ve kim tarafından okunduğu/ kıraat edildiği söylendikten sonra dostlarla birlikte oldukça iyi vakit geçirildiği de eklenir; bazılarında da dostların, yani dinleyicilerin, isimleri zikredilir ve okumanın yapıldığı mekanların/ yerlerin ayrıntılı tarifi yapılır.



These observations support Mustafa Nihat Özön's category of "stories publicly read from written texts." Since the number of such popular story books increased in the eighteenth century due to a number of reasons such as the increase in the number of the books written, newly opened libraries, and the visibility of the middle-class in urban entertainment, one often comes across story books written for the amusement of listeners. According to Özön, "these are the residue of an old culture that satisfied the need of story-telling of a very large public."<sup>84</sup>

Whether these 'popular' story books were written for public reading or compiled from the stories told among people, it is certain that they are the evidence of a strong relationship between written and oral cultures in general and literature in particular. This does not only point out to the interface between oral and written cultures, but also to the greyness of the audience/reader's identity. In these reading circles where 'the stories are publicly read from texts' as categorized by Özön, the audience/reader profile widely varies from the coffee house owner to the city governor, from the boys in the Sultan's *harem* to the members of various guilds. According to Değirmenci, based on Nelly Hanna's view,<sup>85</sup> the diversity of the audience in reading circles, and the circulation of these story books which may spread to a large area, suggest that there is an 'intermediate layer' between listeners which is described as popular culture, and the world of scholars (*ulemâ*) by having a more realistic worldview and education at a certain level.

This can be claimed to be an innovation in Ottoman/Turkish literary studies, which has generally accepted binary oppositions as analytical tools until now. Cemal Kafadar too, remonstrates against the dualism in Ottoman literature history as follows:

It has been a regular practice to see the history of Ottoman literature, and even the whole Ottoman cultural history, from within a 'two layer' scheme: court culture against folk culture (a high, educated, cosmopolitan, polished, artificial and strict cultural formation disallowing masses and possessing correct beliefs opposes a popular formation, tainted with superstitions, and prone to deviance, but also natural, honest, and clean and pure in terms of conserving 'national' soul)<sup>86</sup>

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Bu notların varlığı ve notlarda bahsedilen dostlar okumaların belirli bir gruba yüksek sesle yapıldığını gösterir."Ibid, 8-9. (my translation)

<sup>84</sup> "[Ç]ok geniş bir kütlenin hikâye ihtiyacına karşılık veren ve eski bir kültürün arta kalanlarıdır." Özön, *Türkçede Roman*, 78. (my translation)

<sup>85</sup> Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 3-4.

<sup>86</sup> "Osmanlı Edebiyat Tarihine, hatta bütün Osmanlı kültür tarihine, 'iki tabakalı' bir şema içerisinden bakmak âdet olmuştur: saray kültürüne karşı halk kültürü (yüksek, eğitilmiş, doğru inanışlı, kozmopolit, cilalı, yapay, katı, kitlelere geçit vermeyen bir kültürel oluşumun karşısında popüler, sapkınlığa eğilimli ve batıl inançlarla lekeli, ama 'ulusal' ruhu koruma anlamında katışıksız ve sade, doğal, dürüst bir oluşum" Cemal Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş*, 40. (my translation)

Unfortunately, this approach, which has had a considerable influence on the disciplines of literature and history, caused scholars to keep court (*dîvân*) literature and folk (*halk*) literature strictly apart from each other. The fields where these ‘two layers’ intersect apparently have been ignored under detailed and fragmented categorizations. For example, Yunus Emre, who lived in the thirteenth century, is labeled a folk poet, even though he also wrote poems in the *arûz* meter and had mastered Arabic and Persian, abilities generally attributed to *dîvân* poets. As another example, the nineteenth-century poet Erzurumlu Emrah wrote both in the syllabic meter and the *arûz* meter.

Although it is possible to continue listing examples, what should be realized here is the fact that a re-consideration and even re-construction of the categorizations presented by the previous academic and ideological perspectives is necessary. This is also one of the concerns of this study dealing with the interface between the oral and the written, which have been respectively attributed to folk and court literatures. As in other manuscript cultures, Ottoman written literature, especially before the use of lithography and typography – but also after it – had a special relationship with *orature* (orality) in terms of the processes of composing, transmitting, and performing.

This chapter discussed the transitional relationship between oral and written in the context of Ottoman culture and literature. Although Islam is known for its unique emphasis on the written, it is still not quite right to claim that Islam is an exclusively written culture and religion. Memorization of the Qur’an, the role of the *hoja* in the transmission of knowledge, and the existence of group reading practices are oral features in both Islamic culture generally and in Ottoman culture specifically. Finally, the chapter focused on the interface between oral and written in Ottoman literature, discussing the topics of reading circles and spaces, “the story books publicly read from written texts,” and the fallacy of separating court and folk literatures as distant binaries. This topic will be touched upon again in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### STUDIES ON ‘FOLK LITERATURE’ IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD AND THE ELISION OF THE STORY OF *FÎRÛZŞÂH*

In this chapter, I will describe the codes of ‘folk literature’ studies, which started contemporaneously with Ottoman modernization and increased in the early Republican period due to the rise of nationalist and pan-Turkist ideologies. Apart from ideological reasons, I will argue that the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, as with other popular versions of well-known stories, has not been the subject of a comprehensive survey and critique that would include all the versions of the story. This kind of investigation goes beyond the scope of the present study. However, while dealing with any manuscript, one should be aware of the modern constructions of binary oppositions in contemporary studies, such as ‘high’ vs. ‘low’ culture, ‘court’ vs. ‘folk’ literature, and, more importantly, ‘oral’ vs. ‘written’ culture.

#### 4.1. ‘Folk Literature’ Studies in the Republican Era

As an academic discipline, folk literature was born in parallel with the westernization process that started during the last century of the Ottoman dynasty. Folk literature studies have mostly depended on a multi-sided complex towards the West,<sup>87</sup> appearing either as the degradation or the exaltation of the authentic literary forms. During the Tanzimat era (1839-1876), the first examples of the creation of ‘folk literature’ as a term and category appeared in the articles of ‘public intellectuals’ who had gone through a western-oriented education. Their belittling tone toward ‘folk’ literature’ can be observed in their writings. Namık Kemal, for example, attacks the traditional story as it involves supernatural creatures and adventures:

Yet, our stories are nothing but forms and descriptions that depend on unnatural and unreal subjects such as discovering a treasure with a talisman, sinking somewhere in the sea and coming out of the writer’s inkpot, burning by suffering inside, and breaking through a mountain with an iron crowbar. Since they lack all literary conditions such as moral descriptions, detailed explanations of customs, and the elucidation of emotions, these are not novels but old wive’s tales.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Nurdan Gürbilek theorizes the effect of this multi-sided complex on Turkish literature: Nurdan Gürbilek, *Kötü Çocuk Türk* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012).

<sup>88</sup> “[H]albuki bizim hikâyeler tılsım ile define bulmak, bir yerde denize batıp müellifin hokkasından çıkmak, ah ile yanmak, külünk ile dağ yarmak gibi bütün bütün tabiat ve hakikatin dışında birer konuya dayandırılmış şekil ve tasvirde ibaret olup ahlâkî tasvirler, âdetlerin tafsili ve duyguların izâhı gibi edebi şartların bütününden mahrum olduğu için roman değil kocakarı masalı nevindedir.”

This approach toward popular stories, or ‘old wife’s tales’ as Namık Kemal put it, was understandable given the relatively sudden transformations that took place in the political and cultural areas, and the construction of new literary forms and experiences. It is worth noting, however, that the alienation of the elite from Ottoman court literature had not in fact taken place, despite their oppositional discourse. Thus, for example, Namık Kemal also wrote historical biographies of Ottoman Sultans in the taste of epic romances, even though he is known today for his novels and plays.<sup>89</sup>

By the first decades of the republican period, this discourse of belittling folk literature reached its peak. The best-known scholars in the field of ‘folk literature’, such as Fuad Köprülü, Pertev Nail Boratav, or Şükrü Elçin, had inherited their share of elitism from the first generation of republican scholars. It seems paradoxical that they sometimes did not even consider popular literature as a part of ‘literature’ proper, even though they dedicated themselves to the discipline of ‘folk literature’ by writing numerous books and articles on the subject. Boratav wrote in *Folklore and Literature*:

Therefore, despite their participation in content and subject matters, – and this is true only to a certain degree; in the products of folk literature, it would be meaningless to look for expressions of high philosophical systems – in terms of the features which distinguish an artwork from other philosophical products, in other words, in terms of language and style, the products of folk literature were always in a backward state relative to literature. That is why, when we arrange fields of study in cultural issues, the products of folk literature should not be put into the category of history of literature, but into that of cultural or social history. Folk literature might only be included in the subject matter of literature with respect to its cultural aspects and only when an explanation of its relationship with a certain literary issue is required.<sup>90</sup>

This kind of separation and exclusion of folk literature from other fields, even from literature itself, can be said to be one of the reflections of the separation of the republican elite themselves from the rest of the society, a process that started with the first Ottoman modernists of the nineteenth century.

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Namık Kemal, “Mukaddime-i Celâl”, *Celâleddin Harzemşah* (İstanbul: Hareket Yayınları, 1969), 12. (my translation)

<sup>89</sup> For these biographies: *Namık Kemal’in Tarihi Biyografileri*, ed. İskender Pala (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989). For a critique: Emrah Pelvanoğlu, *Tanzimat and Metahistory: Poetics of Namık Kemal’s Historical Narratives*, PhD dissertation, Bilkent University, 2011.

<sup>90</sup>“Şu halde muhteva ve mevzularındaki iştirake mukabil –bu da bir dereceye kadardır; halk edebiyatı mahsullerinde yüksek tefekkür sistemlerinin ifadesini aramak mânâsız olur– sanat eserini diğer fikrî mahsullerden temyiz eden unsurlarda, yani ifade ve beyanda halk edebiyatı mahsulleri edebiyata nazaran geri bir merhalede kalmış bulunmaktadır. Bunun içindir ki kültür hâdiselerinin tetkik sahalarını ayırırken halk edebiyatı mahsullerini edebiyat tarihi kadrosuna değil kültür tarihi veya sosyal tarih kadrosuna sokmak mecburiyetindeyiz. Halk edebiyatı edebiyat bahislerine karışsa karışsa... herhangi bir kültür hâdisesi sıfatı ile ve edebi hâdiseye ile münasebetinin izahı icap ettiği yerlerde karışır.” Pertev Naili Boratav, *Folklor ve Edebiyat* (İstanbul: Arkadaş Basımevi, 1939), 22. (my translation)

Elitism also worked through another channel: by praising the folk literature pieces among the literary productions of other groups. Because the ideology of Nationalism/Turkism brought with it a kind of rejection of Ottoman culture, the scholars and public intellectuals who voiced this praise sharpened the separation between the literature of the Ottoman elite and that of ‘ordinary’ people. Ottoman court literature was seen as something that should be cut off from literary history in order to reach the roots of the original national culture. This is why their works were full of suggestions and advice, making them look like reports written for the administrators or ideologues. In the writings of Ziya Gökalp, who may be considered a representative of this kind of approach, a didactic tone and arguments exemplify this point:

The *Türk Ocakları*<sup>91</sup> has an important role in the construction of our national literature. *Türk Ocakları* should occasionally perform folk plays, *Karagöz* and *Ortaoyunu*, on their stages. They can display national literature to the public by making storytellers tell their fairy tales, *meddahs* perform their imitations, and *aşıks* read their epics, *koşmas*, and *mânis*. By organizing special night programs for folk poets such as Dede Korkut, Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz Abdal, Derdli, Karacaoğlan, Âşık Ömer, and Gevherî, and for folk characters such as Nasreddin Hoca, İncili Çavuş, and Bekri Mustafa; they should try to keep their memories alive. It is also the responsibility of the *Türk Ocakları* to compile books and oral traditions that belong to folk literature.<sup>92</sup>

Compiling folk stories and poems was a requirement of state ideology. The Republican scholars dedicated themselves to compiling such works with a nationalist passion reminiscent of the starting point of folklore studies in Europe.<sup>93</sup> The act of compilation was seen as a ‘responsibility’ of the public intellectual<sup>94</sup> and of the state. One of the duties of *Halkevleri* (the People’s Houses) was to compile folk stories, as Boratav states: “We have at hand an organization - the People’s Houses - which is active in every corner of our country, and the propaganda and publication organs of this organization.”<sup>95</sup> However, such compilations included particular names and forms

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<sup>91</sup> An organization that promoted Islamic-nationalistic ideology.

<sup>92</sup>“Millî edebiyatımızın kuruluşunda Türk Ocakları’nın da büyük bir rolü vardır. Türk Ocakları, sahnelerinde, halk tiyatrosu olan Karagöz ile Ortaoyunu’nu ara-sıra göstererek canlandırmalıdır. Masalcılara masal söyleterek, meddahlara taklitler yaptırarak saz şâirlerine destanlar, koşmalar, mâniler okutarak millî edebiyatı canlı bir surette halka gösterebilirler. Dede Korkut, Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz Abdal, Derdli, Karacaoğlan, Âşık Ömer, Gevherî gibi halk şâirlerine ve Nasreddin Hoca, İncili Çavuş, Bekri Mustafa gibi halk tiplerine hususî geceler ayırarak, bunların hâtıralarını devam ettirmeğe çalışmalıdır. Halk edebiyatına ait kitaplarla, sözlü gelenekleri toplayıp halk kütüphaneleri vücuda getirmek de Türk Ocakları’nın vazifelerinden biridir.” Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1972), 144-5. (my translation)

<sup>93</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the development of modern popular studies in Europe: Peter Burke, “The Discovery of the Popular”, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*.

<sup>94</sup> The term *aydın* (enlightened) is commonly used for public intellectuals in modern Turkey.

<sup>95</sup> “Elimizde memleketin her tarafına kol salmış bir teşkilât- Halkevleri teşkilâtı- ve bu teşkilâtın propaganda ve neşriyat organları var.” Boratav, *Folklor ve Edebiyat*, 197. (my translation)

of old folk literature selected according to their appropriateness to the ideology of researchers and the state. Figures such as Nasreddin Hoca, Yunus Emre, and Karacaođlan were given preference, and stabilized after being purified from their obscene and anti-authoritarian elements. The censorship of obscenity, for example, can be seen especially in humorous works such as *Karagöz-Hacivat* plays and *Nasreddin Hoca* anecdotes. The appropriateness of the personalities and stories were decided by republican policies determined by government administrators and scholars.

In this framework, there was not much room for translations of Arabic and Persian literary works, especially if they were hero narratives. The gallantry of Anatolian heroes such as Korođlu or poets such as Pir Sultan Abdal, antagonists to the Ottoman dynasty, was put forward. However, sources with Arabic or Persian origins were excluded, even though they also played an important role in the construction and permanence of the Ottoman identity and cosmology. The stories of *Şeyyad Hamza*, *Seyyid Battal*, and *Ebû Müslim*<sup>96</sup> were examined less often than those of Turkish heroes, although they are, in fact, difficult to differentiate because of the adaptation power of oral transmission.

One of the important motivations behind praising folk stories was to show contempt for court literature, which had been developed by the Ottoman elite from whom the Republican elite yearned to dissociate themselves. For this purpose, among other reasons discussed in the previous chapters, a bold line was drawn between court and popular cultures, a line that still affects studies of Ottoman literature in Turkey today. In universities, departments of Turkish language and literature have been divided into three areas categorized as ‘new’ literature, ‘old’ literature, and ‘folk’ literature. Court literature was labeled as written, elitist, incomprehensible, and devoid of originality and ‘national’ character, whereas ‘folk’ literature, which had been transmitted orally since the times of the first Turkish tribes of Central Asia, was said to embody the wisdom of the Turkish people. Boratav states: “In fact, before the Tanzimat, we do not see any effects of folk literatures on high culture literature. At those times, folk literatures were completely outside the products of high culture, living their own lives.”<sup>97</sup> The duty of the ‘enlightened’ citizens of the Republic was to compile the products of these literatures, well-suited to the national and pan-Turkist ideologies, from their untouched environment, and bring them to the world of the new elite.

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<sup>96</sup> For an investigation on the role of *gâzi* narratives in the construction of Ottoman identity and cosmology: Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>97</sup> “Filhakika, Tanzimat’dan evvelki yüksek kùltür edebiyatında halk edebiyatlarının tesirini hiçbir şekilde görmüyoruz. O devirlerde halk edebiyatları, yüksek kùltür mahsullerinin tamamen dıřında, kendi hayatlarını yařamakta bulunmuřlar.” *Folklor ve Edebiyat*, 36. (my translation)

## 4.2. The Reasons behind the Elision of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*

In light of what has been mentioned so far, the exclusion of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* is understandable, because it was a narrative of Persian origin, and was a reminder of the Ottomans' ties to Persian and Middle Eastern cultures. The main goal of the Republican elite scholars was to realize a cultural shift from the East to the West. Without any exception, the scholars mentioned here defended westernization. Their understanding of nationalism was to collect material from national lands and process it with the methodologies of the West. The Arabic and Persian cultures that had influenced Ottoman culture to a great extent had to be gotten rid of.

However, one might ask, what was the difference between the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* and others such as *Leylâ ile Mecnun* and *One Thousand and One Nights*, which originated in Arabic literature, or *Ferhat ile Şirin* and *Şehnâme* from Persian literature, all of which remained popular during the Republican period? The answer can be found in the subjects of the stories. None of these are epic narratives, rather, they are all love stories except for the *Şehnâme*, which is set in pre-Islamic Persia. Therefore, it seems that the acceptability of popular works from Arabic and Persian literatures depended on the subjects of their stories. As Kenneth Grant has pointed out, before the nationalistic era, it had not mattered to people whether the heroes were Arabic, Persian or Turkish:

Even though Turkish folk epic is a blend of stories of Arabic, Persian and Turkish origin, they can all be seen as a part of one tradition: for the Turkish audience it did not matter whether the hero was an Arab, a Persian or a Turk; the most important was the struggle of Muslims against non-Muslims. So all these *gâzî*-romances as a part of the same tradition, together with their Arabic and Persian equivalents.<sup>98</sup>

During the period of nationalism, however, the fact of comprising epic narratives of Persian heroes (*şâh*) and retelling the glorious victories of Persian rulers, alongside the Islamic virtues and morality attributed to them, were the misfortune of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*.

As another reason for the elision of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* from the republican canon, we can add the fact that it does not fit well into the clearly separated categories of court and folk literatures, because it has a life of its own in both fields. Its development in Persian and Arabic literature throughout the centuries is beyond the scope of this study, but it is certain that in Ottoman literature it has a dual nature as part of the heritage of both popular and elite culture. With the translation of *Kıssa-i Firûz Şâh*<sup>99</sup> by Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi, on the order of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, the story entered Ottoman written literature. Yet, at the same time, it also entered popular culture, as is evidenced by its countless versions. Celâlzâde's version

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<sup>98</sup> Grant, "Sîrât Fîrûzşâh," 521-528.

<sup>99</sup> Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi, *Kıssa-i Firûzşâh*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Tekelioğlu, no.755.

came first, in the early sixteenth century. Secondly, there is the popular version analyzed in this study, which was written in the eighteenth century by an anonymous author/copyist. According to the modern academic perception, they should be studied separately, by scholars of classic literature and popular literature, respectively. However, the mutual interrelations between two pieces could be missed in such studies. One of the reasons behind the elision of the *Fîrûzşâh* story in Ottoman literary scholarship may well be its ambiguous nature for a modern perception that accepts the republican separation between folk and court literature.

The problem of originality might be another cause of the exclusion of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* from Ottoman literary studies. Court literature was blamed for being under the influence of Arabic and Persian literature, as a result of which it was perceived to be incomprehensible and remote from ‘national’ culture. Under these circumstances, it would be paradoxical to put forward a literary work that was very popular among the ‘folk’ but also addressed itself to the tastes of the administrative elite. The idea of ‘back to folk culture’ shared by nationalists was only including the ‘originally’ Turkish works, as Ziya Gökalp states:

What kind of things are folk literature? First, tales, anecdotes, myths, hagiographies, legends; second, proverbs, riddles; third, *mânîs*, *koşmas*, epics, hymns; fourth, stories such as *The Book of Dede Korkut*, *Âşık Kerem*, *Şah İsmail*, *Köroğlu* and *Ceng-nâmes*; fifth, dervish and *saz* poets such as Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz, Karacaoğlu, Derdli; sixth, living literatures such as *Karagöz* and *Nasreddin Hoca*.<sup>100</sup>

However, this categorization is problematical because, besides other reasons, both the works and the poets existed in an intercultural area, and the space of a literary work was not, at the time, defined by the nation to which they belonged. The different versions of the *Fîrûzşâh* story in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu make it difficult to determine the original version and hence, the original ‘nation’ that begot it, beyond any doubt. Originality was not very important for pre-modern Turkish readers/listeners, as it is for modern nationalist researchers, because what the former were concerned with was the cultural cycle rather than the roots. For example, the version of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* that will be examined in the next chapters has much in common with the Anatolian *gâzi*-romances in its narration and content, although its original version was Persian; this is because it was told and transmitted for years in the Anatolian cultural sphere.

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<sup>100</sup> “Halk edebiyatı ne gibi şeylerdir? İlkin, masallar, fıkralar, efsaneler, menkıbeler, üstureler; ikinci olarak, atasözleri, bilmece; üçüncü olarak, mânîler, koşmalar, destanlar, ilâhiler; dördüncü olarak, Dede Korkut Kitabı, Âşık Kerem, Şah İsmail, Köroğlu gibi hikâyelerle Ceng-nâmeler; beşinci olarak, Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz, Karacaoğlu, Derdli gibi tekke ve saz şairleri; altıncı olarak, Karagöz ve Nasreddin Hoca gibi canlı edebiyatlar.” Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 143. (my translation)



### 4.3. The Story of *Fîrûzşâh* at the Interface between the Oral and the Written

Another reason for the scarcity of research on the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* in the field of Ottoman literature is the ambiguity as to whether it belongs to oral or written culture.

The Story of *Fîrûzşâh* does not fit into the general notions of oral or written literature as strictly separated from one another in contemporary literary studies. Furthermore, elite and popular literatures are considered purely written and purely oral, respectively. The Story of *Fîrûzşâh* discussed in the present study was compiled and written after it had circulated in oral literature in its original cultural context, namely Persian culture. Although it is known that the story also exists in Ferdowsi's (940-1020 CE) *Shahnameh*, it is unclear whether it began to circulate after *Shahnameh* had been written, or predated it. The oldest known Persian version was written by Bighami in Tabriz in 1483.<sup>101</sup> Basing himself on stories in the Persian version that appear to be contemporary, such as the conquest of Istanbul, Grant argues that the written Arabic version must have existed before the written Persian version.<sup>102</sup>

It is not possible to say whether the first Turkish version of the story was oral or written. We know that the first written version in Turkish was a translation of Bighami's Persian version by Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi, on the order of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, in the sixteenth century.<sup>103</sup> However, versions and manuscripts continued to be multiplied both in the oral and the written domains. The mutual influence between these two mediums in practice will be discussed in the next chapters, in an effort to demonstrate that the written text was nourished by oral cultural expressions.

There is a convenient category for the version of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* examined here, regarding its ambiguous place between the oral and the written. Mustafa Özön, in his book on the novel genre in Turkish, proposes another categorization for some of the pre-modern stories, namely "stories publicly read from texts"; he suggests that such stories influenced the birth and development of the Ottoman novel:

In the original planning of this study, this issue had not come up; but while preparing the bibliography of the novel and story between the years 1870 and 1874 (1288-1292), I came across many short story books printed during that period. These books were not only not appropriate for the newly started story system, they were also not written in the way that I had described until then. Although there are the names of authors and narrators, they have the flavor of anonymity in terms of their tones and narration styles. They are, it seems, the

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<sup>101</sup> Hanaway, *Love and War*. 20.

<sup>102</sup> Grant, "Sîrat Fîrûzşâh", 523-25.

<sup>103</sup> Hasan Kavruk, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mensûr Hikayeler* (İstanbul: MEB, 1998), 46-49.

residue of an old culture that met a very large community's needs for stories. As it was not possible to devote time to this work while working on the main plan, finding evidence on this issue was not immediately possible.

But the result has been definitively deduced that, in previous times, except for stories produced in our classical literature, and also anonymous poetic stories which were spread out through villages, there was a great story tradition that existed alongside them. Some of these treated general subjects, and others treated different subjects.<sup>104</sup>

Özön presents this information as a new discovery, because no one before him had studied these kinds of story books intended to be read aloud in reading circles. Boratav states: "We encounter the manuscripts of folk stories – which stand as one of the most important folklore issues – that were recorded in ways completely suitable to the tradition of story-telling. Afterwards, they were transformed first into lithographic, and then into typographic forms."<sup>105</sup> However, any scholar paid special attention and attempted to study these manuscripts through a comprehensive research.

The time period in which these 'popular stories read aloud from texts' were used is not restricted to the nineteenth century. In fact, they started to be diminished in this period and gave their place to the performances of *meddâh*<sup>106</sup> and *hayâli*.<sup>107</sup> Zehra Öztürk draws a map of the written works read aloud in reading circles during different time periods.<sup>108</sup> Her article is not restricted to popular stories, but also covers religious,

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<sup>104</sup> "Eserin ilk plânında bu bahis mevcut değildi; fakat 1870 ile 1874 (1288-1292) yılları roman ve hikâye bibliyografyasını yaparken bu yıllarda basılmış birçok küçük hikâye kitaplarına rastladım. Bu kitaplar, yeni başlamış olan hikâye sistemine uygun olmadığı gibi şimdiye kadar belirtmek tecrübesinde bulunduğum yolda da yazılmış değillerdi. Bunlardan bazılarının üzerinde müellif veya muharrir olarak bazı adlar varsa da eda ve tebliğ itibarıyla üstlerinden anonimlik akıyordu. Bunlar, öyle anlaşılıyordu ki, çok geniş bir kütlenin hikâye ihtiyacına karşılık veren ve eski bir kültürün ortaklarıdır. Asıl plan üzerinde çalışırken bu iş için geniş bir vakit ayırmak imkânı olmadığı gibi, bu hususta delilleri hemen bir yerde bulmak imkânı da mevcut değildi.

Yalnız şu neticeye kat'i olarak varıldı ki, eskiden, klasik edebiyatımızın hikâye mahsulleri haricinde, ve gene köylere dağılmış olan adları malum ve büyük bir kısmı itibarıyla manzûm hikâyelerden başka, bunların arasında yer tutan büyük bir hikâye an'anesi var. Bu hikâyeler arasında umumî mevzular bulunduğu gibi o mevzulardan başka tiplerde hikâyeler de vardır. "Özön, *Türkçede Roman*, 78. (my translation)

<sup>105</sup> "Folklor mevzularının en mühimlerinden birini teşkil eden halk hikâyelerinin çok defa tamamiyle anlatma an'anesine uygun olarak tesbit edilmiş yazma nüshalarına rastlıyoruz ki bunlar daha sonraları taşbasması, en sonunda da matbaa basması haline geçmişlerdir" Pertev Naili Boratav, *Halk Edebiyatı Dersleri* (Ankara: Uzluk Basımevi, 1942), 36. (my translation)

<sup>106</sup> *Meddâh* signifies a public story-teller who performs singly.

<sup>107</sup> *Hayâlî* signifies a puppeteer in shadow theatre.

<sup>108</sup> Zehra Öztürk, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kıraat Meclislerinde Okunan Halk Kitapları", *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 5/9 (2007): 401-445.

moral, and didactic narratives that are difficult to differentiate from pre-modern popular stories. As with Özön, she presents ‘folk books read aloud in reading circles’ as another category, arguing that these were written until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a part of the long-established tradition of reading aloud in Anatolia that had existed since the Seljuk era. According to her, reading aloud had been the main method for teaching religious subjects. Öztürk also gives a comprehensive list of such books, which suggests that many books known to belong to court literature may have had their popular and anonymous versions for reading aloud in reading circles.

If there were so many popular versions, then it would be superficial and anachronistic to say that they were written only for the purpose of teaching religious and moral doctrines to illiterate people. The fundamental reason is, the relationship between the oral and the written is not unidirectional. In the earlier times of the ‘popular studies’ in Europe—as a presumption still exists in ‘folk literature’ field in Turkey—it was supposed that the oral forms of literary works that were possessed by illiterate communities were nothing but the primitive versions of the more sophisticated written versions. This perception was stressed with studies of great narratives such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, *Gilgamesh*, and *Shahnameh*, which were ‘artistic’ compilations of oral stories. However, once they had been written down, they began to mutually influence oral narratives. The jokes of Nasreddin Hoca are a good example. They were written down many times starting in the fifteenth century, although a stabilized version has never been constituted. But the first versions are quite obscene, as they came before the censorship of the modernization period. The jokes told today have nothing in common with the first versions. This shows that once literary productions are compiled from oral circulation and written down, the written versions do not necessarily get rid of the effects of oral culture. Rather, they get involved in a mutual relationship. Therefore, the same goes for the relationship between the elite and popular literatures. Saying that the only aim in popular versions was teaching religious and mystic doctrines is, whether consciously or not, the construction of a hierarchy between them. Yet, these two cultures have much in common.

Claiming, as Öztürk does, that these stories were only serving to teach religious doctrines to illiterate people is disregarding the factors of joy and amusement. If this were the only reason, they would not be works of literature but only of *fiqh*, *kalam*, etc. The dose of entertainment might be different and its character might change from one work to another, but clearly religion was not perceived as something totally separated from daily life and worldly pleasures in the pre-modern era. This is why it is hard for a modern mind to understand the presence of discussions of bodily pleasures, such as eating, drinking, or sex, in religious and mystical works.

#### 4.4. The Story of *Fîrûzşâh* between Center and Periphery during the Eighteenth Century

Another danger in establishing a hierarchy between the elite as educators and ordinary people in need of education is that it re-constructs the binary opposition of center versus periphery is neglecting the fact that these works were circulating in the relatively wide area and social environment. Investigating the “legendary-historical and pseudohistorical narratives” in the construction of Ottoman identity, such as *Saltukname* and *Hamzaname*, Cemal Kafadar says: “These works, their authors or translators, remind us that we must also consider the nature of the continued relationship between the frontier areas and the political centers, since a sharp, clean break can never be expected to have separated the two realms.”<sup>109</sup> This is not unique to the foundation period of the Ottoman dynasty. It is also valid, to varying degrees, for popular narratives in every century. However, especially starting in the eighteenth century, a kind of intermediate range between the elite/ ruling class and the common folk emerged according to historians of Ottoman culture and administration. Shirine Hamadeh is one who traces the signs of Istanbul becoming a city of pleasure in the eighteenth century. She explains the dissolution of traditional codes in bureaucracy and its effects on social and cultural fields as follows:

Transformations in the social and economic structure in the last hundred and fifty years signalled the gradual erosion of the system of hierarchies that had exemplified the Ottoman world order... By the eighteenth century, these transformations had become integral to the social landscape of the capital as the boundaries between ruling elite and tax-paying society were becoming increasingly permeable. And as the political arena expanded, social and financial power was becoming accessible to more and more individuals, both inside and outside of the ruling circle... Greater social, financial, and professional mobility revealed noticeable changes in consumption patterns, as well as in recreational and cultural practices. The diffusion of power began to have a visible impact on the decentralization of building, literary, and artistic patronage. Gradually, as a result, formerly stable signs of status began to wear out.”<sup>110</sup>

As Hamadeh states, the transformations in the structures of economic and political hierarchies had an impact on social and artistic perceptions in eighteenth century Ottoman Istanbul. The visibility of administrative powers increased and they became more integrated with other groups in society. Pleasurable activities such as picnics in the countryside around the city and moonlight tours on the Bosphorus were attended by

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<sup>109</sup>Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 64-65.

<sup>110</sup> Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 6.

people from different socio-economic classes. These transformations naturally affected in various ways the content and style of literature during this period.

The replacements of different socio-economic classes in the city were reflected in the manner and subjects of literary works. It is commonly accepted that local and daily issues, customs, and life styles were integrated into ‘high’ literature by the eighteenth century. In her book *History of Old Turkish Literature*, Mine Mengi summarizes the situation as follows:

In the eighteenth century, local issues and daily life entered literature, and a localization began to become apparent in literary works. Thus, we can say that the most important aspect of the eighteenth century is the closing of the gap between literature and the tastes of the common people, and the self-reflection of its identity in poetry. In the eighteenth century, the high interest in the poetic form of *şarkı*, the contribution of many poets, even a mystical poet such as Galip, to this form, are examples of localization, the desire and tendency to get closer to the people.”<sup>111</sup>

Although these kinds of description suffer from hasty generalizations, there is a consensus that the involvement of daily lives and ordinary issues increased in so-called ‘divan poetry’ during the eighteenth century, as in the poems of Nedim, Enderunlu Fâzıl, and others. It should not be forgotten, however, that in each century one could observe, to some degree, interconnections between the so-called *dîvân* and *halk* literatures.

The physical visibility and coexistence of different groups led to the decentralization of artistic and literary patronage. Starting with the second half of the seventeenth century, the transformation in the physical and executive structure of libraries through the increase in independent collections and libraries is strong evidence of this shift in patronage. İsmail E. Erünsal presents his investigations on the new developments in the buildings, administration, and staffing of the libraries in Istanbul as follows:

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed a new development: the establishment of independent libraries, unattached to specific institutions and intended for the general public at large; in other words, the establishment of a library in its own right rather than as ancillary adjunct to an educational or religious institution. Not only did these libraries have their own buildings, but more importantly they had staff whose sole responsibility was dealing with the books and readers. Whereas previously the librarian in a mosque or college would work in the library on a part-time basis and would most likely have held a position as an imam or teacher, depending on what type of institution the library was attached to, in the independent library the staff were primarily functioning as professional librarians. This change is reflected in the salaries of

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<sup>111</sup>“18.yüzyılda mahalli konular ve günlük yaşayış edebiyata daha çok girmiş, edebi ürünlerde yerleşme görülmüştür. Böylece 18.yüzyılın önemli bir özelliği, edebiyatın halk zevkine yaklaşması, kendi benliğini şiire geniş ölçüde yansıtmasıdır diyebiliriz. 18.yüzyılda şarkı nazım biçiminin rağbet görmesi, birçok şairin şarkı yazması örneğin Galip gibi mutasavvıf bir şairin bile divan’ında şarkılarının bulunması, mahallileşme, halka yaklaşma istek ve eğiliminin bir göstergesidir.” Mine Mengi, *Eski Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1994), 203. (my translation)

the librarians. In the colleges and mosques the librarians were given a small stipend to reward them for the extra hours they devoted to library work, but in the independent library the librarians received a full salary.<sup>112</sup>

All these structural transformations of libraries starting in the second half of the seventeenth century increased during the eighteenth, and show the changes in the practices of owning, reading, and managing books. This can be observed especially in the category of which the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* is an example: books that were ‘read aloud from their texts’. According to Değirmenci and Özön, there was a special interest in writing popular stories that were in oral circulation during this period. The difference between the storyteller (*meddâh*) and story-reader was blurred among, as were other oppositions such as ‘high’ vs. ‘popular’ cultures or ‘divan’ vs. ‘folk’ literatures. In the eighteenth century, the number of popular and semi-popular manuscripts increased and they were better protected in the independent collections and libraries. The stories in oral circulation started to be recorded at this time, including, for instance, *The Stories of a Parrot and Cavalryman from Kastamonu*,<sup>113</sup> *The Story of the Governor of Egypt, Câfer Pasha*,<sup>114</sup> *Süheyl and Nevbahâr*,<sup>115</sup> *The Story of Abu Ali Sinâ and Abu al-Hâris*,<sup>116</sup> and the *Tıflî Stories* known as realistic stories of Istanbul.<sup>117</sup>

In conclusion, just like the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, these stories have also been excluded from Ottoman/Turkish literary studies due to the nationalist and pan-Turkist approaches of the early Republican scholars. Later, the exclusion continued not only because of ideological reasons but also because these stories defy the artificial categorizations of ‘divan’ and ‘folk’ poetry, ‘oral’ and ‘written’ literature, ‘court’ and ‘popular’ culture, and ‘center’ and ‘periphery.’ In this chapter, I focused on Öztürk’s statement that re-constructs these binary oppositions by putting them into a hierarchical structure: ‘these stories were written for the purpose of educating the ordinary people in terms of the religious and mystical information’. I argued that, especially in the eighteenth century, the period during which the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was written, elite and popular cultures overlapped more than at any other time, when it comes to the transformations in social life, pleasurable activities, artistic patronage, the occurrence of independent libraries, and the general literary taste. The next chapter will discuss these issues by focusing on the marginal notes of the manuscript

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<sup>112</sup> İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organization of Ottoman Foundation Libraries* (Harvard University, 2008), 45.

<sup>113</sup> *Hikâyât-ı Sipâhi-yi Kastamonî ve Tûtî*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emîri, Roman 146.

<sup>114</sup> *Mısır Vâlisi Koca Câfer Paşa’nın Hikâyesi*, Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mehmed Efendi, no.6264.

<sup>115</sup> *Süheyl ü Nevbahâr*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.1170.

<sup>116</sup> *Kıssa-i Ebu Ali Sinâ ve Ebu’l Hâris*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.690. These works are taken from Değirmenci, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur?”, 46.

<sup>117</sup> For further information and transliterations of these stories: David Selim Sayers, *Tıflî Hikayeleri* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2013).

of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, among other aspects of the ‘paratextual elements’ of the manuscript.

## CHAPTER 5

### MARGINAL NOTES AND OTHER PARATEXTUAL ELEMENTS IN THE MANUSCRIPT OF *FÎRÛZŞÂH*

The importance of an element other than the ‘main text’ has been noted in modern textual analysis: the ‘paratext’. According to Gerard Genette, who coined the term; the main text is surrounded by other materials (e.g. texts, notes, and pictures) supplied by editors, printers, or publishers in the process of producing it.<sup>118</sup> These elements should not be disregarded, as they have a significant effect on the reception of the text itself, and on its interpretation by the reader. The practices of reading and writing, as well as ‘publishing’ texts discussed by Genette changed with the invention of typography, as discussed in the second chapter. However, I argue, the term can be borrowed from modern textual analysis and be employed in the study of pre-modern texts as well, by modifying the concept of paratext. In this respect, I will examine and discuss the paratextual elements of a particular manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*,<sup>119</sup> which are strongly related to the oral cultural expressions of the period concerned.

Why is “paratext” important? The first reason is that all texts have paratexts, even if they exist at different levels. The paratextual elements of a modern text such as the preface, dedications, inscriptions, epigraphs, inter-titles, and notes do not constitute uniformity, nor are they invariable or systematic in their presence around the text. However, because of the requirement that a written text be presented, in one way or another, on paper, each text is connected with its paratext. Genette indicates this reality as follows:

Some books lack a preface, some authors resist being interviewed, and in some periods it was not obligatory to record an author’s name or even a work’s title. The ways and means of the paratext change continually, depending on period, culture, genre, author, work, and edition, with varying degrees of pressure, sometimes widely varying: it is an acknowledged fact that our ‘media’ age has seen the proliferation of a type of discourse around texts that was unknown in the classical world and *a fortiori* in antiquity and the Middle Ages, when texts often circulated in an almost raw condition, in the form of manuscripts devoid of any formula of presentation. I say an *almost* raw condition because the sole fact of transcription -but equally, of oral transmission- brings to the ideality of the text to some degree of materialization, graphic or phonic, which may induce paratextual effects. In this sense, one may doubtless assert that a text without a paratext does not exist and never has existed.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>119</sup> *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, National Library, 1285/1.

<sup>120</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, 3.



As the inventor of the term ‘paratext’, Genette points out, there is no text, whether oral or written, without a frame of presentation, which is, in fact, interconnected with the main text. As in this case, even if the texts had been circulated in an *almost* raw condition, in terms of the lack of dedications, descriptions, prefaces, authorial notes, even covers and titles in the modern sense, one should still be able to speak of the material presence of the book. This materiality is also closely related to the social and historical context of the period in which the text was written.

Another important reason for studying paratexts is their power to present different “authorities,” other than that of the author him/herself. The paratextual elements define and contextualize the main text and somehow reduce the authority of the author. And this relative exclusion permits the development of polyphonic and dissident areas. Michael Camille, who studied medieval art, talks about the margins of artistic work where the meaning of the text is excluded, and explains how in the margins, liminal zones around the orthodoxy of aesthetics are created:

If these edges were dangerous, they were also powerful places. In folklore, betwixt and between are important zones of transformation. The edge of the water was where wisdom revealed itself; spirits were banished to the spaceless places ‘between the froth and the water’ or ‘betwixt the bark and the tree’. Similarly, temporal junctures between winter and summer, or between night and day, were dangerous moments of intersection with the Otherworld. In charms and riddles, things that were neither this nor that bore, in their defiance of classification, strong magic. Openings, entrances and doorways, both of buildings and the human body (in one Middle English medical text there is mention of a medicine corroding ‘the margynes of the skynne’), were especially important liminal zones that had to be protected.<sup>121</sup>

As Camille states, “liminal zones” and moments of transformation are important in popular culture, as exemplified by superstitious beliefs and attraction points of the human body. Seasonal changes, the edges of the topographical structures or the moments of crossing between life and death are common topics of popular culture and literature.<sup>122</sup>

Liminality should not be considered solely as an issue of content in popular culture, it should also be evaluated as the positioning of the marginal, which lives beside or opposite of that of authority. Manuscripts had the unique opportunity to make the voice of the marginal audible, a characteristic that would disappear with the printing era. It was easier to exploit, censor, and even manipulate printed books, which may be, at a certain level, the reason why printed books have drawn so much attention from religious and secular public authorities. It should also be noted that the paratextual features of a manuscript provide more space for comments, reactions, and

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<sup>121</sup> Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 12.

<sup>122</sup> Grotesque realism is very connected with this perception in public memory as Bakhtin indicates: Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

notes from the reader/audience because of their circulation and formal flexibility compared to printed texts.

At this point, I would like to open a parenthesis regarding the relationship between popularity and marginality. It might seem contradictory to categorize the popular as marginal. But, throughout this study, the term ‘popular’ is used as in the perception of Deleuze and Guattari’s approach to ‘minor literature.’ Deleuze and Guattari assert that the categories of marginal literature and popular literature should be situated within that of ‘minor literature’:

What is a marginal literature?’ and ‘What is a popular literature, a proletarian literature?’ The criteria are obviously difficult to establish if one doesn’t start with a more objective concept, that of minor literature. Only the possibility of setting up a minor practice of major language from within allows one to define popular literature, marginal literature, and so on. Only in this way can literature really become a collective machine of expression and really be able to treat and develop its contents.<sup>123</sup>

Popular culture in general and popular literature in particular (in the Ottoman/Turkish context) have two kinds of marginality. First, they are marginal within present-day Ottoman/Turkish studies. The literary works, which constitute the ‘collective machine of expression’ such as *cönks*,<sup>124</sup> *gâzi* narratives,<sup>125</sup> or doctrinal stories in mystical literature,<sup>126</sup> fall outside of the preview of academic studies mostly because of ideological reasons. In the previous chapter, the exclusive character of Republican folklore studies was discussed by referring to the example of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*. It is true as well that there are still many texts waiting to be discovered and studied in the grey areas between the oral and the written, respectively attributed to folk literature and high literature.

Secondly, texts of folk literature were considered marginal within their contemporary social and aesthetic climate. Although, as discussed previously, the agents and subjects of the so-called ‘high culture’ or ‘court culture’ did not have limited interconnection with popular culture, it needs to be admitted that there was still a distinction between the two. More precisely, each artistic piece usually had two versions circulating, one among the elite and educated courtly networks, and the

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<sup>123</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 18-19.

<sup>124</sup> Books consisting of notes, poems, lyrics mostly written by *âşık*s. There are thousands waiting to be studied in the manuscript libraries of Turkey.

<sup>125</sup> Epics of the religious, warrior-like heroes attributed to the foundational years of Ottoman/Turkish identity. Among important examples are *Battalnâme*, *Saltuknâme*, and *Dânişmendnâme*.

<sup>126</sup> Apart from the grand narratives (Yunus Emre, Hacı Bektaş Veli or Mevlâna Celâleddin Rûmî) the Republican ideology put forward. there are many others in the shadow. For the connection between mysticism and the Republican ideology, see: İsmail Kara, *Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi’nde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2008), 232-72.

other, the popularized version, welcomed by commoners. This is as well the case for the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, which has two known versions; one written by Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi by the order of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, and another popularized and anonymous version.

Briefly stated, a paratext is a medium through which relations among oral, written, high, low, common, grand, popular, and elite cultures cross over and become visible. The fact that the manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh* lacks an appropriate cover page other than the imprecise title “This is the Forty-Fifth Volume of *Fîrûz Şâh*”<sup>127</sup> at the beginning of the story, says much about the use, transmission, and consumption of the manuscript (see Appendix 2). It shows that the manuscript was perceived as a means of reading practice, not as an aesthetic object.

However, the lack of some paratextual elements (an appropriate cover page, preface, information on the name of author, publishing house and date etc.) does not mean one cannot talk about ‘paratext’ while studying this manuscript. This manuscript has different kinds of paratextualities, which one can find by studying the involvement of performative elements (such as different colors for particular words, the idiom of *râvî eydür*, and the visibility of the copyist through interruptions), pictures (ships, birds, and a picture of *Fîrûzşâh*), and notes about where, when, and by whom the manuscript was read aloud. These elements, which constitute the orality of the text, will be discussed further in the rest of this chapter.

### 5.1. Performative Elements on the Manuscript

It must be remembered that in manuscript culture, stories were not written only for the purpose of silent and isolated reading. They were also read aloud in reading circles in mansions, coffeehouses, or simply on the streets. Considering this fact, the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* may also be expected to have some signs of performance.

The most obvious such sign is the use of the phrase “*râvî eydür*”, which can be translated as “the story-teller says”. At the deepest level, this *râvî*<sup>128</sup> points out the tradition itself. It exclusively involves the writers and previous storytellers. This phrase can be seen in the first sentence of the story, which includes both the introduction and preface in the modern sense of the word: “narrators of news and transmitters of works and chroniclers of the times relate that...”<sup>129</sup> Through this phrase, the teller-narrator binds himself to an old and rooted tradition.

At another signification level of the word *râvî*, the teller-narrator refers to himself as the current performer in front of the audience. He acts as a performer, but

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<sup>127</sup> “Fîrûz Şâh’ın kırk beşinci cildidir” *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 1b.

<sup>128</sup> The word “*râvî*” and “*rivâyet*” are derived from the same root (r-w-y). While “*rivâyet*” simply means “story”, “*râvî*” means “story-teller.”

<sup>129</sup> “Râviyân-ı ahbâr ve nâkilân-ı âsâr ve muhaddisân-ı rûzgâr öyle rivâyet iderler kim...”, *Ibid*, 1b.

at the same time he depends on the text. At this interface between the written text and the oral word, he uses the text as a mediator in front of the audience. For this reason, he marks the phrase *râvî eydür* to ease his performance, and to make the audience feel that the teller-narrator is always there. In her article “From the Coffeehouse into the Manuscript,” Claudia Ott shows that this way of marking also exists in the manuscripts of Arabic epics. She states:

The storyteller (*rawî*) presents himself in the form of four different types of insertions that interrupt the narrative. These insertions immediately catch the reader’s eye: they are often written in red ink and in larger letters than the narrative text. They are normally the only decorative element in the otherwise unadorned and plain, even untidy, manuscripts.<sup>130</sup>

Our manuscript also has similar insertions. The idiom *râvî eydür* (the story-teller says) is written in red and blue ink, and is sometimes highlighted. As Ott states, insertions are written not only to help the performer of the text, but also to help the readers, to indicate to them the beginning of a new theme or a change of time in the story. Here is an example from the manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh*:

The story teller says (blue): by the end of the day, he had killed forty men. Two soldiers resented his courage but Keyvân Shah became sad, he ordered them to play drums of peace. Two soldiers came back from the battlefield and settled down. Erdevân also got out from the square, came before Fîrûz Shah, kissed his hands. Fîrûz Shah bewtowed upon him. That night, they put two armies forward. In the morning, they watched their soldiers. The story teller says (blue): ‘Cause the night passed and morning came...<sup>131</sup>

The occurrence of *râvî eydür* almost twice per page causes the reader/audience to feel the constant presence of the narrator. In addition, the narrator reminds the reader of his presence by using other phrases such as *ezîn cânîb* or *bu tarafdan*, which both translate to ‘on the other hand’, and they, as well, are written in different colors of ink, red or blue, throughout the manuscript:

Here they are in battle. On the other hand (red and blue) Melik Behmen Âlem Ârây Mîhrûşeng and Herûşeng and Şehsûn and Şebreng boarded the ships with the soldiers at the city of Kalb-i Cihân...

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<sup>130</sup> Claudia Ott, “From the Coffeehouse into the Manuscript: The Storyteller and his Audience in the Manuscripts of an Arabic Epic”, *Oriente Moderno* 22 (83), 443-451.

<sup>131</sup> “Râvî eydür [blue]: Gün zevâle varınca kırk pehlivân öldürdi. Anın bahâdîrlığına iki ‘asker kîn etdi. Velî Keyvân şâh melûl olup emr idüp tabl-ı asâyîş calup iki ‘asker meydândan dönüp kondılar. Erdevân dâhi meydândan çıkup Fîrûz Şâh öñüne gelüp elin öpdi. Fîrûz Şâh ana tahsîn etdi ol gice iki tarafdan karavola çıkardılar. Sabâh olunca ‘askerlerin gözetdiler. Râvî eydür [blue]: Cün gice gecüp sabâh oldı...” Ibid, 3a.

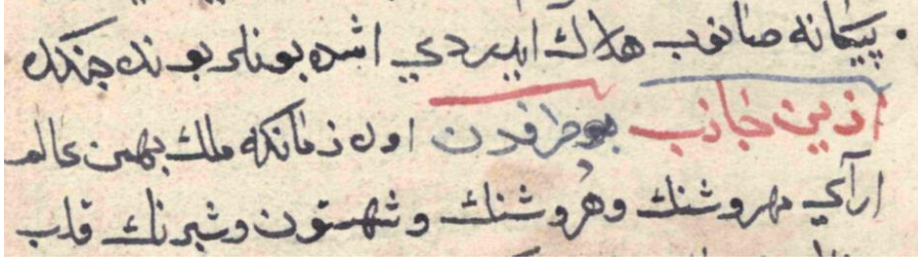


Figure 5.1 Different colors of idioms used in the beginnings of the stories. *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 5a.

It seems that the *râvî* fulfills several different functions. He might have been the anonymous creator of the text, considering that he may have written it down during its very first public performance, to become his own mediator during the performance. However, regarding multiple public readings, the *râvî* is also the transmitter of the text. As a narrator, he simulates a communicative pattern typical of oral performances of the popular stories and epics. He functions as an intermediary between the text and the audience, and he is supported by some paratextual markings in the manuscript.

The multiple functions of the *râvî* are a result of the blurring in manuscript culture of the identities of the author, the scribe, and the performer. Especially in the anonymous popular versions of literary pieces that continued to live on through oral circulation, the boundaries between these three identities are not clear nor well defined as they are in the modern era. For the Middle-Age Arabic World, Franz Rosenthal states: “Since books were expensive, scholars with rare exceptions, had to build up their libraries by copying materials with their own hands; this was so not only at the beginning of their careers, but usually continued throughout their lives.”<sup>132</sup> According to Nelly Hanna who studied the book culture in Ottoman Cairo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were many people who copied books as a secondary profession. For example, Sheikh Mustafa, who was a tailor in Cairo, would copy books of second quality, in addition to his own profession.<sup>133</sup> By looking at the appearance and paratextual elements of the manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, it can be easily seen that it was copied not by a professional but by an amateur hand.

The author and the copyist may have been the same person, who compiled the story from oral circulation. Such manuscripts are called holographic copies (*mü'ellif nüshâsı*). Likewise, the first performer/reader may have written the manuscript for the purpose of entertaining his audience. These issues remain to be elucidated through further investigations of primary sources and manuscripts. Analyzing paratexts can be

<sup>132</sup> Franz Rosenthal, “Of Making Many Books There is no End”, *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 35.

<sup>133</sup> Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: a Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York, Syracuse University Press, 2003). Cited in Değirmenci, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur?”, 37.

proposed as one way to find evidence to support such claims, since they offer many clues about the reading and writing practices of different socio-economic groups which constituted Ottoman book culture and history.

Oral performance in Ottoman culture has been widely discussed, especially the genres which depend on pure orality such as *meddâh*,<sup>134</sup> *karagöz and hacîvat*,<sup>135</sup> and *ortaoyunu*.<sup>136</sup> Surely, these may have been connected to written texts, which the performers would have first read and then learned by heart. Eventually, however, they were performed without any written document, based purely on memorization. This said, in the case of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, part of a great tradition in popular literature, one can prove that some performances were based on texts. Such performances provide evidence of the relationship between the oral and the written, and this evidence can be traced by studying paratextual elements.

## 5.2. Reading Notes: Readers, Locales, and Audiences of the Manuscript

A paratextual feature in the manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh*, and perhaps the most important for showing that the distinction between reading and oral performance was ambiguous, is the marginal ‘reading notes’. These include information about where, when, and by whom the manuscript was read aloud. It was common in Ottoman manuscripts, especially those containing popular stories, to write such notes in the margins. This habit in general seems to be the direct result of the nature of manuscript culture itself. Since the books were rare and expensive, the circulation of a book from person to person was much more common than in the age of printing. In the Ottoman context, the increase of book ownership led to the increase in the number of public and private libraries during the eighteenth century. Also, one might speculate that during this period, known for leisure and entertainment as discussed in the previous chapter, more reading circles were formed, and there was further involvement of larger audiences.

The manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* is particularly noteworthy for its marginal notes. These notes provide many important clues regarding the readers, the audiences, and the atmosphere of the reading circles. They also show different kinds of reader reactions, which will be further discussed in the next chapter. First, it will be

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<sup>134</sup> For further information on the *meddâh*,: Özdemir Nutku, *Meddahlık ve Meddah Hikâyeleri* (İstanbul: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1997).

<sup>135</sup> Puppet shows centered around two main characters and their comic conversations caused by misunderstandings. For further information: Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz: Its History, Its Characters, Its Mystic and Satirical Spirit* (Ankara: Basın Yayın ve Turizm Genel Müdürlüğü, 1995). For the texts: Cevdet Kudret, *Karagöz* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1970).

<sup>136</sup> Theatre centered around dialogues between two standard characters. For further information: Metin And, *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu: Kukla, Karagöz, Ortaoyunu* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1969). For the texts: Cevdet Kudret, *Ortaoyunu* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1973).

useful to look at the notes about public reading. A typical note includes the name and appellation of the person who reads the story publicly. Also the place and date of the public reading was given, as in the following example: “This book of Fîrûz Shah was read in the mansion of Ahmed Ağa, swordsman of the Sultan, on 28 z 1207 [6 August 1793].”<sup>137</sup>

The houses and mansions of the Ottoman elites were the most popular gathering places for reading circles. Another reading location was Osman Efendi’s residence in Yahnikaban Sokağı near Beyazıd. This is probably the street known today as Yenikaban, in the district of Fatih: “This book was read in the house of Osman Efendi in Yahnikaban Street near Sultan Beyazıd on 6 re 1232 [24 January 1817].”<sup>138</sup>

It is remarkable that the manuscript was read by the members of administrative elites, as seen in most of the notes, such as the swordsman (*silahşör*) Ahmed Ağa, the chief financial clerk (*baş muhasebe kâtibi*) İbrahim, and the chief of the boatmen (*sandalcılar kethüdâsı*) Hâfız Efendi. This situation confirms the idea that these popular versions of Arabian and Persian epics are related to the construction of a new urban elite in Istanbul during the eighteenth century. At the time, the officers of the palace tried to increase their visibility by building mansions and summerhouses on the seaside of the Bosphorus, and organizing grand festivals, amusing activities, and performances. The increase in the number of popular versions of indigenous pieces of literature can be considered similar to the popularity of TV series today, and this literature could be thought of both as a factor in and as a result of the emergence of this class.

More interestingly, this manuscript contains a note that shows that the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was read in the palace: “This book was read by Tâhir Ağa in the Treasury of the Inner Sanctum (*Enderûn*).”<sup>139</sup> This note is important because it shows that the manuscript also circulated among people who could enter the imperial palace. It is known from the memoirs of Ali Ufkî Bey (Albertus Bobovius) that pages (*içoğlanları*) read popular stories such as *Kırk Vezîr*, *Hamzanâme*, *Kelile ve Dimne*, *Seyyid Battal*, and *Kahramannâme*.<sup>140</sup> According to Bobovius, the most important learning method for the pages was reading books. Each one would read according to his own level of intelligence. The intention of the Sultan was not to turn them into scholars (*âlim*), but to teach them how to appreciate books and how to be respectful of the Qur’an.<sup>141</sup> Those who were eager for knowledge would become overseers (*kalfa*). Perhaps Tâhir Ağa

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<sup>137</sup> “İşbu kitâb-ı Fîrûz Şâh, silahşör-i hazret-i şehriyârî Ahmed Ağa’nın konağında kıraat olundu. 28 z. 1207.” *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 1a.

<sup>138</sup> “İşbu kitâb Sultan Beyazıd kurbunda, Yahnikaban Sokağı’nda, Osman Efendi’nin hânesinde kıraat olunmuşdur. Fi 6 re 1232.” *Ibid*, 1a.

<sup>139</sup> “Bu kitabı, Enderûn’da, hazîne otasında, Tâhir Ağa kıraat itmişdir.” *Ibid*, 6b.

<sup>140</sup> Albertus Bobovius, *Topkapı Sarayında Yaşam, Albertus Bobovius ya da Santuri Ali Ufki Bey’in Anıları*, trans. Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2002), 105-197. Cited in Değirmenci, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur?”, 17.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

was the most educated among the pages, or perhaps he was from a different section of the palace; or perhaps he was just an ordinary educated man from outside the palace. Although his identity and origin are not known exactly, it is known that he had become the head of the reading circle, which had a regular audience.

Until now, two reading locations have been mentioned: one is the mansion of a respectable person, and the other is the palace, in particular, the Treasury, where manuscripts were probably read by the pages. A third category was coffeehouses, the most noteworthy places for gatherings and artistic performances in Ottoman culture: “This book was read by Hüseyin Efendi in the coffeehouse of the barber el-Hac Süleyman Ağa in Akarçeşme near Ebû Eyyübî Çömlekçiler. 18 z. 1238 [26 August 1823].”<sup>142</sup> It cannot be said for sure where this coffeehouse was located, though it can be assumed that it was close to the Akarçeşme public bath in the district of Çömlekçiler in Eyüp. As in this case, coffeehouses were used often for public reading. Another name used for coffeehouse (*kahvehâne*) is “reading house” (*kıraathâne*), a term that still exists in modern Turkish as a remnant of the times when audiences would enjoy listening to the stories read in the coffeehouses.

Regardless of location, entertainment was obviously the key factor in such gatherings. One can find supporting evidence in the reading notes. For example: “This *Fîrûzşâh* [book] was read somewhere by Hâfız Efendi, chief of the boatmen, and all were delighted re 1230 [February–March 1815].”<sup>143</sup> The emphasis in this quote is on the delight of the participants, and no information is provided as to the place of reading which is recorded only as “somewhere” (*bir mahalde*); other notes especially highlight the locations where the reading took place.

For participants, enjoyment meant not only listening to stories with happy-endings, but also spending hours in contemplation, excitement, and fear, the necessary conditions for experiencing catharsis. Delight and sorrow would sometimes come together, as seen in the following note: The humble Assistant Book-keeper İbrâhim, a clerk at the Chief Accounting Office, read this book of *Fîrûzşâh* that swordsman read in his house, the delighted the companions; they enjoyed this volume a great deal, but this 45th volume was so sorrowful 13 sh 1211 [11 February 1797].”<sup>144</sup>

The culture of sorrow was very sophisticated in Ottoman literature, as in its Arabic and Persian counterparts, and sorrow was a ‘must’ for love in these cultures. On the page where the disappearance of Hurşîd Çehre and *Fîrûzşâh*’s grief due to his disappearance are narrated, a reader wrote: “Oh wind [rûzgâr, i.e. time], my love is

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<sup>142</sup> “Hâlâ bu kitabı, Ebû Eyyübî Çömlekçiler kurbunda, Akarçeşme’de, berber el-hac Süleymân Ağa’nın kahvesinde, Hüseyin Efendi kırâat eylemiştir 18 z. 1238.” *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 32a.

<sup>143</sup> “Bu *Fîrûzşâh*ı, sandalcılar kethüdâsı Hâfız Efendi, bir mahalde kırâat edüp azîm sâfâyâb oldular. r.e. 1230.” *Ibid*, 42b.

<sup>144</sup> “Hâlen bu kitâb-ı *Fîrûz Şah*’ı, Hâcepaşa’da, baş muhâsebe katiblerinden defterci yamağı bende İbrâhim ki silâhşori kendü hânesinde kırâat etmiştir ve ehîbbâyı bâsefâ işbu ciltte gerçi pek safâ eylediler amma pek firâklî imiş bu cild-i 45 13 ş. 1211” *Ibid*, 11a.



refreshed.”<sup>145</sup> However, not everyone was content with the sorrowful narration of the story. A reader ran out of patience on the same page and wrote, “O penman, curse you, why did you write so sorrowfully.”<sup>146</sup> These examples show that the readers were highly involved with the story. So much so, in fact that a reader called upon others to pray for the soul of Teytûs, a character in the story: “Whoever recited the *Fatiha* for the soul of the sage Teytûs, let him reach his desire, amen.”<sup>147</sup> The margins of the pages, which are paratextual elements of the manuscript, turn into a stage on which the emotions of the readers appear. Here, one can see a polyphonic and antagonistic area developed by the reactions of various readers. This manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh* reflects various reactions and emotions of readers, and this is why it presents a good example for us.

Sometimes, readers’ notes address each other. For example, on f. 8b, there is a note that says: “read by Yağlıkçı Selim Ağa, in Kabataş.”<sup>148</sup> At first sight, it seems quite ordinary, but for some reason this note greatly annoys someone who retorts: “It is no surprise that Yağlıkçı Selim Ağa read this book... This pimp has read all the books that exist.”<sup>149</sup> One cannot know the reason for his annoyance, but it shows that Yağlıkçı Selim Ağa was one of the favorite readers of the audience. His name also occurs in another manuscript, *Mısır Vâlisi Koca Câfer Paşa’nın Hikâyesi*. In that note, dated 1207/8 (1781/2), it is written that the book was read in Beşiktaş (which is very close to Kabataş) by Yağlıkçı Selim Ağa.<sup>150</sup> It is possible that some readers were preferred by certain people, or perhaps some readers were professionals, although there was officially no such profession. Another note in the *Fîrûzşâh* manuscript supports Yağlıkçı Selim Ağa and challenges the writer of the previous note: “What is it to you, why are you speaking so mindlessly, Selim Ağa is much better than you (...) if you are a man, then you too read [as much as he does].”<sup>151</sup> Mutual reactions of readers to one another, and revelations of their emotions indicate that this manuscript was not only read in reading circles but also in privacy, because it would not have been possible to take notes on the book during the session of public reading. How, then, did the manuscript get transferred from person to person? It could have been borrowed from a library, but there was also another source, namely bookbinders. One can infer

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<sup>145</sup> “Aşkım tâzelendi ey rûzgâr” Ibid, 26a.

<sup>146</sup> “Niçün böyle firâklı yazdın ellerin tutulsun ey kalemkâr” Ibid, 26a.

<sup>147</sup> “Teytûs hakîmin rûhu içün fâtihâ okuyanın âkıbeti sır olup murâdına irişe âmin” Ibid, 33b.

<sup>148</sup> “Kabataş’da Yağlı[k]cı Selim Ağa kırâat etmiştir.” Ibid, 8b.

<sup>149</sup> “Ne aceb bu cildi Yağlıkçı Selim kırâat etmiş... bu pûzeveng ne kadar kitâb varsa kırâat etmiştir” Ibid, 8b.

<sup>150</sup> Değirmenci, “Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur?”, 24.

<sup>151</sup> “Ya senin ne vazîfen? Niçün nâfile boş laf urursun? Selim Ağa’ya pür kurbân olasun. Çok kitâb okursan (...) adamsan sen de oku” *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 8b.

from a marginal note that the manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh* was borrowed from a bookbinder:

Any book in the world resembles the ones of that bookbinder Salih Efendi, they are really unique. But, unfortunately, there are lots of missing pages which vitiates the pleasure of reading, if it did not have any missing pages no one could drop it from his hands”<sup>152</sup>

This note about the bookbinder Salih Efendi explains the variety of reader profiles and of the locations where the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was read. Unfortunately there are no studies on the role of bookbinders in the circulation of books among the public in the Ottoman context. Such studies could provide information on a variety of issues, from the cost of popular manuscripts to the structure of circulation networks. By studying marginal notes, it is found out that between the years of 1207 to 1238 AH (1792–3 to 1822–3 CE), the manuscript under study here was borrowed several times to be read publicly. Before the period of some thirty years during which the manuscript was borrowed and changed hands, Fadlullah Ağa had been its first owner, as indicated by his name written on the back cover page with the date of 1144 AH(1731–2 CE). The next owner was probably Abdi Efendi. Given the fact that his ink seems newer, it can be suggested that he held the manuscript for an unknown period of time after Fadlullah Ağa.

Now we need to ask a fundamental question: Why were people writing these notes? It is understandable that reactive notes were the result of sheer human psychology, and people only wanted to express their thoughts and emotions, something people still do in the printing era. But, it is unexpected to find notes indicating places, readers, and the dates of public reading. One such note reads, “İşbu kitâb Yahnikaban sokağında kırâat olunmuşdur mâlum ola,”<sup>153</sup> which can be translated as “This book has been read at Yahnikaban Street, let this be known”. One does not know for what purpose the writer of this note wished this information to be known. Were such notes written only for the sake of recording a memorable reading performance? Did those who wrote these notes attempt to show how well and popular this manuscript was? Or did they simply desire to inform future people of their actions?

Tülün Değirmenci argues that the recording of such notes was an act of ‘forming communities.’ These notes enable certain writers to be differentiated from others throughout history. Words such as *yârân*, *ehibbâ*, and *ahbâb*, which refer to friends give the idea that the notes were used for forming communities. Possible readers of such manuscripts probably knew one another. The manuscripts were read in and around Istanbul, as seen in the notes quoted previously. The readers who argued in writing about Yağlıkçı Selim Ağa both knew him. There is a note on the cover page that reads “Yâkub bu hayrâtdır, sen de oku”, which may be translated as “Yâkub this

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<sup>152</sup> “Şu mücellit Sâlih Efendi’nin kitâbları gibi dünyâda hic kitâb olamaz. Begâyet lânazir kitâblardır. Lakin neyleyeyim cildler arasında çok kağıd noksandır, zevke hâlel veriyor. Yani şu hic noksanı olmasa adem elinden bırakmaz (...)” Ibid, 2a.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, 1a.

is benevolent, you read it too.” This suggests that one of Yakub’s friends must have assumed that he would see this manuscript as well, and wrote a message to him. The manuscript was also once offered as a gift to Esad Ağa, and the presenter wrote: “Hâlen bu kitâb ihdâ-yı Esad Ağanındır, güle güle okusun”<sup>154</sup> means “This book is a gift for Esad Ağa, may he enjoy it”. In other words, there is not only one way to explain the intentions behind the notes. The writers of these notes wanted to leave a message to their contemporaries as well as to future generations. Also, they wanted to show the popularity of the story. They differentiated their reading communities and their *yârân* from others, and thus left their marks on history.

To sum up, by studying the paratextual elements of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, one can find much evidence as to the cultural expressions of the period in which it was written and read. This chapter discussed performative elements, which reveal that idioms and differences in the color of ink were facilitators during the transmission of the text from its written to its oral form. The notes on the cover pages and in the margins provide data regarding this transmission, the places in which the transmission occurred, the readers involved, and the ways in which the audience reacted during the public reading. Various other issues were also touched upon, such as the blurred identities of the copyist, writer, and reader, the interconnection among audiences, and the reasons for writing such notes on the margins. These topics were studied by analyzing, perhaps the most social and historical parts of texts, which are paratexts. The next chapter will once again focus on the marginal notes; however, this time, emphasis will be on the different characteristics of the note-writers, which will be examined in detail in order to understand the cultural expressions used in their era.

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 1a.

## CHAPTER 6

### MARGINAL ON THE MARGINS: PEDANTIC, ROMANTIC, FOUL-MOUTHED, AND JANISSARY

In the nineteenth century, historiography transformed itself into a professional discipline that sought scientific objectivity as to the actions and cultures of people who lived in the past. With few exceptions, people about whom research was carried out consisted of the elite or administrative strata. Accordingly, historical studies investigated the political and economic relations among great powers. However, this view started to change in twentieth-century historiography, due to new schools and approaches in historical studies. In this chapter, I will discuss the fundamental shift in historiography from great powers to popular culture, and from the masses to the individual. Then, I will examine some of the characteristics of Ottoman society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, based on the reader notes in the manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûşâh*.

A conception of history centered on the individual did not arise suddenly. A distinction emerged between historiography today and nineteenth-century historiography when *Annales* historians began to focus on the individuals as well as societies of the past, as Iggers states:

History for the *Annales* historians occupied a central role among the sciences dealing with man, but in a different way than it had for classical historicism. While the latter had elevated the state as the key institution to which all other aspects of society and culture were subordinated, *Annales* historians abolished the boundaries between the traditional disciplines in order to integrate them into the “sciences of man” (*sciences de l’homme*).<sup>155</sup>

The *Annales* historians included important names such as Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, and Fernand Braudel, all of whom were opposed to being called an *école*. They altered the questions of ‘what constitutes history’ and ‘who makes history’. Like Peter Burke, who refers to ‘the discovery of people’, contemporary historians started to argue that culture is not the intellectual and privileged area of elite groups alone, but part of the lives of the whole community. Moreover, they tended to examine emotions and experiences of the disregarded populaces that compose the collective mentality. This is why the term *mentalité* is given place in the works of the *Annales* historians.

*Annales* historians brought about major changes in historiography by not focusing on the narrative of events but on problem-focused analyses, in other words, not only on wars and politics but on all activities of humanity. They related history to other disciplines such as psychology, geography, linguistics, and anthropology. They argued that history should depend on qualitative data and endured the methodology of

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<sup>155</sup> George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), 53-4.

social sciences. In addition, they continued to study groups and societies into a kind of social-science-oriented approach.

The resolution of social science-oriented historiography was realized in the 1970s, as seen in Lawrence Stone's "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History", where he states:

Many historians now believe that the culture of the group, and even the will of the individual, are potentially at least as important causal agents of change as the impersonal forces of material output and demographic growth. There is no theoretical reason why the latter should always dictate the former, rather than vice versa, and indeed evidence is piling up of examples to the contrary.<sup>156</sup>

Scientific rationalism in nineteenth century historical studies is now widely criticized. This criticism requires that the dominance of impersonal forces and powers give their place to individuals. The centralization of individuals increased the importance of self-narrations, memoirs, and other manners of personal expression, to which Stone refers as 'the revival of narrative'. The birth of micro-historiography, especially in the cases of Italian historians such as Carlo Ginzburg, Carlo Poni, and Giovanni Levi, went parallel to the emergence of 'ordinary' individuals in the field of history. In *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller*,<sup>157</sup> Carlo Ginzburg focuses on a single individual, Menocchio, who was a miller in the Venetian Republic during the sixteenth century. Ginzburg composes a narrative on the social network around a miller, the role of printing, and on the heretic tendencies present during this period, based on Menocchio's dialogues recorded by the Inquisition. Most of the representatives of this methodology were not as successful as Ginzburg, and they have been criticized for being nostalgic and romantic towards the past. It is accurate to note that "the belief central to social science history, that a coherent scientific explanation of change in the past is possible, was widely rejected."<sup>158</sup>

Contemporary philosophers who were inspired by Saussure's ideas in linguistics such as Roland Barthes, Hayden White, Jacques Derrida, and Jean-François Lyotard played an important role in the rejection of the idea mentioned above. They questioned the distinction between history and literature. For them, there is no difference between a historical document and a poem, because they are both fictional. As well, they argued, the manner of the composition of a text was much more important than the content or the author of the text.<sup>159</sup> The text was all-inclusive, as

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<sup>156</sup> Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History", *Past and Present*, No. 85. (1979): 3-24, 9.

<sup>157</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

<sup>158</sup> Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, 97.

<sup>159</sup> Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault announced the 'death of the author'. See: Roland Barthes, "Death of the Author", *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978); Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" *Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology*. ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New York Press, 1998).

argued in the words of Derrida: “there is nothing outside the text (*hors-texte*).”<sup>160</sup> History was not outside of the fictional world; moreover, it was only a part of it.

Although the influence of contemporary philosophers is visible in studies of historians, these latter were not successful in applying their ideas. In fact, accepting the fictional and relativistic character of history would make it difficult to talk about ‘history’ as a separate discipline. However, their influence was one of the reasons for which more historians tend to study cultural history by especially focusing on popular culture. Peter Burke’s *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*,<sup>161</sup> Keith Thomas’s *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*,<sup>162</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis’s *The Gift in Seventeenth Century France*,<sup>163</sup> and Robert Darnton’s *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*<sup>164</sup> are some examples of twentieth century historiography that focus on particular themes and groups in cultural history.

The use of self-narration in historical studies to reach self-perception and identity-construction in memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, and letters became one of the main approaches in the twentieth century. For example, Cemal Kafadar examined four Ottoman characters through their self-narration: a Janissary, a merchant, and two dervishes, one male and one female.<sup>165</sup> Self-narratives are useful to the historian because they represent contemporary social and historical environments as seen through the lens of their influence on the emotions and thoughts of individuals. Through them, one can access concrete events as well as the reactions they elicited in the people of the period.

I would suggest that marginal notes can be considered a style of self-narration when discussing manuscript cultures. In the previous chapter, I examined reading notes connected to the paratextual structure of the *Fîrûzşâh* manuscript, which revealed when, how, and by whom the manuscript was read. Here, I will examine first-hand marginal notes, which include the direct reactions of readers. Apart from their reactions to the content of the story, readers could use the manuscript as a notebook in which to write their own love poems, as the manuscript was viewed as a public area.

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<sup>160</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 158.

<sup>161</sup> Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*.

<sup>162</sup> Keith Thomas, *Religion and The Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>163</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Seventeenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

<sup>164</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985).

<sup>165</sup> Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş*.

They could talk of their possessions or direct attention to their visibility, as well as using the manuscript as a forum where they could exchange advice. This way, the readers themselves turned into writers who shared the authority of the writer/copyist/performer, an authority that was already not very concrete and apparent.

On the margins of the *Fîrûzşâh* manuscript, I detected four main characters:<sup>166</sup> the romantic, the pedantic, the foul-mouthed, and the Janissary. Apart from the emotions, thoughts, and reactions they convey, these notes are significant also because they give an idea as to how an Ottoman reader or owner of a book would use the physical body of a manuscript in the eighteenth century.

### 6.1. The Romantic Poet

Like today's lovers who reveal their passion for one another by writing on walls, or in Internet forums, an Ottoman lover could use the pages of a manuscript to express his sentiments. The first reason for this is that books were seen as public areas, and the second reason is that paper was still relatively expensive in the eighteenth century. The margins of a manuscript were thus considered an appropriate place to express one's love. But, this expression would always be in poetic form, as in the following examples:

I have been captured by a sapling, I was a rosebud but have turned into a rose  
I searched for you and found you, my master/mistress, if only you would come to me<sup>167</sup>  
Oh beautiful one! One who sees your face  
And knows your worth, can he ever leave you?  
I took without being seen (?)  
Anyone who sees your face becomes crazed (Majnun)<sup>168</sup>

The great love stories of Ottoman literature, such as *Leylâ ile Mecnûn*, *Ferhat ile Şirin*, *Kerem ile Aslı*, *Mahmut ile Elif*, and many others tell of the pain and sorrow of lovers due to separation. This separation could have various causes, such as the whims of the beloved, the physical distance separating the two lovers, or the wishes of their families.

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<sup>166</sup> This categorization is based upon types, not individuals. Hence, one type does not refer to one individual except the Janissary Abdi Efendi. And it is highly probable that the foul-mouthed is one significant person.

<sup>167</sup> “Nihâle giriftâr oldum, goncagül idim gül oldum/Aradım pes seni buldum efendim bir gelsen bana” *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 42b.

<sup>168</sup> “Güzel senin yüzün gören/Ayrılr mı kadrin bilen/Görülmeden aldım (?)/Mecnûn olur yüzün gören“ *Ibid*, 20a.

In any case, separation was unavoidable before reunion, because it allowed them to prove their love. Romantic poets found on the manuscript follow the tradition of ‘sorrow’ and ‘suffering’ while expressing their love:

Oh friends, is there a cure for my wound on this earth?

A young boy left me wounded in my chest in five hundred, five thousand places<sup>169</sup>

Not for once, nor for eleven, nor ten thousand times

But maybe for a hundred thousand times the moon (beloved) gives sorrow<sup>170</sup>

As can be seen in these couplets, the authors of these poems were not professional poets. Their level of education can also be questioned because there are many mistakes and contradictions in their writings. These notes provide evidence that the readers of this manuscript were situated on a continuum ranging from nearly illiterate to highly educated. They were acquainted with the metaphors and poetic themes of *Dîvân* poetry such as *Mecnûn*, *mâh*, and *nihâl*, but at the same time they were not capable of developing their use of language or constructing a sophisticated poetic world. Following are some more examples:

My suffering never gives me sleep, I gave you my heart

Today I saw my beloved, alas!<sup>171</sup>

It has been a long time since I have seen you, woe my master/mistress

I was burned and I matured [...] my master/mistress<sup>172</sup>

Evening has come, how dark are the nights

Morning has come, *hojas* read the Quran<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> “Ah yârin ahbâblar, cihânda yâr olur mı ki benim yâreme?/Benzer nevcivânım bir yâra açdı sinemde, beş yüz beş bin yerde” Ibid, 32b.

<sup>170</sup> “Bir değil on bir değil on bin değil/Belki yüz bin kere üzer mâh” Ibid, 22b.

<sup>171</sup> “Hic uyutmaz beni derdim, sana gönlüm verdim/Bugün ben yârimi gördüm, eyvah!” Ibid, 1b.

<sup>172</sup> “Görmeyeli çok zemân ah ah efendim/Yandım bişdim (...) efendim” Ibid, 1b.

<sup>173</sup> “Agşam oldu ne karanu geceler/Sabâh oldu kuran okur hocalar” Ibid, 14a.



Irrelevant themes and grammatical inconsistencies cannot be related to the incompetence of the note writers alone. They may have borrowed the couplets from oral literature, for example from *mânîs*.<sup>174</sup> In a *mânî*, the principal message is given in the last two verses, whereas the first two often seem irrelevant in terms of the general theme. Other than *mânîs*, the verses in the margins may have been taken from contemporary songs. One of the notes directly indicates this, as the author states: “Sing O nightingale, wake up my beloved, I can’t bare to wake her/him up; this song is really [...]”<sup>175</sup>

One note writer in particular gives his name, and his poems show a certain degree of education and familiarity with classical poetry beyond that of the others: Abdi Efendi. He has two couplets on the first and last pages of the manuscript, which respectively read as follows:

The bird of the heart has succumbed to passing desires

It was put into a cage by the very hand of destiny

Its trapper is the servant Abdi Efendi<sup>176</sup>

This is the consensus of the times, that

Each union ends with a separation<sup>177</sup>

Abdi Efendi was also the owner of the manuscript for an unknown period of time, according to several notes in the margins that say “the Owner [is] Abdi Efendi”<sup>178</sup> accompanied by the symbol (ـۛ56)”. I believe that Abdi Efendi was a member of the fifty-sixth regiment of the Janissaries.

## 6.2. The Janissary Abdi Efendi

The information contained in Abdi Efendi’s notes once more supports the claim that the historical and social side of a text appears mostly on the paratext. It is possible

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<sup>174</sup> *Mânîs* are a popular form in oral literature, mostly composed in stanzas rhyming according to the pattern a/a/x/a.

<sup>175</sup> “Şakı bülbül var uyandır yârimi/Ben kıyamam sen uyandır... Şu şarkı begâyet (...)” Ibid, 13b.

<sup>176</sup> “Her mürğ-i dili düşdi hevâ-yı hevase/Felek eliyle kor imiş kafese/Anın sayyâdı bende-i Abdi Efendi” Ibid, Ob.

<sup>177</sup> “Budur devr-i zemânın ittifâkı/Ki vardır her visâlin bir firâkı “ Ibid, 45a.

<sup>178</sup> “Sâhibehû Abdi Efendi”.

at first sight to miss the fact that Abdi Efendi was a member of Janissaries, and indeed neither Mustafa Nihat Özön, nor Tülün Değirmenci make mention of it. It is necessary to connect the pieces together to see the greater picture.

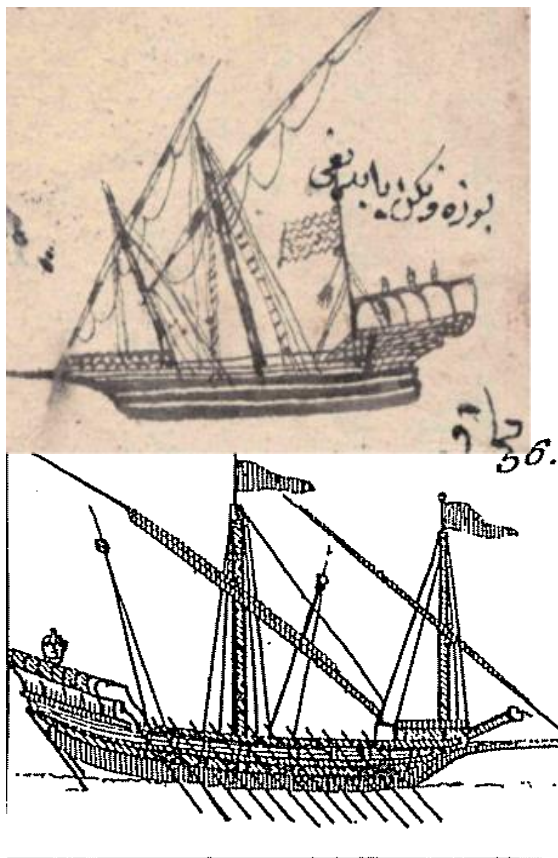


Figure 6.2. The drawings of ships on the Fîrûzşâh manuscript. *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 0b;45a.

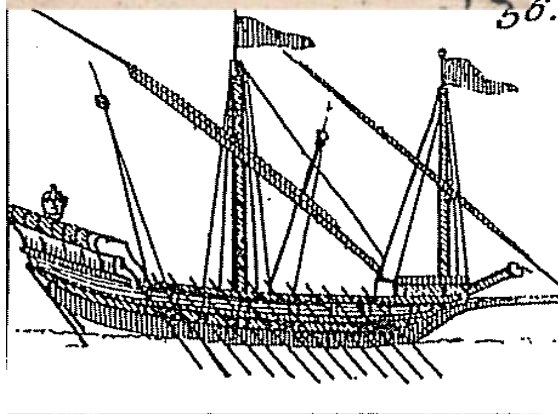


Figure 6.3 The sign of the forty-fifth regiment of Janissaries according to Marsigli, *Stato Militare*, 1972

The signature (56) written near the name of Abdi Efendi suggests that he may have been a Janissary.<sup>179</sup> Another sign is the existence of drawings of galleys, which are situated on the first and last pages. These drawings are similar to one given by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, who identifies it as the sign of the fifty-sixth regiment of the Janissaries<sup>180</sup>:

It is known that each regiment its own insignia. According to Reşat Ekrem Koçu, it was common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for Janissaries to draw their insignias on their equipment:

...in this period, the insignias of companies became so commonplace that the boatman drew the sign of his Janissary company on his boat, the porter on his packsaddle, the woodsman on his axe, and the tradesman on his shop.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Note also that he writes his name as “bende-i Abdi Efendi.” ‘Bende’ means ‘subject of the Sultan’.

<sup>180</sup> Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato Militare dell’Imperio Ottomanno* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u Verlagsans, 1732).

<sup>181</sup> “... devirde orta nişanları öylesine ibtizâle düşürüldü ki, kayıkçı kayığına, hammal semerine, oduncu baltasına, esnaf da dükkânlarının kapısı üstüne mensup oldukları Yeniçeri ortasının nişanını resmettiler.” Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Yeniçeriler* (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1964), 66.

As with other republican intellectuals, the accusation that it was the Janissaries who caused the decline in the martial and administrative structures of the Ottoman dynasty has significantly impacted the discourse of Koçu. However, the information he provides is very precious because of the scarcity of sources on the regiments of the Janissaries. From him we also learn that Janissaries had their signatures tattooed on their bodies:

The sign of the fifty-sixth Janissary regiment was a galley and the members of this regiment had their signs tattooed on their arms, biceps, and calves.<sup>182</sup>

According to Câbî's *History*, a conflict occurred in 1223/1808 between Janissaries and the Ottoman administration when the latter demanded that the insignias be removed from merchant ships.<sup>183</sup> This suggests that they also painted the insignias on their ships, in addition to marking all their working materials and their bodies. If this was indeed the case, then Abdi Efendi's drawing on the manuscript would make sense. He may have painted the insignia of his regiment as a mark of ownership of the manuscript. The other extant volume in the series, the 35<sup>th</sup> volume of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, does not feature a drawing of this galley. This shows that he owned only the 45<sup>th</sup> volume, rather than the complete series of the story.

One may speculate about the way Janissaries handled the manuscript by looking at the social position of Janissaries during this period. Donald Quataert puts the Janissaries in the center of the elite-popular struggles in Istanbul because they were "born among the popular classes and yet part of and linked to the elites."<sup>184</sup> He writes:

At the political center and in other Ottoman cities were contests not only within the elites for political domination but also between the elites and the popular masses. In this struggle the famed Janissary corps played a vital role...Janissaries once had been an effective military force that fought at the center or armies and served as urban garrisons.<sup>185</sup>

The position of the Janissaries between urban production and political administration made them influential and powerful in domestic politics. Their economic and political positions may also be related to their visibility in the cultural sphere. As a member of the fifty-sixth regiment of the Janissaries, Abdi Efendi was a convenient reader and owner of the *Fîrûzşâh* manuscript because of its place between elite and popular

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<sup>182</sup> "Ellialtıncı Yeniçeri ortasının nişanı, alâmeti farikası bir kadırğa resmi idi; ki bu orta mensubları bu nişanı kollarına, bâzû ve baldırlarına dövme ile nakşettirirlerdi." Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Neşriyat Kollektif Şirketi, 1965), 4521.

<sup>183</sup> Câbî Ömer Efendi, "Yeniçerilerin Gemilerdeki Nişanlarının Kaldırılışına Karşı Çıkmaları", *Câbî Târihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 246-251.

<sup>184</sup> Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 45.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, 44.

literature. Especially for this century, the two-layered scheme of the modern perception discussed in the previous chapters, i.e. the separation of Ottoman culture/literature/society into elite and popular becomes invalid and inapplicable. The Story of *Fîrûzşâh* and one of its owners, Abdi Efendi, are a good example for the transition between groups and their cultures.

Questions that arise from the information provided above are where and how Abdi Efendi may have owned the story. As stated above, in the eighteenth century, Janissaries ranged from soldiers to civilian wage earners. “They became butchers, bakers, boatmen, porters and worked in a number of artisanal crafts; many owned coffee houses.”<sup>186</sup> The Fifty-sixth regiment had its own coffeehouse, as well. According to Koçu, *Çardak İskeleyi Yeniçeri Kahvehânesi*<sup>187</sup> was one of the largest and most elaborate coffeehouses in Istanbul at that time. It is not known how the members of this coffeehouse were engaged with literature. However, it is certain that the coffeehouse itself was famous among minstrels, according to the information given by Koçu. In particular, he mentions a twenty-stanza-long epic by a minstrel named Kalenderî describing it. According to him, “after the guild of Janissaries was closed in 1826, the coffeehouses of the Janissaries were devastated, but their memories remained among people.”<sup>188</sup> The poem that he cites provides no information about the milieu of literature. One may speculate, however, that reading circles were perhaps organized in this coffeehouse and that popular stories, especially heroic epics, were read aloud. If the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was one of these stories, it is probable that Abdi Efendi became interested in this volume and borrowed it, or he may have come into its possession when the coffeehouse was closed down during the uprisings. However, the manuscript passed on to other hands, maybe after his death, and thus it became part of the borrowing system once again. This is visible in other notes, especially in those that belong to the person who curses his name.

### 6.3. The Foul-Mouthed

The existence of swearwords and curses near some names and the galley drawings shows that the fifty-sixth regiment of the Janissaries in general, and Abdi Efendi in particular, were hated by some readers. At first glance, obscenities such as “I shit on the insignia of the pimp”<sup>189</sup> or “done by the pimp”<sup>190</sup> next to the galley drawings could be interpreted as a reaction to the picture itself, and that might be an understandable reaction for Ottoman society. However, another note on the last page of the manuscript

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>187</sup> Coffeehouse of Janissaries at the Çardak wharf.

<sup>188</sup> Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 3756.

<sup>189</sup> “Sıçayım nişânına pûzevengin” *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 12b.

<sup>190</sup> “Pûzevengin yaptığ” Ibid, 0b.

raises the suspicion that these reactions directly targeted the personality of Abdi Efendi as a member of the fifty-sixth regiment. It reads as follows:

This Abdi Efendi, I think, was previously Hasan Süleyman, and he had his wife screwed by the fifty-sixths on the date of twenty three, he became a pimp and murderer, so I don't think this is slander.<sup>191</sup>

The date of twenty-three in the *Hijri* calendar is approximately the years of 1808/1809 which is right after the Janissary uprisings in 1807. This might be the reason why this note-writer was extremely upset. Although we do not know who Abdi Efendi was, nor Hasan Süleyman for that matter, according to the foul-mouthed reader, he appears to have had a role in the uprisings. It is not clear where the rumor about his wife came from, and it may just be a gratuitous obscenity, but it is still important to try to evaluate this reaction within the political agenda of the period.

It appears that the fifty-sixth regiment always had distinctive features among other Janissary regiments because of the positions of its members. Since they were engaged in trade near the Golden Horn, they were perceived as tradesmen rather than soldiers. Therefore they were not promoted. Thus, the head (*çorbacı*) of this regiment alone could not be promoted to master (*katar ağası*):

It was absolutely impossible for the head of only the fifty-sixth regiment to get promoted to master and advance within the Corps. This was because the fifty-sixth regiment was charged with controlling the Istanbul market of fresh and dried fruits, groceries, fuel, and timber and other building materials. Since the head of the regiment had to be in close contact with tradesmen and craftsmen, this regiment was kept away from the administrative and military affairs of the Janissary Corps and deemed to have lost the spirit of soldiery.<sup>192</sup>

The differentiation of the fifty-sixth regiment from other companies is usually viewed as the reason for their leading role in the eighteenth-century Janissary uprisings. Because they were unable to share the spirit of soldiery and fed their greed by getting involved in commercial affairs, the regiment started to be mentioned in the context of robberies and bullying. It cannot be said that this discourse was without foundation, considering the role that the fifty-sixth regiment played in the uprisings, especially during the *Çardakçı* Incident.

Indeed, I assume that the event mentioned in the aforementioned note was related to the *Çardakçı* incident. The date given is twenty-three, which fits well the date of the incident, 16 Ra 1223/12 May 1808. In addition, the event in which the fifty-

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<sup>191</sup> “Bu ‘Abdi Efendi evvelî zannım Hasan Süleymanmış. Yigirmi üç târihinde avretini elli altılara sikkürmüşdür. Kendüsü puzeveng, kâtilin olmuşdur. Efendim yani iftira sanman” Ibid, 45a.

<sup>192</sup> “Yalnız 56.ortanın çorbacısı için katar ağaları arasına girip ocak kadrosu içinde yükselme yolu kesin olarak kapatılmıştı. Sebebi de 56.ortanın, İstanbul’da yaş ve kuru meyva, bakkaliye, mahrukat ve kereste ve sair yapı malzemesi tüccar ve esnafının, İstanbul piyasasının kontrolüne memur edilmiş olması idi. Çorbacısı tüccar ve esnaf ile sıkı temas mecburiyetinde kaldığından Yeniçeri Ocağının idari ve askeri işlerine karıştırılmazdı, asker ruhunu kaybetmiş sayılırdı.” Koçu, *Yeniçeriler*, 66. (my translation)

sixth regiment played the most important role was precisely the *Çardakçı* Incident, which developed as follows:

In an official account, the incident is explained by the efforts and intrigues of Ahıskavî Hasan Ağa, the *başyasakçı* of 56<sup>th</sup> regiment of the Janissaries. According to the information, Hasan Ağa collaborated with the *yamaks* of the Macar Tabya with the intention of becoming Sekbanbaşı after the elimination of the present one. With that purpose, he called a group of twenty or thirty *yamaks* from the Macar Tabya and also thirty or forty Janissaries from the 56<sup>th</sup> regiment, his own *bölük*, to Çardak. During the meeting, they discussed the methods to bring by force (“bagteten”) Sekbanbaşı Kahveci Mustafa from Ağa Kapısı to Çardak Kolluk. Therefore, Abdülkerim, from the Macar Tabya, together with seven or six Janissaries from 56<sup>th</sup> regiment, went to Ağa Kapısı. The group must have come to Ağa Kapısı very early in the morning, since they disturbed Karakulak Haseki Abdullah in his sleep, obviously to catch the Ağa without opposition. After waking Abdullah up, they told him to call Sekbanbaşı Mustafa Ağa that they had news to tell him. Thereafter, they captured the Sekbanbaşı by surprise and brought him to Çardak.<sup>193</sup>

It would be speculation to say that Ahıskavî Hasan Ağa, the leader of the incident, might have been the same person as Hasan Süleyman, the individual mentioned by the note-writer. The words “he had his wife screwed by the fifty-sixths” might mean that he prepared the conditions for the elimination of his own men, but this is nothing but speculation. The only information one can find in the manuscript is that Abdi Efendi, the son of Abdullah, was a member of the fifty-sixth regiment and lived in the district of Fatih. And that someone was very angry with him because of his involvement in the fifty-sixth regiment.

In fact, the hatred of the foul-mouthed reader is not particularly surprising, as it is shared by many, especially by ‘public intellectuals’ in the nineteenth century and the republican period. The defamation of the Janissaries has been turned into a campaign to explain the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the so-called the ‘sick man of Europe’. The corruption of the Janissary institution as the reason for the dissolution of the Empire was one of the subjects of the Tanzimat novel, such as Evangelinos Misailidis’s *Temâşâ-i Dünya ve Cefâkâr u Cefâkeş*<sup>194</sup> and Ahmet Midhat’s *Yeniçeriler*,<sup>195</sup> both of which were published around the 1870s. “Impertinent, profligate, corrupted, bully-like bandits” are some of the adjectives used for Janissaries in these proto-novels. This said, the note in the manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* is important because it shows the reaction of a contemporary. Noting the similar writing styles of Abdi Efendi and the note writer, one could speculate that the foul-mouthed

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<sup>193</sup> Aysel Yıldız, *Vaka-yi Selimiyye or the Selimiyye Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion*, PhD dissertation, Sabancı University, 2008.

<sup>194</sup> Evangelinos Misailidis, *Temâşâ-i Dünya*, ed. Vedat Günyol and Robert Anhegger (İstanbul: Yaylacık Matbaası, 1988).

<sup>195</sup> Ahmet Midhat, *Yeniçeriler*, ed. Mustafa Nihat Özön (Ankara: Remzi Kitabevi, 1942).

reader might have also been a member of the Janissaries who was not content with the uprisings:

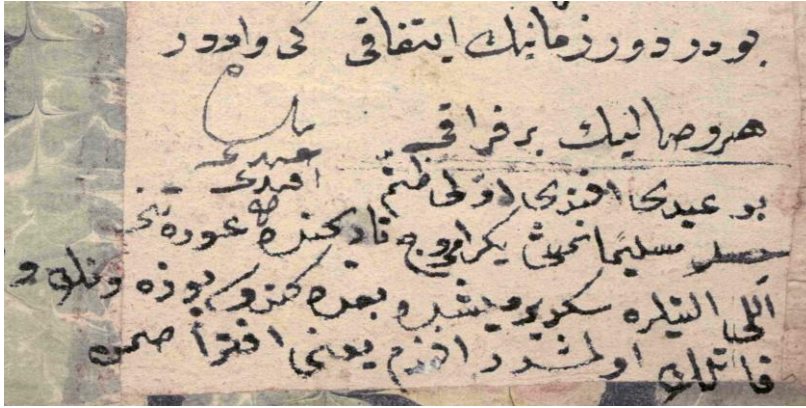


Figure 6.4 The similarity between the hand-writings of Abdi Efendi and the foul-mouthed reader. *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 45b.

According to Georg Oğlukyan, the *Çardak* Incident caused anger towards the fifty-sixth regiment among other regiments. They did not approve the actions of the fifty-sixth regiment that humiliated their member, Sekbanbaşı Kahveci Hasan Ağa, by disregarding the other regiments. In the end, they killed many men from the fifty-sixth regiment:

The Corps were angry at the bandits because of the Ağakapısı attack and what was done to the Sekbanbaşı, and they became more and more irate. In the end, all Corps members except for the fifty-sixths, including artillerymen, weapon suppliers, sailors, and elders of the Corps gathered together to discuss the situation and said: ‘What does it mean that only the soldiers of the 56<sup>th</sup> regiment got together with those in Macarkalesi and attacked Ağakapısı and took the Sekbanbaşı out in an outrageous way? How can the Seven Corps stay put and be quiet? They replied: “No, this cannot be accepted. If we do not punish them, the name of the Seven Corps will be erased from history’. On that same day, they killed many men from the fifty-sixths.<sup>196</sup>

While there is good evidence of the discontentment towards the fifty-sixth regiment among members of other companies, one cannot assert with certainty that the foul-mouthed reader was one of those who hated the regiment. Nevertheless, it is worth

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<sup>196</sup> “Ağakapısı baskınından ve Sekbanbaşı’ya yapılanlardan dolayı eşkiyaya öfkeli bulunan Ocaklılar, gittikçe daha çok kabardılar. Nihayet, Ellialtılar hariç, diğer bütün ocaklılar toplanarak topcuları, cebecileri, kalyoncuları ve eski ocaklılardan kalanları müzakereye çağırarak: ‘Ne demektir ki yalnız Ellialtı orta’nın askerleri Macarkalesi’ndekilerle birleşerek Ağakapısı’nı basin ve sekbanbaşıyı rezil’ane bir surette dışarı çıkarsınlar. Yedi ocaklı bunları gördükten sonra nasıl yerinde oturur ve susar?’ dediler. Onlar da: ‘Hayır, bu yutulmaz. O adamların cezasını vermezsen yedi ocağın adı silinir’ diyerek aynı günde Ellialtılılardan birçok adam öldürdüler.” Georg Oğlukyan, *Ruzname: 1806 - 1810 İsyânları: III. Selim, IV. Mustafa, II. Mahmud ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972), 23. (my translation)

considering the probability that this marginal note might be a rare documentation of the internal conflicts among the Ottoman regiments at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

#### 6.4. The Pedantic as another Voice in the Polyphony

Among all the battles of words that populate the manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh*, there is one note-writer who sets himself above the other notes as well as the story itself. Like a father scolding his child or a teacher being a role model to his student, he puts himself in the position of a wise old man. In Jung's psychoanalytic theory, every ancient and modern culture has the archetype of the 'wise old man' and he appears in the shape of Dede Korkut in the *Stories of Dede Korkut*, Merlin in *the Legends of King Arthur*, and Gandalf in *the Lord of the Rings*.

Although the character here is real rather than legendary, he still becomes the teaching-voice in the manuscript. For example, he sarcastically writes "good for he who wrote this"<sup>197</sup> near the 'obscene' words of the foul-mouthed reader. The pedantry does not only target other notes but also the story itself. On the page where the valor of Erdevân, son of the Persian nobleman Ferrûhzâd, is praised because he killed forty enemies, the pedantic reader writes, "killing a man is not valor but keeping him alive is"<sup>198</sup> This way, this voice represents common sense, a reader who does not lose himself in the stream of excited events in the story. This characteristic of the note writer also reveals itself in his informative voice. He takes notes in the margins to inform other readers about the issues and characters of the story. One such note, for example, is on the page which tells of the journey of Fîrûzşâh and his *ayyârs* to destroy the temples of the fire worshippers. The note writer gives information about the temple and its priest as follows: "There is a man called Sâdi (Sâri?) who is the priest of the temple of Gülgüşâ and this is his wife, let this be known."<sup>199</sup> The factuality of the temple and the man called Sâdi (Sâri) are open to discussion, but the importance of this note is in the realistic and informative tone of its writer, and his wish to inform subsequent readers of the manuscript. It might be possible to reveal the historical and social realities of the period by studying such notes and comparing them to notes in other manuscripts containing these kinds of popular stories. In this way, there is no doubt that many other types of reactions exhibited by Ottoman readers could be detected.

In conclusion, different reader types were mentioned based on the marginal notes of the *Fîrûzşâh* manuscript in this chapter. These types represent various voices of Ottoman society in the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth. It

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<sup>197</sup> "Aferin şunu yazana" *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, 0b.

<sup>198</sup> "Adam öldürmek pehlivanlık değildir, onu diri tutmaktır pehlivanlık." *Ibid*, 3a.

<sup>199</sup> "Sâdi (Sâri?) nam bir erkek vardır, deyr-i Gülgüşânın ruhbanıdır. Şu da anın hâturnıdır, bu böylece ma'lûm ola" *Ibid*, 30b.



is, of course, not claimed these voices present a comprehensive picture of society. This would not be possible by depending solely on a single manuscript, and one in which, moreover, there are still many notes that could not read because of erasures and abrasions that occurred over time. Still, such notes can be crucial in getting first-hand reactions about love, hate, war, rebellions, and many other subjects that are not easy to access through 'raw' historical documents. Therefore, the shift in twentieth century historiography from political to cultural, from elite to popular, and from archival materials to literary texts, makes sense in terms of the chance to reach the voice of the 'voiceless'. In this chapter, by examining marginal notes, four characters were discussed: the pedantic, the romantic, the Janissary Abdi Efendi, and the foul-mouthed. Their reactions were as important as the story itself. Oral culture as the artistic productions of a community or the daily reactions and instant emotions of an individual are perhaps constituted among this polyphony that saved itself from the monopoly of those who had the right to write the documents, the authority of authorship.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

This study has focussed on the binary opposition between the oral and the written as constructed in past studies of Ottoman culture and literature. Based upon an analysis of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* and the reader notes in a particular manuscript of this work, it was shown that a book, i.e. a written text, can say much about the thoughts, emotions, and reactions of the individuals who interacted with it within the framework of oral culture.

The first chapter laid out the necessary theoretical framework. As discussed by a number of twentieth-century scholars such as Walter Ong, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Jack Goody, orality and literacy have always affected, transformed, and re-constructed each other. These authors have also shown that manuscript culture holds a special place in the oral vs. written debate because of its tolerance for narrator interventions and reader feedback. Therefore, I would argue that one must abandon modern perceptions of reading and writing as formulated in the typographical era in order to understand the codes of the manuscript culture where literature was mostly connected with performance.

These issues have been minimally touched upon in the context of the reading and writing practices of Ottoman culture. Yet, this was a culture which attached remarkable importance to oral transmission, as can be seen in the traditions of calligraphy (*khatt*) and of Ottoman/Turkish music. Before the age of standardization, these arts were composed, transmitted, and consumed orally, along with writing. The second chapter of this thesis was an effort to point out the transitional character and points of intersection between oral and written cultures in the Ottoman context.

When it comes to Ottoman literary studies, the separation between the oral and the written is posited very sharply and correlated respectively with folk and court literatures. Moreover, a kind of hierarchy has been constructed between the two, as Kafadar has argued, putting high culture against popular culture, truth against superstition, cosmopolitanism and sophistication against simplicity and honesty. This perception, which still dominates Ottoman/Turkish literary studies in modern Turkey, was largely developed during the early Republican era. In this period, the domain of literature turned into a field of practice for ideologies to show themselves up, and court literature was despised because of its supposed distance from the people. However, the examples chosen from folk literature were restricted to those deemed appropriate to the state ideology, notably *Karagöz-Hacivat*, *Ortaoyunu*, the poems of Karacaoğlan, the stories of Dede Korkut, and the anecdotes of Nasreddin Hoca. Furthermore, these works were published after being ‘purified’ of all dissident and obscene elements. These factors may be offered as some of the reasons for the exclusion of the Middle Eastern epic tradition, as in the case of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh*, from the field of Ottoman/Turkish literature, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Another reason for the absence of a serious study of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was its ambiguous and liminal status between popular and elite literatures. The story has many versions and variations, both in oral and written literatures. It is also a well-known story in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu and many other cultures. The versions in Ottoman Turkish are themselves quite diverse. The story was firstly translated by Celâlzâde Sâlih Çelebi on the orders of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. According to the modern perspective, this should automatically require that it be studied in the category of court (*dîvân*) literature. However, there are also many popular versions in, and translations into, Ottoman Turkish which are suitable for study folk (*halk*) literature. In this respect, the codes of modern Ottoman/Turkish literary studies do not seem adequate to properly evaluate this particular story.

In this study, the forty-fifth volume of *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*<sup>200</sup> was examined with special attention to its interconnections with oral culture from different perspectives. First, there are certain signs on the manuscript which indicate that it was read aloud in front of an audience. The reader resembles a story-teller, as is visible in the paratextual elements of the manuscript. Phrases such as “the story-teller says (*râvi eydür*)” and “on the other hand (*ezîn cânîb*)” announce to the reader and audience that a new story is about to begin. The color differences and highlights used for these phrases were probably intended to make the work of the reader/performer easier.

Another piece of evidence strongly suggesting that the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* was publicly read is the marginal notes about collective readings. These notes give us information about where, when, and by whom the text was read, sometimes including the reactions of the audiences, as in the example: The humble Assistant Book-keeper İbrâhim, a clerk at the Chief Accounting Office, read this book of *Fîrûzşâh* that swordsman read in his house, the delighted the companions; they enjoyed this volume a great deal, but this 45th volume was so sorrowful 13 sh 1211 [11 February 1797].”<sup>201</sup> It is unclear why such efforts were made to record information about the readings, but this could be explained as sharing memories for posterity, i.e. communicating with the possible future readers of the story. Words such as *yârân*, *ehibbâ*, and *ahbâb* in these notes may refer to friends in and outside of the imperial court, people who formed a community.

The manuscript of *Fîrûzşâh* was read not only publicly but also privately. The approximate number of reader notes (in the neighborhood of sixty to sixty-five) is enough to suggest that the manuscript was also used for purposes other than public reading, such as expressing romantic love, giving advice to potential readers, writing poems and song lyrics, swearing to someone with whom one is in political disagreement, etc. Within this framework, four types of reader/note-writers were identified in Chapter Six: the romantic, the pedantic, the Janissary, and the foul-mouthed. Their notes were full of misspellings and scribbles. In this respect, one can

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<sup>200</sup> *Hikâye-i Fîrûzşâh*, National Library, 06 Mil Yz A 1285/1.

<sup>201</sup> “Hâlen bu kitâb-ı Fîrûz Şâh’ı, Hâcepaşa’da, baş muhâsebe katiblerinden defterci yamağı bende İbrâhim ki silâhşori kendü hânesinde kirâat etmişdir ve ehibbâyı bâsefâ işbu ciltte gerçi pek safâ eylediler amma pek firâklı imiş bu cild-i 45 13 ş. 1211” Ibid, 11a.

say that these were not written by the highly educated Ottoman elite but by people who may only have had primary education and were positioned in the new emergent social groups of the eighteenth century.

One of these is Abdi Efendi, who apparently belonged to the fifty-sixth regiment of the Janissaries. According to Donald Quataert, this regiment was at the center of the elite-popular struggles in Istanbul during the eighteenth century.<sup>202</sup> Two couplets and the insignia of his regiment indicate that he owned the manuscript for a time. This was a period when tensions were high because of the Janissary uprisings, in which the fifty-sixth regiment played a key role. This may be why another reader expressed anger upon seeing Abdi Efendi's name on the manuscript. His note is full of obscenities and he mentions the date [12]23 (1808-9), the year of the *Çardakçı Incident*. One could surmise from this that the reader in question was still angry at the fifty-sixth regiment and Abdi Efendi because of this incident. Since it is known that the Janissaries who belonged to other regiments were uncomfortable with the acts of the fifty-regiments around this time, and because of the similarity in their handwriting, it is possible that the foul-mouthed reader was from another regiment of Janissaries.

In conclusion, this study has argued that the bold lines between oral and written cultures, as those between elite and popular literatures, are imagined and recently constructed. The marginal notes in the manuscript of the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* are an example that sheds light upon some aspects and expressions of oral culture by looking at written texts. Considering the fact that written texts are usually our only hope of gaining some insight into the oral cultures of the past, studying more manuscripts like the Story of *Fîrûzşâh* and taking into consideration their paratextual elements is a promising direction for understanding the thoughts, emotions, and reactions of the individuals who created Ottoman oral culture.

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<sup>202</sup> Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, 45.

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **PHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF THE MANUSCRIPT**

Dimensions: 200x145 - 165x120 mm.

Number of Folios: 43

Lines on per Page: 18

Font Type: Naskh

Watermark: Crown with star and crescent

Bookback: Brown leather

Binding: Cardboard covered by marbling paper, disordered headband

**APPENDIX B**

**TRANSCRIPTION OF THE STORY OF *FÎRÛZŞÂH***

## Cover Page Ob\*

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\* Őıçayım niŐânına oğluda pûzevengi

pûzevingin yapıđı

her mürĝ-i dili düŐdi hevâ-yı hevese  
felek eliyle ħor imiŐ ħafese  
anı sayyâdı bende-i abdi efendi

âferin Őunu yazana

**1a\***

---

\* hâlen bu kitâb ihdâ-yı es'ad aġanıdır cü gûle gûle okusun

işbu kitâb-ı firûz şâh silahşör hazret-i şehriyâri aġmed aġanıñ konaġında kıraât  
olundı 28 z 1207

ya'kûb sende oġu bu ġayrâtdır

işbu kitâbı sultân beyazıd ġurbunda yaġniġaban şogagında 'oşman efendinin  
ġânesinde kıra'at olunmuşdur fi 6 ra 1232

işbu kitâbı yahni kaban sok.agında kıraât olunmuşdur ma'lûm ola

## 1b\*

fîrûz şâhıñ kırk beşinci cildir

râviyân-ı aḥbâr ve nâkilân-ı âşâr ve muhaddisân-ı rûzgâr öyle rivâyet iderler ki işte kamyâr düğüne bünyâd urup ayinleri üzere nikâḥ olup rûḥ-ı zibâ-yı mehrûşenge virüp birbirinden murâd aldılar bu kârdan fârig olduḡdan soñra melik behmen eyitdi atam göredisile cengdedir ben şimdengerü giderem dedi mihrûşeng eyitdi sen baña bu kadar iyilük itdüñ bu sefer de ben saña ḫızmet iderem yoldâş oluram dedi melik behmen dâḫi ḳabûl eyledi andan celcele ‘askerinden ve ḳalb-i cihân

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\* görmeyeli çok zemân ah ah efendim  
yandım bişdim (...) efendim

hic uyutmaz beni derdim saña göñlüm verdim  
bugün ben yârimi gördüm eyvah

## 2a\*

‘askerinden iki biñ er yaraqlanup gitmek tedârikinde oldılar andan bir mübârek sa‘atde ‘askere girüp deryâ yüzine revâne oldılar kamyâr şâhile keyhân şâhı vedâ‘ etdiler serendibe yüz tutup gitdiler işte bunlar serendibe gelmekde ez îñ cânib bizim kışşamız firûz şâh a geldi ol zemânki firûz şâh ve keyvân şâh cengi te‘ehhire komuşlar idi bir gün firûz şâh eyitdi nice bir turalım öñümüzde dâhi hayli işler vardır evvel bu sipâhıñ cevâbın virmek gerek henüz göredis gelmedi ol geldikde bu ‘askere cevâb virmek müşkil olur deyüp emr idüp ‘asker ceng yarağına meşgûl oldılar cebel câsûs bu haberi keyvân şâha iriştirdi ol dâhi emr idüp ‘askere ceng yarağına meşgûl oldılar cünki olgice geçüp şabâh oldı iki taraftan ‘asker

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\* şu mücellet şâlih efendiniñ kitâbları gibi dünyâda hic kitâb olamaz begâyet lânâzir kitâblardır lakin neyleyeyim cildler arâsında çok kağıd noqsandır zevke hâlel veriyor ya‘ni şu hic noqsanı olmasa adem elindeñ bırağmaz sende şu denlü (...) yazarsan doğru olmaz (...)



## 2b

süvâr olup meydân kenârına gelüp durdılar ‘aceb meydâna kim gire dirken hemân pehlivân erdevân ‘azm-i meydân idüp cevelân urup er diledi hemân hind ‘askerinden mevrân adlu bir hindî ‘azm-i meydân kıldı irüp erdevâna gürz havâle kıldı erdevân siper-i berâber virüp men‘ eyledi bu kez irüp tîg havâle kıldı erdevân anı dahî men‘ eyledi nevbet kendüye gelicek üzerine raşş sürüp irüp bir süngü urup ucı arkasındañ çıkıdı andan getürdüp yere urup hurd itdi andan gene er diledi mev mevrânıñ heyelân adlu bir qarındaşı var idi qarındaşıñ böyle evvel öldüğün göricek bî ihtiyâr ‘azm-i meydân idüp varup erdevân elinde helâk oldı

### 3a\*

bir dâhi girdi olda helâk oldu râvi eydür[blue] gün zevâle varınca kırk pehlivân öldürdi anıñ bahâdırlığına iki ‘asker kîn etdi veli keyvân şâh melûl olup emr idüp tabl-ı asâyış calup iki ‘asker meydândan dönüp kondılar erdevân dahî meydândan çıkup firûz şâh öñüne gelüp elin öpdi firûz şâh aña taşsîn etdi ol gice iki taraftan karavola çıkardılar şabâh olunca ‘askerlerin gözetdiler ravi eydür [blue] cün gice gecüp şabâh oldu gene iki taraftan ‘asker süvâr olup meydân kenârına gelüp durdılar ‘aceb meydâna giredirken hemân horlend ‘azm-i meydân idüp cevelân urup er diledi bir gergedâne süvâr olmuşdı hemân erdevân ‘azm-i meydân idüp irüp horlende berâber geldi durdı elinde kemendin hâzır etdi horlend erdevânı gördikim bir süvâr karşusuna gelüp durdı horlend eydür ey îrânî sen kimsin kim bencileyin ejderhânıñ meydânına geldiñ imdi şimden ser ü cânıña vedâ‘ eyle bugünden gayrı dünyâ yüzün göremezsın deyüp elin ‘amûda urup gergedân sürdi

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\* adam öldürmek pehlivânlık degildir onu diri tutmaqdır pehlivanlık (...)

### 3b

horlend öñüne gelicek hemân pehlivân kemendin kaldırıp horlendiñ gerdânına atup andan at başın cevrip döndi horlend ol hâli göricek gergedânı erdevânın ardından sürdi gergedân atıñ ardından irüşüp boynuz ile erdevânıñ atına eyle urdukim alnına degin gömüldi at ol zaḥmı yicek şıcrayup erdevânı getürdi yire urdı sipâh-ı îrân acından feryâd-ı figân kopdı bî ihtiyâr ferruḥzâd\_ ile ‘emmüsi beḥzâd ḥamle etdiler yekbâre îrân ‘askeri dâḥi ḥamle idüp hind ‘askeri dâḥi bunları karşılayup birbirine kılcı koydılar amma cün horlend erdevânı ol hâlde görüp diledikim dönüp işin tamâm ide ol maḥale ferruḥzâd iricek dönemedi amma iki sipâh birbirine girdiler îrân ‘askeri hindîler yanında deryâdan kaṭre mişâli idi firûz şâh ‘askerine istimâlet virüp eydür şakuñ içeri gitmen kenârda ceng idün soñra daşra çıkması güc olur didi râvi eydür ol gün horlend îrân mübârizlerinden tamâm kırk gemiye zaḥm urdı ol gün ‘azîm ḥarb vâқи‘ oldı aḥşam olıcak ṭabl-ı asâyiş calup dönüp kondılar birbirinden ayrıldılar

#### 4a

fîrûz şâh eydür erdevân horlende ham kemendile tutmuşdı illâ ki gergedân az âdlusı oldı dedi amma bu tarafından hind sipâhı kondılar keyvân şâh taht üzerine oturup cümle ulular gelüp cem‘ oldılar keyvân şâh baş kaldırıp eydür ‘aceb bugün cengde nekadar kimesne telef oldı dedi naķib-i sipâhlar eytdiler melik şag olsun bu cengde üçyüz biñ er maqtûl oldı kırk biñi îrânî kalanı hindîdir bir nice gün ceng eylemeñ küşteleri meydândan çıkarınlr deyüp küşteleri irtileyüp defn etdiler üç gün geçince ceng itmeyüp meydânı hâli kıldılar andan keyvân şâh atasına nâme gönderüp yardım istedi nâme atasına vâsil olıcaķ emr idüp üç nâmdâr emîr ile üç yüz biñ er yardıma gönderdi anlar dâhi revâne oldılar câsûslar bu haberi keyvân şâha irişdürüp keyvân şâh katı hurrem oldı emr eylediki anları istikbâl eyleyeler bu tarafından îrân câsûsları gelüp haber virdiki fîrûz şâh işidip melûl oldı her gün anlara yardım irişür biz kendü memleketimizden iraguz bize yardım gelmez deyüp melûl oldı çün ol gice

#### 4b

gecüp şabâh oldu serendib tarafından ol ücyüz biñ er çıka gelüp hind ‘askerine  
karışup hayme ve hargâh kurup kondılar keyvân şâh ol gün ceng itmeyüp ol  
gelenlere ri‘âyet kıldı ol gice iki tarafından karavol çıkup şabâh olunca beklediler cün  
gice gecüp şabâh oldu iki ‘asker gene süvâr olup meydân kenarına gelüp durdılar  
oldem hemân horlend ücyüz biñ hindile hamle itdi firûz şâh görüp emr idüp iki yüz  
biñ îrânî anları karşılayup birbirine kılıc koydılar firûz şâh zehirden dâhi bîmâr idi  
cenge kudreti yoğidi bâsidvey hinde eyitdi sen ‘askeriñ alup taşra cık tâ ceng germ  
olduğı vakit gel hamle kıl görelüm hüdâ ne gösterir dedi bâsidvey nola deyüp yüz biñ  
erile ortalıkdan çıkup gitdi bâkî-yi ‘asker hâlî üzerine kaldı cün horlend ücyüz biñ  
erile hamle idicek bu tarafından behzâd razzif şâhile iki yüz biñ er hamle idüp cenge  
başladılar bu tarafından gene beş yüz biñ hindile kaytaş hindi hamle itdi bunlar  
pehlivân pilten ile kirmân şâh kırk biñ erile hamle idüp karşıladı ol tarafından

## 5a

on beş mübârizle altı kerre yüz biñ erile hamle itdiler firûz şâh emr eyledi ferruhzâd erdevân hürşîd şâh cemşîd şâh yüz biñ er ile çıkup yolların alup birbirine hamle etdiler iki leşker birbirine girüp ‘azîm ceng itdiler gerçe îrânîler az idi amma cânile dövüşürlerdi hele aḥşam olunca ‘azîm ceng idüp andan ṭabl-ı asâyiş calup dönüp birbirinden ayrılup konmayup ṭabl-ı asâyişi işitmediler zîrâ ceng germ olmuşdı ol gice dâhi ‘azîm ceng itdiler ol gice ata oğlı oğul atayı bulamayup bigâne şanup helâk iderdi işde bunlar bunda cengde ez în cânib[red] bu tarafından[blue] ol zemânki melik behmen ‘âlem-arâyı mihrûşeng ve herûşeng ve şehsûn ve şebreng kalb-i cihân şehrinden ‘askerle gemilere binüp yolu õñlerine dutup giderlerdi haḳkıñ emriyle altı aylık yolu kırk günde aldılar bu ceng sultânı ibtidâ olduğu maḥal aḥşam idikim qarşularından şâhil peydâ oldu behmen emr idüp gemileri kenâra sürdiler gelüp iskele urdılar melik behmen şebreng ‘ayyâra eydür ey ‘ayyâr tevakkuf vaḳti degildir bizim sipâhimiz yaḳındır hem cengdir

## 5b

zîrâ gör ki girdigbâr zulmetiyle bu avâz-ı kös nedir tîz ol varanda bir haber getir dedi  
def'-i şebrenge gemiden çıkıp defne karşı yılan gibi revân oldu andan evvel bâsidvey  
hind irişdü yüz biñ er ile puşuda dururlardı şebrenge 'alâmetinden bâsidvey bildi  
derhâl önüne gelüp hizmet itdi bâsidvey şîreñgi göricek hurrem oldu eydür ey 'ayyâr  
kandesin biz seni melik behmen 'âlem arây ile horlend habsinde işitdik 'ikâb  
cezîresinde şimdi bu arada peydâ olduñ dedi şebrenge hamle-i ihvânı haber virdi  
melik behmen 'âlem-arâyile iki yüz biñ er ile deryâ kenârında konup otururlar melik  
behmen beni ilerü şaldıkim bu girdigbârın aşlı nedir bilsem velî siz bu arada  
neylersiz dedi bâsidvey katı hurrem olup eyü vaktinde irişdiñ hind leşkeri bizimle  
bile cengdedir katı gâlabalıkdur bizüm sipâhımız korkuda idi hüdâ-yı te'âlâ sizi  
kereminden gönderdi beni bu adaya firûz şâh gönderdi ki puşuda duruñ vaktinde bu  
sipâhın ardından koyulasız dedi ben şimdi puşuda duruyorum gâlibâ bu gece cengdir  
deyüp andan

## 6a

kendü süvâr olup gitdi şebrenğ önüñce varıp hâli dedi cümle taşra gelmişleridi oldem bâsidvey irişüp melik behmen anı istikbâl itdi birbirin kocup hâl hâtır sorışup görüşdiler behmen ceng aḥvâlin sorup bâsidvey haber virdi ğâlibâ bu gice dâḥı cengdir dedi melik behmen ‘âlem araya yüz dutup eydür ey pehlivân hemân biz sipâh kenârına gidip ol kadar şabr eylemek gerek siz kim bu iki sipâh irteye degin ceng ideler şabâḥ olduğı gibi bizde aralarına girüp gücümüz yetdükce kırayuz dedi ‘âlem arây eyle itmek gerek dedi pes melik behmen emr idüp pehlivânlar ile üçyüz biñ süvâr cem’ olup raḥşlara binüp ol cânibe revâne oldılar tâ ki yakın irişdiler gördiler ol iki ‘asker birbirine düşüp karanu gicede ceng iderler hengâmeleri ‘âlemi dutmuş giderek şabâḥ vaḳti yaklaşdı râvî eydür[red] bu ešnâda melik behmen bâsidvey üçyüz biñ erile hindîler icine girdiler hiç kimse anları bilmedi şabâḥ vaḳti olıcak keyvân şâh emr idüp tabl-ı asâyiş calup iki sipâh birbirinden ayrılup döndiler firûz şâh dâḥı dönince şebrenğ



## 6b\*

irişüp rikâbın öbdi firûz şâh şebrenge göricek şadlığından bir na‘ra urup ey şebrenge  
kandesin melik behmen ile ‘âlem arâydan ne haber dedi şebrenge hizmet idüp  
başlarına gelen ahvâli deyüp behmeñ ‘âlem-arâniñ hind ‘askerine gitdüklerin dedi  
firûz şâh hurrem oldu râvî eydür[blue] bu yaña çün keyvân şâh döndi otağına revâne  
oldı melik behmen ‘askeri keyvân şâhı orta yire aldılar tâ ki bargâha irişdüki keyvân  
şâh diledikim atından ine hemân melik behmen şıra kılıc idüp keyvân şâhıñ yolun  
aldı na‘ra urup benim firûz şâh ben melik behmen dedi bir yerden ‘âlem arây na‘ra  
urdu bir yerden bâsidvey hind na‘ra urdu mâ hâşıl ol üçyüz biñ er bir kezden hindîler  
arâsında el tîge urup anlara kapuldılar keyvân şâh kaçmağ diledi kâdir olamadı anı  
ham kemendile dutdılar horlende haber oldu keyvân şâhı dutdılar horlend kim dutdı  
didi eyitdiler melik behmen ile ‘âlem arâyı dutdılar cezîre-yi ‘ikâbdan halaş olmuşlar  
bu kadar yüz biñ ‘askerle bizim ortamızdan peydâ oldılar keyvân şâh bargâha ineyim  
deyince ham kemendile dutdılar dediler

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\* firûz şâh şebrenge ‘ayyâruiñ geldiği resmidir

bu kitâbı enderûnda hazîne otağında tâhir ağa kırâat itmişdir

## 7a

bunlar bu sözde iken nâgâh bir gavgâ kopup sipâh-ı îrân yeñiden gene hamle etdiler hind âskeri gördikim şâhları dutıldı min-ba‘d ceng eylemeniñ faydası yok hemân kuşluk vaqti olunca hindîler kaçmağa âheng itdiler sipâh-ı îrân anlarıñ şandüğün bilüp hurrem oldılar anları kovup mâlî ganimete garç oldılar gün ortalığa varınca anlardan kimse kalmadı cümle kaçdılar cün bu kârdan fâriğ olup düşmen şerrinden emîn oldılar melik behmen ‘âlem arây ve mihrûşeng ve herûşeng ve sâir mübârizler toğrı çetr ayağına yüz dutdılar behzâd ferruñzâd pilten erdevân melik behmeni göricek segirdüp şehzâdeyi kocdılar ‘âlem arây atası behzâdın elin öpdü toğrı bargâha gelüp icerü girdiler firûz şâh oğlun görmeyeli hayli zemânidi gözi melik behmeniñ yüzine düşicek begâyet kemâl-i heybet üzerine buldı ol zemânki melik behmen kendüden cüdâ olmuşdı ve anıñ ‘ayyâr anı alup hindüstân tarafına gitmiş idi henüz tıflı idi bu kez tamâm ser ü pâydâr-ı nevcivân olmuşdı firûz şâh şükr etdi melik behmen segirdüp varıp atasınıñ rikâbın öpdü ve teytûs

## 7b

hakîmle görüşdi pehlivânlar melik behmeniñ geldüğüyle şâdlıklar etdiler ve melik behmenle gelen civânları cümle nevâht etdiler andan firûz şâh dîvân idüp cümle serverler cem' oldılar melik behmen zebân acup kendü başlarına gelen hâli hikâyet itdiler serverler işidüp taâccüb itdiler andan emr idüp keyvân şâhı karındaşları yanına bend itdiler kendüler 'ıyşda oldılar râvî eydür[blue] cün keyvân şâhı dutdılar sipâhisi şaydılar horlend sipâhla serendîb yolun önüne dutup gitdiler üçgünlük yolu bir günde alurlardı bir nice günden serendîbe irdiler dirler ki ol anda göredis taht üzre oturup feth haberi ne vakit gele deyü intizârda idi nâgâh 'asker icinde bir gavğa kopdı ol altmış kerre yüz biñ sipâh şınup geldi deyü göredis noldu didi bir cem' icerü girip feryâd idüp girîbanların yırtup ağlaşdılar melik göredis noldıñız dedi oldem horlend gelüp baş yire urup olan hâli haber virdi melik göredis işidicek cânından ah itdi elin eline urdı çok dirîg idi melik behmen hod 'ikâb cezîresinde bende idi nice halaş oldu ola dedi oldem cağal

## 8a

câsûs gelüp behmen nice hâlâş olup qalb-i cihân şehrine düşüp andan iki yüz biñ ‘askerle geldüğün haber virdi görüp işidüp ta‘accüb itdi hele şimdi nidelüm dedi memlûk vezîr eydür maşlahatı oldur ki siz kendüñüz hareket idüp üzerine varasız anlara sizden gayrı kimse garîm olamaz dedi râvî eydür[red] bihrûz ‘ayyâr melik göredisin tahtı altında idi her ne söylenirse işidüp hurrem olurdu göredis kendü gidecek oldı yanında olanlara şimdi neqadar sipâh vardır dedi nakîbler eyitdiler yüz kerre yüz biñ sipâh vardır dediler göredis eydir maşlahat oldur kim îrânîleriñ dört yanlarından varavuz anları yüzük halkası gibi cevre alavuz tâ iclerinden biri de diri qalmaya dedi eyle qalmağ gerek dediler pes göredis bu yüzlük sipâhı dört bölük idüp bir bölüğüne kendü gidecek olup üç bölüğün üç hindî pehlivânına ısmarladı her bölüğü yigirmi beşlik sipâh idi bu üslûba tedârik idüp sipâhı gereği gibi ceng yarâğına meşgûl oldılar dirlerkim celdek câsûs berk‘isa ‘ayyâr anlarıñ iclerinde idi şûret-i hâli bilicek def‘î dönüp gelüp bu haberi firûz şâha

## 8b\*

irişdiler firûz şâh işidüp melûl oldu şimdi nice idelüm dedi teytûs hakîm eydür maşlahat oldur ki hemân sizde dört bölük oluñ bir bölüğüne firûz şâhile ferrużzâd iki yüz biñ erile göredise berâber karşı dura ve melik behmen erdevân ‘âlem arâyile iki yüz biñ süvâriyle horlende muqâbil tursunlar ve muzaffer şâh pehlivân behzâd ve iki yüz biñ erile sağ tarafımızdan gelenlere karşı dursunlar kirman şâh pehlivân pilten ile ve iki yüz biñ erile sol tarafımızdan gelenlere karşı dursunlar ve yüz biñ er dâhi ortalık yerde durup her ne tarâfa yardım lazım gelürse varup yardım ideler bunlar toköz yüz biñ ‘askeri bu vechile taqsîm idüp bu tertîbi muqarrer eylediler ceng yarâğına meşgûl oldılar bir gün haber geldikim yarın düşmen ‘askeri gelür dört taraftan irişürler dediler cün ol gece gecüp şabâh oldu firûz şâh buyurdu sipâh bir kezden süvâr oldılar zîkr olunan tertîb üzere durdular firûz şâh bir yüce yere çıkup nigâh etdi gördi sipâh-ı îrânıñ dört tarafından toz koptı hindî leşkeri irişüp dört tarafı ihâta

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\* kabataşda yağlıcı selim ağa kırâat itmişdir

## 9a\*

itdiler firûz şâh görüp eydür nideyin mel'ûn lendyûr baña zehr virdi anıñ  
zaħmetinden ata binmege dermânım yokdur ben şimden girü ceng itmege kâdir  
degülem eger sağ olsam kendümi bunlara bildirürdüm deyü ağladı ol vaķit göredis  
öñünden çıķa geldi kara tağ gibi bir sipâh cümlesi fil süvâr gergedân süvâr çetr u  
'âmm ortasında melik göredis yürür pâri göredis iricek heb dört yañadan sipâh bile  
irişüp ol dört bölügüñ ucları birbirine kavuşdı câr dîvâr şeklin bağladılar şöyle ki  
yılan aralarından uylağanup kaçmak dilese kâdir degildi bunlar bir yere geldükleri  
gibi hemân na'ralar urup cümle eydür birbirine kılıc koydılar 'âlem velcele ile gavğa  
ile toldu aħşam olunca ceng idüp andan dönüp kondılar ol gice dört tarafından kara kan  
çıkardılar velî îrânîler korkup birbiriyle halalleşdiler firûz şâh ise anlara hazîne  
üleşdirip istimâlet virdi cün ol gice gecüp şabâh oldu iki 'askerden kös avâzı cihânı  
dudtı hindîler süvâr olup îrân sipâhınıñ dört tarafından yüridiler bu yañadan firûz şâh  
dâhi süvâr oldu pehlivân ferruhzâd ve mübârizlerden bir cem' teytûs kerîm ve  
bâsidvey hind iki

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\* yâ seniñ ne vazîfen nicüñ nâfile boş (...) urursuñ selim ağa pür kurbân olasuñ çok  
kitâb okursan has adamsan sende (...) oķu

ne 'aceb bu cildi yağlıķcı selîm ağa kırâat eylemişdir (...) aħbâb buyura (...) ne  
kadar kitâb varsa kırâat etmişdir

9b\*

yüz biñ ‘asker ile göredisiñ karşusma şaf bağladılar bir tarafından dâhi melik behmen erdevân şîrzâd ‘âlem arây sâbıkâ olan merdân-ı kârdâr ile arka arkaya virüp horlend muqâbilesinde durdular bir cânibden dâhi muzaffer şâh pehlivân behzâd durdular bir yañadan kirmân şâh ve pehlivân pilten durdular herkes ta‘yin olan taraflarda qarâr eylediler râvî eydür[red] göredis îrân bahâdîrlarınıñ tarîk-i cenginde bu tertîbleri aceb geldi bâri cün ‘alaylar birbiri berâberinde rast eylediler hindî ‘askeri dâhi bu tertîb üzere itdiler oldem hemân firûz şâh ‘alayından ferruḫzâd ‘azm-i meydân itdi behmen ‘alayından dâhi ‘âlem arây ‘azm-i meydân itdi muzaffer şâh tarafından pehlivân behzâd ve kirmân şâh tarafından pehlivân pilten ‘azm eyledi bu dört cihân pehlivânına dört alayın çâr erkân pâydâr idi ma‘iyyetle dört taraftan meydâna segirdüşdiler her biri meydâna gelüp muqâbilesindeki düşmen sipâhından mübâriz istediler hindüler cânibinden dâhi dört süvâr dördine muqâbil oldılar göredis ‘alayından gâv süvâr bir merd ‘azm-i meydân eyledikim oña şâhın ma‘iyyeti mübârizleri idi adına telvîn dirlardi bu taraftan dâhi

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\* zen dost (...) oḫudu (...) malûm ola

(...)

## 10a\*

lâhût hindî muqâbil oldu bir tarafından dağî kaylân hindî muqâbil oldu ve kaylos hindî muqâbil oldu bir zemân ceng eylediler cümleden ol muzaffer şâh bir tîg urup telvîn hindûyî depeledi behzâd dağî kaylos hindûyî depledi ve pehlivân pilten dağî kaylos hindûyî depeledi dört pehlivan dört kâfiri helâk eylediler bunu görüp îrân ‘askeri şâd oldılar göredis melûl oldu eyitdi meded meydâna girün bu pehlivânlarıñ kanların taleb idün dedi andan dördine dört kişi dağî varup anlar dağî helâk oldılar bârî dirler kim ol gün ferruḫzâd ve behzâd ve ‘âlem arây ve pilten adüvv askerinden seksen hindî helâk eylediler cün gice oldu göredis döndi firûz şâh dağî döndi dirler ki anı iki sipâh-ı kemâkân bölük olmaḫ üzere her bölük biri biriniñ muqâbiline ḫondılar îrân uluları firûz şâh önüne geldiler

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\* şâhibeḫû ‘abdî efendi fâtiḫ muhadiyye ← ibn ‘abdullah



## 10b

eyitdiler ey şâhzâde bugün eyü ceng oldu andan firûz şâh dahî cümle mübârizlere hil'at virdi emr eyledi her kişi kendü kûluna vara kendi 'askerini bekleye düşmandan emîn olalar râvî eydür göredis dahî gelüp tahtı üzerine karar eyledi amma gâyet melûl idi amlâk vezîri eyitdi ey şâh-ı îrânîler ile ceng eylemek müşkil ancak hezâr hezâr işler eylemiş ve çok savaşlar görmüş kimesnedirler bunlar ile bunda dahî pek harb eylemek gerekdür dedi görediş eyitdi öyle itsünler hergele-yi îrân sipâhından baş getüre ağırınca cevâhir vire ol kim gice geçüp şabâh oldu yine dört pehlivân 'azm-i meydân eyledi nice kırkı helâk etdiler bu minvâl üzere yedi gün ceng oldu yedi yüz kimse helâk oldu göredis melûl oldu buyurdı on gün ceng yokdur

## 11a\*

deyü her sipâha tenbih olup karâr kıldılar râvî eydür göredis emr eyledi sipâh çevresinde ‘azîm hândeğler kazdılar hic kimse askerden taşra gitmege kâdir olmadı firûz şâh bu hâli görüp melûl oldu bir nice gün geçdi ‘askerine kârı düşvâr oldu yerleri gâyet dar idi tokuz kez yüz biñ er idi şuya muhtâc oldılar açlıktan atları kırılmağa başladı bu hindüstân gâyet ısıcağ yer idi gâh gâh varup hândeğ kenârına uğraşurlar idi ‘asker çok idi îrân ‘askeri feryâde başladılar her neleri var ise koyup gitmege râzı oldılar cümle firûz şâhın şem’ine cem’ oldılar firûz şâh ziyâde perîşân oldu bir çâre bulundu amma teytûs hakîm baña ayyârları getürün aşup bâd refât târîk ve şebreng ana geldiler teytûs ve ana eyiddi

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\* halen bu kitâb-ı firûz şâhı hâcepaşada baş muhâsebe kâtiblerinden defterci yamagı bende ibrahim ki silâhşori kendü hânesinde kırâat etmişdir ve ehîbbâyı bâsefâ işbu ciltte gerçi pek safâ eylediler amma pek firâklı imiş bu cild-i 45 13 ş 1211

## 11b

ey ‘ayyârlar bu hind fethi sizin elünüzden def olsa gerekdür keyvân niçün durursuz varup bihrûzı kırtarup bunuñ fethine sa‘y eylemezsiz dedi bunlar eyitdiler bihrûz göredisiñ tahtı altında bendedir gice olduğda göredis otağınının cevresin üç yüz kimse bekler ve anlardan soñra eñrâfına nice filler ve gâvlar komuşlardır biz ancak beş kimseyüz bunuñ gibi ‘askeri nice feth ide bilürüz likin cehd idelim cehd u şerri hulas idevüz deyüp def’-i taşra çıkdılar çok dürlü fikr kıldılar ahir şebreng ben bu işi boynuma aldım üç günden soñra her gice hind ‘askerine gelesiz deyüp kendüyi hindûlar sûretine koyup bâd refâtı belleyüp hind ‘askerine geldiler gördiler göredis taht üzerine oturup ümerâsı cem‘ olmuşlar bunlar da aralarına karışup hizmete durdılar cün gice oldu bir bir bâsbânlar harekete gelüp

## 12a

şebrenge ile bâd refâtâr dahî anlar ile bile bâsbânlığa başladılar tâ kim ol gece geçüp şabâholdı yine hıdmete durup az az ileri varurlardı göredisiñ kulları katı çok idi bunları dahî kendülerden kıyâs iderlerdi bunlar teklîfsiz bargâha girer ve çıkar oldılar elkıssa üç günden soñra kulları üzere târiq ve pîlpây ve âşub ‘ayyâr dahî her gece hind ‘askeri içine gelüp göredisiñ bargâhı karşusunda dururlardı şabâha yakîn giderlerdi bunuñ üzerine yedi gün geçdi şebrengeñ bâd refâtâra bu gece işimiz tamâm idüp bihrûzı kurtaralım deyüp giceniñ bir ‘aşîr geçicek bargâh kapısı hâli oldu şebrenge anda olanları darudan geçirüp serâperdenüñ etegin kaldurup serâperde içine girdiler anda bir hâdim uyurdu şöyle geçdiler kim uyandı her kapu kim

## 12b\*

cümle açdılar tâ göredisiñ tahtı ayağına irdiler gördiler göredis uyur tîz şebrenğ bir mum alup taht altuna girüp bihrûzu uyarup bendini kesdi bihrûz halâş olup ‘askeriñ hâli nedir dedi şebrenğ ahvâli bildirdi bihrûz katı münfa‘il olup taşra geldiler bâd reftârı göricek âferîn eyledi göredis şimdi dedi alup gidelim ki işimiz rast gele deyüp göredisiñ tahtına çıkup sînesi üstüne bulundı göredis göz açup gördi bir kimse elinde hancer dutar kimsün deyu işâret eyledi bihrûz ‘ayyârîñ taht altından kırtuldum firûz şâh eyitmiş baña göredis şâhı getürün hayl için senden ne kadar mal diler vireyin dimiş anda alur giderin eger baña tâbi‘ olmaz isen başın keserem dedi göredis katı kırkıp beherhâl bunlar ile gitmek gerekdir dedi bihrûz

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\* şıçayım nişânına pûzevenğın

### 13a

imdi sen hind pâdişâhısın gayriler gibi getürmek olmaz ‘izzetle getürelim deyüp ağzına tavab ‘ayyârı urdılar anda kabasın ve tâcın giyirip şebrenge bihrûz koltuğuna girüp bâd reftâr eline bir şem-i kâfurı alup gitdiler hâdim geldiler şebrenge hindîce melikin bargâhın bu beklersin al bu şemi yürü eriñçe deyüp mumı eline virdiler eriñçe divâne oldu serâperdeden taşra çıkdılar çavuşlar mest yaturlar ‘asker arasına girdiler anlar da göredis ol hâlîyle tâc kaba ile görüp yoldan şavulurlardı göredis çeşm-i hasretle ‘askerine bakup göğsün geçürürdi korqusundan söyleyemezdi tâ ol filler ve sığırlardan arasına gelüp tefe urup ayırın yoldan dedi andan dahî geçdiler râvî eydür nâgâh tarık ve âşub ve pîlpây dahî gelüp irdiler ol hâlde bunları

### 13b\*

‘aceb kaldılar inşâf bihrûzuñ bedâyişine deyüp sekdürüp ileri varup bâd reftâr aĥvâli bunlara bildürüp işte göredis geldi dediler ‘ayyârlar bihrûzuñ elin uyup sünbül hâdim ‘aceb bunlar şâhı olup kande giyerler dirdi andan bihrûz ‘ayyârlara bidirdi göredis nevbet ile getürüp tâ kim ĥandeĥ kenârına irişdiler ĥandeĥden daĥî geĥürüp gitdiler göredis bu işlere ĥatı müntehîr idi râvî eydür ĥün şabâĥ irişdi ‘ayyârlar daĥî kendü ‘askerlerine irişdi bihrûz gördisi kendi ĥadırına getürüp andan firûz şâh bargâhına gelüp öñünde ĥıdmet eylediler bihrûz ileri varup behzâdınıñ elin öpdi aĥvâli ĥikâyet eyledi firûz şâh ĥâyet şâd olup emreyledi şark ĥablın ĥaldılar ‘asker-i ĥalîĥ daĥî şâd oldular bir kimse

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\* çıkabilmem şu sarayın köşküne  
can boyanun amberine miskine

sen beni yaradan aşkına  
şâkı bülbül var uyandır ben yârimi kıyamam sen uyandır (...)  
şu şarkı begâyet

#### 14a\*

sine vâkıf degildi andan firûz şâh taht-ı devlet üzerine karar idüp dîvân durdı cümle erkân-ı devlet oturdı teytûs hakîmi dahî getürün dedi ey şâh gâyet hastadır dediler varup getürdiler firûz emreyledi cümle emre varup göredis şâhı istikbâl idüp süvâr eylediler tâ firûz şâhın bargâhına irişdiler hind câsûsları hayrân kaldılar çün göredis bargâh içine getürdiler ol sarayda şevketin görüp göredis bildikim firûz şâh ulu pâdişâhdır çavuşlar sekerdüp firûz şâha haber eylediler firûz şâh buyurdı muzaffer şâh ve melik behmen ve hurşîd şâh karşıladılar göredis taht üzere firûz şâhı gördi cümle ümerâ kalkup göredisi koltuğundan dutup tahtın üstüne çıkardılar firûz şâh kolın açup hoş geldün deyü koşdı

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\* ağşam oldu ne karañu giceler şabâh oldu kûrân okur hocalar



## 14b

hâtrın şordı karşusunda bir altûn kürsî qorlar geçüp anî üstünde qarâr kıldı firûz şâhîñ begleri yerlü yerlerinde qarâr kıldılar firûz şâh emreyledi altûndan ve yâkûtdan yemâşeler ile şerbetler geldi içildi göredise virdiler alup içmedi tekebbürlük eyledi bir hind hakîm eyitdi ey şâh-ı hindüstân firûz şâh saña şerbet virir nicün içmezsın dedi göredis eyitdi benim firûz şâh ile ‘adâvetim var bir kimesne ile düşmân olan anî şerbetin içmek olmaz dedi firûz şâh benim seniñle işim yokbunca yıldır cihân sarayın gezerem zâlimlerden mazlûmları kırtaruram ve ben bu yere hûşîd çehre ile mihr icün geldim ve bir de ben yezdân perestim ol deyri görmege geldim şimdi geldimki hûşîdi ve mihri alam gidem ve hem ol deyri hârâb idem ve seniñ

## 15a

öñüñe adam gönderdimki kızları viresin virmediñ dedi göredis eyitdi ben saña kendi irâdetimle geldim ‘ayyârlarıñ firûz şâh istersen saña bir nesne şormak ister dediler bende seniñ ‘âdil merdlüğün bilürdüm geldimki saña cevâbunu virem dedi firûz şâh ve cümle ümerâ bu söze gülüşdiler firûz eyitdi çün cengde ele gelmediñ anuñçün bende saña ‘izzet ve hürmet kıların imdi adamı gönder hürşid çehre ile mihri getürsünler ve hem emr ile deyr-i gülgüşâneyi harâb kılsunlar ve melik bâsideveye hürmet eyle anıñla ‘adâvet eyleme yer yoğsa seni bendile alup îrâna giderin deyüp aları aları bakdı râvî eydür çün göredis firûz şâhın bu gazab hıddetini gördi begâyet korkdı ben anları bâzergândan çok malla aldım imdi beni şaliviriñ varayım anları hâkipâya getüreyim ve her neçadar mal dahî

## 15b

dirseñ hazîneden getüreyim amma deyr-i gülgüşâneyi yakmaq benim elimden gelmez ol ateş altı yüz yıldır kim yanıp sönmez adam gibi söyler bir kimseniñ murâdı olsa murâdı neyse söyler bizler anıñ çevresini yaramazlık ile çekzinmege kâdir degiliz amma ben varup kızları gönderirüm deyüp and içdi yezdâna dahî and virdi dört taraftan eyitdiler ey şâh zâde göredisi şalivirim anıñ andına ‘itibâr yokdur dedi firûz şâh anıñ anda ‘itibârı yok ise bizim vardır deyüp ey melik eger andına durmaz isen yine kendüni benim bendemde bil dedi göredis eger baña ‘itimâd eylemez iseñ benim üzerime müşkil koma kim kulumı şâh zâdeniñ hizmetine götürüeyim dedi râvîler eyidürler göredisiñ bu sözi (...) (...) ta‘rîf idi firûz şâh revâdır dedi andan pehlivânlar tarafına bakdı

## 16a

kimdir kim melik göredis ile gide dedi kimse bu işe ikdâm etmeyüp firûz şâh dîvâne olmuş dediler tekrâr su'âl idince iki civân ayağa durdı biri pehlivân erdevân ve biri şîrzâd idi bizler gidelim dediler firûz şâh bihrûza ve tîrîk'ayyâra bakıp sizler de bile varun dedi andan göredis şâha hil'at giydirüp at çekdiler bindi firûz şâh eyitdi ey şâh-ı hindüstân ben bu sözi ta rîz tîrîkiyle söyledin amma ben buna anuñçün eyledümki senden korkmaduğum bilesin ve kızları gönderesinkim bizler de tîzcek îrâna gidelim dedi göredis kol baş üzere kodı gitdi îrân beğleri bu işi hic begenmediler râvî eydür bu yañadan göredis 'askeri içinde nâbedîd olaldan beri'asker birbirlerine girmişler idi kâfur hâdimi bir yerde buldılar ahvâli hikâyet eyledi ortalarına gavğa

## 16b

düşdi aher yekpâre îrân ‘askeri üzerine yardumuñ dilediler nâgâh câsûslar geldiler göredis şâh firûz ile şelam eyledüğüñ ve ata binüp geldüğüñ bildirdiler ‘asker bir pâre ârâm oldılar nâgâh melik geldi deyu aç evine gavğa düşdi cümle ümerâ ve ‘asker istikbâl eylediler gördiler haqîkat firûz şâhıñ hil‘atın giyüp atına süvâr olmuş yanına iki civân-ı nâmdâr ve hem iki ‘ayyâr-ı ‘izzet var iki biñ îrân sipâhisi ‘izzetle götüreyorlar ümerâ-yı hind göredis cümle istikbâl eylediler gelüp rikâbına baş kodılar hic birine iltifât itmedi gelüp tahtı üzerine geçüp qarâr eyledi halk birbirleriyle bunları söyleşüp ‘ayyâr olursa bunlarıñ gibi ola kim böyle şâhı yokdur ‘asker ortasında ölüp gide dirlerdi amma râvi eydür göredis şâh

## 17a

taht üzere oturup başın önüne şalmışdı g zabından hic kimseye s z s ylemez idi  
tam m bir sa‘at ge dikden so ra g redis n bir ‘az m h redmend vez ri var idi  
g redise y z t tup ey Ő h-ı hindust n hez r sal be   olsun tam m ulu p diŐ hs n seni  
bug n g yet m tefekkir g rd k b ‘iŐi nedir dedi ve bu iki  r n civ nları h zmetlerde  
nedir t  kim h zmetk rlarının  dah  ma’l mları ola dedi g redis baŐ kaldurup bundan  
yaramaz ne olsa gerekdir kim ben hind st n p diŐ h  olam y z kez y z bi  sip h  
Ő hib iken  r n ‘ayy rları gele yatağumdan alup gideler egerŐi ol Ő h z de ba na  
kerem id p melik malımı tekr r bağıŐladı amma ba na ğayret degilmidir kim bunca  
y z bi   dem ortalarından ve bunca b sb n ve k vlar

## 17b

ve filler var iken beni tahtım üzerinden alup gideler bunu ‘âlem pâdişâhları işidicek ne dirler buna ta‘n itmezler mi dedi vezîr eyitdi şâha hâtıra bir nesne gelmesin zîrâ îrân ‘ayyârları bunuñ gibi ‘âlem pâdişâhların çok eylemişlerdir îrânileriñ devleti katı yakındır dedi göredis eyitdi bende anlar ile şulh oldumki artık anlar ile ‘adâvet bu iki civânîñ biriniñ adı erdevân ve biriniñ şîrzâddır ol maşlahata geldiler kim hurşîd çehre ile mihrîyi bunlara ta‘lîm idem hemân ben serendibe giderem kızları bunlara teslîm ider ben gelicek siz bu adada olasin deyüp süvâr oldu erdevâna ve şîrzâd ve bihrûz ve târik ‘ayyârlar ile serendibe yüz dutdılar andan serendibe dâhil oldukları gibi göredis kendi sarayında konup erdevâna ve şîrzâda

## 18a

ve ‘ayyârlara yer ta‘yîn idüp anda kondılar kendüsi harem-i haşşına girüp bânû-yı  
büzürg öñüne varup hârunlar anı istikbâle çıkardılar göredis gecüp oturdı andan  
başına her ne geldi ise birbir hikâyet eyledi bânû ol kavmiñ elinden eyü halâş  
olmuşsun ya şimdi yenilmek istersin dedi göredis eyitdi benimle bile iki civân  
geldiler kim kızları anlara virem dedi bânû imdi deyre varup hâlini ‘arz idesin eger  
firûzı def` idebilürsen ne güzel eger firûzuñ tañrısı haq ise lâbüdd ateşi söndürür dedi  
göredis eyü didüñ bende bu fikri eyledüm deyüp andan hırşîd çehre ve mihrî  
bendden çıkadılar mâcerâyı dediler anlar dahî hurrem olup yezdân-ı pâke tekerrümler  
eylediler râvî eydür bu taraftan melik ve pehlivân erdevân şîrzâd ve bihrûz



## 18b

vesâir îrânilerden ve hindûlardan bir cem‘ile giderlerdi tâ kim deyre yakîn irişdiler andan bir ‘azîm tâg peydâ oldu dahî eteginde bir ‘azîm tağ var kim başı felege irişmiş dirler kim ol deyriñ ücyüz altmış beş qarış var idi kara taşdan düzülmüşdi ve anuñ ortasında bir ateşkede var idi dâim ateş yanardı ve gâh gâh içinden avazlar gelirdi bâri çün göredis ol cem‘ile deyre irişdiler deyr ehli anı istikbâl eylediler ol deyriñ ululuğundan ‘aceb varup böyle deyr görülmemişdir dediler göredis eydür biz de böyle işidirüz likin bizi bu ateş söylediği ‘acebler dedi bihrûz eydür harâbedir ve hem bizim bir ‘âkil hakîmimiz vardır ol bu ateşden gelen avazın duyan feth ider deyüp kirdikâr-ı ‘âlemi tavşîf ider diye göredisiñ göñli vardıkim ayyârdı

## 19a

aher eyitdi ey ‘ayyâr hele bir kerre ileri varup bu ateşi görelim deyüp var dîv ateş muhâfızlarındañ bir koca lâîn taşra çıkup kaç kişi girmek istersiz dedi göredis bir ben ve bir erdevân şîrzâd ve bihrûz dedi târîk dahî irişdi beşine dahî icâzet olup (...) girüp ateş kirâsına irişdiler kuyu bağlu idi bir sa‘atden soñra kuyu açılıp içeri girdiler gördiler bir ‘azîm eyvân peydâ oldı havz şeklinde bir ‘azîm od yanacak yer eylemişler bu ateşden bir avaz kopup ey göredis şâh dedi göredis bî ihtiyâr secde eyledi bir avaz dahî geldikim ey ferruḫzâd oğlu erdevân ve ey hurşîd şâh oğlu şîrzâd ve ey ğaval oğlu bihrûz dedi bihrûz eydir bizler vâcib olur hûd[a]dan ğayra sacda itmeziz dedi göredis görür müsün işte bizler bu sözlere ‘itimâd iderüz dedi

## 19b\*

bihrûz ‘ayyâr ‘aceb vardı tekrâr ol ateşin ortasından bir avaz dahî geldikim ey  
göredis seniñ devletiñ ve haşmetiñ heb bendendir zinhâr benden ‘itikâdiñ  
bozmayasın tâ benim etmem ğazabına yanmayasın yezdân perestlerüñ varduĝuñ  
ma‘zûrdur zîrâ kendi ihtiyârîñ etmedüñ anuñçün tekrâr seniñ elüñ aldım seni ol kavm  
elinden kırtardum eger baña düşmanlıkları var ise beni anlar ile koman anları  
yağarsın deyüp bu nev‘ nice kelimât itdi andan ateş öñünden taşra gitdiler bihrûza  
yüz tutup bizim ma‘dûmuz nice söyler dedi bihrûz ey melik bunuñ gibi nesnelere  
göñül virmek gerekir bunlar yâ secdedir yâ talebimdir imdi göreyim bunuñ seri nice  
olur deyüp puthâne çapısına geldiler çapusun açup girdiler gördiler nice zerrîn  
kürsîler konmuş amma karşıda (...) (...)

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\* göredis sana biñ acıdım amma (...) seni (...) almışkim hic olamaz

## 20a\*

kızıl altundan düzölmüş bir ‘azîm muşşanna‘ put var idi göredis anıñ öñüne varup  
hızmet etdi ol putdan dahî bir avaz geldi dürlü ta‘kîdler eyledi şöyle ol yanında  
olanlar baña secde eylesün dedi şîrzâd kaçıyup üzerine sürüp bir kılıc urup boynuñ  
öñde bıraқdı andan bir dîm urup yerinden ayırdı ol şanemiñ ayağı altından bir kuyı  
ağızı zâhir oldı meger bu putu ol kuyunuñ ağızı üzerine kumuşlar idi anıñçün kuyı  
belürmez idi bihrûz ile târık ol kuyunuñ ağızına vardılar içine nigâh itdiler gördiler bir  
‘azîm kuyıdır icinden bir şevk ile aşup taşra çıkan bihrûz ‘acebâ bu ne çâh ola kim  
putuñ ayağı altında dutmuşlar dedi ben bunuñ içine girüp görürin bunuñ içinde ne  
vardır ve bu şovuk yel nereden gelür

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\* güzel seniñ yüzüñ gören  
ayrılır mı kadrin bilen  
görölmeden aldım  
mecnûn olur yüzün gören

şâhibehû ‘abdi efendi ڪ56

bu yazınıñ şâhibine ben acırım

## 20b

ârık nice kim gitmem dedi kabl etmedi hemn kemendler h iine girmege heng  
itdi ârık ‘ayyr yukaruda kemendi ucn ttdi erdevnla Őirzd gitmem dediler  
szlerin ttdi ârık kemendi nihyetine dek Őalvirdi aŐgadan ayaĝım bir nerdbna  
rast geldi deyp avaz geldi dedi ârık ‘ayyr yukarı ekdi bir laĝz dŐelerdi  
aŐĝıdan bir Őu aĝladır gelbdr ârık bilmezsin ne hikmetdir bihrz bilr dedi bende  
gitmek gerekir deyp kemendi beline baĝlayup bir uca erdevn eline virdi kuyu iine  
revn oldu t olda nerdbna irp kemendi belinden zp kemendi ek deyp  
nerdbndan aŐĝa revne oldu t elini ayaĝa yakn oldıkim nerdbndan aŐĝa indi  
aŐĝa uup bir yere dŐdi hliy bihrz ‘ayyr ile ârık ‘ayyr kŐŐaları

## 21a\*

nire varur bunda dursun râvî eydür pehlivân erdevân kemendi çeküp bir zamân şabr eyledi kimse zuhûr itmedi me‘yûs oldılar andan deyrden çıkup ol gice anda oldılar dembedem kuyu ağızına varup gelürlerdi bulmadılar nâçâr erdevân ile şîrzâd serendibe yüz tutdılar eski makamlarına gelüp kondılar göredis gitdi sarayına gelüp geçen ahvâli bânû-yı büzürge rivâyet eyledi bânû eyitdi ol şanemiñ başın kes diri midir diri dedikde ma‘lûm oldıkim ol birinde dahî bir nesne yok imiş imdi benim gümânım oldur kim firûz şâh rast söyler bizim tapduğumuz hep bâtıldır haq dîn anlar elindedir dedi ol gice geçüp çün şabâh oldı göredis divân idüp taht üzerinde qarâr eyledi erdevân ile şîrzâdı

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\* şâhibehû ‘abdi efendi ← 56

## 21b

eyitdi geldiler yerlerinde qarâr eylediler râvî eydür ol gice bâd reftâr ‘ayyâr haber almağa erdevâna gelmişdi ‘ayyârlar ol kuyuya gidüp nâ bedîd oldukların ve kızları göredis bizim ile gönderse gerekdir deyüp bâd reftâr gelüp cümle aḥvâli firûz şâha dimişdi cümle melûl oldılar ol deyri varup göricek kûyunda hâlin duyavuz dediler bâd reftâr eyitdi erdevân dahî irişmek üzeredir dediler bu yañadan göredis ol gün taht üzerine gelüp erdevân ile şîrzâdı getirüp ol iki nigâr ile iki maḥîf-i zîbâ ârâsta idüp çok mal-ı genc ve kul qaravaş ve nice yüz yük zer ve güher cem‘ idüp bu vechile firûz şâh önüne gitmege ‘izzet etdiler işte göredis şâh ḥurşîd çehre ile mihri getirür yorur dedi firûz şâh

## 22a

katı hurrem oldu emr eyledi cümle ‘asker tizili olup tabl-ı beşâret ederlerdi  
hâtunlardan cihân efrûz ve kamer melik ve ‘azîz karşı istikbâle gitdiler anları  
karşuladılar râvî göredis gider olduğda bunları alup gitmekde iken hürşîd çehre  
ağladı mihre eyitdi biz şimdi sipâh-ı îrâna ne yüz ile varalum atam hağan ‘azim  
tekmûn hân anlarıñ bendelerinden bilmem melik behmen öñünde bunca şermsârlıklar  
ile nice hizmetim olsa gerek dedi mihr babañı saña bağışlarlar deyüp bu nev ‘adet  
söyleşirler idi mañîfde kelimât iderlerdi bir zemân soñra erdevân ve şîrzâd geldiler  
mañîf öñün gelüp icâzet alup hürşîd çehre ey pehlivân hoş geldiñiz rahmet size ve  
adamluguña revâ mıdır kim biz bu kadar belâlar çeküp bir nâkes elinde giriftâr  
olayuz siz pehlivân-ı yektâ



## 22b\*

olasız bizi hergiz itmeyesiz dedi pehlivân erdevân eyitdi ey melik-i şarkistân biz dahî  
çok cevr ü cefâlar çekdik aher siziñ ahvâliniz cumhûr bâzergândan alup geldi şimdi  
ol cevr ü cefâ geçüp şafâ demleri geldi melik behmen sizlere iştiyâk birle selâmlar  
ider deyüp mañifeniñ dâmenin şalıdurup çıkup gitdi bu ayîn üzere hırşîd çehreniñ -  
sindir mañîfesindür yatur hâton ortaya aldılar gönderü çıkdılar tamâm şevket ile yola  
revân oldılar râvî eydür îrân hâtonları dahî istiğbâl itmişler idi her tarafından def nây  
avazı gelürdi çün tarafından birbiriyle berz bilişdiler melik zarâb kıızı hûri peyker  
hâtonlar ol gelir nice gelürdi evvel bânû-yı büzürg ile ikisin varup

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\* bir değil on bir değil on biñ değil  
belki yüz bin kere üzer mâh

## 23a

maḥîfenîñ damenin ƣaldırup ħurşîd çehre ile mihri gördi anlara dildârlık etdi anlar da ħûri peykeriñ iki tarafda (...) tıttup şâd iderlerdi cümle ceng ü fitneden ƣurtuldılar yine ƣatı şâd idiler andan ħurşîd çehreyi kendi bargâhına indirdiler melik behmen göredis öñüne piyâde oldı sarayda ħızmetin yerine iletdi tâ firûz şâh bargâhına geldiler cümle piyâde olup bargâh içine girüp göredisiñ geldüğünden şîrzâda ħaber idince göredis daĥî içeri girüp firûz şâh öñüne ħızmet etdi şehzâde ƣalƣup anı ƣocdı kendi yanına alup oturdılar hindî ümerâsı birer birer gelürlerdi firûz şâh öñüne ħızmet iderlerdi anun gelüp yendi şerbetler içildi bir zemân şarâb var idi andan firûz

## 23b\*

göredis şâhdan ‘özürler diledi anda bihrûz ile târîkdan su‘âl eyledikde anlarıñ kıssasına beyân eyledi ve ol çâhı bu ana gelince bilmezdik dedi pes olgün ayş nûşa meşgûl oldılar göredis şâh serendibden çok tuhfeler ni‘metler getürmişdi firûz şâha ‘arz eyledi şehzâde cümle yârâna bahş eyledi irtesi firûz şâh taht üzere oturup dîvân durdı yerlü yerine oturdılar melik behmen hürşîd çehreye dîdârı arzusunda idi firûz şâh dahî îrâna gitmek isterdi emr eyledi teytûs hakîmi getürdiler ziyâde hasta idi meclisde döşek birağup üzerine oturtdılar teytûs benim ecelim yakındır senden murâdım oldur kim deyr-i gülgüşâneyi harâb idesün

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\* şecâ‘atlı (...)

## 24a

anıñ yerine baña bir yer düzüp defn idesin dedi firûz şâh seniñ rızân üzerine ideyin amma ol hurşîdi melik behmene nigâh eyler dedi andan varup vekâletin alalar atasın ricâ eyledi gelüp firûz şâha dediler firûz şâh buyurdu varup bizden tekmûn hânı çıkarup hil'at (...) geydürüp hemzemine getürdiler ne kadar ulular var ise aña 'izzet itdiler olda gelüp firûz şâhın elin öpüp şâhlar şafında oturdu andan kızın melik kâsım için diledi tekmûn hân virdim amma üç şart iderin çün bizi azâd idesin şengâl hindî ve şaᅇgü hânı ve koştanᅇin şâhı hizmete ala bir şey dahî âzâd idesin ve bir şartım dahî budur kim beni yien çine gönderesin ve üçünci şartım budur kim melik şengâli yine şengâl hinde viresin firûz şâh üç şarta

## 24b

bile kabûl eyledim deyüp derhâl şangü hânı ve şâh tâtûsı ve şengâl hindîyi ve hazîme ala birisi ve sâir bende olanları azâd idüp hil'atlar geydurdiler cümle şâd olup meclisde oturdular her birin diyârlarına mevr idüp (...) rızâ alup taytûs hakîm 'ağd ü nikâh eyledi hurşîd çehreyi melik behmene ve mihrî erdevâna virdiler ümerâ mübârek yâd etdiler hurşîd çehre şâd oldı andan düğüne yarağına meşgûl oldılar şehir-i serendibi toz etdiler asker serendib şehrinüñ ayağında kondılar tamâm kırk gün düğün oldı tamâm elli pâdişâh var idi çün berâyiş kemâle irdi elbet zevâlin bulur râvî eydür bu kırk gün düğün kûh-ı kâf içre dîvler ve periler içine düşdi kırk gün tamâm olduğda firûz şâh oğlu behmeni getirüp

## 25a

yüzün ve gürzün öpdi ey atanın cânı hüdâ-yı te‘âlâdan murâdım sen idüñ şükür kim  
yine seni baña virdi maşûdum oldur kim seni selâmetle îrâna gönderem îrânda şâh  
olup ‘âlemde benden yâdigâr kalasın çün yezdân saña hürşîd gibi hâtun naşîb eyledi  
ise te‘âlâ oğullar dağî naşîb eyleye dedi varuñ gerdek olun dedi melik behmen atası  
firûz şâhın elin öpüp taşra çıkdı gerdege girmek yarağına meşgûl oldu râvî eydür ol  
gice nice yüz biñ çerağlar ve şem‘ler yaqdılar melik behmen süvâr idüp cümle şâhlar  
ve begler rekâbetince piyâde hürşîdiñ der bargâhına irişdiler atından piyâde olup  
hürşîd çehreniñ bargâhı içine girdi oradan ba‘z civânlar nâmdârlar dağî erdevânı  
mihr yanına getürdiler andan

## 25b

cümle begler gelüp ‘işretlerine meşgûl oldılar bâri çün melik behmen hürşîd çehreniñ bargâhına kadem başdı cümle hârunlar anda idiler amma halası hûri peyker ileri gelüp behmeniñ elin alup tahta yakın irişdiler perdeyi yukarı çaldılar melik behmen buncadan beri hürşîdi görmüşdi anıñ cemâline nazâr idüp gözleri hayralandı az kaldıkim kendüden gide amma kendüyi merdlikle şakladı hûri peyker anı taht üzerine çıkmaga ayağın iletdi ey cânım yûri taht üzerine çıkkim bunuñ gibi tâc tahta lâyıqsın didi melik behmen dahî taht üzerine çıkmaga aheng idince nâgâh taht üzerinden hürşîd çehre bir kere çıkardı hay meded baña irüşün beni aldılar deyüp nâ bedîd oldu râvî burada melik

## 26a\*

behmeniñ karşusunda bir ‘azîm korkulu şekil peydâ oldu melik behmen cânından ah idüp bir müddet gam gafda kaldı perdedârlarda gavğa kopdı melik behmen adada hayrân kalup aya bu ne kındir kim rûzgâr baña ider deyüp bî ihtiyâr kendüzin yere çalup ağlamağa başladı haber sipâh içine düşdi işidüp cümle ‘aceb kaldılar firûz şâh teytûs ile oturup muşâhebet iderlerdi bir kimse içeri girüp hürşîd çehreniñ nâ bedîde olduğun haber virdi firûz şâh dirîğ ol civân ve ol nigâr-ı mâh-ı tâbân dedi bunlar bu sözde iken melik behmen ağlayu ağlayu gelüp her ne oldu atasına hikâyet eyledi firûz şâh eyitdi bu cinnîler işidir kande arayup bulam dedi erdevân hareminden taşra

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\* cevelân (...) gene  
‘aşkım tâzelendi ey rûzgâr  
tekrâr tekrâr ‘aşkım (...)

nâra yanmak  
niçün böyle firâklı yazdın ellerin tutulsun ey kalemkâr



## 27b

çıkup bu haberi işidüp katı melûl oldu mihrî dedi mihr dağî yüzün yırtup ağladı günüñ evvelinde cümle pehlivânlar firûz şâhîñ bargâhına cem‘ oldılar her tarafı aradılar hic andan haber bulmadılar behmen ziyâde zârîlik iderdi râvî eydür firûz şâh oğlunuñ bu nev‘ nevh ve zârîsine vâkıf olup anıñ kârinde ‘âciz oldu kızın atası şekmûn hânda melûl oldu firûz şâh önüne çü kızuñ (...) öyle göründikim dünyâyâ geldükde çok nâkesler ve dîvler eline düşe ulu hanedândan (...) anı arayı gider çok cedd ü cehd ider deryâlar ve beyâbanlar geçer anca pâdişâhları tâc tahtından avâre ider ‘âkıbet anı dîvler elinden alur kendü ile iline götürür anlardan çok ataya evlâd kalur

## 28a\*

dimişler idi anuñçün anı ilde gizlerdim işte müneccimlerin dedikleri zâhir oldu ol civân melik behmendir anı ele getirünce çok cedd ü cehd göstere dirîg anuñ rûy-ı ziyâsına dîvler eline düşdi deyüp zâr zâr ağladı melik behmen ben anı komağ olmaz hürşîd çehre talebinden bu ‘âlemi çekene ben anı bend ü zindâna komaıayayın ya budur kim anı ele getürem ya belürsüz olam deyüp hic kimseyüz dimedi birinden göredis şâh dahî gelüp bargâhdan içeri girdi firûz şâh cümle ulular ayağa üzere durdılar gelüp yerinde qarâr eyledi hürşîd çehreniñ ahvâlin dediler ol da ‘azîm melûl oldu seniñ mülkünde hic dîv var mıdır dediler göredis eydür hic dîv yokdur likin öyle işidürüz deyr gülgüşâ dâmeninde olduğı tağ begâyet

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\* işbu biñ iki yüz yigirmi sekiz senesinde (...) sekizinci gününde zeyli (...) eylese şalı kırâat etmişdir 27 z 1226

## 28b\*

yüce tağdır anda büyük gârlar vardır ol tağın ötesi taraf deryâdır yüksekliğinde anın  
kalesine kimse varmamışdır anda ne varduğı bize ma‘lûm degildir dedi fîrûz şâh  
hele bugün irün eger bulamazsañuz yarın süvâr olup deyr degin gidelim ol tağın  
kalesine adam gönderelim ola kim bir haber bileyüz dedi bes aradılar hic bir eşeri  
bulunmadı melik behmen hanesine gelüp kapanup bir zemân nâlân giryân oldu seni  
ey (...) kande arayup bulam deyüp nice növbet kaşd eyleyekim hemân bu gice  
turmayup başın ala gide amma deyr-i gülgüşâneyye varup seyr etmek isterdi ve atası  
ma‘şûkın anda arama deyü buyurmuşdı bu tağayyür ve tefekkürle nidesin bilmezdi

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\* işbu biñ iki yüz yigirmi sekiz senesini (...)

## 29a

ol rûzdan atasınıñ bargâhı kıyusına hâzır oldı cümle ümerâ gelüp cem‘ oldılar firûz şâh süvâr olup deyr-i gülgüşâneye gideler zîrâ firûz şâh göredise neçe gide dimişdikim dostluk hafız hep yerine getürdüñ hemân bu ka. İdıkim ateşden dahî dönesin deyi göredis ben anı ateş öñüne iletirin ola kim inde kendi dînim koyam dirdi bu cihetden firûz şâhı alup teytûs dahî bir mahfaza korıdılar otuz biñ er aldıkim deyr-i gülgüşâneye ‘azm eyledi üç menzil gidicek oldılar idi tağa irişdiler anıñ bülendliğine ‘aceblediler bu dağıñ dâmeninde bir deyr düzmüşler bir ‘azîm kal‘aya beñzer siyâh taşdan üzerinden bir ‘azîm tütün çıkar şol tağıñ üzerine çıkañ dedi kimse yol bulamadı ümerâ-yı îrân dirîğ bihrûz ‘ayyâra ol bunda olsa

## 29b

bu tağ üstüne çıkardı dediler râvî eydür îrân ‘ayyârlarından bâd refât ve şebrenge ve aşûb ve pîlpây ‘ayyâr anda bile idiler aşûb ve bâd refât ve pîlpây üçide firûz şâhîñ rikâbın uçup yârâna vedâ‘ idüp beş gün va‘de alup gîtdiler firûz şâh ol adada kôndılar göredis deyriñ muhâfızları öñüne bir kimse gönderdi ateş (...) firûz şâh cümle ümerâ-yı îrânîyle vâde yürürler deyü haber şaldı cümlesin kahr eyleye bu yaña firûz şâh altı gün anda oldu birinci gün bâd refât ‘ayyâr geldi firûz şâh ol yoldaşların aḥvâlîni söyle dedi bâd refât ey şâh zâde her birimiz bir taraf tağıldık benim ilime bir müşkil yol gördi döndüm geldim anları ârâyı gördüm buldum soñra yine ol yola döndüm hezâr zaḥmetle ol

### 30a

yoldan tağın üzerine indim öte yanına nazâr eyledim gördüm bir ‘azîm deryâdır  
deryâ kenârına indigim yol bulamadım nâçâr dönüp geldim dedi firûz şâh buyurdi ol  
gice de anda kaldılar irtesi süvâr olup deyr tarâfına yüz tutdılar ehl-i deyr dahî firûz  
şâh geldüğünden agâh olup deyriñ kuyusun bağladılar firûz şâh gelüp deyriñ eṭrâfin  
ṭolandı gördi kadîm (...) (...) (...) göredisden bu deyr ne zemân yapıldüğundan su’âl  
eyledi ata ve dedelerimizden üñ yayılmışdır dedi firûz bu deyriñ ṭapuların nicün  
bağladılar dedi göredis sen koñuş ben su’âl ideyin dedi andan vezîre gönderdi  
ṭapuları açamadılar firûz şâh ṭakuyup bu deyri (...) dedi melik göredis bu deyr gâyet  
muḥkemdir hem içinde olṭadar mal vardır kim hindistân ve şarkistân

### 30b\*

Bu kadar gerektür kim içinden alavuz hem ateş temâşa idesin dedi murâdı ateş  
'itikâdı var idi belki firûza bu ateş ire dirdi râvî eydür göredis deyriñ kuyusuna varup  
deyr içine girdi cümle öñüne cem' oldılar firûz şâh bu deyri harâb itmege emr eyledi  
şimdi anuñçün geldim kim firûz şâha yol virüp ola kim ateş secde ide ya ateş anı  
kahr ide dedi bunlarda icâzet virdiler göredis gelüp haber virdikde firûz şâh ve  
behmen ve kirmân şâh ve muzaffer şâh ve ferruhzâd ve behzâd ve pilten ve erdevân  
ve şîrzâd cümle ümerâ-yı îrân süvâr olup deyre gelüp teferruce başladılar ol deyre  
birbiri içinde düzülmüş ikiyüz ev var idi ta ateş hâne kuyusuna irdiler kuyudur açıldı  
göredis yine öñce içeri gitdi firûz şâh zikr olunan ümerâ-yı kibâr ile

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\* deyr-i gülgüşânın ruhbânıdır sâdi [sâri?] ile (...) sâdi [sâri?] nam bir erkek vardır  
deyr-i gülgüşânın ruhbânıdır şu da anın hatunıdır bu böylece ma'lûm ola

### 31a\*

içerü girüp ol ateş ocağın gördiler gûnagûn şu'leler urur al yeşil ve kızıl 'acebe kaldılar dağî ileri vardıkları gibi ol ocağıñ ortasından bir ses gelüp ay benim bendelerim baña perest idüñ deyü bir avaz dağî geldi 'azîm heybetlü avaz idi firûz şâh ve cümle ümerâ ol avazdan kırküp birbirine bağışdılar amma göredis ile müte'allikâtından gayrı kimse secde itmedi tekrâr bir avaz dağî geldikim ey firûz şâh sen benim bendemsin ben saña bunca kuvvet kudret virdim bütün 'âlemi dutduñ niden de şükür secdesi itmezsin dedi firûz şâh itmeyüp durdı cümle ümerâ birbirine bağışdılar eger firûz şâh secde ideydi cümlesi secde iderlerdi firûz şâh ise teyâtûs hakîmden işitmiş idikim çün ol ateş kenârına varasın

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\* bediü'z-zemân

sefâlar ile şâhım cennet  
köşklerde ah efendim  
bediü'z-zemân kızum isimden yazan her kim ise eli nurdan kıpar efendim

ibn (...) fakretle ibn 'abdi  
efendim hamza (...) kitabında gâyet (...) mübtelâ olmuşum şimdi görüp oldu ah ah  
yar ile  
kitâbında

mübtelâ olmuşum  
şimdi görüp evleri ah ah yâr dilemek olur



### 31b

andan saña bir avaz gelse gerekdir anıñ sözin kabûl itmeyüp benim öñüme gelesün tâ  
anıñ hikâyetini saña diyem deyü şehzâde teytûsdan bu sözi istemese ol hâl maqâm  
'acâyib 'âlem idi bâri üç kere avaz geldi firûz şâh kabûl itmedi bir avaz dahî  
geldikim ey firûz şâh ve ey kirmân şâh ve ey ferruHzâd ve ey behzâd ve ey pîlten ve  
ey melik behmen ve ey erdevân ve ey şirzâd ve ey hürşîd şâh ve cemşîd şâh ne  
durursuz baña perest idüñ deyü cümle îrân begleriniñ adların söyleyüp tîz oluñ baña  
kulluq idüñ tâ benim iHrâkımdan emîn olasız dedi ümerâ birbirine bakup kaldılar eyâ  
buna hâlet ola dediler firûz şâh hemân gerüsüne dönüp ateşhânedan taşra çıkdı  
sâîrleri dahî ardınca çıkdılar kapu ardına nazâr etdiler gördiler bir fertût pîr

### 32a\*

pîr oturur firûz şâh eyitdi bu pîr ne kimdir deyüp su‘âl eyledi eyitdiler bu deyr ile bu ateşin kayyumı bu pîrdir bunda olur dediler firûz şâh andan su‘âl idüp kaç yaşındasın dedi ol pîr ikiyüz yaşındayım dedi firûz şâh geçüp ol deyri sertaser temâşa etdi emr eyledi cümle taşra geldiler bâri şehzâde deyrden çıkup leşkerghâha müteveccih oldılar râvî eydür bu tarafından firûz şâh hemân doğru teytûs hakîm önüne geldi cümle şâhlar ve begler yanınca bile idiler cümle görüp ve ateşdekilerin hep teytûs hakîme hikâyet eylediler hakîm eyitdi beni kalduruñ oturayın ve söyleyeyin zîrâ söylenmek vakti irişirdi dedi hakîmi dört yanından tutdılar oturdı andan anlara müteveccih olup eyitdi bilüñ ve âgâh oluñ kim on sekiz biñ

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\* bedîü’z- zemân

halâ bu kitâbı ebû eyyûbî çömlekçiler qurbunda akçeşmede berber el- hâc süleymân ağanın qahvesinde hüseyin efendi kırâat eylemişdir 1238

### 32b\*

‘âlemi yaradan hüdâ-yı te‘âlâdır mişli ve mânendi ve şarîki ve nazîri yokdur mı çün başrâdır ve diledüğün ider andan gayrı cümle bâtıldan bu gördüğünüz ateş mekr ü hîledir cümle hâlîk oldur şimdi size ol ateş aşlın vireyin evvelâ ol elvân görünen ateşe ve u gûna gûn bağladur görünür dahî dürlü oğunlar ururlar anıñçün ateşide rengâreng görünüyor ve ortasından avaz gelüyor oldahî hîle dür böyle yanan ateş ocağıñ altı mücevvedir ol ocağdan ol oluş içine bir delik açılır anı kadîm olan hizmetkârdan gayrı kimse bilmez her gâh bu deyre bir misâfir gelse aña ziyâfet idüp anı muqaddemleri öñüne iletüp eyidirler şol kim şunuñ gibi yer imiş geldi ve hem teferrüc nâr eylemegin ister deyüp adını ezberlerler muqaddem olayın zîr ü zemînünde anıñ aşagısından bırağmaga yolu vardır ol kimse de varup zîr ü zemîn içine

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\* ah yâriñ aħbâblar cihânda yâr olur mı ki benim yâreme  
benzer nev civânım bir yâra açdı sinemde beş yüz beş bin yerde

alışman nazlı yârime alışman inşallah du‘â itmeyene bir yâre acılır meger  
on biñ yigirmi biñ otuz bin kırk biñ elli biñ

### 33a

girüp andan ağızından bir uzun pulad kâmiş dutar ve ucun ol ateş içinde olan delüğe dayar ve öğrettikleri sözi kâmiş içinde söyler söz ateş içinden taşra çıkar ol seyre gelen miskîn ateşi söyler taşvîr ider işte nice yıllardır kim bu hîleyi idüp bu sırra hic kimse iremedi deyr icinde ise bu sırrı muqaddem işleri olan kimseden gayrı kimse bilemez zinhâr bu fâsıd ‘itikâddan dönmek gereksin bizim hüdâmız ateş ve bâd ve hâkiñ hâla‘tıdır deyüp bu nev’ anlar çok sözler söylediklerinden sonra eyitdi işte benim ecelim irişmişdir ölüyorurum olkim bâkîdir hüdâ-yı te‘âlâdır ve siz de biliñ kim ayrıq bu dünyâda cihângîrlik eylemezsiz ve bihrûz ile târık ‘ayyârı hic şimdi aramañ amma târık ‘ayyâr ile girer bihrûz ile girmez

### 33b\*

soñra sizden bir kimse bihrûza irişür andan yine ayrılup ol kimse târık ‘ayyârı bile getürür andan bu iki ‘ayyârıñuz kim bu tağa gitdiler ayrık gelmezler anlaruñ işi yine ayruşur atabilür imdi ey oğlum firûz şâh cün saña hüdâ fırsat virüp deyr gülgüşâneyi harâb idesin bizi anın yerinde defn iresin amma saña naşîhatim budur kim bu işleri tamâm itdikden soñra zinhâr durmayup îrân zemîne yüz tutasın farzâ oğluñ melik behmeni dañî gâyb olursun anuñ ardınca gitmesin îrâna irişmege cehd idesin şöyle idesinkim adıñ cihânda iyilikle qalır kim dünya kimseye qalmaz deyüp melik behmene eyitdi melik seniñ başıña neler gelse görün cihânda ne cefâlar çekesin bir yere iresinkim anda varmağa adam degil deyü peri dañî ‘âcizlerdir amma ‘âkıbet murâda vâsıl olup mañlûbun ele getürsün

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\* bu adaya gele gide teytûs hakîmiñ ruhu içün fâtiğ okuyanıñ ‘âkıbeti şır olup murâdına irişe âmin

### 34a

behmen zerrîn kaba dahî diridir ol ırta kandedir nâgâh bilürsün evvelâ ma‘şûka  
irişürsün amma ‘âkıbet sende ölürsün adıñuzdan gayrı nesne kalmaz biz göreñleyüz  
toksan yaşındayım ‘ilm-i hezden herne var ise hâşıl eyledim aher işte ‘ömrüm  
‘eyyâmı tamâm irişdi her vechile ‘âcizem baña ölmekden gayrı câre yokdur hüdâdan  
gayrı penâhım yokdur deyüp hemân yanı üzerine yaşdanup gözlerin yumdı cân-ı  
şîrîniñ teslîm eyledi firûz şâh bu hâli göricek feryâd figân kopardı zârlıglar eyledi  
ümerâ dahî câmelerin çâk eylediler hemân bâsîdû hindî ileri varup firûz şâhıñ  
kulağına eyitdi pâdişâhım başıñ sağ olsun bu ada yâd-ı memleketdir çokluk iki  
dostlara

### 34b

‘itimâd câyiz degildür evvel bunlarıñ emrini bertarâf idelim andan ğayrı kâre meşğûl olasız dedi firûz şâh gerçek didüğüñ gibidür dedi râvî eydür çün şekmûn hân ve sâiri cümle ümerâ ve şâh-ı hindüstân ve türkistân orada hâzır idi firûz şâh bildikim bâsîdû rast söyler hemân ümerâsına yüz tutup eyitdi tey. tûs hakîm içün ağlamañ kim merd-i pîr idi elbet ölse gerek idi peymâne-yi ‘ömri tölmuş lâbüdd câm-ı eceli nûş itdi deyüp oĝlı tûtiyânûş işâret idüp atanıñ maşlaĥatın göreyüz daĥî maşlaĥata meşğûl olun gerekdir deyüp ol adadan taşra çıķup doĝrı bargâha geldi göredis önüne çağırdılar otur dedi andan em reyledi tâ vâdeler ol ateşkedeniñ kuyusun ardında gördükleri fertûte-i rûzgâr olan pîri önüne getüreler

### 35a

bâd refât ‘ayyâr ile şebrenğ ‘ayyâr ve çavuşlardan bir cem‘ ile vardılar firûz şâhın emri üzerine ol pîri õñüne getürdiler egerçe gelmek istemedi amma gücle getürdiler firûz şâh eyitdi ey pîr doğru söyle bu deyrde nezamândan berü olursun dedi pîr eyitdi ikiyüz yıldır ben olurum kadîmden berü benim atalarım dahî bu deyrde olan hüdâmın muqaddemleridir ve bu maqamın ihtiyârlarıdır dedi firûz şâh bes sen cümleden aḥvâli yek bilürsen doğru söyle bu ateşden gelen avaz nedir dedi pîr bilmezem hüdâvend avazıdır dedikde firûz şâh tutuñ bu harâmzedeyi dedi hemân üzerine gelüp tutdılar şolqadar döndiler kim ölümlü oldu firûz şâh eyitdi biz bu arâya hüdâ-yı te‘âlâ gönderdikim bu deyri harâb idem doğru söyleyem ateş niçün söz söyler deyüp pîr ikrâ eylemedi



### 35b

fîrûz şâh teyâtûsdan işitdügi üzere aña takrîr eyledi aşlı böylemidir degilmidir dedi pîr eyitdi sizler maña nidellersiz eger beni öldürmezseñiz doğrusuz deyrin zîrâ bizim va‘demiz dahî bu zemâna degin idi bu sır fâş olacak zemândır bu deyr düzüleli tamâm üç biñ yıldır kim bu hîle kurup tamâm benim atalarım eline tapşırmişlardır bizden ve bizim oğullarımızdan ğayrı bu sırrı bilmezler bizim hesâbımızda dahî bu ateşin va‘desi bu zemân idi didi fîrûz şâh ya ol put söz söyledüğünüñ aşlı nedür dedi ol putuñ karnına bir kimse girüp söyler bu mekrîde atalarım etmişlerdir fîrûz şâh ol kuyu içine ‘ayyârlarım gitdiler ayrık gelmediler dedi pîr haberim yokdur ol ne çâhdır bilmezsin şolqadar işimişimdir kim ol kuyu ağzınıñ aşağısı geyndür bu kuyunuñ dibinde bu görünen tağ

### 36a

altından öte yanında yol vardur andan deryâ-yı muhîte bu yol varur dirler artuğ bu  
huşûda nesne bilmez in dedi andan firûz şâh eyitdi şimdi bu ateş bâtı l idüğüne ikrâr  
ider misin dedi pîr bile ol söz söyleyen ateş degildir benim oğlumdur şimdiye degin  
bu söz bu şeyde idi hâliyâ rüsvây oldu didi firûz şâh göredise bu pîr nedir işitdiñmi  
şimdiye degin ‘ömrüñ zâyi’ geçüp ol ateş öñüne secdeyi hata ile etdiñ dedi göredis  
şermsâr olup hemân yerinden sıçrayup bir kılıc urup ol pîri depeledi andan gelüp  
firûz şâhıñ ayağına düşüp çok ağladı ve tövbe edüp müslümân oldu şekmûn hân ve  
mangü hân ve şâh tâtûs cümlesi ağlayup firûz şâhıñ ayağına düşdiler cümle ateş  
perest kâfîrler idi bir ağızdan tövbe

### 36b

idüp müslümân oldılar on sekiz biñ ‘âlemde ise bir olup bî mişl olduğuna inandılar  
hep ikrâr eylediler hemân velâyetinde varduğumuz gibi bir köşede tâ‘ate meşgûl  
olalım geçmiş günahlarımıza tövbe idelüm didiler firûz şâh eyitdi hemân merdâne  
oluñ bu deyri ħarâb idüñ dedi nekadâr mâl var ise getirüp firûz şâh öñünde tağlar gibi  
yıkıldılar andan ol ateşi söndürüp ol deyri yıkıldılar içinde bir levh buldılar üzerinde  
yazu var firûz şâh öñüne getürdiler oğundi içinde yazılmışkim bu deyr tamâm üç biñ  
yıl dura ‘âkıbet îrândan bir şahıñ elinde ħarâb ola ‘âdil pâdişâh neslinden ola adı firûz  
şâh ola deyü yazılmış firûz şâh ‘acebe vardı üç biñ yıl ol bu yıl söylene dedi hele  
deyri yere berâber eylediler teytûs ħakîmi

### 37a\*

defn eylemege lâıyk bir maķam düzdiler râvî eydür firûz şâh çün deyr-i gülgüşâne ağvâsundan fâriğ oldı ol malı mîr ve sipâhiçün idüp dahî ‘ayyârları aratdı kâbil olup bulunmadı ‘âyyarlar ve hürşîd çehreden dahî nevhîd olmuşlar idi andan firûz şâh eyitdi teytûs hakîm baña tîzçek îrâna git deyü nasihât etmişdi hemân gitmek gerekir deyüp buyurdı oradan göçüp doğru serendibe geldiler göredis eyitdi şimdi şehriñ içine girüp temâşa idüñ dedi firûz şâh nola deyüp şehriñ içine girdi şehir halkı cümle du‘â eylediler şehri teferrüc idüp nice gün anda oldular andan (...) (...) iline ayağı nişân olan yere varup ziyâret eyledi andan îrâna ‘azm ider oldı göredis şâh

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\* kâbil olmam zevk verme at.eşe yan rahat bulma yâķub bin cevrin eylese (...) güzel olma

eķhibbânın gel açma işret (...) behmen bu (...) varur olur elbette zaman isteme feryâdı cânım eyleme zârî

### 37b

eyitdi serendib mülki cümlesiniñ olsun bâsîdvey hindû ile dostlaş şengâl hindûyı  
sem‘âd vilâyetin virdi mangü hâna firâkı virdi tâtûsa rûhı virdi birbiriniz ile  
velâyetden ötürî gavğa eylemeñ dedi bâsîdû ile bir oluñ her kiři mülkünüzi taşarruf  
idüñ ve dünyâya i‘timâd yoğdur deyüp buyurdı hekimler yandalar herkes bir yana  
gideler dedikde eyitdiler bizim horlend ile dünyâ mülkümüz vardır ol var iken bizler  
vilâyetimizde şâhlık idemezüz dedi firûz şâh bu hindi şâhları anı boyunlarına alsun  
dedi öyle idelim dediler firûz şâh şâd olup bu işleri bitürüp bertarâf eyledikden soñra  
hemân îrâna ‘azm eylemegi qarâr idüp bâdiresi dîvân idüp taht üzerine oturdı cümle  
ulular yanına cem’ oldılar firûz şâh

### 38a

şâh kamu begleri oşayup hezâr dildârlıklar eyledi andan eyitdi ey civân merdler  
sizlerden şermsârım benden ötürî ‘âlemde çok zahmetler çekdüñüz her biriñiz benim  
yolumda ilüñüzden geldi dirîğ etmeyüp ‘âlemi benim ile dolandıñız şimdi her kâr  
tamâm oldu niçeye degin çekinesiz düğünde siz gördiñüz kim teytûs hakîm öldüğü  
vaķit baña ne vaşîyet idüp ne dedi tîzçek îrâna iriş dedi benimde gümânım budur kim  
‘ömrüm aħde irişmeden ol günün tekmilindeyüz herħâde baña zehir virdi ben artuķ  
kendümi tendürüst görmedim böyle zehr nâşirinden zebûn oldum ve karındaş melik  
darâyı işitdim pâdişâhlık tarîķinde (...) olup evvelki şâhlar tarîķine gitmemiş şimdi  
anlardan ayru olalı ħayli vaķitdir bu ħareket-i ıztırâb niçeye dek andan melik

### 38b

behmene yüz tutup ey cân-ı peder hürşîd çehreden vazgeç şimdi sen benimle îrâna git dedi andan firûz şâh buyurdu tamâm yol yarağın gördiler ve sefer esbâbın kopardılar göredis şâh hazînenin içine girdi nice yoldan beri cem‘ olan hazînesin çıkarup firûz şâha bahş eyledi tamâm biñ ikiyüz hüküm yazılmışdı şâhlarâ ve pehlivânlarâ üleşdirüp her birine kendi velâyetlerin ‘itâ eyledi ve kendüsi dahî haş dilâverler ile ve îrân mübârizler ile kalup kendüden ol cümle şâhlar destûr olup bölük bölük vedâ‘ idüp diyârlu diyârlarına girdiler firûz şâh dahî göredise vedâ‘ idüp melik behmen vesâir nâmdârlar ile deryâ kenârına gelüp üçyüz biñ ‘asker ile üçyüz pâre gemiler ile bir mübârek sa‘atde gemilere girüp mellâhlara hil‘at bağışlayup yelken yırtup ‘azm-i

### 39a

îrân idüp nice gün gïtdiler rûzgârları çün muvâfık idi bir gün bir cezîreye geldiler  
gemileri kenâre sürüp şu alup rahat olmak için ol cezîreye iskele urup taşra çıkdılar  
bir niçe zemân ol cezîrede oldılar anda hezâr dürlü yerler var idi (...) yerlerdi yigirmi  
gün hevâ olmayup ol cezîrede kaldılar melik behmeniñ kârı feryâd nâle idi ittifâk  
melik behmen ‘ışk kârgîr idi kendü kendüyi bir tenhâda oturup ey hürşîd çehre seni  
kande bulayın ben îrâna gidüp sen hindüstânda kalmak olmaz seniñçün bu cezîrede  
kalup bir tedârik ideyim deyüp bütün gece zâr-ı feryâdile kaldı râvî eydür nâgâh  
mellâhlar feryâd eylediler rûzgâr bizimdir sefînelere yürün dedi herkes gemilere  
girdiler melik behmen bir ağacın dibinde oturdu elbet ben



### 39b\*

bu cezîrede alurın olakim maqlûbuma irem deyüp ol ağac üzerine çıkdıkım ‘asker halkından kendüyi kimse görmeye halk bölük bölük gemilere sekerdirler idi melik behmen olduđu ağacıñ altından geçerlerdi tâ kim firûz şâh ve sâirleri gemilere girdiler galaba idi kimseniñ kimseden derdi yok idi ve rûzgâr münâsib idi yelken bırakup yollarına girdiler bir anda melik behmen gözünden nihân oldılar melik behmen ol arada iki güne verem oldu biri hürşîd çehreden cüdâ düşdi biri dağî atası firûz şâh ve yarânından cüdâ düşdi ol ağacdan inüp derd-i yârile nâlân giryân ol cezîrede sergerdân olup aldı işte melik behmen bunda dursun soñra aniñ hâli neye varur yerinde söylene amma bu yaña firûz şâh melik behmen yanında görmeyüp erdevân yanında oluyorur

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\* ha bu kitâbı (...) günün gecesi (...) ağa (...) kıraat etmiştir fi 28 z sene 1228

#### 40a

idi ve yârânı yoldaşı ise atası yanında olmak mülâhaza iderlerdi bâri bir aya degin kemâ kân gitdiler hic bir yerde ârâm ve karar eylemediler hic kimseniñ kimseden hayrı yok idi şüng gibi rûzgâr muvâfiğ oldıkim gemi bir lahza dahî durmadı ol bir ayda olkadar gitdikim gayrı rûzgârlar iki ayda gidebilürdi ama firûz şâhıñ mîzâcı begâyet müteğayyîr oldı bir aydan sonra gemiler bir cezîreye irişdi firûz şâh emr eyledi lenger şaldılar gemileri doğrutdılar şehzâde gemiden taşra çıkdı cümle gemiler cezîreye yüz tutdılar gelüp ‘asker gemiden çıktılar ümerâ-yı kibâr firûz hizmetine geldiler on güne dek cümle gemiler gelüp ol cezîrede cem’ oldular üçyüz bâresi bile sağ ve selâmet irişdiler melik behmen gelmedi firûz şâh noldıkim melik behmen gelmez arañ görüñ dedi

#### 40b

aradılar bulmadılar melik behmen kandedir kim görmeziz dediler kulları melik behmen bu gemide degildir ol gice kim gemilere ‘asker gelür idi ol gelmedi biz anı atasıyla olmağ ta.şavvur iderdik bizim gemimize geldi dedi üçyüz pâre gemilerde aradılar bulunmadı firûz şâh hayfa dirîğa kim oğlın andan çıkardık deyüp zâr eylemege başladı hûrî peyker ve kamer melik ve cihân efrûz dahî bile ağladılar ey cân-ı peder kande gitdiñ saña noldı kim gelmedin atañı firâkından yakduñ sensiz îrâna nice giderin anda anañ ‘ayn el-ğayâta necevâb virem beni nâ ümîd kılduñ derdi ve teyûs hakîmiñ sözi rast oldu bundan korğarınkim beni görmedin olam deyüp bu üslûb nevhalar iderdi çün kerb hâdden geçdi cümle begler ve pehlivânlar cem‘ olup firûz şâha geldiler ey şâh ağlamağın çendân fâidesi yokdur

#### 41a

çerâyla nüzhed melik behmen diridir kendi ihtiyârıyla kalmıřdur eger icâzetiñüz var ise gerü dönüp aryalım dediler firûz řâh neyleyim baña her ne gelürse hüdâ-yı te'âlâ izinsiz degildir neyleyim dedi râvî-yi ahhâr eydür pehlivân zâde erdivân ve řîrzâd ikiside ayaga durup firûz elbet bize izin vir deyüp melik behmeni aryalım dediler bunlara nekadâr kim gitmek dediler çâre olmazdı nâçâr olup icâzet virdiler andan beř biñ er kořup tûtiyanûř hakîmi ve bâd reftâr 'ayyârı bile kořup iki üstâd gemiciler ile gemiye binüp melik behmeni arayı yine geldikleri yola tođrı dönüp gitdiler bu yanâ firûz řâh erdevân ile řîrzâdı gönderdi kendüler de rûzgârların bulup 'azm-i îrân eyleyüp gitdiler amma râvî eydür erdevân

#### 41b\*

ve ŧîrzâd ve tûtîyanûŧ ve bâd reftâr araŧsuñ beŧ biñ kimse ile gemiye binüp deryâ içine revân olmuşlardı amma anlarıñ (...) hârûn dirlerdi üstâd kimse idi on gün gidüp bir cezîre kenârına iriŧdiler hûrum cezîre idi gemilerin kenâra sürüp taŧra çıkdılar nâgâh gördiler ol cezîre ortasında olan tağdan bir tayfa aŧağa gelüp anlarıñ ortasında bir aq tenlü pîr var amma begâyet za'îf olmuş ol karalar erdevâna selâm virüp ey yezdân perestler hoş geldiñüz maqâmımız ŧeref kıldıñız deyüp hâl hâtır ŧoruŧdılar andan bu diyâra gelmeklerinden su'âl eylediler bunlar da melik behmen ardınca geldiklerin bildirdiler erdevân anlardan su'âl idüp cümleñizin rengi siyâh amma bu pîr içiñüzde beyâz sizden degildir ola dedi anlar bile bu ŧır doğrudur

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\* nihâle giriftâr oldum goncagül idim gül oldum  
aradım pes seni buldum efendim bir gelsen baña

## 42a

yüz elli yıldır bizimle olur dediler pîr eyitdi ben îrân melikinden ticâretle bunda geldim bunları böyle tâ'âtde görüp haâ idüp kâdım yüz elli yıldır bunda 'ibâdet iderem dedi adın nedir dediler ebû el-vefâdur dedi erdevân ey ebû el-vefâ bir civân ardınca bunda geldük 'aceb bu yolda aña irer miyüz dedi ebû el-vefâ bu yolda sizler melik behmene irişmezsiz ve bu seferde sizün ve anuñ elinden 'azîm işler gelse gerekdir aña bulaşdıkdan şoñra tekrâr birbiriñizden ayrılmazsız yine tekrâr buluşursuz dedi tûtiyanûş ey ebû el-vefâ senden su'âllerim vardur cevâb isterem deyüp ol yirde nice su'âl cevâb idüp olgün anda olup gemileri zañrelerin ve şuların alup bunlarâ vedâ' idüp yine gemilerin deryâya şaldılar hüdâ-yı te'âlâya

#### 42b\*

tevekkül idüp gitdiler yedi gün dahî geçüp bir cezîre dahî göründi ortasında bir tağ başı felege çekilmiş gemilerin kenâra sürüp ol cezîreye dahî çıkdılar yere başladılar bir şu yanına geldiler kâmişdan ve hâr-ı hâşâkden düzülmüş ev idi gördiler bir kuy (... ) uzun boylu şahış peydâ olup bunlarâ hindî dilince selâm virüp hoş geldiñüz deyüp şofasından nice lañif ba‘deler getürüp bunlara virdi andan bunda gelmeklerinden su‘âl eyledi erdevân dahî melik behmen ardınca geldiklerin bildirdi tûtiyanûş ey pîr yalñuz bu cezîrede neylersin dedi pîr dahî bâzergân idim tendir diyârından geldüm bu cezîreyi begendim ‘ibâdet iderem gâhî bir kavmim gelüp nice gün bunda benimle

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\* bu firûzşâhı şandalcılar kethüdâsı hâfız efendi bir mahalde kırâat edüp azim şafâyâb oldular 1230 fi ra

### 43a

benimle olup yine giderler ben bunda hemân 'ibâdetle eglenürem dedi ol pîre dahî taḥsîn eylediler adın nedir dediler lâgûnedür dedi andan dahî tûṭıyanûş ḥakîm nice durup 'acâyiblerinden su'âl idüp söyletdi monla bu deryâda nice canavarlar olur dedi pîr dahî bunda gûnagûn canavarlar vardur cümleden biri bunda bir balık olur adına zalgîn dirler anın başı katı büyükdür ve bir tabak gibidir üzerine bir adam otursa olur her bârına bir adam bir afet ugrayup ğarğa varsa ve bir sefine helâk olup ol adam dahî deryâyâya talsa ol zalgîn balığı irüşür bu ğarğdan helâkım yaqîn varân kimseleri görse dayfı irüp başı üstüne alup kendünün



### 43b

başını ve boynunu şudan taşra çıkarup andan yüzüp ol garîk bîcâreyi ol vechile helâklıktan kurtarup ve insanı gâyet sevdiğinden kuytuca bir yerde bir kenâra kor ve andan kendi deryâ dibine talup gider varır bildügi yerden dahî bir gevher şeb çerâk getirüp eline virir ve ‘özü hevâ halkalar idüp öñünde biraz oynar güyâ seni hâkden kurtardum ve eline bu gevheri virdim var hoşluk idin deyüp işâret ider ve gider ve ol gevherüñ kıymeti hezâr dinârdır bu nev‘den budur yâde ‘acâyib çokdur dedi erdevân ve şîrzâd ve tûtiyanûş ve sâirleri bu sözden ‘aceb kaldılar ve ol pîre aferîn eylediler andan ol

#### 44a

pîr eyitdi ey ‘azîzler ıurunu sızıñle cezîreyi ıolaşup teferrüc idelüm deyüp durup nice gün ol cezîreyi gezüp (...) eyitdi ve ol cezîreden vâfir (...) meyvelerden gemilerine doldurup ol pîre vedâ‘ idüp ‘azm-i râh eylediler ve gemilerin sürüp deryâ yüzine açup gıtdiler işte bunları ıon gıtsün anlarıñ aıvâli beri geldikde söylenmişden soñra bizler melik behmen aıvâline gelelim kim ol cezîrede ıurşîd çehre ‘eşkıyâlar elinden ve yarânından vesâir ‘askerden cüdâ düşüp böyle ol cezîre ortasında yalnız ıalup anıñ hâli yine irişmişdir anı beyân idelim ol zemânki melik behmen ol cezîrede ıaldı cild bunda tamâm oldu

44b\*

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\* hasan aĝa efendi ande ırâ etmiŝdir

efendim sana kim darıldı  
efendim sana kim darıldı  
efendim sana kim

efendim seni kim üzerler  
efendi seni kim

kiminin aklını alır alka eyler  
âli (...) gelmez ok cahile  
cildi

isnat ehli ziyâ kimi benden ider  
kimini efligâ eyler halka eyler (...)

âli bidirüp almıŝız gelmez vücûd-ı câhile  
cildi-i aslâsinden âşıl (...) tâb-ı nâpâke  
bu defa ŝarf

feyzullah aĝa 1144  
saâdetlü (...)

**Cover Page 45a\***

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\* pûzevingin yapıdığı

ortanıñ cîveligini sikeyim

budur devr-i zemânın ittifâkı ki vardır  
her vişâliñ bir firâkı

bu ‘abdi efendi evvelî z.annım hasan süleymanmış yigirmi üç târihinde avretini elli  
altılara sikkürmüşdür kendüsü pûzeving kâtilin olmuşdur efendim yani iftirâ sanman

**APPENDIX C**  
**FACSIMILE OF THE MANUSCRIPT**

حالی بوکتابا جگای اسعد اغاچی دره

INBAN SURUH  
KITAPLARI

ص کول کور او کورون  
یعقوب کنگله او قور  
بعضیرانلا

اشوکبار فیروز شاه کنگله  
خیزد شهریار ای احمد امانک  
قورناغش زوات اولدی

۸۲۸۴

و یهنا کیرت

ای



اشوکباری سلطان بیازید قورینا  
یحیی قبان صوغلغند عثمان قندینک  
هان سنله قرابت اولمیشدیم



قورناغش زوات اولدی



آزری شوق  
بازار  
بوزه وطن  
با بدیغی  
صیایم نشانم  
او غلوه بوزه  
ونگ

ک

هر مرغی دلی دوشدی هوای چوره  
فلیک ایله نور ایمنش قفسه  
صدی  
اویدی



کتاب فیروز شاه  
یا ندیم بنده امیر کبیر



کتابخانه  
بوکون بنیاد ملی کتب و اسناد

فیروز شاهک قرق بختی جلد بیست و نهم

راویان اخبار و مناقبات اثار و صحیفه ثانی  
روزگار و بیله روایت ایدر لر که داشته  
کامیار دو گونه بدینا داریوب ایچ لری  
ارزنه نکاح اولوب بیروچ زیبای مهر شکنه  
ویروپ بز برندن مزاد الدیلر بو کاسردن  
قارغ اولدقد نصاکون ملک بهمن ایتدی اتام  
کور دیسیده جنکده درین شمن نگر و کیده دم  
دردی مهر و شنک ایتدی سن بجا یوقدر ایلکنه  
اندک یوسفرده بن کاح خدمت ایدر دم  
یولداش اولور دم ددی ملک بهمن دخی قبول  
ایلدی اندن جلیله عکریندن و قلب جهان

عکریندن

کتابخانه ملی کتب و اسناد

نو بجله صلیح افند نوز کتابی کتبه و نیاوه بوچه کتاب اوله ناز بختاب  
ناظره کتابی در کبر نیدر بم بدله لرا اسنده بقی کاغذ نقصند زوق  
عکریندن ایکی بیلیک اندیرا قلوب کتمت حلقه و روبر  
تدیر کتبه اولدیلر اندن بر مبارک ساعده یعنی شو بقی  
عکری کتبه وید دریا یونسته دروانه اولدیلر نقصان  
کامیار دیشاهمه کیهان شاه و داع اندیلر اولدیلر  
سردن بیه یوز مطلق کتبه بیا شفته یوشلر اوم اندن  
سردن بیه کلکده اندین جانب بزم قصه من  
فیروز شاهه کلری اولر مانگه فیروز شاه  
و کیوان شاه جنکی تا خیره قومشرا ایدی نده شد کلک  
برکون فیروز شاه ایتدی خجه بر ملور لم کبرن بار سینه  
ارکومنده دخی حسیلی اشتر و ابردر اول بو  
سیاهلک جوان ویر ملک کرک هتوز کور دین  
کلری اول کلکده بو عکری جواب ویر ملک  
مشکل اولور داریوب امر ایدر وپ عکری جنک  
بر اغنه مشفوک اولدیلر جیل جاسوس بو جبری  
کیوان شاهه ایرش سردی اولدخی امر ایدر وپ  
عکری جنک بر اغنه مشفوک اولدیلر جو نکه  
اولکجه کوب صلیح اولدی ایکی طرفدن عکری



سوار اولوب میدان کنار کلوب در د یلر  
 عجب میدان نه کیم کیوم دیرکن همان بهلوان  
 اردوان عزم میدان ایدوب جولان  
 اوروب اردیلدی همان هند عکرن  
 سولان اردلو برهنه عزم میدان  
 قلدری ایدوب اردوانه کورن حواله  
 قلدری اردوان سیر بر ایدوب  
 منع ایلدی بوکن ایدوب تیغ حواله قلدری  
 اردوان انی دخی منع ایلدی نوبت  
 کندوبه کلچک اوزرینه رخس سوب  
 ایدوب بر سکو اوروب او جی ارقا سوز  
 جقدی اندن کتور سیرم اوروب خرد  
 استدی اندن کنه اردیلدی مو  
 سوزانک هیلوان اردلو بر قرداشی  
 وار ایدی قرداشنک بو بیله اول  
 اولدوغن کور بچک بی اختیار عزم  
 میدان ایدوب اوروب اردوان انهم هلا اولدی

بردیخی

برداخی ایدوب اوله هلاک اولدی راوکی ایدوب  
 کون زواله و آرخه فرق بهلوان اولدی آنک بهادیر  
 ایدی عسکر کین اندی ولی کیوان شاه ملوک اولوب امر  
 ایدوب طبل سایش جالوب ایدی عسکر میدان دن دو نوبت فواید  
 اردوان داخی میدان دن جقوب فیروز شاه او کینه کلغ  
 الن او پدی فیروز شاه کما تخمین اندی اوله بجه ایدی  
 طرفدن فروله جغار دیلی صباح اولجه عسکرین کونندیری  
 راوکی ایدوب جوت بجه جقوب صباح اولدی کنه ایدی  
 طرفدن عسکر سوز اولوب میدان کنارینه کلوب دردی  
 عجب میدان نه کیم دیرکن همان هور لند عزم میدان ایدوب  
 جولان اوروب اردیلدی بر کمدانه سوز اولشدری همان  
 اردوان عزم میدان ایدوب هور لند هور لند بر کمداری دردی  
 انده نمدین خاضی اندی هور لند اردوان کور دیکم بر سوز  
 فر شو سوز کلوب دردی هور لند ایدوب ایدوب سوز  
 سین کم بچلین ایدوب در هانک میدان نه کلرک ایدی شمد  
 سیر و جاننیکه و داع ایله بو کون دن فیرکی دویا یونین  
 کورین سین دیوب الین عمود اوروب کمدان سوز ایدی

ام اولور ملک بهلوان و کلدر ایدی وری نوجاق در بهلوان حریف صاحبزادان سوز  
 شرح اصفا رضی الله عنه بهلوان



هورلندا وگنه گيليك همان جهلوان کمدين فالدر ب هور  
 لندك محمد آفته آفتوب اندن آت باشين جورب دو زير هور  
 اوله خالي جوربك كركلان اردوانك اردندن سوردي كركلان  
 آتوك اردندن ايرشوب بيونوزيله اردوانك آفته ايله  
 اورديكم الزنه دكين كوملكي آت اوله زحمي بچك صجرايو  
 اردواخي كورد يه اوردي سپاه ايران اجدن فريادي  
 فغان فوبلكي ختيا فرخزاديله عوي بهزاد حله اتد يار  
 يكبار ايران عسركي داني حله ايرب همد عسركي داني فوبلكي  
 فرشولوب بربرينه فابج قويديلو اما جون هورلندا اردواخي  
 اوله حاله كورب ديلايكم دونوبلشيم تمام ايله اوله محل  
 فرخزاد ايرجك دونه مدي اما ايرمي سپاه بوسه اير ديلاي  
 ايران عسركي همد يار ياننده دريادن قطره شالي ايركي فوبل  
 شاه عسكريه اسنالك وئيب ايرب صفك ايرك و كفاك كنان  
 جنك ايرك صدمه دسه چقه سي كوج اولور ددي  
 داومي اير اوله كون هورلندا ايران مابند موندن تمام  
 فرق سيه زخم اوردي اوله كون عظيم حرب واقعه اولدي خشم  
 اوپيچي طبل ايش جالوب دونوب قوند يار بوسه موندن ايرلندا

فوردن

فيروز شاه ايرد اردوان هورلندا خم كمد ياره طوقمشدي آله  
 كركلان اذاد لوسي او ايركي ددي انا بو طرفدن هند سپاهي  
 قونديلر كيوان شاه كت اوزر نيزه او تورب جهله اولور كركلان  
 جمع اولد يار كيوان شاه باش قاررب اير عجب بوكون چنگله  
 نقدر كسته تلف اولدي ددي قيب ساها اير ايردي ملك داغ اوله  
 سون بو چنگله بو چنگله اوچون بيك اير قوتله اولدي فرق  
 پيچي ايرايخي قلا في همد يار در برنجه كون جنك ايله كشته  
 لري ميدان دن جغار هيلر ديوب كشته لري اير نيلوب دني  
 اتد يار اوچ كون پيچيه جنك اتميوب ميدان خالي قار يار  
 اندن كيوان شاه انا سنه نامه كوندرب يردم اسنه ددي  
 نامه انا سنه واقعه اوليچي اير ايرب اوچ نامدر اير ياره اوچ  
 يوز ييلشار يار ديمه كوندرد ي انا داني فو رانه اولد يار  
 جاسوس بو حركي كيوان شاهه اير شدر ب كيوان شاه  
 قتي حرم اولدي اير ايرلندا كركلان اير ايرله لربو طرفدن  
 ايران جاسوس لري كورب جرد يود ي فيروز شاه اير  
 ملوله اولدي هر كون انا ياردم ايركي شور بولند و مملكتون  
 اير اير ب يردم كهم ديوب ملوله اولدي چون اوله پيچه



ادوات جنگ

سچوب صباغ اولدي سرنديب حله فزون اوله او جيونيك  
 ارچه كلوب همد عسكريه قوشوب چمه و حركه خورب قوشوب  
 كيوان شاه اوله كون جنك اقيوب اوله كلاه ناره رعایت قلدي  
 اوله كچه ايبي طرفدن قره له جقوب صباغ اوله بجه بگلدان چون  
 سچوب صباغ اولدي اكي عسكركنه سوار اولوب ميدان  
 كنارينه كلوب درديلم اولدم جان هورلند او جيونيك  
 همد يله حله اندك فيروز شاه كورب امر ايدب ايبي يونيك  
 ايماخه انايك قوشوب بويينه قايغ قويدلم فيروز شاه  
 زهير دن داخي بهار ايركي جنكه قدرتيه يوغندي باسروكي  
 هنده ايندي سن عسرك الوب طش جقا تا جنك كوم اولدوغي  
 وقت كل حله فيلكور لوم حله كوشمرددي باسروكي  
 نوله ديوب يونيك اربله اور تا فزون جقوب كندك بالقي  
 عسك حاليه اوزينه قلدي چون هورلند او جيونيك  
 اربله حله ايدجك بو طرفدن بهزاد دنگر شاهيله ايبي يون  
 بيك ارحله ايدب جنكه بشلديلم بو طرفدن كنده بشيونيك  
 همد يله قيا سرنديب حله اندك بونان بهلوان بلان ايله  
 سوي مان شاه فرق بيك اربله حله ايدب قوشولدي اول طرفدن

اون بشمارزه الي كيمه يون بيك اربله حله اندك فيروز  
 شاه امر ايدكي فرخزاد اردوان خرندي شاه جشيد شاه يون  
 بيك اربله جقوب يولارين بويينه حمله اندك ايبي لشكر  
 بر بيه ايدب عظيم جنك اندك كچه ايرديلم ايدك اما جا  
 نيله دوروشردك هله اختام اوله عظيم جنك ايدب  
 طبل سايش جالوب دونوب بويوندن ايريلوب  
 قوغايوب طبل سايشي اشمديلم زير آ جنك كوم اولمديك  
 اوله بجه داخي عظيم اندك اوله بجه انا اوغلي اوغلا ناي بيلينو  
 پيكانه صافوب هلاك ايددي اشم بوندي بوند جنك  
**ازمين جانب** بو طرفدن اوله زمانكه ملك بهمن عالم  
 اركي مهروشنك و هروشنك و شهسوت و شهرنك قلب  
 جهان شهرنك عسكركه كياي بونوب يولي او كارينه بونوب  
 كيدر لردك جنك اربله التي ايلق يولي قرف كوند الياي بونجك  
 سلطان ائدا اولدوغي كل اختام ايدك فر شو نديت  
 ساحيل پيدا اولدي بهمن امر ايدب كياي كسار سوار  
 كلوب اسكله اورديلم ملك بهمن شبنك عيار ايدور  
 اكي عيار توقف و قتي دكار بونم ساهن يقلا هم جنك



زیرا کور به جوکر د غبار ظلمت پناه بولوا زکی کوس زدر تیز اوله  
وآر بنه بو خه کور د دکی دفعی شپه نك کمیدن جقوب نونه  
قوشو میل کجی دوان اولدکی آخینه اوله بامردوی همده ایونک  
یون بیکشار ایله بصوه در لر دکی شپه نك عله متندن  
بایدوی بلدی در حاله اوکته کلوب خدمت اتدی بلدی  
شپه نك کور جک حرم اولدی ایرایک عیار قنده سین بن  
سني ملك بهمن عالم آریله هور لند جسنه اشک عفتاب  
جزیه سنه شمدکی بواران پید اولدک ددکی شپه نك بجه  
احقآب هجو می دعی ملک بهمن عالم آریله ایکی یون  
بیک آریله دریا کنارنه قونوب او قور لر ملک بهمن بی  
ایمی وصالدی کجی دغبارک اصای ندر بیلم وکی سیز بو  
آره نیلر سیز ددی باسردوی قتی حرم اولوب ایوقفتند  
ایو شدک هندلش کجی بزمله بیله هه جنکه در قتی غلبه لف  
در بزوم سا هور قور قون ایکی هدای تعالی سیز کی سهند  
کو ندر دکی بنی بوارا به فیروز شاه کوندر دکی له بصوه  
دورک وقتده بو شاهکاردند قویو لاسیز ددی بن  
شمدکی بصوه دوریو بین غالباً بویجه جنکر دیوبلندن

کنز

کندو سوار اولوب کندی شپه نك اولنجه و آرب حالی ددی  
جمله طشک ساتلویدی اولدم باسردوی ایوی شوب ملک بهمن  
آخینه استغاثه کردی بر برین قوجوب خاله خاطر صور پشوب  
کور شد یلی بهمن جنک احوالین صور باسردوی جی و پری  
غالباً بویجه دآخی جنکر ددی ملک بهمن عالم آریله یو  
دو نقب ایر ای پهلوان همان بز سپاه کنارینه کیدیل اول  
قدر صبر ایلمک کت سیزم بویکی سپاه اریقده دکن جنک ایله  
صباح اولدو غی کجی بز نه آرا لینه لیر وب کوجیز یز کجه قیر  
یون ددی عالم آریله ایله اقل کت ددی پس ملک بهمن  
امریدب پهلوانا ایله او چیون بیک سوار جمع اولوب رخنه  
بنوب اوله جاننده روانه اولدی لر ناکه یقین ایو شد یلی کور چلی  
اوله ایکی عسکر بر سرینه دو شوب فر کویجه جنک ایر لر  
هکامایکی عالمی دوشی کیه رک صباح و قتی قلش ددی **داویک**  
**آدر** بو اشان ملک بهمن باسردوی او چیون بیک آریله  
هندیله حاجه کی دیلی هج کسه انایکی بلدی صباح و قتی او  
جک کیوان شاه امیردب جبل اسایش جالوب ایکی سپاه  
بر سر نندن ایریلوب دوندیلی فیروز شاه دآخی دونجه شپه نك



ایوکی شوب ککابن او بدکی فیروز شاه شیری نگی کورچک  
 شاه گندون بونزه اورب ای شیری نیک قنده سین ملک بهمن ایله  
 عالم آردن نه خبر ددی شیری نیک خدمت ایوب باش بریزه کلان  
 فیروز شاه شدنله او آدی دیوب بهمنک عالم آرنک همد عسکرینه کتد و کاورین  
 ددی فیروز شاه حرم اولدی راوی ایدر بوچا چون  
 کیوان شاه دو ندکی او نغمه دو آنه اولدی ملک بهمن  
 عسکرکی کیوان شاهی اورنه یوه الدیله ناکه بارگاهه ایوسته  
 کیوان شاه دیلرک آندن اینه همان ملک بهمن صیه فایج ایدر  
 کیوان شاهک یولن لکی نع اورب بنم فیروز شاه بن  
 ملک بهمن ددی بریور دن عالم آرنکی نع اوردی بریور دن  
 باسیدکی همد نع اوردی ما حایر اول اوچو نیک  
 ایوان برکوز دن همد یای شرنه ال قغه اورب اتمه قبولدیک کیوان  
 برکوزی اوروزی همد شاه فایج دیلدی فادیر او مادکی خیمه کندیله دو تدیای همد  
 شاهرا غافرا نیت ایتمه  
 خبری اولدی کیوان شاهی دو تدیای همد کنگم دو تدیای کدی  
 ایدیلدی ملک بهمن ایله عالم آرنکی دو تدیای جزین و عقابت دن  
 حله ص اولمشر بو عسکرینک عسکره بنم اور تا من پید آ اولدی  
 کیوان شاه بارگاهه اینه یج دینجه خام کندیله دو تدیای ددیای

فیروز شاه شدنله  
 او آدی دیوب  
 بهمنک عالم آرنک  
 همد عسکرینه  
 کتد و کاورین



جوندی

بونار بوسوزه اینن ناکاه بوغوغا قوبوب سپاه ایوان یکیدن  
 کنه هله اندیای همد عسکرکی کور دیکم شاهارچ دو تدیای من بیدر  
 جنگ ایله منک فایجی یوق همان قوشلق و قیق اولجه همد یای  
 قاجنده اهنک اندیای سپاه ایوان انارک صد و غن بیلوب  
 حرم اولدی انارکی قوب مای غمشه خرق اولدی کون اور نغمه  
 و آنچه انارک دن سره فایجی همد یای چون بوکار دن  
 فارغ اولوب دو شمن شردن امیت اولدیای ملک بهمن  
 عالم آرنکی و مهر و شنک و هرو شنک و سانیو بار زو طریکی  
 چتی ایلغزه یوز دو تدیای بهمن آد فخر خاد بلن ار دو آن ملک  
 بهمنی کورچک سکر د ب شهر آده قوجدیای عالم آرنکی آتاک  
 بهمن آدک انن او بدکی طغری بارگاهه کلوب ابر و کور دیای  
 فیروز شاه اوغلن کور میای حیلی زمانه دیک کونیک ملک  
 بهمنک یوزینه دو شجک بغایت کمال هیت اور بریزه بولدی  
 اول زمانه ملک بهمن کوزودن جوا اولمشدیک و آنای عیار  
 آخه اوب همدوستان حرمه نغمه لریکی همد طفل ایدرکی بوز  
 قام سر و پایدار نو جوان اولمشدیک فیروز شاه شکر اندیک  
 ملک بهمن سکر د ب و ارب آنسک ککابن او بدکی و جیجی



حکیمه کور شدی پهلو آنر ملک بهمنک کلر وکیله شاد فکرتی  
و ملک بهمنه کلان جو آنر کی جمله نواخت اندی ای اندن فیر و  
شاد دیوان ای دیب جمله سرور جمع اولدی ای ملک بهمن زبان  
اجوب کند و باشمیر نه کلان حالی کایت لندی سرور و شاد  
تعجب اندی ای اندن امر ای دیب کیوان شای قریه شاد کی بانده  
بنده دی ای کند و لو عیثه اولدی ای راکه ای دیب جوت  
کیوان شای دو دی ای پاهنی صید ای هور لند پاهله سن  
دیب یونف او تونه دو توب بند ای او کونک یونف بر کون  
الور لودی بو نیجه کوندن سر ندیبه ای دی ای دی کوله  
اوله انده کوردی سخت او نر او تورب فتح جوی نه وقت  
کله دیو انتظاره ای دیب ناکاه عسکر اجده بو غوغا ای دیب  
اوله الفش کن یونف بیک پاه صنوب کلر ای دیو کوردی پونک  
دی ای بو جمع ای دیب فر یاد ای دیب کر یا نامین یونف پاه  
ملک کوردی نولدی ای دیب اولدم هور لند کلوب باشمیر اون  
اولان حالی جی و یو دیب ملک کوردی پس اشید جک جانندن  
اه اندی ای الن الزه اور دیب جق دریغ ای دیب ملک بهمن خون کتاب  
جزمین سنی بنده ای دیب نیجه حده مر اولدی اوله دیب اولدم جمل

جاسوس

جاسوس کلوب بهمن نیجه کلان اولوب قلب جهان شهرینه دو شوم  
اندن ای دیب یونف بیک عسکر له کلر و کن جی و یو دیب کورب اشید  
تعجب اندی ای جمله شاد کی ند لوم ددی غلوف وزیر ای دیب  
اوله له سیم کند و نحره کت ای دیب او نرینه وار سیز انر سیز دن  
غیر کی کسه غریب اولم ددی **راک ای دیب** بهر و زعیار ملک  
کوردی بیک کتی استه ای دیب هر نه سویله نرسه اشید بچرم  
او لوردی کوردی کله و توله اولدی بانده اوله نره شاد کی  
نقدار پاه وار در ددی فقیر ای دیب یونف کن یونف بیک پاه  
وار در ددی کوردی ای دیب صلحت اوله کله ای دیب کونک در  
یانموندن واه و نر انر کی یونف خلعه سیمی جوه الاون  
انا جلوندن بوی ده درک قلمیاد دیب ایله قلمق کونک ددی ای  
پس کوردی بو یونف پاه ای دیب درت بولک ای دیب بو بولک  
کند و لیک جک اولوب اوج بو کون اوج هوز کی پهلو آنر  
امر ای دیب هر بولک یونف بولک پاه ای دیب بو اولوبه ندرک  
ای دیب پاه کی سیم جک بو غنجه شعوه اولدی دی کله  
جلرک جاسوس برف عساکار انمک ای کونده ای دیب صعرت  
حالی پاجک دنی و نوب کلوب بو جوی فریون شاهه



ایر شد پاره فیروز شاه اشیدب ملول اولدی شکرکی چاه  
 ایله لوم ددی چیلوس کیم ایدر مصلحت اولدراکه همان سیزه  
 دورت بلوک اولوک بر بلوکنه فیروز شاه ایله فرخزاد ایلی  
 یوز بیک اریله کوردیسه بر آفر شو دور و ملک بهمن اردوان  
 والدار ایله ایلی یوز بیک سوار ایله هوریند مقابله خورسند  
 و مظفر شاه بهلوان جهزاد و ایلی یوز بیک اریله صالح طرفه  
 کلنه قوشو درسون کرمان شاه بهلوان پلنت ایله و ایلی یوز  
 بیک اریله صول مرغوز دن کلانه قوشو درسون اردو  
 بیک اسر داغچا اور تلوق پرده دورب هر نه طرفه یو دم لا زیم  
 کلور سد قارب یو دم ایله نر بو نامر طغوز یوز بیک شکرکی  
 بو وجهیله تقسیم ایدر بو مرتی قور ایلی چنگ یوانغده مشغول  
 اولدی بیک بیکون خبی کلر یکم یارین دو شمن عسکرکی کاور  
 درت طرفدن ایلی شوروردی کور چون اولدی که ایلی بیکون  
 اولدی فیروز شاه بیوردی ساه بیکون دن سوار اولدی  
 ذکر اولنان ترتیب اوزره دردی فیروز شاه بر یو چه  
 بی جقوب نگاه اندکی کوردی ساه ابوانک درت طرفه  
 تونق بدکی هنرکی لشکرکی ایوشوب درت طرفه داخله

فیروز شاه اشیدب ملول اولدی شکرکی چاه  
 ایله لوم ددی چیلوس کیم ایدر مصلحت اولدراکه همان سیزه

اندکی

اندکی فیروز شاه کورب ایر نینه بین ملعون لند یور بجان هر یوردی  
 آنک زخمندن آنه بغله در نام یوقدر بن شمدن بوجنک اقله قادیر  
 دکوم آمو صالح اول سم بز کوردی یونیه بلور درم دیوانغاری اول  
 وقت کوردی او کمندن چغه کلرکی فرخ صالح بی بی ساه جمله  
 سیغیل سولر کلدان سوار چتر و عالم اور تاسنه ملک کوردی  
 یوزر پارکی کوردی ایوجک هب درت یکان دن ساه بیکه ایوشوب  
 اوله درت بلوکنه او جایکی بو برینه قوشونک چار دیوار  
 شکون بغلی ای شوبله که یلان آرا لوزن او یلقوب قاجوق دلسه  
 قادیو کلرکی بو نامر بیک کوردی کورکی همان نره کور بیکه  
 ایدر بو برینه قایم قوید پای عالم ولوا ایله غوغا ایله جویکی  
 اختام اولدی چنگ ایلیب اندن دوغوب قونلیک اولدی بیکه درت  
 طرفدن فرخ چقارد پای و ایلی ایوانلر قور قوب بو برینه صلا کوردی  
 فیروز شاه ایسه انی مزینه اولشدر استالت ویردی چون  
 اولدی که ایلی بیکون سوار اولدی ایلی عسکر دن کورس او ذی جهانی  
 دو تکی هنر بای سوار اولوب ایوان ساهنک درت طرفه  
 یوزر پد پای بو یکان دن فیروز شاه داغچا سوار اولدی بهلوان  
 فرخزاد و سوار لوزن بوجع طیطوس کیم و با سوردی هنر کی

فیروز شاه اشیدب ملول اولدی شکرکی چاه  
 ایله لوم ددی چیلوس کیم ایدر مصلحت اولدراکه همان سیزه  
 دورت بلوک اولوک بر بلوکنه فیروز شاه ایله فرخزاد ایلی  
 یوز بیک اریله کوردیسه بر آفر شو دور و ملک بهمن اردوان  
 والدار ایله ایلی یوز بیک سوار ایله هوریند مقابله خورسند  
 و مظفر شاه بهلوان جهزاد و ایلی یوز بیک اریله صالح طرفه  
 کلنه قوشو درسون کرمان شاه بهلوان پلنت ایله و ایلی یوز  
 بیک اریله صول مرغوز دن کلانه قوشو درسون اردو  
 بیک اسر داغچا اور تلوق پرده دورب هر نه طرفه یو دم لا زیم  
 کلور سد قارب یو دم ایله نر بو نامر طغوز یوز بیک شکرکی  
 بو وجهیله تقسیم ایدر بو مرتی قور ایلی چنگ یوانغده مشغول  
 اولدی بیک بیکون خبی کلر یکم یارین دو شمن عسکرکی کاور  
 درت طرفدن ایلی شوروردی کور چون اولدی که ایلی بیکون  
 اولدی فیروز شاه بیوردی ساه بیکون دن سوار اولدی  
 ذکر اولنان ترتیب اوزره دردی فیروز شاه بر یو چه  
 بی جقوب نگاه اندکی کوردی ساه ابوانک درت طرفه  
 تونق بدکی هنرکی لشکرکی ایوشوب درت طرفه داخله



یوز بیک عسکد ایله کوردیک فرسوسند صغ بغلایلی بو طرفدن  
 دآخی ملک بهمن اردوان شیرو ناد عالم آرای سابقا اولان مودان  
 کار ذار ایله ارقه ارقیه دیوب هورلند مقایله سنه دردیلو  
 بر جانبدن دآخی مظفر شاه بهلوان بهناد دردیلو بیجان کومان  
 شاه و بهلوان پلتن دردیلو هرکس نین اولان طرفلوه قمار  
 ایلدی **داوکی ایل** کوردیس ایران بهناد یوز بیک طرف  
 جهنگدن بو تی نی بلوی عجب کلرکی بارکی چون خلائی بو بویکی  
 برآبون آست ایلدیله همدکی عسکرکی دآخی بو تیوب اوز  
 اندلی اولدم جهان فیروز شاه علا یندن فرخزاد عزم میدان  
 اندکی بهمن علا یندن دآخی عالم آرای عزم میدان اندکی مظفر  
 شاه طرفدن بهلوان بهزاد کومان شاه طرفندن بهلوان پلتن  
 عزم ایلدی بودورت جهان بهلوان که دیت ارایک چار ارکان  
 پایدان یک مقبله دیت طرفدن میدانه سکر دشد بلج هر بویکی  
 میدانه کلوب مقایله سنه کی دوشمن سپاهندن مبارز استدی  
 همد و لو جانبدن دآخی دیت سوار دردیله مقایله اولدی  
 کوردیس علا یندن کاور سوار بر سو د عزم میدان ایلدی کم اوک باط  
 معنی مبارز تکی ایدی آدینه تلویپ بر لودی بو طرفدن دآخی

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لاهور

لاهور هندسی مقابل اولدی بو طرفدن  
 دخی قیلان هندسی مقابل اولدی و صلکس  
 هندسی مقابل اولدی بر زمان جنگه ایلدی  
 جمله دن اول مظفر شاه بر تیج اوروب  
 تلویس هندویب دبلدی بهزاد دخی صلکس  
 هندوی دبلدی و بهلوان پلتن دخی قیلان  
 هندوی دبلدی ذرت بهلوان درت کافرکی  
 هلاک ایلدی بر بونی کورب ایران عسکرکی شد  
 اولدی کوردیس ملول اولدی اهدی مدد  
 میدانه کرک بو بهلوان کرک قانکرک طلب  
 ایدک ددغیانند در دینه درت کئی دخی  
 فاروب اند دخی هلاک اولدی بوباری و دگرکه  
 اول کون فرخزاد و بهزاد و عالم آرای  
 و پلتن عدو عسکر نون سکسان هندسی  
 هلاک ایلدی بر چون کور او دج کوردیس  
 دوندک فنروز شاه دخی دوندک  
 دیر لکه آبی سیاه سماکان بلوک اولوق اوزره  
 هر بلوک بری برینک مقایله قورندیلو  
 ایران اولدوی فیروز شاه اوکده همدیلو

صاحب کتب محمدی افندی فاتح شاهجهان  
 ۱۰۶  
 ابن عبداللہ



ابتدا یوای شاه داده بکوت ایو جنک اولوی  
 اندن فیروز شاه دخی جمله مبارز می خلعت  
 ویردی امراییدی هر کس کند و قولند واره  
 کندب عسکری بکلیه دوستانند این اولوی  
 راوی آید کردیس دخی کلوب تختی  
 اوزرینه قرار ایلی اما غایت ملول ایلی  
 عملاق وزیر ابتدا ای شاه ایران اولوی  
 جنک ایلیک مشکلا بخر هذره هذره  
 ایلی و حقوق صولت بر کور می کس در  
 بونوا ایله بوند دخی بکر حرب ایلیک کرد  
 ددی کردیش آید ایلی اولی اشوندر هر که  
 ایران سپاهندن باشی کتوره اغرنج جواهر  
 وره اول کیم کور صباه اولوی بدت  
 بکولان غنم تیدان ایلی بخر قری هلاک  
 آید می بونوا اوزره بیدی کور جنک  
 اولوی بیدی زک هلاک اولوی کردیش  
 ملول اولوی بیدری اون کور جنک بیدری  
 دید

این کتاب در تاریخ ایران است  
 و در بیان جنگها و سلاطین  
 و امرا و بزرگان است  
 و در بیان احوال و عیال  
 و در بیان احوال و عیال  
 و در بیان احوال و عیال

دید هر سپاهم تنیه اولدی بقرار قالدیلر اولوی  
 کردوسر امراییدی سپاه چون سنه عظیم  
 ضد قلمو قاز دیار هیو کجی کردن طریح  
 گنکه قادر اولدی فیروز شاه بدجایی کور  
 ملول اولدی برنج کون کجی عسکرین کاری  
 دوستانرا اولدی بر لوی غایت دار آید  
 طغوز کز بدت بیگ آرایدی صوبه محتاج  
 اولدی او ایلقدن آیدری قلمغ بشدی  
 بد ضد و ستاف غایت سلیم بقا بر آید  
 گاه گاه واروب ضد قکنار سنه اولوی  
 ایچ عسکر جوق ایچ ایران عسکر فریاده  
 بیددی لهر نیمی داریم قیوب گنکه  
 زاضیا اولدی بوجله فیروز شاهک سنه  
 بجه اولدی فیروز شاه زیاده ریشانی  
 اولدی بر جان بولندی اما طوطوس حکیم  
 بکامینا رفتی کتورک دوی اقوب بادر تیار  
 لی بق و شیرینک انزه کلدی بوطیطوس و نامای

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 این کتاب در تاریخ ایران است  
 و در بیان جنگها و سلاطین  
 و امرا و بزرگان است  
 و در بیان احوال و عیال  
 و در بیان احوال و عیال  
 و در بیان احوال و عیال



ای عیار بود بر هند فتنی سزین الیکون دفا اولسم  
 که کرد بخورد دور سز و او ب هر روز  
 قدر تا روی بونک فتنه سز ایله سز ددی  
 بدینرا اندید هر روز که در سبک تخیل التند بنده  
 در کیم اولد قدر که در دوسن او تا غنای جور سزین  
 اوج یوز کم رکلر و انورون صکر ای طرفه  
 بخ فلک و کالور قوش بود در سز انجق لبوک بود  
 بونک کیمی عکرم بخ فتح ایدر بلور ز لکن  
 چند اهرم غم خیر و تری خلاص ایدر وز دیوب  
 دفع کلش جقد یاقوق در نور فکر قلدیاق  
 ارضش نکر بن بوایش بدینم ادم اوج کوندر  
 صکر هر کیم هلد عکرم کله سز دیوب کندوی  
 هند و نور سوزنه قیوب باد رفتار ی بلالعب  
 هند عکرم کله سز کله سز کله سز و سب  
 تحت او ز سز او تدریب امر ای محو اولد  
 بونورده اراقرینه قاریشوب خدمته دور دیاق  
 چون کیم اولدی بر بر بسپانای ضربه کله کلوسب  
 شیراز

شبر تک ایله باد رفتار دخی انرا ایدر بهر بسپانای  
 بشل دیو تا که اول کیم کجوب صباح اولدی  
 سینه خدمته دور و سب از ایدر وار روروی  
 کدر دسیک قورلری قیق جوق ایدر بدینر کیم  
 دخی کند و نور دفا قیاس ایدر لردی بدینر تکلیف  
 بار کاه کرر و جقرا اولدی العصب اوج کوندر  
 صکر قوللری اوزره طارق و سبیل باب  
 و لغوب عیار دخی هر کیم هند عکرم  
 اچنه کلدی کدر دسیک بار کاه جوق سوزنده  
 دور لردی صباح قیق کیدر قور دی بونک  
 اوزرینه یخ کون کجوب شبر تک باد رفتار  
 بد کیم سزین تمام ایدر ب هر روزی قدرتم لم  
 دیوب کیم نکر بر جیم کیم بار کاه قوروی  
 خاک اولد سز شبر تک انزه اولدی  
 دار و دت کجور و ج سز ایدر نکر اتکلیف  
 قالدور سز ایدر اچنه کور دیو انزه سز خایم  
 اویدر دخی کجور کجور ایدر ایدر هر قیوم



جمله اجدیدو تا کوردیسک تختی ایاغنه اوردیاد  
 شدردیو کوردیسی اویدر تیزشیرنک برصوم  
 الدوب تحت التسه کوروب بهر وزی او یاروب  
 بندین کدییم بهر و رضای اولوب عکرت  
 حالی ندر ددی شیرنک احوالی بلدر دس  
 بهر و ز قیتی منفعلی اولوب طلع کلدیو باورفتار  
 کدر حجاب افزین ایددی کوردیسک خدی درعب  
 الدوب کیده کله کله ز رست کله دیوب کوردیسک  
 تختنه حقوب سینه سن اوستند بولندیک  
 کوردیسک کوز اجوب کوردی برکه الذره  
 صغرد و تارکن دیوبک رش ایددی بهر و ز  
 اجمیل بک کوردیسک ایچی کوزتک ضراحت  
 رند و نمک ارمال دیکر و بیجین دیمت  
 انزه ادر کیده رین آقر بکایه اولمز یک  
 باشن کسوم ددی کوردیسی فق قورقوب  
 بهر حال بدنیو یله کفالت کور کوردی بهر و ز



مسکام نشانن بروز  
 انزه

اعدی

اعدی ما هند پاک اهیسی غیر یوکی کتدی  
 اولمز هزته کتوره لم دیوب افزینه طرب هیای  
 اور دیو انده قبایق و تاجینه کیدوب شیرنک  
 بهر و ز قولتوغنه کوروب باورفتار الله بو  
 شیخ کافریه الدوب کتدی یو حادیم کلدیو شیرنک  
 هند یو ملکک باور کاه صر بو یایی بکرتن ال  
 بو شیمی یوری او کچه دیوب قومی الله و یو  
 ار کیم روانه ادر می سر ایدده دوح طوره  
 حقدیو چاورش برصت یا نور کور ادر  
 کوردیو انوره کوردیسی اولها ایله تاج  
 قبا یله کوروب یولدن صا و لدر فردی  
 کوردیسی چشم حیرتده عکرمند باقوب کورسینی  
 کوردی قورقوب سندن س بلیمن دمس  
 ق اول فیلالی و صفروردن ادر الله کور  
 اور و ج ایزین یولدن ددی انده دیمت  
 کدیو راوی ایدر ناکاه طرقت و انور  
 قیلر پای دیمت کوردی ایدر یو اول صالحه بدنیو









خاطری حضور دیک قاروسنده برالتون کورسی  
قود لاجوب انک اوستند قرار قلدی فیروز  
شاهک بکلوی بر لوی بر نوز قرار قلده فیروز  
شاه امر اییدی التوندن ویاقوندن ستمه بایه  
شربتی کلدی ایچله کوروس ویردی الووب  
ایچدی تکبر لک اییدی برهن حکم اییدی  
ای شاه هنده وعتان فیروز شاه سکا  
شربت ویرنجون ایچیزت دوی کوروس  
اییدی بنم فیروز شاه ایله عداوت و او  
ترکسه ایله دشمن اولان انک شربتیم  
ایچک اولد دوی فیروز شاه بنم سکا  
ایشیم یوق بو نیم یلدر جهان سوا این کرم رم  
ظالمودن منطلو ملوی قدر تار ورم وین  
بندره خدر شید چه ایله چه ایچون کلدم  
فیروزه بنم یزدان توستم اولدی ویردی  
کلدر مکه کلدم سکا مکه خدر شیدی و مری  
انام کیدم و هم اول دیردی خراب ایلم و سنک  
او کورک

او کورک ادم کد ندر د مکه قوروی ویردی ویردی  
دوی کوروس اییدی بن سکا کندی ارا دیم  
کلدم عیار کورک فیروز شاه لیر سکا  
سکا بر نینه صدر ماق لیر لود فیروز سنک  
عادل خود لک کورک بلدر دم کلدم سکا جوی بون  
ویرم دوی فیروز شاه و جمده امر ایچیزت  
کلدی لیر فیروز اییدی چونه هینکلده کلدی  
انک یوق بندره سکا عت و حومت قوروس ایچدی  
ادم کد ندر خدر شید چه و ایله مری کندی ویردی  
و هم اصرا یله ویر کلک سکا خراب قلسون  
د ملکن پایید ویر حومت ایله انک عداوت ایله  
یض سینی بندره الووب ایرانه کیده دین دیوب  
الایی الاری بقدی راویک ایچدی  
کوردیس فیروز شاه هک بو غصه خدین  
کوردی بنایت قدر قیدی بن انوی باز کاند  
چوقمالله الدم امیدی بنی صالیویرک و اری  
انلی خاکبایه کوریم و هر فخره قال دخی



دیر کک خدیویند کتوریم اما دیری کلک دند  
یقاق بنامد کالدر اول آتش التی بدت یلدر که  
ینوب سیرت ادم کین سو یو برکه نلخ مرادی  
اوقه مرادی نیر سو یو سز لرا نلخ هور کوی  
براماز لقا بد چکنر کما قاور دکلمو اما بن وادب  
قرلمی کوندر دم دیوب اند ایجدی یزدانه  
دخی اندیروی درت طرفدن آیتدیو ایسیاه  
زاده کوردیش ما بویرم انلخ اندینه اعتبار  
یوقدر دوقی فیروز شاه انلخ انرا ایتمادی  
یوق ایس بزم وار در دیوب ایی ماکر  
اگر اندینه دور عاز ایسونه یینه کندو کوی بنم  
بنده بلدی کوردین اگر بقا اتفاق  
ایک زایسکه بنه او زریه موکل قوتام قولدی  
شاه زاد نلخ حد متینه کوییم دم ددیب  
داویر ایبرو محمد دینک بو سو زیم  
نمخ ضه طمع تعریف ایی ویزو زمشاه  
دوادردی اندن پهلوان نامر طره قند بقدری  
کدر

17  
کدر که ملک کوردیس ایله کیده ددی کبرویشم  
اقدام ایقوب فیروز شاه دیوانه اولمش ددو  
تکرار سواد ایلمه اکی جوان ایانم دوردی  
برمی پهلوان آزدوان وری نیر زاد ایس  
نیز کیده لم دور فیروز شاه پهلوانه و طارقه  
عیاره باقوبی زنده بدم وارک ددی  
اندن کوردیش ه خلعت کیدریات چکدیو  
بندی فیروز شاه ایتمدی ای شاه هندوستان  
سب بیزیم تعریفن طریقه سولدن اما بن  
یوق انکوز ایلمه کندن قدر قارو غم بیلدی  
دقدری کوندره کنگه بزنده نیزه ایس  
ایرانه کیده لم ددی کوردیس قول ایس  
اوزره قودمی کندی ایران بهار ک  
بواشیر هیچ بکنه دیو راوی ایبرو بکنارن  
کوردینس عسکری ایکنه نابید اوللدن بری  
عسکر بر لرینه کورسرا بری کافور حادی بربرده  
بولدی پلوا هوای حکایت ایلمدی اوزتالو مین شای



دوشدهی این یکبار ایران عسکری اوزرینه  
 بدو ملک دلدیو تاگاه جاکو کلدیو  
 کند و بی شاه فیروز بد صلای ایلدو کلدی  
 واته بندوب کلدو کلدی بدی و یلور عسکر بریان  
 ارام اولدیو تاگاه فلک کلدی و یلور ایلی  
 غنغا دوشدهی جمد امراء عسکر استقبال ایلدیو  
 کرد و یلور صقیقت فیروز شاهک خلعتینی  
 کیوب آتیه سوار اولمش با بنجه آکی جوادت  
 نامدار و هم آکی عیار عزت دار آکی بلک  
 امراء سپاه صبی عذتم کتوره یلور لواضراء  
 تقند کردیسی جمد استقبال ایلدیو کلدیو  
 درگاه باش قهوه یلور هیچ برینه انتفاع  
 اندیش کلدیو نختی اوزرینه کیوب قرار  
 ایلدیو خلق جو برتر بدیونلوی سو بلتوب  
 عیار اولدر بدتورق کبلی اولکاد قولم  
 شاه یوقدر عسکر اورتلانرفا الویب  
 کیده دیور فردی اماراوی ایلدیو کردیسی  
 تحت



تحت اوزره او تدر ووب باش او کتیه صالحند  
 غضبند و هیچ کتیه و تدر ووب یلور ایلدیو  
 تمام برت عت کلدیو صلیو کلدیو و سن  
 برعظیم خرد مند و یلور و واریدی  
 کتیه ووب یلور لغتوب آیت شاه هندوستان  
 هندوستان بقا اولسوت تمام اولو بادشاه  
 سین بو کتیه غایت متفکر کردیو کتیه  
 ندر ددیو و یلور ایکی امراء جوانلوی خدمت کرده  
 ندر نامک خذ متکار کتیه دخی معلوم کردیو  
 اولم ددیو کلدیو دسی باش فاکد و روب  
 بودند پیرامان اولم کتیه کتیه کتیه  
 پادشاهی اولام یلور کتیه یلور بیله سپاه  
 صاحبی یلور ایران عیار بری کله یلور  
 ادب کتیه نوا کتیه اول شاه داده بنگا کتیه  
 ایلدیو ملک عالی تکرار باغ کتیه  
 اما کتیه کتیه کتیه کتیه کتیه  
 ادم اور کتیه کتیه کتیه کتیه کتیه



و فیله و اریکن بنی تختم اوزر نزن الوب  
کیده دیوبنی عالم باد شاه لری ایتدی کی  
نه دیوبنی طعنه اتمز لری ددی و زواندی  
شاه خاطر بر شنه کلمه سن زبنا ابراق  
عبار لری بو تک کبھی عالم باد شاه ترینه  
چوقا ایلک نو در ایرا نیلرک ذر لری قوت  
یکند ر دی کدر دیسی ایتدی بنه انرا ایلیم  
صلح اولد که ارتق انرا ایم عداوت بو ایکیم  
صلح نیک بر نیک ادقی اردوان و بر نیک  
شیر ناد و ذرا اول مصلحت کلد یلرکم خود سینه  
چهره ایلیم مری بو نلمه تقسیم ایدم هانت  
نجا سر نیجه کیده رم قز لری بو نلمه تسلیم ایدم  
بر کلکلی سن بو ادا ده اولک ز دیوب سواد  
اولدی ارده و اف و شیر زاد و هر روز و طاق  
عبار لری سر نیجه کیده و تدی بو اندن  
شیر نیجه داخل اولد قز لری کبھی کدر دیسی  
کندی سز ایند قنوب اده و ام شیر زاد ده  
و عیار لری

و عیار لری بر تقصیمی ایدوب ایند قوند یلو کلدوی  
خدم حاصله کروی با نری برزک او کله وار ب  
خا ندر ایضا استنضال جقد یلو کدر دیسی کجوب  
او قدر دی اندن باشنه هر نه کلدی است  
بر بر صکایت ایلدی با فاول قریک الکنده  
ایر خلاص اولمشون باشدی نیلک لهر سن  
د دی کدر دیسی ایتدی بنه بیلد ایکی جوان  
کلد یلو کز قز لری انده ورم ددی با نفا مکی  
دیسه وادوب حالین عرض ایدم سن اگر فیردی  
زنج ایده یلدر نه کوزل اگر فیردی  
مکر بیس حقایق لا بداتین سیوندور  
د دی کدر دیسی ایو ذید وک بنده  
بقدری ایلدم دیوب اندن خور شیله  
ومهری بنده صقا دیو ماجرای د دی  
اندر دخی صرم او قوب یز فغان تا ک شکر  
ایلدی ر او می ایدر بو طرفدن ملک  
و بهلوانا اردوان شیر زاد و بر هر



و سایر این بود و هند و مودن بر حمله  
 تا که دیر بقیه ای شد و پادشاه بزرگ  
 پید او لایق دخی انگیزه بر عظیم طایع وار که  
 تا پیش فلک ابرشش در سر که اول در کوه ارسبیز  
 انوشیروان فرستاد و از یک قره مانند  
 دوزخندگی و از کوه آرد تا سینه بر او  
 که او را در کوه و ایام آتش نیار و در کوه  
 ایچیدن او را در کوه در کوه باری حضرت  
 که در دسی اول جمعه در کوه ابرشش در راه  
 ای استقبال ایند و اول و بزرگ اول کفند  
 عجب و از روبرو بدید که در کوه در کوه  
 ایدر سوخته بود و از کوه و در کوه بزرگ  
 بود آتش سوید و کوه عجب در کوه هر روز  
 ایدر خلا بر در و کوه بر عاقل حکیمین  
 و از در او انوشیروان اول ایند و کوه  
 فتح ایدر دیوب کرد کار عالی توصیف دی  
 ایدر دیک که در ویست که کوهی و از دجه عیار  
 اخو

اخرا ایدر ای عیار هله بر کوه ایلری و اروب  
 بعد از این کوه علم دیوب و از ویلانشی و ظاهر  
 بر قره همین مشه جنوب قاج کثیر گرمانک  
 سهرت سزده و کورویس برین و بجا رود و آن  
 شیر زاد و هر روز دخی طایع و در کوه ایدر  
 بشند دخی اجازت او که در کوه کورویس  
 آتش کدکس ایدر کوه ایدر کوه ایدر  
 بر سا عتدن صکره قوراجلور ایدر کوه  
 کورویس بر عظیم ایوان پید او لایق حضرت  
 بر عظیم او دینا جق بر ایلر بیات شدت  
 بر او از قورویس ایدر کورویس کوه دی کورویس  
 بی اختیار سهرت ایدر بر او از کوه کلدیک  
 ای فریم ذاد کوه آرد و آن و ای خورشید  
 او خلی شیر ذاد و ای خوله او غیا هر روز دخی  
 هر روز ایدر کوه واجب الوجود دت  
 عین سجد انوشیروان دی کورویس کورویس  
 آتش بر کوه کورویس اعقا و ایدر روز دخی







طارقی که کتمه دوی قبول اندی ها ذ کند  
 چاه ایچنه کرکا اهنک ایندی طارقی  
 عیار بقا روده کندک او جین طوقدی  
 اردواندیشر ذاد کتمه دوسوز نوسین  
 طوقدی طارقی کندی نه یکنه دکن صابوروی  
 اشفاق ایانم برنزد بانه کوری دیوب  
 او از کادی دوی طارقی کندی یوقاری  
 کندی بر کظم دکلیمو شایخند بر صوغا خالیس  
 کند طارقی با نوسین خاکند بر هر زرد بلور  
 بند کتاک کر کف دیوب کندی بلند بغلیوب  
 بر او جیه اردوانه انه وردی قبول ایچنه  
 روان اولدی تا اولد نردوبانه اروپ  
 کندی بلندن جوزوب کندی خصلت دین  
 نردوبانندن کتف روان اولدی تا الی  
 ایانم یقین اولدی که نردوبانندن اشاعه  
 اندی شایخم او جوب برین دوقدی  
 ها بیابان نردوبان طارقی عیار قهر نردوبان

نردوبان

طارقی  
 ایچنه  
 کرکا  
 اهنک  
 ایندی  
 طارقی

نیه وارر بدوزنه دورسون راوی ایبر بهلکان  
 اردوان کندی چکوب بر زمان صی ایلدی  
 کسه خرابر اندی ما دوسول ولد یواندیت  
 دیر دوقه چوقوب اولدیم ان اولدیور دمدم  
 قیامتخیزنه واروب کلدن لردی بولدی یوانا جار  
 اردوان ایچیشر ذاد سر ندریمه کیز طوقدی  
 لکی قفا مرینه کلدوب قوند یو کوروس  
 کندی سرا ینه کلدوب کتفا احوالی باندی نردوبان  
 روایت اییدی با نردوبان اول صفات  
 باشن کسین دبریمید دوی دیریم دیو  
 ددکن معلوم اولدی که اول برنزدی  
 بر نردوبان ایچیش لخدیم نتم کمان اولدی  
 فیروز شاه ولایت سو یلو نردوبان طوقدی  
 کتف با طلذت حق دین انوار الیز دین دوی  
 اولدیم کتف چون صباح اولدی  
 کدر دین دیوان ایلدوب تحت او زردی  
 قرار ایلدیم اردوان ایچیشر ذاد کتف

طارقی  
 ایچنه  
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استدی کالدی بر لرنج قرار ایلدیلو ر لوی ایدر  
 اول کیو باد رفتار عیار خیر الحفم اردوان  
 کاندی عیار اول قوی کوب نابوید  
 اولد قارینه و قز لوب کدر دین بزم ایلد  
 کندرسه کور کدر دید باد رفتار کلوب جمل اهل  
 فیروز شاه دیندی محمد ملول اولدی ایلر  
 اول دیری واروب کدر بچک قیدنگد حالین  
 دو یاوز و در باد رفتار ایلد  
 اردوان دخی ایشک اوزون در دلو  
 بو یگانه کدر دلسی اول کورت  
 تحت اوزرینه کلوب اردوان ایشک ایلد  
 کتروب اول ایگه نکاریم ایگه مخفی زینیا  
 ارسته ایدوب جوق مال کینه و قول قرارش  
 و شو لیز لوبک از رو کوه جمع ایدوب بو  
 و جهله فیروز شاه اول کینه کتکه غنچه  
 اتدیو نلخته کدر دینو شاه خور سیلر  
 جه ایلد مری کتوزو یوررد دی فیروز  
 قتی

قتر هم اولدی امر ایلدی جمله حکم نریا  
 اولوب طبل بشارت اور لوب جمله خاتمه لار  
 جهان افروز و محمد ملک و عنبرین فرشته  
 منتقبالم کتدیو ان لوب قار شولدیو ر اوی ایدر  
 کدر دینس کیدر اولد قدر بونلوی الوب  
 کتکله ایکن خوریند جهه اغلدی مری ایلدی  
 نرشمدی سپاه ایران نیوزیم وار علم اتمام  
 خاقان اعظم شکر خان انارک بند لرنج که  
 باکم ملک بهمه او کتزه بو بجه شرمسار لقلی  
 ایلد بجه حذقه اول کورک دی مری باک  
 کجا باغش او دیوب بو بومعدن سویشتر ایلد  
 مخیفده کلکات ایدر لوب بزم مانا صکره  
 اردوان مشیر داد کله لوب مخیفه او کتله  
 ایجازت الوب خوریند جهه اتی بیلدی  
 خوش کله بیز دخت شوق و ادم لکونک  
 در ایدر که بربوقدر بلال کلوب برناکس  
 الفدک گرفتار اولدیو نلخته ایلد



اولم سز بزي هرگز ايكند سز دوي پهلوان  
 اردوان ايتدي اي ملكه ي تركستان  
 بندهن چوق چدر و جفالر هكدك اغوزك  
 احوالكو جهدر باز كا ندنه اوج كلك  
 شدي اول چدر و جفا كوي صفا دلم  
 كلكي ملك بهما سز في استيقا بره سلا م  
 ايدر دويب غننه نك دام نينه مسال  
 چوق سندي بوايي اوزره خدر شير  
 چهر نك هغه س در بقور خا قورن  
 اور تيرالد يوكوزند و چقد يار تمام نوكت  
 ايدرولم روان اولدو راوي ايدر ايران  
 خا قورنوي دوي بهتقبال اتم ايدر  
 هر طرفن دق ناي اوازي كلكو دك  
 چون طرفيند بربرلم برز نكند لم ملكه  
 ذراب قزي خوري بيكر خا قورن اوكلو  
 كلكو دوي خوري بيكر خا قورن ايراق ايدوب  
 اول باندي بزرگ ابله ايك ي و اروب  
 محضك

درگاه شاهان و امرا  
 در شهر تبريز  
 در روز پنجشنبه  
 در ماه ربيع الثاني  
 در سنه ۱۰۰۰  
 در وقت ظهر  
 در حضور شاه  
 در مجلس  
 در وقت نماز  
 در شهر تبريز  
 در روز پنجشنبه  
 در ماه ربيع الثاني  
 در سنه ۱۰۰۰  
 در وقت ظهر  
 در حضور شاه  
 در مجلس  
 در وقت نماز

محضك دامنه قالدر و بر خدر شير چهر ايد  
 مهري كوروي انهم دلدار لقاندي انزده  
 خدر ي بيكر ك آي طرفه الف طنوب ساد  
 اندر فرودنم حمد خنك و فتنه دن قدر تلذ  
 قيتش ايد يار انزن خدر شير چهر و كندي  
 بارگاهن اندر ديار هلك مهره كور ديس  
 او كنده بياده اولدو رايط خذ مقي برينه  
 ايلندي تافروز شاه باذله هذ كلكو  
 حمد بياده او كند بارگاه ايجنه كوروب  
 خدر ديسك كلكو كندون شيراده  
 ايد چو كور ديس دوي ايجري كوروب چيرور  
 شاه او كنده خدمت اتم ي هزارده قانق  
 افي قور خدمت كندي ياننه ارب اوتم  
 ديار خندي امراسي بربر كلكو كوروي  
 نيزه شاه او كنده خدمت ايدو  
 ديم اندي كلكو سيزي شير ايلدي  
 برزخان سراج دور ايدوب انزن خير



کرد و سزای شاه دست خرد کرد و بیداری اندر هر روز  
 طار قدره سزای ایله کن انکه ترضیه  
 بیان ایله و اول چاهی بوانه کلمه بنزد که  
 ددی پس او ککون عیش نشسته شغول  
 او دیار کرد و سزای سزای سزای  
 جوق تخفیه در نغمه کنیز شدی فیروز  
 شاه عرض ایله سزای سزای سزای  
 عیش ایله ای برتس فیروز شاه تحت اوز  
 او تدر و ب دیوان دور دی بر برتس  
 او تدر دو ملک بمان خدر شد چهارم دیار  
 ار ز و سزای ایله فیروز شاه دخی ایران  
 کنک انتردی امر ایله طیطوس شکلی  
 کند و دیار زباده هسته ایله جمله  
 در سزای بر اعقب او زبانه او تدر تدر  
 فیروز شاه انکه خاک بر سزای ایله  
 طیطوس بنم احلم یا کند رسندن حداد  
 اولدر که در کلک نه به ضرب ایله  
 انکه

انکه برین بکا بوسه دوزوب دفن ایله  
 ددی فیروز شاه سزای رضا ک او زبانه  
 ایله اما اول خدر شدی ملک بمانه نکاح  
 ددی اندر واروب و کالقی الالو انکی  
 رجا ایله کلوب فیروز شاه هم ددی فیروز  
 شاه بیدری واروب بیدر نشکدن خان  
 صقاروب ضلعت خاص کیدری خدمت کنیز  
 نغمه و تدر واروب انکا عزت اندر اولدی  
 کلوب فیروز شاه اهله این او بیدر شاه  
 صفیله او تدر دی اندر قزین خلک کاسه  
 ایله ایله شکوه خانا و بر دم اما اوج  
 شرط ایله برین چون بیزا اذاد ایله  
 لشکال هندسی و بنکد خان وقت طنطنه  
 شاهی خدمت الابرین دخی اذاد ایله  
 و شرطیم دخی بیدر که بنی بند خنده کندن  
 بر او چینی شرطیم بیدر که ملک  
 لشکال هند و بر کس فیروز شاه اوج شرط

شاه فیروز



بیا قبول ایدم دیوب در حال متکذبان  
شاه ططوس و شنگال هندی و حزمیه  
لا بریش و سایر بنده اولانک از اید  
خلفه کبیر دیوب حمله دار لوب مجلس  
او تزدو هر برینه دیار لرینه مقرر اید  
سکندرز رضا لوب ططوس حکم عقد رنک  
ایلدی قدر شید چهره و ملک بهمنه و مرعی  
ار و روانه دیوب دیار مبارک باد اندیو  
قدر شید چهره شاه او لوب اندر دو کون  
براخته مشغول اولدیو شهر سرند بیج  
له نایب دیوب کر سزید شهر نیک ایاغند  
قدند یار تمام فرق کردن دو کون اولدی  
تمام آنک سادش و اریب چهره ایش  
کمال ایش الله زوالی بدلیز راوی اید  
بد فرق کون دو کون کوه قاف ایچره دیوب  
و پریو ایچنه دوشدی فرق کون تمام  
اولدقه فیروز شاه او غلی بهمن کوروب

یوز

سزید و کد زین او بی ای اتانک جانین  
خدای تعالی دن مرادم سز ایدک شکر کمین  
سین بکا و بر دی مقصدوم اولدر که سین بلا تله  
ایران کدیزه ریم ابراهیم شاه اولدوب عالم  
بتدن یاد کار قار سن چون بز دانا شخضه  
تبی خا توره نصیب ایددی الله تعالی  
او غولوردی نصیب ایلده ده  
وارک کردک اولان دیوب ملک بهمن ایش  
فیروز شاه الله اولدیو ططوس مقصدی  
کردک کر ملک براخته مشغول اولدنی  
راوی اید اول کیچنج یوز بیک صراج  
و شمع لریا قدیو ملک بهمن سوار ایدوب  
چک شاه لرو و بکلر دکا بنجه پیاده خور  
در بارگاهند ایرکدیو اتندن بیاده  
اولوب قدر شید چهره نیک بارگاه ایچنه  
کردن او رادنه بعض جوانان نامدار  
دیوب آرد و ایچمه یاننه کتور دیوب اندن







چقدر بوضه بی اش دروب قن ملول اولنگ  
مرد دی مهر دینی یوزینا یرتوب اغلری  
کونک اولنگ جمله پهلوانو فیروز شاه  
بارکاه هندی او ندیله هر طرخی اراد یار  
هیچ اندن خبر بلدیلمی زبانه رازینق  
ایردی زاده ای کیدر فیروز شاه  
اوغلنگ بد نغمه نغمه و زاری سینه واقف  
اولوب انک کار نزه عاجز اولدی  
قزل آتای شکره خانم ملول اولدی  
فیروز شاه اولنگ بد قزل ستار و سندر  
ایر کدر ندیکه دنیا کله کوه جوق ناکر  
و دیومر انم دوش اولو خاندانن بویک  
انی ارالی کیدر جوق جد و جده ایرد  
در یالو و بیایان کج انج باد شاه  
قاج تختن اوله آیدر عاقبت  
انی دیومر اندن المور کندو بد ایلمه  
کندر انار دن جوق انار اولاد قالد  
دی شرایح

چقدر بوضه بی اش دروب قن ملول اولنگ

دی شرایح انانجه سه ای ایله کوزم  
لسته منی لرین د کله ری ظاهرا و لیدی اول  
چوان ملک بزمند ای لاکتور بجه جوق  
خبر و خبر کدره در بیغ انک زوئی زمانه  
دیومر انم د دردی دیوب زار اولدی  
ملک بزمین ای قوماق اولم خدر ایرد  
طلبنده بد عالی چکنه نین ای بندوز نمانه  
قو میان یا بد رکه انی ال کدرم یا بلور  
اولام دیوب هیچ کیمه وز دهد  
برند کدر دین شاه دینی کلوب بارگاه  
ایردی کیدر بیروز شاه جمده اولور  
آباغ اوزنه دور دیو کلوب برنزه قرار  
ایلمه خدر نیدر جوق نکل احوالین  
دیومر انم عظیم ملول اولدی سنک  
مالکدره هیچ دیو وار میدر دلا کدر دیس  
ایردی دیو یوقد لکن او بده لشد  
دیومر انم را مشنزه اولدوغی طایغ بھایت

چقدر بوضه بی اش دروب قن ملول اولنگ



تبرکات و خیرات و برکتها  
و در این کتاب است  
طریق رسیدن به

بوصه طاعت در آن روز بیوک غار و در اول  
طاعت او تپسی طرف در یادریوک کلکند  
آنک قلمند که وارعا مشدر از منم واردر  
بنه معلوم دکلرد دی فردوز شاه  
هده لودکه اراک اثر بولت کز بارین  
سوار اولب دیو کوی کیده لم اولک  
طاعت قلمند مادم کلمه رم لم اولک  
بر حیرت بیاد لیز دمی بس اولاد یار بیوی  
اثری به لقمه مسیب ملک به است  
خدمت سینه کلوب قیادت بوز عات  
فان لان کویان اولدی بی بی ای نوز بهر  
قندره ارایوب بولام دیوب بخ نو بیت  
قصد ایله بکم همان جو ییچ طومر ما یوب  
بسن الم کیده اما دیو کلک است نییه  
وار و بیسی آنکه ملتد ب و اتایی  
معد قین انم ایلد دیو بیدر مشدر  
بو تخیر و تفکره نینه سن بلز دلب

اول روز ده انامک بار کاهی قید سینه صاغر  
حمد امر مملوب جمع اولاد یار نوز شاه  
اولوب هر کلک نینه کیده نوز قرا نوز شاه  
کوردن بیخ کرم دیکدی کو دوست لق صفین  
هت برینه کندر دخت هان بو قلد بکه  
اشدنه دینی دونه ک دیو کوردن بنانی  
اشنا و کت ایلترنا اولکم اینده کندیس  
دینم هو یام دیو بی بوج شدن خیر و زیاری  
الوب طر لوس دخی بو عنقه قدید یار  
او تو زبیلک ارا الدیگر دیو کلک است نه غوم  
ایله کیم اول منزل کیم یار اول دیو یار  
طاعت ابرش دینو آنک بلند کلک است نه عجب لایو  
بو داغک دلا مندره بو دیو دوز فستون  
بر عظیم قلعه کز عیاره طاعت اوزر نوز  
بر عظیم کد نوز جفا شول طاعت اوزر نوز  
چنگ دیو کیم یول بولدی امر ایلر  
دینج بهر و عیاره اول بونج اول



بد طایح او سینه جقار دی و دو را او می پدید  
 ابرانا عیار کردند باد رفتار و شیر ناک و محبوب  
 و پیل پایی عبادان به پدید آمدن او ثوب و باد  
 رفتار و پیل پایی او صید و فخر و شاهی  
 رسان از او یوسف یا رانه و وای ای یوسف بنی  
 کون و عذر آلوب کتدی فیروز شاه  
 اول اراده قد نیکو کرد و می دیرت می افکار  
 او کتدی بر کم کون در وی آنکه در بیک فیروز  
 شاه حمد امای ایرانند و او یورر کور  
 دید صید صالکی حکمتی خرمای پیل بر یکا فیروز  
 شاه آتیر کون انده اولدی بد بخ کون  
 باد رفتار عیار کلدی فیروز شاه  
 اول بر کتدی احوال میوید و دی  
 بار رفتار ای شاه ذاده هر می من بر کور  
 طغلق بنامه بر شکل یول کردی  
 دو ندم کلدم انوری ارای کور دم یولدم  
 صدم سینم اول بوندم و ندم هر در زحمت اول  
 یولدم

یولده طایح او ز سینه اقدام اوته یا نند ز طری  
 کور دم بر عظیم در یا در در یا کتار سینه انکم  
 یون بویادم ناچار و نوب سقدم در دی  
 فیروز شاه بیعز دی اول سیم ده انده قائدی  
 ابریش عوار اولوب دی هر کتدی دیر طویدی  
 اهل دیردی و فیروز شاه کله و کون دت  
 آگاه اولوب دیرکت قبوسن بقله یور  
 شاه کلوب دیرکت اهرافین طولان دی  
 کور بی قدیم الا ایمن قائم کور دیر  
 بد در نوزمان یا پله و غنند ز سواد ایلی  
 انا و دده لمدوز اوک یا پیل در دی  
 فیروز بود دیرکت قبوسن بخون بقله یور دی  
 کور دیرکت قونک بر سوال ایله سواد دی  
 انده و ز سینه کوندر دی قبوسن ایله  
 فیروز شاه قاقوب بد خوریم تیغله دیر  
 کلک کور دیرکت غایت حکم در هم ایچند  
 او لدر حال وارد کور صندرسنا کور سواد







اندن رخسار او از کلمه کر کرد رانک سوزین قبول  
 اقیوی بنم او کم مگس تا انک حکا نینک  
 دیم در شهرزاده طبعه بدن بسوزی نفسه  
 اول حال مقام عجیب عالم ایله باری اوج  
 کره اواز کدی فیروز شاه قبول اندی  
 بر او از دخی کلدیکم ای فیروز شاه وای  
 کرمان شاه وای فرخزاد وای بهزاد  
 وای بیلتی وای ملک اسم وای اردوان  
 وای شیرزاد وای خورشید شاه و بیگانه  
 نه در زین پکا پرشس ایدک دیو حمد ایرات  
 بکلمینک ادلمین سویلیوب نیز اولک  
 بکا قوللعا ایدک تا بنم احراقندن امین اولک  
 دوی امرای برینده بقوب قلدیلو انابونه  
 حالت اوله ددلو فیروز شاه همان  
 کبر و سنده دونوب آنتر جان دست  
 طبعه چندیسایولوب دخی اردنم چندیلو  
 قبول دینه نظر اتدیلو کور دیو بر فرزند پیر

جدد مع و قمانه

پیرا دندره فیروز شاه ایتدی بو پیرم کدر  
 سوال ایلدی ایتدی بو دیو ایلم توانشک  
 قیمی بو پیر در بونزه اولور ددلو فیروز شاه  
 اندن سوال ایدوب قاج یاکنده سن  
 ددی اول پیرا یکدن یاشنده بم ددی  
 فیروز شاه کجوب اول دیوی کس کماش  
 ایتدی امرای دیو حمد طبعه کلدیلو باری  
 شهرزاده دیردن حفری لشکر کا همتی  
 اولدیلو راهی ایدر دیو طرفدا فیروز  
 شاه همان در غریب طبعه سر حکیم اوکده  
 کلدیکم همه شاه بود بکلر یانیم بدم ایدیلو  
 حمد کور و اولدی کلدیکم صب طبعه سر حکیم  
 حکایت ایلدیله ایتدی بقی قالدورک  
 او تو را میا و سوبیلدی یوز بر سوبیلدک رفتی  
 امرشد روی ددی حکیم ذرت یاشندن  
 ملو تدیلو او تدره ی اندن انور متوقیلو  
 ایتدی بیلک واکاه اولک که اوخا کور بیکت

حال و کس او ایستاده بود در این چو سبکها ازین کوفتین من در حال  
 سلطان ایدر آنکه من مسکن انور خیر ایدر ایدر شد بر ایدر ایدر



عالمی برادون خدای تعالی در میلی و مانند حیوان  
 و نظیر عی بودی چون چیل در دیل و کوی ایدر  
 اندن غیری کلمه باطلدن بوکوز دو کماز انش و کوی  
 جمله خلقی آله ر شمد عیسن اول انش اصلای  
 د به یق اژ لا اول الوان کدر غیساتم نفت و کوما کون  
 باغی دو کور کور دینی دور نوا و طوبی اور ر کور  
 انکون انشیدن ر نکا رکان کور بیدر و اور باندن  
 اول ز کلدور اول دینی جلد در بودی یاشت  
 انشا و جاغلت الیق محمد قدر اول او جاقند  
 اول اولش ایچنه برد لک اچلدور اینی قدیم  
 اولان حد متکار دن غیری که بلز هر گاه  
 بودیم بر سا فر کلمه انکا صیافت ایدر این  
 شمد مایری او کمنه ایتوب ایدر شوک که شونک  
 کس بر اینم کلدی و هق تزج نار ایلیک لیر ویدر  
 اذنی از بر نور و شرم اولان زینکو زمینه کونور  
 انک اشغین سندن بمغنی بودی واره بو  
 اول که ده واروب زیر و زبانی ایچنه  
 کورب

این کتاب در بیان احوال و صفات انبیا و اولاد انبیا است  
 و در بیان احوال و صفات اولاد انبیا است  
 و در بیان احوال و صفات اولاد انبیا است  
 و در بیان احوال و صفات اولاد انبیا است

کورب اندن اغز ندن بر او زون بود ادمش  
 دو تر و او جن اول انش ایچنه اولان دلو که  
 دیار و اول او کور تد کور سوز می قاشب  
 ایچنه سوز سوز انش ایچندن قلم جفار  
 اول سیر کلن مکین انشی سوز یق تصور ایدر  
 هشته بی بلور در که بو جیلد و ایدوب کور سوز  
 بهیج کلمه ایدر دینی دیار ایچنه آینه بو سوز  
 مقدم ر سلومب اولان که دت غیری  
 کس باقر زنه ایدر بو فاسد اعتقاد دت  
 دو نمک کور کس بنوم خدا غز انش و باد و خاک  
 خا لعینه دیوب بو نوعه اندر جوق سوز  
 سوز کلدور دن صکره ایتدی هشته بنما جلم  
 ابر مشدر اولد بور ورم اولکم ماقتدر  
 خدای تعالی در و سوز ده بلکه هم ابرق  
 بود نیاده جزها کدی لک ایلمز سوز و هر وزیلم  
 طه رق عیار بی بهیج شردی ارا حالش  
 اما طارق عیار اگیر سوز اولد کور سوز



منگو سزودن برکسم بهروزه ایروشور اندون  
 نینه ایریلویه اول که طارق عیاری بدلم  
 کتدر اندون بوایکی عیاری کوز که بو طاقم  
 کتدی بو ایرق کلکز تو انترک ایشی نینه ایروشور  
 اتم بلور اییدی ای او علم فیروز شاه چون  
 کتا خدا فرصت و میروپ دیر کلک شاه و خراب  
 ایروشور بنی انک یرتیزه و فی ابروشور اما کتا  
 نصیحت بود که دواش کوی تمام اند کون صکان  
 زنه تار کوز ما یوب ایران زمین یوز طعمه کن  
 فرضا او غلک ملک این دخی قنایب اولدر  
 انک اردی کتده کن ایران ابر کتده جهد ایروشور  
 نوله ایروشور کتده اولک جهلانه ای کتده قاده که  
 دنیا کتده قالمز دیوب غلک همه اتم کتده  
 کتده سنک با کتده نایب کتده جهلانه نه جفا  
 چک سن برین این کتده اند و ار ما غلام  
 قتل دیوب برسم دخی عاجز در کتده  
 عاقبت مرده و اصل اولوب مملوک ال کتده  
 دهان

بهرمن زریما قبا دخی دیریدر اول ازطاقده  
 ناگاه بلور سز اولاذ معنوقم ایروشور  
 اما عاقبت سزده اولدر سز اول کتده  
 غیر سمب سزده قالمز و بنی کوز کتده یوز  
 لطفان یاشنده هم علم هزد دتده هرتده  
 واریه حاصل ایلام اهر کتده هم  
 ایامی تمام ایروشور سزده هرج و مرج  
 عاجزم بکجا اولکدت غیر سمب جان یوقدر  
 خدا دت غیر سمب پنا هم یوقدر دتوب  
 همان یای او تریزه یصد نوب کتده لرین  
 یومدم جان نیرینک مت لیم ایلام  
 فیروز شاه بو حال کتده دیک کتده فزاد قفان  
 قویاردم زار لقا ایلامی امراد دخی  
 هاتم لرین چاک ایلامی همان یاسید و هتده  
 انلوس و اروب فیروز شاه کتده قولاشده  
 اییدی قادی هم باشک صدای اولسون  
 بواریا د مملکتد رچو قلق یکی دتده

روحم ایچون فاتح او قانیل عاقبتی بهر اولوب  
 بواریه کلک که طوقوس صلیبت  
 بواریه  
 بواریه



اعتقاد جایز دکلدر اول بودن کثرت امری بر طرف  
ایرم علم اندن غریب کاره مفعول اول کتدوی  
فرد ز شاه کوه کتد دید و کتد کتد کتد  
ز او بی آید چون کتد خان و سایر بی  
جمله امرا شاه هند و ستان و تورکستان  
اوراده حاضر ایستد فرد ز شاه بلده کتد  
رلس سویل و هر آن امر کتد بیدر کتد  
طلموس قلم ایچون اغتاک کتد مرد بیدر  
آبته اول کتد نوزن ایچ بیام و عمر کتد  
لابد جام اجلی نوش ایچ دیوب اوغلی کتد  
اشارت ایچون اتانک مصلحتی کتد  
دخی مصلحت مفعول اول کتد کتد دیوب  
اول اراد کتد طغر جعوب دوی بیام کتد  
ککلی کتد دسی او کتد جاغ دتو او کتد  
د دتد اندن امرا بلدی تا داره کتد  
اشن کتد کتد قبوس کتد آر دتد کتد  
فر قتد و روز کار اولان بیچ او کتد کتد  
باد رفتار

باد رفتار عیاریم شبرنگ عیار و چاورد  
برجم ایلم وار دیو فیروز شاه کتد امری  
اوزر من اول بیچ او کتد کتد دتو او کتد  
ککلی کتد کتد اما کتد کتد دتو او کتد  
شاه ایچدی ایچ دوی بیچ سویل کتد  
نزه ماندن بر مر او کتد دوی بیچ  
ایچدی بیچ او کتد قدی کتد بیچ اتانک  
دخی کتد اولان خدا کتد مقدم کتد  
دتو مصلحت اختیار کتد دوی بیچ  
بسی کتد حرام دن احوالی یک کتد دوی  
سویل بو اتانک کلن اولان کتد بیچ  
هنا و ندا و از بیدر دتد کتد فیروز شاه  
طدتک بو صر مزاده دوی بیچ اتانک  
ککلی کتد کتد کتد دتد کتد اولان  
اولدی فیروز شاه ایچدی بیچ  
خداست تقالی کتد دتد کتد بیچ  
دوی بیچ کتد کتد دتد کتد بیچ



فیروز شاه طبرستان شد و یکی از زره انما فرزند  
 اصلی بعلبدر دکلید روی پیر ایند سز لو مکان گز  
 اگر بجای ولد رز گز دو غرورن دیبانی زبر بزم  
 و عدو مز دخی بو زمانه دکی اینک تو سر  
 فاش اولاقاق زماندر اما بود بود زوللی  
 تمام ارج ملک لدر کم بو صیله توروب تمام  
 بنم اناکوم الفقه طابتر فرورد بزدن  
 و بزم او غلدر روز دد غیری بوسری بلز لور  
 بزم کسایزده دخی بو آتشک و عدو سیب  
 بو زمانه ایچ دیب فیروز شاه با اول بورت  
 سوز سو بیلد و کتک اصلی ندر روی اول  
 پوتک قارننه بیکه کرو و سو بیلو بو مکرین  
 اناکوم انکدر در فیروز شاه اول قیو  
 ایچنه عیار بزم کتد و اتوق کلدر روی دیب  
 خترم یوقدر اول نه چاهدر بلرین شو القدر  
 ششم در کم اول قیو انزینک انما غیبی  
 کیک در و بو قیونک دینه بو کور و نزل طاق



التندن

التندن اوته یا نزه یول وارد در اندر دریا  
 میله بر یول وارد در دیلوار توق بو حصص  
 نینه بلرین روی اندن فیروز شاه ایندی  
 شهیدی بو آتش باطل اید و کتک اقرار ایدرین  
 روی پیر بلیم اول عدو سر بلیم آتش  
 دکلدر بنم او غلدر شهید و کیک بو روز  
 بد شیر ایدریم حالیا روی اولدی  
 دیدیم فیروز شاه کور و سیب بو پیریند  
 شهید دکی غم کتک ضایع کور اول آتش  
 او کتکده سجد و خط ایله آتکده روی  
 کردیسی شرمسار اولوب هان بزندن  
 صبر ایوب بر قلم اورب اول بیوی دیب  
 اندر کتکدر فیروز شاه کتک ایبا غنه در خوب  
 صدق اغلدریم و قوبه ایدوب سلمان اولدی  
 شکون خان و حقه قرضان و شاه طابوس  
 محمد سر اغلدریم فیروز شاه کتک ایبا غنه  
 خلد آتش پرست کافر ایچ بر او غرورن قیوم





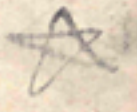


ایتدی سرندیب ملکی حمد سنک اولسون پاید  
هند و ایله درستی شکیال صندریه سمعاد  
ولا یتن ویردی بنگو خان فراقه ویردی  
طاطوس رومی ویردی بربریکز ایله  
ولا یتن او تورنی غوغتا ایلمک اددی  
پاسدرو ایله بر اولک هر کئی ملکو کوزی  
نصف ایدک و دنیا به اعتقاد بوقدر دیو  
بیردی حکم یازم لوهر کس بریندیکدی  
دکن ایتدی بزم هور لنداید دو شایلو من  
وار در اول وار یکن بز اولایتم ده شایق  
ایره هز ددی فیروز شاه بوضدی شاه  
ای بیوندینه اسون دوی اولم ایرم ددی  
فیروز شاه شاد اولوب بو شایق  
بنوروی بر طرف ایله کده سکس همان  
ایران عزم ایلمک مقر ایدوب بار لدا سی  
دیوان ایدوب تحت اوزرینه او قدر دی  
جمله اولور بائنه جم اولدی فیروز شاه

شاه حمد بکلی او خا ایوب هزار دلدانقل  
اندن ایتدی ای جوان مرد لور سز لورن شرماسم  
بندن او تدر کس عالمه جوق زحمتار  
ضلد و کز هر بو کوز بنم بو کز ایلو کوز دی  
کلیف در سنج اتمیوب غایمی بنم ایله دولدی  
شمی هر کار تمام اولدی تکیب نیمه و کس  
چاکزه نه سن و کس سز کور دیلگوز شکر طوسی  
حکم اولدی و کس وقت بکانه وصیت اید  
نه ددی تیز جاک ایران ایرش تریب  
بنده کمانم بد دز که عمرم اخر او کس  
اول کوندنک لندیدر هر مزاده کاز ص  
ویردی بن ارتق کندومی تندوست  
کدر مدع بیلم ذهونایرندن بزبون اولم  
و قمرندان ملک دارایی شتدم باد شاه ق  
طریقینه اولوب اولکی شاه کوز طریقینه  
کتمش شمدی انوردن ایر اولای ضایق قدر  
بهره کت اضطراب بخیه دک اندن ملک



لکنه یزد ز طرب ای جانی بدر خدشید هر دم دوت  
 و از یک شمشک بن بنام ایران کت ددی اندر  
 یزد و شاه بیوردی تمام یون برانجا کوردیلو  
 و سخر اسبابی قنبر دیو کدر دیس شاه خرمین  
 ایچنه کوردی بخم لادن بر یک جمع اولانا خرمین ست  
 چقاروب یزد و شاه هم بخم ایچنه کورد  
 تمام بیلک ایکیوز حکم باز شد دیس شاه لرم  
 و بهلولانم اولدر ووب هر برینه کندی  
 و لا یتلین عطا الیدی و کندی و سیم دخی  
 خاصه دلاور لریله و ایچ آن مبارز لریله قالیوب  
 کند و دت اول جگه شاه لرم دستر اولوب  
 بلوک بلوک دداغ ایروب دیار لو دیار لریله  
 کندی یو یزد و شاه دخی کدر و سیم و داغ  
 ایروب ملک لرم و سایر نامدار لرم در یک کمانه  
 کلب اوچینوز بیلک عسکر لرم اوچینوز بیلک  
 کیم لریله بر مبارزک مساعده کیم لرم کیر ووب  
 ملا حله خلعت یغلیوب یلکم یوتوب غلام  
 ایران



ایران ایروب بخ کون کندی یو روز کار لرم  
 چون موافق ایدی بر کون بر خیزیم یه کله یو  
 کیم لری کناره ووروب سوالوب راحت او کت  
 لریون اول خیزیم یو اسکله اوروب طنز  
 چقندی یو بر پنج زمان اول خیزیم ده اولدیله  
 لیره هزدن دو رو ییوه تو واریدی  
 دیرویدر لردی یگرمی کون هو اولیوب  
 اول خیزیم ده قلدی ملک بهمنکله کار ی فریاد  
 نام ایروب اتفاق ملک بهمن عقیق کار کیم لری  
 کند و کندی و سیم بر تناده او تروپ ای خور لری  
 چهره سین قنبر جولاین بن ایران کیدیوب  
 سه هند و ستانم قاطاق اولمز سنجیوب  
 بو خیزیم ده قالیوب بر تبارک ایروب هم دنیوب  
 سنده کیم نرا و فریادیلد قالیوب راوی ایروب  
 ناگاه فدا صحر فریاد ایلدیلر روز کار بر خیزیم  
 سفینه لرم یورون ددی هر کس کیم لرم کوردی  
 ملک بهمن جرایح دینزه او تدر روی البته بن

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اراد بوبولما دیر ملکه ایما قنده در که کور سز  
ذد لوقه لوی ملکه ایمن بویکده دکله اول بوم  
کله عکر کله بوی اول کله سزانی اناسله  
اولف تصدرا بیدر دک بزم کیمین کله  
دیر او چیدر بار کیم بده اولدو بو کله  
فیروز شاه خیفادر یغاک او غلیتمادن  
چهار دق دیوب نار یغف بشلدی حوری  
بیکر و قمر ملکه و جهان آفرین دخی بد اخلدیر  
ای جان بیدر قنده کتدک سکا نلدی کله  
اتاکی فرا قندن یقوت سنز ایران بجه  
کیمدین انده اناک بحیه الحیاته کویا بروم  
بینی نا امید قلدرک دردی و طمطوس کلک  
سوزی ریلت اولدی بوندن قدر قارینده سینه  
کدر مدین اولام دیوب بو اولوب نوحه کور  
ایدردی چوقه کور حد ذوق کدی جمله کله  
و بیدل نوحه اولوب فیروز شاه کله کور  
ای شاه اخلتک چندان فایده سی یوقدر  
صلایکند

کله عکر کله بوی اول کله سزانی اناسله

بیر ایملکده هله ملکه ایما در بیدر کندی اختیار  
فالمدر اگر اجازت کند واریسه کور و نوب  
اراملم و دو فیروز شاه نیلم بجا هر کله  
خدای تعالی از سنز دکله نیلم و دی  
راوی اختیار ایدر بیدلان داده اردن  
و شیر ذاد ایکسده ایام دو روب فیروز  
البته بر لازمی و سزاویوب ملک ایمن اراملم  
ددر بونلی نقتد کتدک ددو جان اولدی  
ناچار اولوب اجازت ویردیو اندن  
بشن بیک ارتوب طوطیا نیش کلکی  
و یاد رفتار عیاری بید قلوب ایکی  
ارستاد کیم بیدر یلم کیم بنوب ملک ایمن  
ارایوینه کله کلوی بولم طوغرمی  
و نوب کندی بو بجا فیروز شاه  
اردوان اید شیر ذادیم سندنردیم  
کند و لوده روزگار لوم بولوب غزم ایران  
ایدوب کندیو آغا راوی ایدر اردوان



شیرداد و طولیا ندرش و باد رفتار از آن  
 که ایلم کیم بنوب دریا ایچینه روانه اولمش  
 اما انلک رسدایینه ها زون ویرلردی  
 اوستا دکه ایوی او کون کیدوب بر جزیع  
 کنا وینه ایرشد یو حوم جزیع ایوب کیمایینه  
 کمان سر ووب طشع چقدیلو ناکان کوردیلو  
 اول جزیع اورتاسنده اولمان طاغند  
 بر طایفه شاعم کلدوب انلک اورتاسند  
 براق تنلور پیر وار اما بغایت ضعیف  
 زولش اول قرا لوارد وانه سلام ویروب  
 ای سز دان پرستار خوش کلدیکر بقا سز سز  
 قلدیکر دیوب حال خاطر صبر شد یو آمدن  
 بود یار کلدیکر ندرن سوال ایلدیلو بر نکرده  
 ملک هم در دجه کلدیکرین بیلدر ذیلو اردوان  
 انلکون سوال ایوب جمه کزین ریکی  
 سپاه اما پیر ایچیکر ده بیاز سزدت  
 دکلر او م زدی انلوی بی بو مرد غریب  
 یوزالک

سوال کیم بنوب دریا ایچینه روانه اولمش  
 ایلم کیم بنوب دریا ایچینه روانه اولمش

بیضا لیلدر بزمل اولدر دلو پیرا یتیم  
 بی ایران ملکندره نین تجارتلم بوند کلدیم  
 یوزلری بویلم طاعا تده کدروب خطا یوز  
 قلدیم یوزالی یلدر بوند عبادت ایرم  
 ده یی اولک ندر دوما بو الوفا وردی  
 اردوان ای ابو الوفا بر جوان اردنجه بوند  
 کلدکه عجب بو یولره انکا ایرر عینوزدی  
 ابو الوفا بیولره سز لرمک بهمنه ایرم  
 ونوس خردده سزک و انلک انلک  
 عظیم اشیر کلمه کرکر انکا بو لشد قدن  
 صسک تکرار بر بر یگزودن ایر بیلدر سزینه  
 تکرار بو کورس ددی طوطیا نوش ایچ  
 ایوا لوف سندن سوال لوم وارد حویب  
 سترم دیوب اول پیره نجه سوال جواب  
 ایوب و اولکون انلک اولوب کلدیکر  
 زضیر کزین رصو لرسن الووب بونلر و داح  
 ایوب یینه کلدیکرین دریا به صلیح تقدیر بقایم



نقل ایدوب کند یو یوی کون دخی کیوی  
 بر جزیر دخی کورندیک اور تاسند برهان  
 بایش فاکه چکاش کیلبره کنان سوروی  
 اول جزیر به دخی جقد یو سوره بکشد  
 بر صومعه کلا با قاشد و خار کاشد  
 در شکی او ایدوب کرد یو بر قوی کبک  
 اوزون بد یو شخص پیدا اولوب یونام  
 هندی دلیخ سلام و یو یو خوش  
 کدیگر دیوب صومعه سندن پنج لطیف  
 ضیوع کتوب بد ناره و برد  
 انون بوند کل کل نون سئواله ایلدی  
 اردوان دخی ملک ایمن اردو بخ کلا  
 بلدر دی طوطیا نفس ای بیوریا کلا  
 بو جزیر ده نیکس ددی نیر دخی  
 باره میان ایدم نندر دیار ندر  
 کلام بو جزیر و بکندم عبادت ایدوم  
 کاهی بر قوم کلاب نیم کون بوند بنام  
 اولوب

لوح در شامی منالیکوه  
 حافظه انچه مشطه زده  
 ایدوب عظیم منالیاب اولوب  
 بنام

اولوب یینه کیدر فوج بوند همان عباد  
 ایدوم ددی اول یوم دخی تحسیر ایلدی  
 ادک ندر دد قومی کچی لاکته در دخی  
 انون دخی طوطیا نفس حکله بخدر  
 بجای بیله ندر سئواله ایدوب سؤیلدی  
 مثلا بود در یاده نیم جاندر فوا اولور دخی  
 یور دخی بوند کونا کون جاندر فوا و ارد  
 همه دن بر یک بوند بر بالق اولور  
 ادینه زلفین دیر نر انک باشب  
 قتی بیو کدر و بر طبق کبیر اوزینه  
 بر ادم اوتدر اولور خد بار که  
 بر ادم بر افته او غرایوب غرقه و ارا  
 و بر سینه هلاک اولوب اول ادم  
 دخی دریا به طالع اول زلفین بالغ  
 ایرو شور بو غرقه دن هلاکم یقاین  
 واران کله قوی کورسک دینی  
 ایدوب بایشی ارستنه اولوب کند ونک



با شکر و بوییدن صدون طلوع و تلاطم  
 لذت یزدوب اول غریق بجای  
 اول وجهه هلاک کلاذ قدت تارعی  
 و این غایتی و دیکند و کتای  
 بر کرده بر کنان قدر و اندون کند  
 در یادینه طالب کیدر وار ر بلورج  
 بر دست دخی بر کوه سب چراق  
 کتدوب الله دیر و عذر خواهان  
 ایدوب اوکنم براد اوینار کویلی  
 هاگدن قدر تاروم والله بوکو فرج  
 و پردم دار خورشق ایدین دیوب  
 کتارت ایدر و کیدر و اول کوه کت  
 قیمتی صد هزار دینار در بو بوعدن  
 بودر یاده عجایب جو قدر د و سب  
 ار دوان و شیر ذاذ و طوطیا فوش  
 و سایر کوی بوسزد دفا عجه قالدیو  
 و اول پیر افرین ایلدیو اندون اول  
 پیر

نوشته در شاه  
 عاقلان ازین عظمی  
 ایدوب عظیم  
 عظیم  
 عظیم

چلا پندری ای عزیز تو طدرک سز کلم  
 جزیره کوه کتوب نفع ایدوب دیوب  
 و روب بخ کون اول جزیره کتوب  
 ایدوب و اول جزیره دن و افر  
 دیوب کوزن کبلمینه دولد و روب  
 اول پیر و داع ایدوب عزم ر  
 ایلدیو و کبلمینه سوروب دریا ایزینه  
 ایدوب کتدیو کتبه بونوی قولک  
 کتوب انلرک احوالی بر کتد کت و یلینه  
 میشد صکی بز ل کت بهما احوالی کت  
 اول جزیره ده قدر سید چرس عشقیلم  
 کتاندن و یار اندن و سایوی کودن  
 جزا و شوب بوید اول جزیره اور ناکند  
 یا کت قالدوب انک حای نید ایدوب  
 انی بیان ایدوب اول کت  
 ملک بهما اول جزیره ده  
 کتد کت  
 کتد کت  
 کتد کت



حسن اغا قندر علاه

افندم سنا کیر درلد  
افندم سنا کیر درلد  
افندم سنا کیر درلد

مذرت  
سنا کیر

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مالی به نده و به بشور  
علاهی اضل صلیک نه حاصل  
برو وضع مزق

فیض الله اغا  
۱۱۵۴

1500/1



بوزه و کون با بدنی

ک

سنا کیر

بود روز ما نیک ابتغای کی و او در

هرو صایک بر فراق

بو عیدی افندی او کی  
جسد سلیمانیش یکر ایوج  
الی النیره کبر و میشد  
فانک اولشد ازیم یعنی افترا صمن