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Front cover:

"The story of the Dragon island (*jaẓīrat al-tinnīn*)", miniature from '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* by Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad b. Mahmūd al-Qazwīnī (ca. 1203–1282), manuscript D 370 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 988/1580, Baghdad school, fol. 64 a.

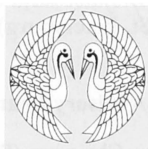
Back cover:

Plate 1. "The giant snake or dragon (*thu'bhān*)", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 219 a.

Plate 2. "The cat with the wings of a bat, Island of Java (*jaẓīrat al-zābih*) dweller", miniature in the same manuscript, fol. 60 a.

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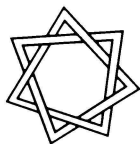
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

I. Ye. Petrosyan

THE AUTHOR AND THE BOOK: THE TURKISH TRANSLATION OF SA'DĪ'S *GULISTĀN*

The circumstances that inspired medieval Muslim authors to engage in creative work are always individual, although they are often similar. Turkish authors are no exception. Unfortunately, the authors themselves are usually too laconic in their explanations of the reasons that compelled them to take up the pen. The personal and individual are elusive in their works, although the texts themselves, whether their authors wished it or not, can tell us a great deal about the creators of these compositions. One can only add to this that the individual elements disappears almost entirely in translated works. The author of the translation dissolves without a trace in the text he translates. As we read the traditional, streamlined formulae the translators use to explain their reasons for translating, we can only guess at the real reasons they picked up the pen. They may be deeply buried in the culture itself, or there may be psychological motives for the creative impulse and the translation of a specific work [1]. The individual, personal element is deeply hidden in Muslim literature, although one finds exceptions. In the marvelous *Bābur-nāma* ("Records") by Bābur, for example, the person of the author sparkles like a diamond, illuminating the thoughts and feelings of people from the medieval Muslim East. But Bābur's "Records" are not a translation. They are an original, autobiographical work [2].

Medieval Muslim texts appeared in a cultural context. They contain intellectual subtexts that are of interest to the modern researcher. What we know about the era and its culture can illuminate these contexts, just as what we know about the author can assist us. Of course, the task of obtaining this knowledge is more difficult when we deal with a translation. Yet it is not a hopeless task. Information about the author makes available to us the concealed, underlying characteristics of the views held by the authors of Muslim works as carriers of their own culture.

As I explored the Turkish manuscript collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, my attention was drawn by a copy of the Turkish verse translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. It was done by the seventeenth-century Turkish poet Ḍa'ifī. The manuscript is an autograph, and intriguing in many respects. One finds a brief description of it in the catalogue of Turkic manu-

scripts compiled by L. V. Dmitrieva [3]. The manuscript contains 02 + 54 + 004 folios (27.0×18.0 cm). The paper is European, with water-marks, the most frequent of which consists of two crossed arrows tips down (in the form of the letter 'x'). The text (22.0×13.0 cm) in verses is written in four columns in a common border composed of a red line. The columns are set off by thin red lines. One should add that the poetic texts in medieval Turkish manuscripts were commonly formatted in this fashion, following the early-medieval Persian tradition. The text is written in a neat, small *naskh* and is vowelled everywhere. The title of the translation is: *Kitāb-i nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān* ("Picture Gallery of the [Kingdom] of Cities, Plants, and Grasses"). It is in a large *thuluth* (vermilion). Somewhat lower, the *basmala* forms the second line, also in *thuluth*. Both lines (the title and the *basmala*) are vowelled. Enclosed in a common border, they form a kind of 'unwān, though lacking the floral ornament that is usually a part of 'unwāns (see fig. 1) [4]. The pagination is Eastern (custodes) and late-European (in pencil).

The binding is paper-board with a cherry-coloured leather spine. The covers are edged in leather of the same cherry colour. Grey-pink paper with white patterns and black-pink leaves was pasted above the binding's paper-board. The manuscript is held in a paper-board case with a brown leather spine, on which there is an inscription embossed in gold in Latin letters: *Kitab Nekaristan Cod. Turc. bomb.* The paper-board of the case is pasted over with brown patterned paper. The paper-board shows the manuscript's old call number: II. 4. 27. The binding and case seem to be of quite late European origin (or at least the case is). V. D. Smirnov, who was the first to describe the manuscript in the second half of the nineteenth century, and later L. V. Dmitrieva, ascertain that the binding is of late Eastern origin (Dimitrieva specifies that it is Turkish) [5].

Beginning of the text (first *bayt*) (fol. 1b):

حُدَايَه حَمْدُر كَوْنِيْئِه زِيْنَت
اَكَا اَوْلَسُوْن نُنَا وُ شُكْر وُ مِيْنَت

End of the text (final *bayt*) (fol. 54b):

بُولُوبُ أَوْلَدِي بِنَكَارِ سَتَانِ زَيْنَتِ
تَمَامَ أَوْلَدِي حُدَايَاهُ شُكْرٌ وَ مِنَّتٌ

There is a stamp in a border on the inner side of the binding's upper cover: Азиат. Музей, MS Orient, С 806, Ак. Наук СССР (Asiatic Museum, MS Orient, С 806, Academy of Sciences of the USSR). The note indicates that the manuscript was at one time a part of the Asiatic Museum's collection and that it was given the call number С 806 in the Soviet period. Beneath the lower line of the border we find the manuscript's old call number in violet ink: II. 4. 27.

There is another stamp on fol. 01 of the manuscript: Институт Вост. А. Н. СССР. Инв. 1936. 144 (the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. 1936 Inventory, number 144). To the left, we find another old call number: MSS turk № XXV. Folio 3 is blank and unmarked, with clear traces of moisture. In the centre of fol. 1a we find a round seal with the Russian state emblem (the two-headed eagle) and the following legend:

П: Библиотеки Учебн:
Отд.: Вост: Языковъ
М: И: Д:

The seal belongs to the library of the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It indicates that at some time (before it made its way to the Asiatic Museum) the manuscript was part of the collection in the Pedagogical Department library. The left edge of this folio contains a note in Arabic letters (in black ink), carefully crossed out and now illegible. Somewhat lower, along the left edge, we find another note. One can discern the words: *في سنة*. Lower there is a round Eastern seal (cropped along the left edge); one can read only the word *حضرت*. All of these notes apparently belong to the manuscript's owners. Folio 1a—1b is damaged by moisture. The paper is yellowed and glossy.

There is another round seal on 54b that belongs to the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the very end of the manuscript, on fol. 001, we find written in pencil in the upper left corner another old library call number: M. L. t. № 274. The round seal of the Institute of Oriental Studies is on fol. 002 on the right.

There is an *ex libris* on the inside lower cover: Bibliotheca Suchtelen (see *fig. 2*). To the left and right are lions supporting a shield with their paws. The shield is topped by three knight's visors. The central visor has a crown. The same inside lower cover bears several marks in pencil. They are the marks of library inventories: M. L. t. № 274, As. II. 4. 27, etc. The *ex libris* indicates that the manuscript was once a part of the library of Suchtelen, a person who deserves some lines to be devoted to him, especially because the tale illuminates not only a part of our manuscript's story, but the story, little-known, unfortunately, of Eastern manuscript collections in Russia.

As the *ex libris* shows, the manuscript belonged in the early nineteenth century to Count Petr Kornilovich Suchtelen (d. 1836). P. K. Suchtelen, a native of Holland, entered Russian military service in 1783. He took part in

numerous Russian military campaigns, served in the Military Department of the Russian War Ministry, and was the true creator of the Russian General Staff. He received his count title in 1822. His son, Pavel Petrovich Suchtelen (1788—1833), followed in his father's footsteps, attaining the rank of General Adjutant. He also took part in many Russian military campaigns, and, which is more important to the story of our manuscript, participated in the 1811 campaign of the Russo-Turkish War of 1806—1812. During the 1826—1828 war with Persia he was the chief of staff of the Caucasian Corps.

Suchtelen Senior was a passionate collector of manuscripts and rare books. F. F. Vigel, a noted figure in the Russian history of the first half of the nineteenth century, wrote about him in his famous recollections that P. K. Suchtelen was a "frighteningly knowledgeable" man and "had a passion for learning". All of the mathematical sciences, branches of literature, philosophy, and theology "were equally familiar to him". Once, Vigel reports, P. K. Suchtelen invited him to his library, located in the former throne-room of Emperor Paul I (r. 1796—1801), who was killed in a plot. After the Emperor's death, the Paul I Palace (now, the Mikhailovsky Palace) was put at the disposal of the War Ministry, where Suchtelen served. Suchtelen's state quarters were located in this building, a part of which consisted of the former throne-room with its magnificently preserved *plafond* on the ceiling depicting Jupiter and Olympus. According to Vigel's description, simple wooden bookcases without glass or curtains lined the bare walls of Suchtelen's study and library. They contained priceless treasures — a vast quantity of rare early-print books to arouse the envy of any bibliophile. In the centre of the hall stood rough-hewn cabinets with drawers down to the floor, where Suchtelen kept his rare manuscripts and collections of engravings and medals. Volumes not yet filed lay atop the cabinets [6]. Vigel explains that P. K. Suchtelen, who was not poor but hardly rich, spent half of his income on books. After his death, the priceless collection passed to the Russian state; Vigel tells us that "no private individual was able to buy it" [7]. Our Turkish manuscript with the translation of Ḍa'ifī's *Gulistān* was apparently among the riches Vigel describes. The manuscript may have been presented to Suchtelen by his son, Pavel Petrovich, who likely acquired it for his father's collection during the Russo-Turkish campaign of 1811 on the Danube front. A group of Turkish troops commanded by the grand vizier Aḥmad Pasha capitulated there after they were surrounded near Slobodzea [8].

Suchtelen was one of the most memorable of Russia's book collectors. Yet he was only one of many in the Russia of his day — the enlightened aristocrats of varied interests who collected manuscripts. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is indebted to many of these people, who included famed Russian scholars, travellers, and simply lovers of "mysteries of the Orient".

The Ḍa'ifī manuscript offers a rare example of a manuscript that tells its own story (too much of it, as we will see below). Unfortunately, such abundant information does not always facilitate the researcher's task. As we learn from the seal in the manuscript, at some point after Suchtelen's collection was purchased by the treasury, the manuscript entered the library of the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Fig. 1

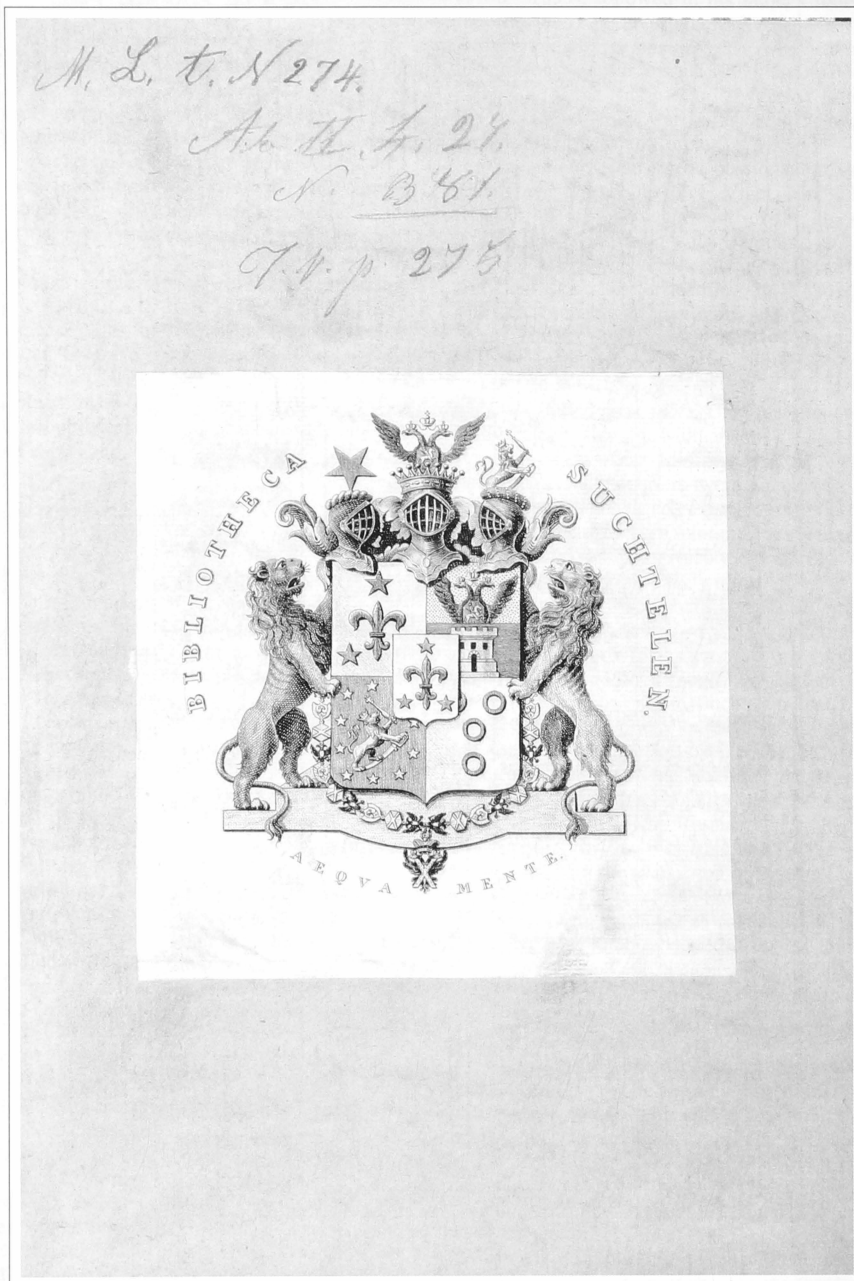


Fig. 2

Alexander I (r. 1801—1825) created the Pedagogical Department in 1823. It provided training to graduates from the Eastern faculties of Russian institutions of higher education, as well as gymnasiums and lyceums, before the graduates began diplomatic service in “the countries of the Levant”. The students who entered the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Manuscripts studied and described the manuscripts there, and for many years it remained the only library in Russia with a detailed description of its holdings [9]. In 1921, the library of the Pedagogical Department was transferred to the Academy of Sciences Asiatic Museum.

On fols. 02—01, we find an annotation in French (in black ink), in a handwriting typical of Russian official documents. The annotation briefly cites some episodes of a work contained in the manuscript and provides brief information about its author (see *fig. 3*). It cannot belong to P. K. Suchtelen, who was not an orientalist, but to someone who knew Ottoman Turkish well. Nevertheless, the annotation is not entirely accurate, betraying a superficial familiarity with the manuscript. We cite it here in full:

کتاب نگارستان شهرستان درختستان سبزیستان
ou *Galerie de peintures, villes, forêts et Prairies*. Tel est le titre d'un Recueil des petites histoires en vers turcs, dont chacun à pour but de prouver la vérité d'une assertion morale ou politique, comme, par exemple, qu'un homme qui a des bonnes mœurs et du mérite n'a pas besoin d'une belle figure; — qu'il faut arrêter le mal dans son principe et que la bonté est vainement employée envers les amis viles; — que les hommes de mérites finissent toujours par être considérés et que l'envieux ne peut être satisfait, qui par la mort de celui qui est l'objet de son envie; — que les souverains sont affermis sur leur trônes à raison de bien qu'ils font à leur sujets, ainsi de suite.

L'auteur qui se nomme Pir (c.a.d. vieillard) Mohammed fils d'Evermouss (sic — *I. P.*), fils de Nour'ad-din, fils de Farissy, natif de Maden, bourg de la province de Roum, était Mouderriss ou Professeur. Il dit à la fin de l'ouvrage qu'il le composa en 961 (1553) pendant une grande peste qui venoit de lui enlever six fils, et qu'il l'acheva en 24 jours, malgré l'affliction où il était plongé et sa faiblesse physique. Ce livre est écrit à Constantinople et dédié au Sultan Soliman I. fils de Selim I. Les vers sont du mètre nommé Bahr-el hazedj. L'auteur dit qu'il avait composé peu de temps auparavant un autre ouvrage aussi en vers sous le titre de *Bagh Bihischt*, ou Jardin du Paradis.

One should note that the author of this French annotation retells several of the stories in verse contained in the manuscript, giving a French rendering of the name of the author — Pir Mohammed b. Evermouss b. Nour'ad-din b. Farissy al-Maden. The work is, however, not an original one. In fact, it is a Turkish translation in verse of the *Gulistān* by the famed Persian poet and moralist Sa'dī (d. 1292), whose work is mostly written in prose. Pīr Muḥammad is he who translated into Turkish Sa'dī's work. The name, as well as a few biographical facts presented in the annotation, can be easily discovered in an Arabic note found at the end of the manuscript. This note, which tells the story of the text, may be regarded as a second colophon (see *fig. 4*). It reads:

“Completed at the end of [the month of] Dhū'l-Qa'da by the hand of the one who translated, composed and ordered the eloquent, smooth phrases truly in the style of Rūmī

[that are] like a threaded pearl and the most excellent precious stones. [The composition] of this rare gem was completed after it was threaded, in the year of the plague after the death of six of his sons. Some of them [by that time] were occupied with scholarship, but died from plague. Allah took away those who heard how I read [to them] my poetic composition written in *rajaḥ* meter. I had by then already written my book *Bāgh-i bikhisht* in *al-mutaqarib* meter. After that I copied this my book, in 24 days, in *al-hazaj* meter with the title *Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān*, with pain in my heart and eyes, with the name Ḍa'ifī and weak of body (a play on words: *ḏa'if* means ‘weak’ — *I. P.*), all hope on those who believe in the correctness [of what it contains] and will ignore the imperfections in [the use of] expressions, letters and figures of speech. I hope that they will not forget to say a kind [word] for me. May Allah be merciful on him who asks of Him forgiveness [for me] and who says a prayer for my soul. Truly, I am weak and infirm, needing the mercy of Allah and His forgiveness, Pīr Muḥammad b. Awranūs b. Nūr al-Dīn b. Fāris al-Rūmī al-Ma'danī *al-mudarris*, known as humble Ḍa'ifī, in 961 of the Hijra of the Prophet, may Allah bless and greet him. Written in Constantinople” [10].

The French annotation's author took from this addition (1) the name that he presumed belonged to the work's author; (2) the year 961, in which he believed the author wrote the work, and (3) the place it was written, Constantinople (Istanbul).

In point of fact, this particular manuscript was copied (not drawn up, as the annotator believes) in Istanbul, in 961/1553—54, from another authorial copy by the author of the work. He gives his name in full in the Arabic note, as well as his literary pseudonym Ḍa'ifī (the name Ḍa'ifī appears frequently in the text of the translation, but it is missing in the French annotation). Proof that Ḍa'ifī's work was composed at another time is found in the two final *bayts*, where the author provides the exact dates of his work on the translation:

“Time is blessed and blessed is [that] hour,
When I found the strength to complete [this work].

And if you ask, in what year of the Hijra this was,
I will answer — nine [hundred] fifty [have passed since that time].

It was begun on 10 Ṣafar,
[And] Sha'bān on the eleventh [day] of the same year in which it was completed” [11].

Thus, the author gives the date he began work on the translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* — 10 Ṣafar 950/15 May 1543 — and the date of its completion — 11 Sha'bān 950/9 November 1543. True, the writing of the year date is rather unusual, as the word *yuz* (‘hundred’) is missing, apparently to maintain the poetic meter. It is clear from the dates Ḍa'ifī provides that his work on the translation took a little less than half a year. Obviously, such a project could not have been completed in the 24 days mentioned in the Arabic note at the end of the manuscript. Besides, Ḍa'ifī himself writes in Arabic that he copied his book *Nigāristān* (once he had finished the translation) in 24 days. The date the Arabic note gives for the copying — “at the close

of [the month of] Dhū'l-Qa'da 961" (the end of October 1554) — refers not the authorial copy Da'ifī mentions, which he completed in 24 days during a bitter period of family drama, but to our St. Petersburg manuscript. It was copied from that hastily copied text (see below).

Our manuscript is interesting because its author mentions in a special note certain highly personal circumstances and the feelings they evoked in him. The circumstances are such that it is impossible not to have sympathy for the author: in his note on the copying of his own work, Da'ifī bitterly relates the untimely death from plague of his six sons. This occurred in the year that he put together his book *Nigāristān*. The author's revelation allows us to recognize certain other details of his family life. The grieving father writes that some of his sons were "occupied with scholarship". By all appearances, he discussed much of what he had written with them. In any case, he read them his poetic work *Bāgh-i bikhisht*, as we learn from the note.

At the end of his *Nigāristān*, Da'ifī describes his inspiration impulse:

"A desire awakened in me, and I wrote verses, O unblemished one,
That will be a memento of me when I have become ashes.
Not a single son remains to me, so until the Day of
Resurrection,
May there remain at least some trace of Da'ifī" [12].

We see in these lines of Da'ifī not only his desire to immortalize his name through a literary composition. One also feels his mental suffering at the thought of his terrible loss. We can only cite one example in Muslim literature of a similar situation. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a unique copy of a collection of excerpts from poetic works by more than 200 authors. It was compiled (but not copied) by the famed Arab *amīr* Usāma bin Munqidh, who lived in Northern Syria in the twelfth century. On the first page of the collection, which contains verses on the popular Beduin poetic theme of abandoned dwellings, encampments and former locations of the tribe, Usāma tells of a powerful earthquake in Northern Syria in 1157. It caused great destruction, razing the city of Shayzar, where virtually all of his relatives had gathered for a family affair at the palace. All of them perished in the earthquake [13]. The collection was apparently an echo of this tragedy. An atmosphere of lost happiness pervades verses collected in keeping with the author's mood.

In general, Da'ifī's life was distinguished by grief and misfortune. We learn of some of them from his translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. Since Da'ifī's work lacks the translator's introduction, it is not immediately evident that we are dealing with a translation and not with an original text. The difficulty of recognizing the original is increased by the fact that Da'ifī provides a verse translation of Sa'dī's prose text, containing only brief poetic interludes. Even more misleadingly, Da'ifī substitutes his own name where Sa'dī's occurs in the original. This device brings the reader an impression — at first — that he is reading a work by Da'ifī himself. When Sa'dī's name first appears in the text of *Gulistān*:

"The fair report of Sa'dī, which is celebrated by the general voice, and the fame of his sayings, which has travelled the whole surface of the earth, and the sweet per-

simmon which imparts his discourse, which they devour like sugar, and the manner in which men carry off the scraps of his writing, as though they were gold leaves — are not to be ascribed to the perfection of his own excellence or eloquence" [14],

Da'ifī substitutes his own name for Sa'dī's:

صِعْفِي يِي كَايْدَرْ لَرِ زَكْرِ بِالْخَيْرِ
قَبْلُورِ صِبْتِ وَ صَدَّاسِي عَالَمِي سَيْرُ [15].

He repeatedly does this, although he closely follows Sa'dī's text in his *bayts*. Moreover, Da'ifī is at his ease when he substitutes the name of Sa'dī's patron, the ruler of Fars, atabek Muẓaffar Zangī (r. 1226—1258), by the name of the Ottoman Sultan. We find in Sa'dī:

"but [to this, that] the Lord of the Earth, the Axis of the Revolution of Time, the Successor of Sulaimān, the Defender of the People of the True Faith, the Puissant King of Kings, the Great Atābak Muẓaffaru'd-dīn Abū-bakr-bin-Sād-bin-Zangī, God's shadow on earth (*O God! approve him and his desires!*) has regarded him with extreme condescension and bestowed on him lavish commendation, and evinced a sincere regard for him. Of a verity, from attachment to him, all people, both high and low, have become favourably inclined towards me, since men adopt the sentiments of their kings" [16].

In this text Da'ifī replaces Muẓaffar Zangī with the Ottoman Sultan Suleymān (r. 1520—1566), to whom he dedicates his translation. In doing so, he slightly changes the titles Sa'dī uses. He calls Suleymān not only the "ruler of the world" (خداوند جهان), "axis of time's rotation" (قطب دوران), and "defender (helper) of people of faith" (معيّن اهل ايمان), but also "shah of the horizon" (شاه افاق) [17], the titles common among Ottoman rulers.

There are other examples of this device, which Da'ifī uses to interiorize Sa'dī's text. After listing the contents of the chapters as they are given in *Gulistān*, Da'ifī once again introduces not insignificant alteration into the text. After the *fihris*t, Sa'dī provides the following quatrain:

"Six hundred six and fifty years had waned
From the famed Flight; then when no sorrow pained
My heart, I sought these words, with truth impressed,
To say, and thus have said: to God belongs the rest" [18].

Da'ifī changes the date of A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258) that Sa'dī gives to A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543/44), thus providing the date of his own work on the translation:

بِيْرَهْ حُوْشَلُقْ دَمِي اَيَامِ عَشْرَتِ

طَقُوْزِ يُوْرُ اللَّيِّ يَبْلَنْدِ يَدِي هَجْرَتِ

نَصِيْحَتِي مُرَأْدَمِ اَوْشَتِهْ اَتْدَمِ

سَيْرِي اِصْمَرْتُ لَدُمِ اللّٰهَةِ كِدْتُمْ [19].

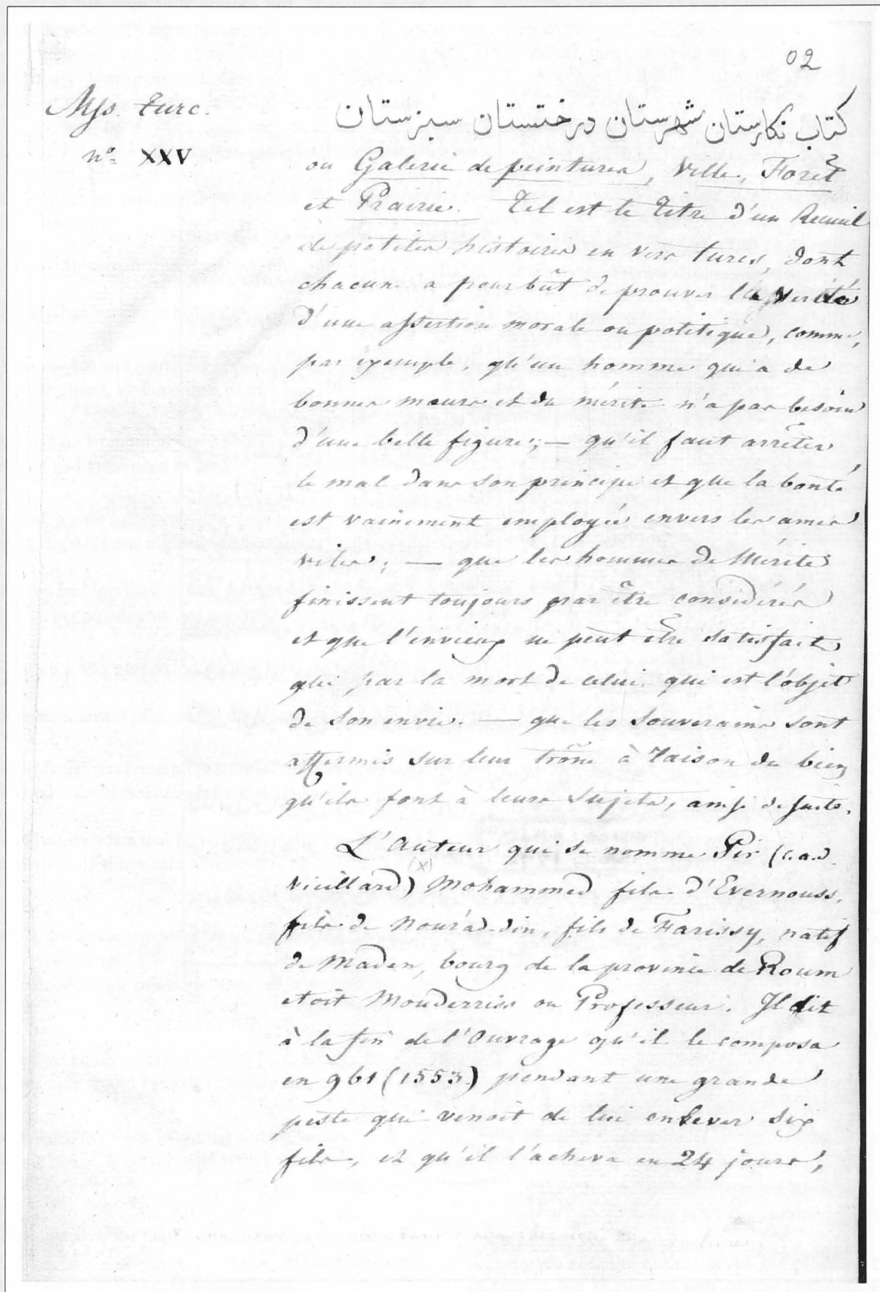


Fig. 3

folia 54.

طلع ايدوب بومه اوج قوبدل مؤن كلسا نذر بارك الله هيته ديفيلار تاده لئون بكا درمان اولاد زدمه سجت بودلارك جان سيرا ليدن اوقد و ح مصيبيون كل الحمد الهي رحمت الله جوق اكا الهي شيخ مركز صلح الدين مبارك وقت ايدوب خنده صورتاينك اولاد پدايت	و جوده كلري صحراي عدندن بكارستان بجا نذر بارك الله نما اولسون هر كچه في عصفه دو عاچي ده قديمه بصيحت ديردلار ايدو عاچي طرم من وي ادايت دعاده الم احمد دعاه خبرده كم بني اكا قولكده رحمت ايت يا اصيل كه بولدم ختمه بن استعلا اوبل شعبا في اوبن برونه نما	سر سبه افر ايدوب اولور الكف اوقا لدر فرح اولسون ترغ مشو صحيح اولسون باذان الكارون اكر ايريه ايسه سمع قوله بهيكون دعاه خبر ايدو اعل دعا اول سنسكه وصا جينته خدا باد حتمك ايسله قالده تام اولدي بكارستان غرا ديريك هجرتك اولدي سنه بؤوب اولدي بكارستان	بعا لجدوي جا احن يوسف آجسون كوكليرم كلسا اولوب دعاه كلا هجا ايدو اوج اعد بيام ايرمز مدرا سجت رسوله بخلا ايسه سوا غفر ايدوب قو مؤسلة و كا تينسته بم شجيم سنبل ساند سكده سجت كي هرا بي زيبا اوبوب بل طورا لور سنده تام اولدي خدا به شكر و ست
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قد تم في سنج ذيا القعدة عن يدين ترجم و صنف و نظم على عبارات الفصيحة و السليمة و الصالحة
 كالدر المنظومة و الجواهر المكونة فتمت كتابه هذه الدرر اليتيمة عند ابتداء ناظمها في عالم الظاهرين
 بعد وفات اولاده الست المشعلين بعضهم بالعلم فانوا من الوباء بعد الله من سمع بقايتي عن هذا الرجل
 فكنت كالي الموسوم باع جهشت على وزن بحر المتقارب ثم كتبت كتابي هذا في بحر الهجوع الموسوم بكارستان
 شهرستان درخستان سهرستان في اربع وعشرين يوما مع ضعف طلي و غني كضعف اسمي و حسبي
 فالما مول من المؤمنين ان لا ينظر و انفضائي في الفاظي و حردي و عباراتي و ارجو منهم ان لا ينسوني
 من دعاه الخير في رحم الله من يستغفر الله و يقرأ الدعاء لروحي و انا الضعيف الخفيف المحتاج الي
 رحمة الله و غفرانه بريحه من اودنوس بن نور الدين بن فارس الرومي المعدي المدرس الشهير بضعف الحفي
 في تاريخ سنة احدى و ستين و تسعين من الهجرة النبوية صلى الله عليه و سلم في امطنطينية

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Fig. 4

We note that while Ḍa'ifī gives in the colophon the date for the completion of his translation as طُقُوزِ اللَّيْلِ, he here provides the date in full: طُقُوزِ بُوزِ اللَّيْلِ.

Do these replacements mean that Ḍa'ifī tried to pass off Sa'dī's work as his own? Of course not. It is no more than a literary device that was apparently considered acceptable for translators of the time. Modern associations with plagiarism are inappropriate. Besides, at the end of his work Ḍa'ifī writes openly that his *Nigāristān* is a translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*.

At the end of his work, Ḍa'ifī writes about the circumstances under which his own work appeared. He also adds some personal notes to this description and betrays some secrets of his workshop:

"The sultan Suleymān marched out on a *ghazā'*
[campaign],

This great Khan set out to Edirne,

All of the *pāshās* and *qādītaskers*
Set out with [him], all the pillars of the state.

Helas, I had no strength to go [with them],
Although I had great need to do so.

I remained, a poor man in need, in Istanbul,
Spending my days and nights in sadness.

Those, who had lost their offices but arrived in Edirne,
All received appointments and rejoiced.

[As for me], I was plunged in despair because of [my] last
appointment,
And then a mountain of grief fell upon [my] head.

I lost [all] hope, receiving no position from year to year,
I grew used to [my] isolation from state service.

It is now twenty years that I live without any appointment,
Since the age of thirty this humble has been ashamed of
his unemployment.

So here I am among the *mulāzims*, while those who
entered service
Have achieved high positions, they are carefree and
happy.

Where is that garden where I [could] go to admire it?
What spectacle would I see there before me?

It is now ten years since I stopped writing verses,
I said to myself, 'A person who writes verses should have
an easy heart'.

[But it occurred to me that] I reread the *Khamsa* and some
of the *Shāh-nāma*,
And my mind caught fire, O human being,

Desire awakened within me, and I wrote verses, O pure
[of heart],
That will remain as a memento of me when I have become
ashes.

I have not a single son — and thus shall it be until the Day
of Resurrection —
So let there remain some trace of Ḍa'ifī ...

[When] I threaded [these] eloquent, lovely verses —
[The heaviness] of a hangover I wisely turned into a feast.

This moon rose from antiquity itself,
Appeared in the flesh from the valley of non-existence,

With a wreath on the head in the form of a golden *üsküf*
Yūsuf opened [his] covering of perfect beauty" [20].

The author here reports a vast amount of information about himself. We learn that when Ḍa'ifī worked on his translation in the spring of 1543 (see above), he was living in Istanbul and had not had an official position for many years. He calls himself a *mulāzim*, as representatives of the '*ulamā'*' class were called in the Ottoman Empire when they were awaiting an appointment [21]. Since he writes that he has been without an appointment for 20 years, he must have lost his position in 930 (1523/24). To this we can add some information about Ḍa'ifī (without dates) in the well-known Turkish *tadhkira* — *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'* — drawn up in the second half of the sixteenth century by Qinālī-zāde Ḥasan Chelebī (1546/47—1604) [22]. In the small section on this poet, Qinālī-zāde writes that he chose to become an '*ulamā'*' and was appointed the *mudarris* of a mosque in Iznik with a daily salary of 50 *akçe*. He soon, however, lost the position. This groundless and unexpected dismissal, Qinālī-zāde writes, broke Ḍa'ifī spiritually and physically, although he lost nothing materially (he was set a pension of 50 *akçe* a day). Constant thoughts of this calamity made him exceptionally pious. In a reference to the "weakness of man", Ḍa'ifī, who was a physically weak and frail person, chose his fitting pen-name (of *ḍa'if* 'weak') [23].

In his translation of *Gulistān*, Ḍa'ifī draws the reader's special attention to his unusual pseudonym:

"Although Ḍa'ifī possesses a weak body,
It is a mine [full] of revered valuables.

[Do not equate] the weakness of his body with the insignificance [of his person]
Because he chose for himself a name opposite [in meaning] to his strength.

It says in the verses of the Qur'ān,
[And this is] the word of God: 'Weak shall be human creatures'.

[Ḍa'ifī] appeared [on earth] from the mine of Rūmelī,
And for this reason he himself is pure silver and gold.

[The place of his birth] is called Kratovo
[For], in truth, this is a mountainous country" [24].

As we see, the author gives his place of birth, Kratovo (a city in the European part of the Ottoman Empire famed for its silver mines). Ḍa'ifī provides a detailed description of where he is from. He even gives details of the landscape, which is to a certain degree a literary innovation. The landscape is almost totally absent in works of Muslim literature. The author gives information about the population of Kra-

tovo and a detailed description of mining in this region [25], a unique phenomenon in sixteenth-century Ottoman literature. His origins in Kratovo, with its then-rich reserves of silver, inspire the Ḍa'ifī to compare himself with a silver mine in the traditional authorial boasting passage:

"Ḍa'ifī is a silver mine of words" [26].

Let us now return to the spring of 1543, when Ḍa'ifī, who had already been unemployed for 20 years, wrote bitterly about his physical inability to join those who set out with Sultan Suleymān's army. The campaign was against Hungary, which the Ottomans had already conquered in 1541. Suleymān, however, had to undertake another campaign in 1543 in response to the actions of Ferdinand of Habsburg, who was unable to reconcile himself to the loss of such a large part of his state and laid siege to Buda and Pesht [27]. The Ottoman army was usually accompanied by a horde of officials, including representatives of the *'ulamā'* who hoped to receive a promotion or position. At that time, Ḍa'ifī had lost his chance to improve his personal circumstances. At another place in his work, Ḍa'ifī describes his poverty and miserable position when he undertook his translation of *Gulistān*:

"I possessed no wealth, I lived in need,
I had no funds to buy myself a home.

I lived in a hovel on a pension,
Rendering my soul hostage to this abode.

[This dwelling was] akin to the black eye of a needle —
Dark and narrow as the hearts of misers.

But this was the most blessed of dwellings
Compared to the cup for the [life-giving] water of
Khidr" [28].

Ḍa'ifī's comment that he has "been ashamed of his unemployment since the age of 30", allow us to calculate the poet's date of birth — in A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523/24) he was 30 years old, making his birth date A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494/95). This means that Ḍa'ifī's idle period coincided with the height of his creative powers. In 1543, when his hopes of receiving a new position were shattered, he was 47–48 years old. (We will discuss below the possible reasons for the poet's loss of his position as a *mudarris*.)

This bitterness was compounded by grief over the death of his six sons (a double blow for a Muslim because of the special status of male offspring). We compare the information that Ḍa'ifī recounts in his Arabic note, where he tells us that he completed work on *Nigāristān* in a plague year that robbed him of six sons (as we have seen, the poet finished his translation in November 1543), with the concluding *bayts* of its translation, where he describes his work on the translation:

"Not a single son remains to me, so until the Day of
Resurrection,
May there remain at least some trace of Ḍa'ifī".

and with the *miṣrā'*:

"[The heaviness] of a hangover I wisely turned into a feast".

We also recall his comment that upon finishing *Nigāristān* he copied it in 24 days "with pain in his heart and eyes". With a high degree of certainty, we can assume that Ḍa'ifī lost his sons in the summer of 1543, most likely, while he was still working on the translation. But in the spring of 1543, at the time of the crush of his expectation to obtain an appointment, he did not know of the grief that awaited him. Besides, according to his own words, it was ten years (in 1543) that he stopped writing verses because of his uneasy heart. But the situation changed when he turned to reading the great books of the great Muslim authors — *Khamsa* by Nizāmī and *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī. As he read their works, his desire for creative work returned, if not the joy of years past. But there was another life blow he had to experience — the death of his six sons during his work on the translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. Toward the end of his work on *Nigāristān*, the poet already realized that, having lost his sons, he would leave a different legacy behind him.

Of course, the poet was not driven solely by a thirst for creative endeavors when he started his work. The praise for Sultan Suleymān at the beginning of *Nigāristān* proves that, first and foremost, the poet dreamed of presenting his work to the sultan to gain his attention and thus to compensate his inability to participate in Suleymān's campaign.

We see from the poet's words that he went about his work with great inspiration, for time attaining a measure of happiness:

"Truly, during my work on a translation,
I experienced joyful moments" [29].

He also points to the significance of the work:

"There have been many learned men in the world,
But none of them rendered *Gulistān* in verse" [30].

The *bayts* devoted to the creative process itself are placed by Ḍa'ifī at the beginning of the translation, where Sa'dī locates his introduction. It was important for Ḍa'ifī to show what a difficult task it was to transform Sa'dī's largely prosaic work into verse while retaining the exact meaning Sa'dī's text through its adequate translation. In the description of the work, we sense a certain retreat from the standard, an attempt to reveal the true difficulties of transforming prose into poetry, as well as reworking a Persian text into Turkish. Ḍa'ifī writes that people tried to talk him out of this:

"The field of poetry is too narrow [for the expression of
thought],
The *chawgān* will not be able to strike that ball, [O] man!"

'[This text] is difficult for verse', they said [to me],
'There is little space [for words], [the field is] narrow',
they said [to me],

'For the Shaykh (Sa'dī — I. P.) has mainly stories,
A frequent mix of prose and verse,

Many various fragrant stories,
Which it will be impossible [to translate] into
Turkī" [31].

And in closing his description of his work on the translation, Ḍa'ifī says:

"Praise be to Allah, that from this handsome face
I was able to remove the covering.

I spent many days working
And now not a single letter remains that has not
been put into verse.

The meaning of each word [in *Gulistān*] has been
made clear,
Now let the declaimers [32] of verses learn [it] from
memory.

How many words I picked over to find the ones I needed,
How much work I completed [labouring] day and
night" [33].

Ḍa'ifī here expounds on his vision of the difficulties that arose in translating a prosaic work into verse. In his view, which he expresses through the statements of imagined opponents (although these opponents may actually have existed), the main difficulty was the need for concision while retaining the lexical and grammatical meaning of the more expansive prosaic text. We note that Ḍa'ifī here points to another difficulty, that of translating a Persian text into Turkish. The poet may refer not only to the problem of finding appropriate words for the translation, but also the two languages' different structures. A comparison of the Persian original with the Turkish translation shows that Ḍa'ifī's translation is strikingly accurate. Moreover, the verses are beautiful, rhythmic and musical (their translation into English prose does not convey this feature of Ḍa'ifī's work).

Ḍa'ifī's desire to attract Suleyman's attention to him and to his work turned to have a positive result. First, as the Arabic note at the end of our manuscript indicates, he finally received the position he sought, since he refers to himself there as a *mudarris*. In another note on the margins of the manuscript (fol. 5a), Ḍa'ifī says that "his fate improved". Second, in the palace library of Topkapı Sarayı there is a *Kulliyāt* of Ḍa'ifī's works (call number R 822). In all likelihood, the autograph there was presented by the author himself. The following works by Ḍa'ifī are included in the *Kulliyāt*:

1. a verse translation of Sa'dī's *Bustān* entitled *Bāgh-i bikhisht*;
2. a verse translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* called *Nigāristān*;
3. a verse translation of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Pand-nāma* entitled *Bustān-i naṣā'ih*;
4. the *Dīvān*;
5. the autobiographical work *Sergūzesht-i Ḍa'ifī*, a *mathnawī* with the end in rhymed prose;
- 6 *Gulshan-i mulūk*, a didactic work written in the "mirror for princes" genre;
7. *Ṣabr al-maṣā'ib*, a didactic work;
8. *Risāla-yi jawāhir-nāma*, a work on the qualities of precious stones;
9. translation of a *waqf* document by Ibn Muḥal;
10. a collection of Ḍa'ifī's letters to various dignitaries.

All of these works are bound into a single book entitled *Kulliyāt-i Ḍa'ifī*. The binding is leather with a flap, cherry-

coloured, decorated with a *shamsa*. The paper is glossy. Folio dimensions are 33.0×21.5 cm. The manuscript contains 194 folios. The text is copied in *naskh*, four columns of 25 lines each, voweled. It was copied in 962/1555 in Istanbul [34].

Our St. Petersburg *Gulistān* autograph was copied one year earlier, in late October 1554. Our autograph may be an intermediary step in the author's labours to double-check the text of the translation shortly before he drew up the *Kulliyāt*. A marginal note by the author in the St. Petersburg manuscript would indicate this (see fig. 5). The note reveals how medieval Muslim authors worked on their texts (and manuscripts). It reads:

"Since [some time ago] I copied [the text] in great haste, the manuscript (Ḍa'ifī here uses the word 'book' — *I. P.*) was not free from errors. [These] errors were solely the result of the haste in which the manuscript was copied. [At that time] I did not make corrections, leaving everything in the manuscript as it was: my unfortunate personal circumstances did not allow me [the opportunity] to correct the mistakes. Now that some time has passed and my fate has improved, I [have decided] to correct the errors [in the text]. I have carefully and attentively copied the manuscript out. [Then] I once again compared the text with the original, thoroughly checking each *bayt*, which required some time. I adorned the lovely *Nigāristān* in the colours of marvellous *dibā*" [35].

Based on what we now know, the history of the text's translation and copying now appears as follows: on 9 November 1543 Ḍa'ifī finished work on the translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, producing the autograph of the rough draft (A 1). Next, although we do not know exactly when, Ḍa'ifī, afflicted by the deaths of his sons, in 24 days "with pain in his heart and eyes", as he writes in his Arabic note, copied the rough draft A 1, producing another autograph A 2 with many errors in it. The St. Petersburg manuscript is the third text (A 3). It was copied by the author in October 1554 from manuscript A 2. The final draft A 3 was, after copying, once again compared with A 1 (the original). As a result, the author added some *bayts* in the margins where he had omitted passages or committed errors. The traces of this work we see on the margins of the St. Petersburg manuscript.

The St. Petersburg manuscript (A 3) is copied in fine, small *naskh*. The *bayts* the author adds in the margins are also in a small, neat *naskh* (see, for example, fols. 2b, 7a, and following). (The margins of A 3 also display some poetic additions in another hand, probably one of the manuscript's owners.)

Judging by the arrangement of Ḍa'ifī's works in his *Kulliyāt* and by the Arabic note in our manuscript, his first large-scale work was the *Bāgh-i bikhisht* ("Garden of Paradise"), a translation of Sa'dī's *Bustān*. Ḍa'ifī's next choice, Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, seems quite natural. In the period between 1543 and 1555, Ḍa'ifī's several more works, including a translation of 'Aṭṭār's famed poem *Pand-nāma* appeared. One can thus assume that after 1543, so immensely unfortunate for Ḍa'ifī, almost a ten-year period of comparative well-being ensued, when he created his other works.

We now turn to Ḍa'ifī's literary preferences. He selected for translation into Turkish two works by Sa'dī — the *Bustān* and *Gulistān*. The great Persian author Sa'dī, who wrote his works in the didactic genre, extremely popu-

lar in the Muslim East, was born in Shiraz around 1184 and died in 1292. Sa'dī's travels and life adventures are worth special examining. Suffice it to say that his poem *Bustān* is a work on human conduct, where thoughts on the need for justice, love, modesty, resignation, restraint, gratitude to God, and repentance alternate with various episodes from the author's biography. The *Gulistān* differs from the *Bustān* in that it is written in prose, containing sparkling and witty tales. Both *Bustān* and *Gulistān* provided answers to many ethical questions both for ordinary Muslims and highly placed officials. Sa'dī's text is far from dry, being a lively and witty text full of human wisdom. The *Gulistān* also contains echoes of Šūfism, which is a result, as E. G. Browne believes, of the great popularity of Šūfism in Sa'dī's time. Browne's verdict is that Sa'dī's *Gulistān* is the most "Machiavellian" work in the history of Persian literature [36].

In truth, Sa'dī promotes with unconcealed approval common sense and adaptation to the frequently dramatic circumstances of ordinary life. But things are not nearly so simple. The *Gulistān* is not a hymn to moral permissiveness or hypocrisy. One should recall that in his youth Sa'dī studied in Baghdad at the Nizamiyya medrese. He was influenced by the Šūfī *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (1155—1192), a Persian philosopher and mystic who created the teaching of "Eastern illumination" (*al-ishrāq*). His first treatise on this was entitled *Bustān al-qulūb*. Suhrawardī travelled widely and met with many famed theologians and Šūfis of his time. He was later accused of excessive free thought and pro-Shī'ite propaganda [37]. In his *Gulistān*, Sa'dī writes about the influence on him of another luminary, Abū'l-Faraj ibn Jawzī (d. 1200), a writer, polygraphist, and preacher whose support for the "Muslim reconquista" took place even in the streets. Sa'dī calls Abū'l-Faraj his *shaykh* in the *Gulistān* [38].

Sa'dī may have begun to travel under the influence of his first Šūfī teacher at the Nizamiyya. His journeys, which began in 1226, lasted until 1256. Spiritually, they were most likely the wanderings of a *darwīsh* in search of the truth and moral instruction. Sa'dī did not write strictly Šūfī works, although he led the life of a true Šūfī, wandering so that he could speak with the wise men of his time. Some of these travels and encounters are mentioned in the *Gulistān*. One can state that the *Gulistān* is the sum of the ethical knowledge that Sa'dī collected during his encounters with wise men. Outwardly, this is secular knowledge. Only the fact of travel links it with Šūfism. The travels are the material, secular equivalent of Šūfī journey on the path (*ṭarīqa*) in search of Truth. (Not all Šūfis were Gnostics; they frequently received from their spiritual mentors teachings of a purely ethical nature.) For Sa'dī, attaining this knowledge was, as Dawlat-shāh recounts, only a part of the search for Truth [39].

It is difficult to answer the question of whether Da'ifi sought in Sa'dī's works solely worldly wisdom or Šūfī ethical wisdom. We note only that after the *Bustān* and *Gulistān* he translated another ethical work, *Pand-nāma* by 'Aṭṭār, who was also a Šūfī. Da'ifi's interest in Šūfī authors who wrote didactic works is evident. But what is more important, Da'ifi himself was a Šūfī. At the end of *Nigāristān*, he mentions his *shaykh*, Sunbul Sinān:

"Pour, O Lord, the water of Your mercy
Over my *shaykh*, Sunbul Sinān" [40].

It is also important that Da'ifi asks his deceased *shaykh* to appear to him during prayer and "instruct" his "perturbed heart":

"Appear...during my prayer, O noble [man],

May [your words] 'I instructed a perturbed heart'
Be medicine to heal my sufferings" [41].

It is worth mentioning that in his *Nigāristān*, Da'ifi gives also the name of another *shaykh*, Merkez Muşliḥ al-Dīn:

"O God, to *shaykh*, Merkez Muşliḥ al-Dīn,
Your servant, be merciful — may it be so!" [42].

Of these two *shaykhs*, Sunbul Sinān, an expert in Muslim exoteric and esoteric knowledge, became involved in Šūfism after he made the acquaintance of Afḡal-zāde. He became the *murīd* of Chelebī Khalīfa [43], who was one of the adherents to *khalwatiyya*. The *ṭarīqa* appeared in Iranian Azerbaijan, but is considered to have no specific founder. It arose from a circle of Muslim ascetics under the influence of *mālamatiyya* ideas. The *ṭarīqa* was at first linked to the cult of 'Alī. Members of the *khalwatiyya* venerated the 12 Shī'ite *imāms*. In their honour the *khalwatiyya* introduced a 12-day fast. Šūfis of this *ṭarīqa* also recognized the necessity of individual asceticism (*zuhd*) and solitude (*khalwa*, which gave the *ṭarīqa* its name). After the *ṭarīqa* spread on the territory of the Sunni Ottoman state, the *khalwatiyya* were compelled to conceal their tie to Shī'ism and became as much Sunni as possible [44]. However, the practice of solitude and harsh personal asceticism remained the distinctive features of *khalwatiyya* adherents.

Da'ifi was a *murīd* of *shaykh* Sunbul Sinān, whose name graced the Istanbul branch of the *khalwatiyya* — the *sunbuliyya*. He was, thus, a member of the *ṭarīqa*. The strict asceticism to which he was obliged, in conjunction with his corporal constitution, apparently affected his health, which he duly noted in his literary pseudonym of Da'ifi.

Despite the similarity between the ideas of the original *khalwatiyya* and the ideology of the founders of the Safawid state, *khalwatiyya* was ejected from Iran in 1502. In its main idea, *khalwatiyya* was influenced by the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī and his key concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* [45]. In Da'ifi's lifetime, in the Ottoman capital, the *ṭarīqa* received substantial support and protection from many Ottoman representatives of the upper class sympathising with the *khalwatiyya*. For example, Qōjā Muştafā Pasha ordered that a tekke be built in Istanbul for Chelebī Khalīfa. After the death of the latter, Sunbul Sinān headed the tekke [46].

In Anatolia, the *ṭarīqa* was most popular among the Turkmen (earlier, in the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu states). Folk beliefs and Shī'ite sympathies were deeply ingrained there. In the biography of Sunbul Sināna's teacher, Chelebī Khalīfa, it is shown the tie between *khalwatiyya* and the Turkmen. According to this biography, Chelebī Khalīfa had such a huge authority in Anatolian Šūfī circles that Prince Bāyazīd turned to him for support during his succession struggle with his brother Jem [47].

Da'ifi's first acquaintance with the *khalwatiyya ṭarīqa* apparently took place through Muftī Chelebī (Muftī Shaykh), whose *mulāzim* he was [48]. Muftī Chelebī received his education in Brusa and frequented the Sayyid al-Bukharī Mosque on Fridays to read the Qur'ān [49]. He later became



Fig. 5

connected with *shaykh* Imām-zāde, who, according to the account of Ṭashköprüzāde, was a member of *khalwatiyya*. To characterise the first patron of Da'ifī, Ṭashköprüzāde mentions Muftī Chelebī's exceptional memory, and his marvellous knowledge of *fiqh*. Highly appreciated by Sultan Suleymān, he was appointed by him a *muftī* (*shaykh ul-islām*) with a high daily salary of 100 dirhems. Ṭashköprüzāde also notes that Muftī Chelebī possessed great erudition: he often worked in his large library and knew a great many texts by heart. Also interesting is Ṭashköprüzāde's description of the harsh seclusion to which Muftī Chelebī subjected himself. He gives us a sense of the forms of *khalwa* that the *khalwatiyya* practiced. According to the story, to mortify his own flesh Muftī Chelebī once subjected himself to a 40-day seclusion, for which he dug a pit in the form of a grave and spent the entire time of the *khalwa* there in prayer, trying to attain a state of *fanā'*. Those around him considered him a saint [50]. It is difficult to say whether Da'ifī engaged in such harsh forms of seclusion. Perhaps, his poor health did not permit him to strictly follow *khalwa*.

Being, at the beginning of his career, under the protection of Muftī Chelebī, he later became the *murīd* of Sunbul Sinān after the latter headed Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha's *khalwatiyya* tekke after the death of Chelebī Khalīfā in 950/1543–44. While Chelebī Khalīfā was still alive, his *murīd*, Sunbul Sinān, married his daughter [51], a common practice in Ṣūfī circles to head a *ṭarīqa*. Unfortunately, we know nothing about Da'ifī's connections with Sunbul Sinān.

As was noted above, the *khalwatiyya* tekke was built for Chelebī Khalīfā by Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha, a fascinating figure in many respects. A Frenchman or a Greek by nationality, meaning that he was either taken prisoner by the Turks or entered court service through the *devshirme* system (making him a new convert and formally a slave in status), Qōja Muṣṭafā first attained the position of *kapıcıbaşı*. In this capacity he was sent by Sultan Bāyazīd II in 1490 to Rome to conduct negotiations on Bāyazīd's brother Jem, who was kept then in Italy. In the last years of Bāyazīd II's reign, Qōja Muṣṭafā acquired the title of *Rūmelī beylerbeyi* and was once again drawn into the dynastic struggle that broke out between Bāyazīd's sons, Aḥmed and Selīm. In late September 1511, he was appointed grand vizier and supported prince Aḥmed. His rival, Selīm, was however the victor in this struggle, and when he became sultan in 1512, he had Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha executed [52]. Almost all his life Qōja Muṣṭafā Pasha was a protector of the *khalwatiyya*.

About another *shaykh*, Merkez Muṣliḥ al-Dīn, whom Da'ifī mentions in his translation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* [53], Ṭashköprüzāde reports that he was, like Da'ifī, a *murīd* of Sunbul Sinān. We also know that he was a connoisseur of the Sharī'at and an expert in Baydawī's *Tafsīr*, ate only the most humble food and led a Ṣūfī life full of spiritual exercises [54].

Thus, we see that Da'ifī was from his early years encircled by people linked to the *khalwatiyya* *ṭarīqa*, apparently a fateful circumstance for him. His first appointment as *mudarris* occurred with the aid of Muftī Chelebī, who was a supporter of *khalwatiyya* and, according to reports, lived in the tekke at the "Small Aya Sofya" in Istanbul. Muftī Chelebī was a *murīd* with the well-known *khalwatiyya* *shaykh* Sunbul Sinān and in close relationships with

Merkez Muṣliḥ al-Dīn. These ties may have evoked the displeasure of orthodox '*ulamā'*' who suspected *khalwatiyya* adherents of secret Shī'ite sympathies. As was noted above, Da'ifī's dismissal took place immediately after he was appointed a *mudarris* in Iznik in around 1523. There was no evident explanations of the fact, but, curiously enough, the dismissed Da'ifī received a pension equal to his previous salary, which can only mean that someone in the capital stood up for him. All of this would be quite mysterious if we knew nothing of the *khalwatiyya* Shī'ite background and their influence on the upper circles. Approximately at the time of Da'ifī's dismissal, Selīm was fighting with the Safawid Shah Ismā'īl and his emissaries in Anatolia, who conducted Shī'ite propaganda there to provoke anti-government uprisings among Turkish population. Selīm's government was extremely suspicious about appointing people with presumable Shī'ite sympathies as the mentors of the future '*ulamā'*'. Da'ifī turned to be such a person. It is worth noting that by the end of the sixteenth century the *khalwatiyya* had gradually lost its influence in the Ottoman empire without the attention and support of elite Ottoman circles. It reappeared only in the eighteenth century thanks to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (1688—1749) [55], who was a native of Damascus.

At about the same time that Da'ifī was dismissed, relations with Shī'ite Iran became a top priority again. It was in 1523 that the Ottoman sultan Suleymān received a large embassy from the Iranian Shah Ismā'īl. It consisted of 500 persons. Its official goal was to congratulate Suleymān with the capture of Rhodes. (Only 20 people from the embassy went to the Sultan's court; the rest remained on the Asian shore of the Bosporus in Üsküdar.) But this episode in Persian-Turkish relations was a single gesture of amity on the part of Ismā'īl. The embassy Suleymān sent in response to the Shah's court (3 December 1523) was not a success: in 1524, Shah Ismā'īl died; Tahmāsp, who came to power that very year, continued a hostile policy toward the Sunni Ottoman Empire and Turkish-Iranian relations remained hostile up until at least 1555. In these conditions Da'ifī clearly could not count on a successful career as an '*ulamā'*'. Only the literary endeavours he resumed in 1543 (after a ten-year period of awaiting a new appointment) allowed Da'ifī to draw Suleymān's attention. The genre the poet chose — didactics — brought him success, and Da'ifī was admitted to the '*ulamā'*' circle again.

The distinguishing characteristic of Da'ifī's *Nigāristān* is the Ṣūfī veil it casts over Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. As we have seen, *Gulistān* is not at all a Ṣūfī writing, and its presenting in Turkish as a sort of Ṣūfī composition with numerous hidden subtexts is entirely Da'ifī's contribution. His addition of a Ṣūfī hue to *Gulistān* is not merely the result of "habits" of consciousness or the deeply hidden features of a vision of the world, which became explicit as a direct result of the creative process. Undoubtedly, Da'ifī saw his task not only as translating the text from one language into another, but also in delivering to the reader a certain sacred meaning that does not lie on the surface and is not implicit. Working on another's text always involves the translation of meanings. What we see in the case of *Nigāristān* is not merely a translation of the *Gulistān*'s text into Turkish, but also an interpretation of the original. This was apparently how Da'ifī understood his task. In this sense, the authorial boasting in *Nigāristān* is not a mere bow to Ṣūfism and Ṣūfī literature. As the translator puts it,

"[Da'ifi] is a story-teller of the garden of eloquence,
A singer of beauty's flower-garden.

He is the gardener of knowledge's rosary,
Strolling through the flower-garden of meaning.

The source of his eloquence flows [in streams],
He has made the meaning of the *Gulistān* clear.

The `Anqā of thought resides in this flower-garden,
This [garden] is the desert of Tih [56] and the magic of
Sāmīrī [57].

Wisdom here soars like the bird Humāy,
The Phoenix of the soul plays the *sāz* in this temple,

The peacock of the heart strides out.
This is the place where the parrot of thought strolls,

The meadow [for] reason of the heart and soul.
This is the depiction of the bashful Chinese beauty

In the paintings of Chinese artists,
[The depiction] of a stunning beauty [ever known] on the
earth.

This is the azure sea for the crocodile of love.
In this fire [even] the salamander will burn from passion-
ate desire.

The roses within this flower-garden are its meaning,
The minds of the magnanimous are [its] nightingales.

[Here] the partridge of comprehension smoothly wavers,
Like the gait of a pheasant is the understanding of reason.

[In] springtime the trees in this garden
Each time strew their [white] flower petals like *akçe*
[coins].

In this garden the tulip conceals within itself [a certain]
sign,
The rose holds in its hand a gold chalice with wine.

The hyacinth strews its locks,
When the ruddy-playing pomegranate flower spills out
[its] fire.

The peacock's tail is here [like] a bouquet of roses
When it steps out in this garden.

A thoughtful rose bud among the singing [birds] of this
garden,
It does not hasten to open [its petals].

The blooming violet flower stretches [its] stalk to the
heavens.
The Chinese marrows have lowered their neck to [their]
slippers, fallen prone,

Having gathered water in their palms.
The narcissus hold gold plates on their heads,

The *zanbaq* [58] has set up a tent in this garden —
They are all observers of this green kingdom.

The saffron's body has turned yellow from love,
The Judas' tree has changed the colour of its face,

The cypresses strive [upward] in this flower-garden,
The *rayhān* in this garden is reminiscent of a meadow.

The plane-tree wants to serve [this garden] —
Its hand is slim, but [its] care is great.

Gold chalices are the cup-bearer of this garden,
[Who] pours dew [as a] bracing drink.

The carnations in this flower-garden burn ambergris,
Enlisting the aid of the colours of evening, [and] the rose
makes the *'ūd* [59] [its] incense.

How fine this artist, a Rūmī painter,
Who decorated the planks of the tongue [with all worthy]
of knowledge!

This is no river, but an ocean of love.
It is no house, but an [entire] city of love.

He has made the overarching vault of each *bayt* [60]
immortal.

[From *bayts*] he erected an [entire] city of *Nigāristān*.

Each its wall and vault is decorated,
The painted cupola and throne are inlaid with precious
stones.

All of [its] palaces are absolute perfection,
[Each] decorated head and *misrā'* [61] is a jewel and a
precious stone" [62].

A superficial glance reveals nothing noteworthy in this traditional set of images, except a mere bow to Šūfism. In Šūfī poetry (and here we deal with an original text by Da'ifi himself, not his translation of a text by Sa'dī) the images are always traditional. The repertoire is quite common, but here the Šūfī imagery is used not to encode a deeply hidden Šūfī subtext, but to express another idea of the translator. In this passage of his own, Da'ifi uses the image of a flower-garden to depict the entirety that is the world created by God. In it exists a variety of forms (Da'ifi conveys their diversity with images of plants and birds) that are a manifestation of the One. The text fully betrays the translator's adherence to Šūfism, since Da'ifi mentions its central idea of the Oneness and of love for God and His creation (the world). In this context, Da'ifi presents himself as a creator of some perfect creation too, that is of a perfect composition. This is a somewhat heretical move, as *Nigāristān* is merely the result of human creativity. Da'ifi also stresses that with his translation he clarified the meaning of the *Gulistān*, that is not merely made clear Sa'dī's text by translating it to another language, but also made transparent another, sacred meaning inaccessible to the reader of the work by Sa'dī. It is perhaps by this reason that Qīnālī-zāde, the Turkish author of the *tadhkira*, wrote that Da'ifi completed a *sharḥ* on Sa'dī's *Gulistān* [63].

We see that the translator imputed more to translation than is usual: he understood his task to be significantly broader. It was in this “gap” that the translator's own art manifested itself.

In this light, the title of the translation — *Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān* (“Picture Gallery of the [Kingdom] of Cities, Forests, and Grasses”) — seems to convey the translator's main idea. In the various stories and flamboyant characters of *Gulistān* he sees a deeply hidden Šūfī meaning clear to him. The Šūfī Oneness lurks behind the diversity of people and phenomena described by Sa'dī. Ḍa'ifī likens this diversity to a beautiful flower-garden in which he sees himself one of its admiring observers. Mysti-

cal love for God spreads like the sea in this kingdom, and Ḍa'ifī expresses his delight at this picturesque and fragrant “divine garden” inhabited by worldly creatures.

Ḍa'ifī's autograph manuscript from the St. Petersburg collection and the text it contains form a single whole, studying of which allows one to grasp more deeply and more completely the characteristics of the exceptionally precious cultural phenomenon that is literary creativity in the medieval Muslim East. All aspects of this phenomenon are important. They intermingle and reveal deep ties. The life of the text, its author, and the book are all bound up with each other, full of inner meanings, profoundly conditional. These are the signs of this unique, rich culture.

Notes

1. A significant number of works treat medieval translated literature and its creators. We name only a few: D.S. Likhachëv, *Tekstologia. Na materiale russkoï literatury X—XVII vv.* (Textology. Russian Literature of the 10th—17th Centuries) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1964), chapter IX, pp. 390—424; N. A. Meshcherskii, “Iskusstvo perevoda Kievskoï Rusi” (“The art of translation in Kievan Rus”), in *idem, Izbrannye stat'i* (St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 246—71; T. I. Sultanov, “Nekotorye voprosy tiurkskoï srednevekovoi perevodnoi istoricheskoi literatury” (“Certain questions of Turkic medieval translated historical literature”), in *Tiurkologicheskii sbornik. 1976* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 141—52. For authorship in Muslim literature, see also N. D. Miklukho-Maklaï, “Avtor i ego sochineniia v srednevekovoi nauchnoi literature na persidskom iazyke (opyt istochnikovedcheskogo i kul'turovedcheskogo issledovaniia)” (“The author and his works in medieval scholarly literature in Persian: a study of sources and culture”), *Ocherki istorii kul'tury srednevekovogo Irana. Pis'mennost' i literatura* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 57—139.

2. On the *Bābur-nāma*, see T. I. Sultanov, “Obstoiatel'stva i vremia napisaniia 'Bābur-nāme'” (“Circumstances and time of the *Bābur-nāma*'s writing”), *Tiurkskie i mongol'skie pis'mennye pamiatniki. Tekstologicheskie i kul'turovedcheskie aspekty issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 86—96. There is a vast literature on Bābur and his famed “Records”. The work itself was published many times and translated into numerous languages, which is in and of itself a testimony to the unusual nature of the work.

3. L. V. Dmitrieva, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia* (A Description of the Turkic Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 3: *poëziia i kommentarii k poëticheskim sochineniiam, poëtika* (Moscow, 1980). The manuscript was described earlier by the Russian Turkologist V. D. Smirnov. See V. D. Smirnov, *Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères* (St.-Petersbourg, 1897), pp. 92—4.

4. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān*, manuscript C 806 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1b.

5. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

6. F. F. Vigel', *Zapiski* (“Records”) (Moscow, 2000), p. 128. The author of the book writes the following about the throne-hall transformed into the office of a private, if important, individual: “Memory of the deceased ruler (Paul I — I. P.) was still so fresh that I trembled involuntarily. For a moment, it seemed to me that his enraged shadow had rushed through the wise man's study”. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

8. Iu. A. Petrosian, *Osmanskaia imperiia. Mogushchestvo i gibel'. Istoricheskie ocherki* (The Ottoman Empire: Might and Ruin. Historical Essays) (Moscow, 1990), pp. 177—8.

9. The manuscript made its way through the Asiatic Museum to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the inheritor of the Asiatic Museum. For more on the Pedagogical Department of Eastern Languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, see *Istoriia otechestvennogo vostokovedeniia serediny XIX veka* (The History of Russian Oriental Studies in the Mid-19th Century) (Moscow, 1990), pp. 155 ff.

10. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 54b. I am grateful to my mother, A. I. Mikhailova-Zueva, for her help in translating this note, which is in not entirely classical Arabic.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 54a.

13. *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995), p. 134. The author of the manuscript's description in the edition is Prof. A. Khalidov.

14. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*. Critical text, translation, foreword and notes by R. M. Aliev (Moscow, 1959), p. 59. An English translation of the passage is given here as in *The Gulistān; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, translated by E. B. Eastwick (London, 1880), introductory part “Life of Sā'dī” by Ātiṣh Kadhā, p. 5.

15. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 2a.

16. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, p. 59. An English translation is cited as in *The Gulistān; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, pp. 5—6.

17. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 2a.

18. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, p. 66. An English translation is cited as in *The Gulistān; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, p. 21.

19. Ḍa'ifī, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5b.

20. *Ibid.*, fols. 54a—54b.

21. For more detail, see C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Āli (1541—1600)* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 32—3.

22. On the *tadhkira* and its author, see Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuara*, eleştirmeli baskıya hazırlayan Dr. İbrahim Kutluk, cilt 1 (Ankara, 1989), pp. 7—39.
23. *Ibid.*, cilt 2, p. 578.
24. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 54b. This is here a play on the meaning of the word 'Kratovo' (*krater* means 'volcano' in Turkish).
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, fol. 4b.
27. See İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 2, baskı 2 (Ankara, 1964), pp. 339—40.
28. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5a.
29. *Ibid.*, fol. 54a.
30. *Ibid.*, fol. 5a.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Lit. 'those who retain verses in their memory'.
33. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5a.
34. F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi*. Cilt 2: *filoloji, edebiyat, mecmualar*. No. 1986—3088 (İstanbul, 1961), pp. 116—7. Unfortunately, this manuscript from the Topkapı Sarayı was inaccessible for me.
35. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 5a. *Dībā* is a high-quality patterned silk fabric.
36. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1951), p. 526.
37. *Ibid.*; A. Knysh, "As-Suhraṣardī", *İslam. Ėnsiklopedicheskiı slovar'* (Moscow, 1991), p. 215.
38. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, p. 209; see also I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* (Arab Geographical Literature), in *idem, Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, p. 501.
39. *The Gulistān; or, Rose-Garden, of Sheykh Muşlihu'd-Dīn Sā'dī of Shīrāz*, translated by E. B. Eastwick (London, 1880), introductory part "Life of Sā'dī" by Ātiş Kadah, p. XXI.
40. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fol. 54b.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Eş-şaqā'iq en-no'mānıje von Taşköprüzāde, mit Zusätzen, verbesserungen und anmerkungen aus dem Arabischen uebersetzt von O. Rescher* (Konstantinopel, 1927), pp. 238—9.
44. Dzh. S. Trimmingem (Trimingham), *Sufiiske ordena v islame* (Sūfi Orders in Islam), trans. from the English, edited with a foreword by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1989), pp. 70—I. See also O. F. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiıfa" ("Khalwatiyya"), *İslam. Ėnsiklopedicheskiı slovar'*, p. 267—8.
45. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiıfa", p. 267.
46. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 3, bölüm 1 (Ankara, 1951), p. 352, n. 1.
47. *Eş-şaqā'iq*, p. 176.
48. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuara*, p. 578.
49. *Eş-şaqā'iq*, p. 328. According to Trimmingem, one of the first who brought the *khalwatiyya* teaching to the Ottoman state was Sayyid al-Bukharī, known as Amīr Sultān (d. 1439). See Trimmingem, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
50. *Eş-şaqā'iq*, pp. 328—9.
51. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 3, bölüm 1, p. 354, n. 3.
52. *Idem, Osmanlı tarihi*, cilt 2, baskı 2, pp. 173—4, 214, 240, n. 1, 252.
53. We note also here that in his book J. Trimmingem cites his name incorrectly as Muslimaddin Merkez (Trimingham, *op. cit.*, p. 71).
54. *Eş-şaqā'iq*, p. 332.
55. Akimushkin, "Khalvatiıfa", p. 267.
56. The desert where the Jews wandered, according to Qur'anic tradition, after they were enslaved in Egypt.
57. Al-Sāmīrī (or Sāmīrī) — according to Qur'anic tradition, the man who enticed the Jews with the golden calf, which they began to worship on their path out of slavery in Egypt. See Qur'ān, 20: 87—90, 96—97.
58. *Zanbaq* — a bulbous flowering plant with a long stem. Its best varieties have white fragrant flowers.
59. *Ūd* — an ancient stringed musical instrument similar to the guitar.
60. A play on words. *Bayt* means 'house' in Arabic. The same word denotes a distich.
61. *Mısrā'* — half of a distich.
62. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān*, manuscript C 806, fols. 4b—5a.
63. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şuara*, p. 578.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Da'ifi, *Kitāb-i Nigāristān-i shahristān-i dirakhtistān-i sabzistān*, manuscript C 806 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Beginning of the text with a sort of 'unwān', fol. 1b, 27.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 2. Inner side of the lower cover with the ex libris of Suchtelen's library, the same manuscript.

Fig. 3. French annotation, the same manuscript, fol. 02, 27.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 4. Arabic note by Da'ifi, the same manuscript, fol. 54b.

Fig. 5. Text with a marginal note by Da'ifi, the same manuscript, fol. 5a, 27.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 6. Text with headings singled out in red, the same manuscript, fol. 49b, 27.0×18.0 cm.