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THE MAMLUK-KIPCHAK LITERATURE

by

JÁNOS ECKMANN

Los Angeles

1. The Mamluks were originally purchased slaves (Ar. *mamlūk*) mainly of Kipchak or Circassian origin who served in the bodyguards of the Ayyūbid sultans and emirs in Syria and Egypt. Soon they gained a great ascendency over the weak rulers. In 1250, Aybeg, the commander of the Mamluks, succeeded in overthrowing the Ayyūbid dynasty. The true founder of the Mamluk-Kipchak dynasty was Sultan Baybars (1259-1277), the vanquisher of the Mongols in the battle of ʿAin Cālūt (1259). The Mamluks who held power over Egypt and Syria until the Ottoman conquest in 1517 fall into two branches: the Baḥrī Mamluks (1250-1382) and the Burcī Mamluks (1382-1517). Their rule was characterized by a series of successful wars against the Mongols and the Crusaders. The Mamluk sultans, like other Muslim rulers, encouraged the arts, sciences, and literature. Under their patronage good work was done especially in the practical sciences and in Arabic historiography.

Some of the Mamluk sultans and emirs were familiar with the Arabic language and composed literary works in both Arabic and Turkish, but the vast majority of them were illiterate and spoke only Turkish. Therefore, Turkish as the language of the ruling class acquired a primary importance. Several Turkish grammars and dictionaries[1] were composed in order to facilitate the learning of the Turkish language for the Arabic-speaking population of the country. By order of the sultans and emirs a number of Turkish works were written or translated from Arabic or Persian, and many important literary works of other Turkish areas were copied for their libraries. In this way there was a lively intellectual contact between Khorazm, the Golden Horde, Azerbaijan, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. In the Madrasa (College of Theology) of Cairo, founded by

[1] For a discussion of these grammars and dictionaries see Omeljan Pritsak, "Das Kiptschakische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I, p. 74sqq., and Ali Fehmi Karamanlıoğlu, "Kıpçaklar ve Kıpçak türkçesi", *TDED* (= *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*), XII (1963), p. 181sqq.

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Emir Soyuγatmïš in the 14th century, scholars who had come from Turkestan and the Golden Horde acted as professors.

The products of Mamluk-Kipchak literature are not numerous and all stem from the Burcī Mamluk times. Most of this literature is, except from the philological point of view, of little value, consisting merely of translations of Arabic or Persian books, and some original poems.

2. The language in which the products of Mamluk-Kipchak literature are written is not uniform. The following are the main dialects:

(a). Mamluk-Kipchak Proper. This is a dialect which with regard to phonology and morphology is closely related to Khorazmian Turkic.[2] The main differences from the latter may be summarized as follows:

1. Word-final *γ/g* is frequently dropped: *qorqu* (Khor. *qorquγ*) "fear", *sarï* (Khor. *sarïγ*) "yellow", *tiri* (Khor. *tirig*) "living, alife", *bulutlï* (Khor. *bulïtlïγ*, *bulutluγ*) "clouded", *körklü* (Khor. *körklüg*) "beautiful", *küčli* (Khor. *küčlüg*) "strong".

2. The dative suffix is *-qa/-kä* or *-γa/-gä* as in Khorazmian Turkic, but after the possessive suffix of the third person *-ï/-i* it usually appears as *-na/-nä* (Khor. *-nγa/-ngä* or *-n͡ga/-n͡gä*): *aγz-ï-na* "to his mouth", *yüz-i-nä* "to his face".

3. The ablative suffix is *-dan/-dän* (always written as دان) [Khor. *-dïn/-din*]: سوڤندان *suw-ï-n-dan* "from its water", ای یوزلی‌دان *ay yüzli-dän* "from a moon-faced one".

4. Personal pronouns: *mänim* (Khor. *mäniṅ͡g/mänim*) "mine", *bizim* (Khor. *biziṅ͡g/bizim*) "ours".

5. The personal sign of the plural is *biz* (Khor. usually *miz*), e.g. *alur biz* (Khor. usually *alur miz*) "we take".

6. The negative copula is usually *dägül* (Khor. *ärmäz/ärmäs*) "is not".

7. Free use of the verbal noun in *-duq/-dük* (Khor. rare): *ṭāqat bolduqča* "so far as in me lies", *tedükümiz* "that what we said".

8. Interrogative particle: *mï/mi* (Khor. *mu/mü*).

The monuments of Mamluk-Kipchak Proper are: Saif-i Sarāyī's *Gulistān* translation (see Sect. 4), Bärkä Faqīh's *Iršād al-mulūk* (Sect. 9), and the two anonymous works *Kitāb baiṭarat al-wāžiḥ* (Sect. 14) and *Munyat al-ġuzāt* (Sect. 17).

(b) A mixed Oghuz-Kipchak dialect with two undergroups: (1) a dia-

[2] The grammatical features of the Khorazmian Turkic literary language are discussed in my articles "Zur Charakteristik der islamischen mittelasiatisch-türkischen Literatursprache", *Studia Altaica, Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 54sqq., and "Das Chwarezmtürkische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I, pp. 113–137.

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lect with prevailing Kipchak elements represented by the following works: *Kitāb fī ʿilm an-nuššāb* or *Ḫulāṣa* (Istanbul MS) [Sect. 16] and *Kitāb al-ḫail* (Sect. 15); (2) a dialect with prevailing Ottoman Turkish elements as seen in the following works: *Kitāb fī 'l-fiqh bi-lisān at-turkī* (Sect. 12), *Kitāb al-fiqh* (Sect. 10), *Ḫulāṣa* (Paris MS) [Sect. 16] and *Kitāb Muqaddimat Abī'l-Laiṯ as-Samarqandī* (Sect. 11). The following short specimen taken from the Istanbul and Paris manuscripts of the *Ḫulāṣa* should illustrate the changes in the language of the same work due to the "dekipchakizations" of a later copyist:

Istanbul MS	*Paris MS*
Yinä sizgä *maʿlūm* bolsun *kim bu* kitābnī *yazmaγa säbäb ol* boldī *kim Maḫdūm Ṭolu Beg al-Malikī aẓ-Ẓāhirī qačan kim* män *żaʿīf* bīčāräni *ündäyüp öŋümdä ʿarab* tilinčä *oq atmaq ʿilmi ičindä kitāblar* kältürüp *qoydī daḫī* män *miskīn* bīčārädän tiläddi *kim bu kitāblardan vä daḫī özgä kitāblardan bir kitāb yaza* män *oq atmaq ičindä türkī* tili *üzärä* tep *därḫōst qīldī ärsä*, män *daḫī özinüŋ buyruγïna boyun* şundum (f. 2a).	*Yinä* sizä *maʿlūm* olsun *kim bu* kitābï *yazmaγa säbäb ol* oldï *kim Maḫdūm Ṭolï Bäg qačan kim* bän *żaʿīf* bīcāräyi *izdädi, öŋümdä ʿarab* dilincä *oq atmaq ʿilmi ičindän kitāblar* gätürüp *öŋümdä qodï.* Baŋa söylädi *kim bu kitāblardan daḫī özgä kitāblardan bir kitāb yaz oq atmaq ʿilmi ičindä türkī* dilincä deyüp söylädi. Bän *daḫï özinüŋ buyruγïna boyun* verdüm (ed. Zajączkowski, p. 159 and 175sq.).

Translation (Istanbul MS)

Again it should be known to you that the reason for writing this book is that when His Lordship Ṭolu Beg al-Malikī aẓ-Ẓāhirī called me, the weak and destitute, he put before me [several] books in the Arabic language relating to the science of archery and asked me, the poor and destitute, to compile, from these and other books, a book in the Turkish language relating to archery. When he requested [this of me], I obeyed his order.

(c) Ottoman Turkish. Here belong the poems of Qayītbay (Sect. 5), Muḥammad b. Qayītbay (Sect. 6), and Qanṣū Ġaurī (Sect. 7). Moreover, there are several literary works in the Ottoman Turkish language written, copied or translated from Arabic or Persian by order of the Mamluk rulers and great dignitaries. Such works are the *Šāhnāma* translation by Ḥusain b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī (1510, MS richly illustrated with miniatures in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Hazine No. 1519), the Qudūrī translation by ʿAinī (14th century), the *Faraḫnama* by Kamāoγlī (14th century), the *Ḥikmatnāma* by Ibrāhīm b. Bālī (893/1487-88,

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MS in the Vatican Library, see Ettore Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti turchi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1953, p. 131sq.), the three works *Yüz ḥadīṣ* (MS in Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emiri Şer'iye No. 1154), *Siyar-i Nabavī* (779/1377-78, several MSS in Istanbul libraries, see *İstanbul kitaplıkları tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, Istanbul, 1945, pp. 404-410), and the translation of Wāqidī's *Futūḥ aš-Šām* by Żarīr Muṣṭafā (795/1392-93, Aleppo, MSS in Istanbul, the same catalogue, pp. 305-307, British Museum Or. 3214, Rieu, *Turk. MSS*, p. 38sq., etc., see also Necīb ʿĀṣīm, "Mısırda yazılmış türkmence kitap", *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası* I, 1332/1916, pp. 54-62), the *Kitāb faẓā'il Makka wa Madīna wa Bait al-Maqdis wa qabr al-Ibrāhīm al-Ḫalīl ʿalaihi's-salām* by Muḥammad Yamanī (the copy in my possession was completed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī in Jerusalem on Ṣafar 6th, 854/March 21th, 1450; other copies in Ayasofya No. 3341 and Vatican, Rossi, p. 344). See also T. Halasi Kun, "Die mameluk-kiptschakischen Sprachstudien und die Handschriften in Stambul", *KCsA*, III (1940), pp. 77-83; Abdülkadir İnan, "XIII.-XV. yüzyıllarda Mısır'da Oğuz-Türkmen ve Kıpçak lehçeleri ve "halis türkçe"", *TDAYB* [= *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten*] (Ankara, 1953), pp. 53-71.

POETRY

3. The first production of Mamluk-Kipchak poetry is the epilogue consisting of 51 distichs written and added by the copyist Bärkä Faqīh to Quṭb's *Ḫusrav u Šīrīn*. Bärkä Faqīh was a Kipchak Turk who copied the charming romance in verse of Quṭb, the famous poet of the Golden Horde, in 785/1383 in Alexandria. This epilogue is a kind of autobiography from which we learn that Bärkä Faqīh, in the service af a certain Altīn Buγa Beg, took part in a campaign against the unbelievers. He complains of the miserable situation of the *faqīh*s (jurists) who, like himself, are often compelled to hunger. Bärkä Faqīh is also known as the translator of a bulky *fiqh*-book entitled *Iršād al-mulūk wa's-salāṭīn* (see below Sect. 9).

The text of the epilogue has been published by Ananiasz Zajączkowski, "Zabytek językowy ze Złotej Ordy "Ḫusrev u Šīrīn" Quṭba", *RO*, XIX (1954), foll. 116b–117b and *Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusräv u Šīrīn Quṭba* (Warsaw, 1958), Part I, pp. 301–302 (transcription), plates VII-IX (facsimile), Part II, pp. 234–236 (facsimile); Abdülkadir İnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–66 (a portion of the text in transcription). See also Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi* (Istanbul, 1926), pp. 371–372.

4. The most eminent poet of the Mamluk-Kipchak period is Saif-i Sarāyī. He was a native of Sarāy, the capital of the Golden Horde, and, like many

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other poets and scholars of his time, went to Egypt where in 793/1391 he translated Sa'dī's *Gulistān* into Turkish and dedicated his work to Batḫaṣ Beg, i.e. Batḫaṣ as-Sudūnī (d. 804/1401-02), the Ḥācib al-ḥuccāb (Minister of State) of Malik aẓ-Żāhir Barqūq. In the introduction he narrates the reasons which induced him to translate Sa'dī's work as follows: "One day in early summer we were sitting with a few ingenious scholars in the garden among the roses. We were talking about the art of composition (*inšā*). When I read some rare distichs and some wonderful poems, the chief of the scholars asked me, in connection with the art of prosody, to scan a difficult distich. When he immediately received the answer, he said: O strange man of letters, let me give you some good advice. If you accept it, it will be good. I replied: Please! He said: You should translate Sheik Sa'dī's *Gulistān* into Turkish and dedicate it to a mighty man so that your memory may survive in the world" (ed. Uzluk, p. 10).

Saif-i Sarāyī's *Kitāb-i Gulistān bi't-turkī* [Book of the Rose-garden in Turkish] is not a word-for-word translation. Our poet follows his original only in the translation of the prose anecdotes while he translates the verses rather freely. Some parts of the original are lacking in the translation or appear in a different form.

The *Gulistān* translation is the most beautiful production of Mamluk-Kipchak poetry. Saif-i Sarāyī was, however, not only a translator but also a poet of original poetical works. In the manuscript of the *Gulistān* translation there are a few original ghazals and *naẓīras* which give evidence of the poetic gift of their author. In one of these poems entitled "The qualities of poets" Saif characterizes the poets of his time in the following manner:

1 *Cihān šā'irläri, ey gülšän [u] bāy,*
Kimi bulbul durur sözdä, kimi zāy.

2 *Kimi ṭūṭī bigin čäynär šäkärni,*
Kimi lafẓī bilän örtär dürärni.

3 *Kimining sözläri mavzūn u šīrīn,*
Kimining lāyïq-i tašrīf u taḥsīn.

4 *Kimi özgäning aš'ārïn mänim der,*
Kimi ḥalvā kibi šalyam čobïn yer.

5 *Kimi ma'nā qoyup lafẓïn tüzätür,*
Kimi vaznïn buzup ṣan'at közätür.

6 *Alarning uš biri Sayf-i Sarāyī,*
Cihān 'āriflärining ḫāk-i pāyī.

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7 *Anï sän cümlä šāʿir kämtäri bil,*
Qamar yüzgä hamīša muštarī bil.

(1) [Among] the poets of the world, O rose-garden and grove, some are nightingales and some are crows of the word. (2) Some chew sugar like parrots, some cover pearls with words. (3) Some have words well-chosen and sweet, some have [words] worthy of exalting and approbation. (4) Some appropriate the poems of others, some eat turnip trash like halva. (5) Some compose the words giving up the meaning, some show [their] art spoiling the meter. (6) One of them is just Saif of Sarāy, the dust of the feet of the wise of the world. (7) Know him as the most vile of all poets, know [him] as the permanent buyer of moon-faced ones.

Saif-i Sarāyī composed seven *naẓīras* ("parallel poems") to the ghazals of seven poets among whom Ḫōrazmī, the author of the famous *Maḥabbat-nāma*, then Aḥmad Ḫōca of Sarāy and ʿAbd al-Macīd were poets of the Golden Horde, and Ḥasanoγlī was an Azerbaijanian poet. This prouves evidently his good knowledge in the Turkish literatures of various areas.

Manuscript and edition: Unique and autograph MS in the Library of the Academy of Sciences at Leiden No. 476, Dozy, *Cat. cod. orientalium*, vol. I, p. 355, published in facsimile by Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Seyfi Serâyî, Gülistan tercümesi* (Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu, 1954), see the reviews of T. Gandjeï, *Oriens*, VIII (1955), pp. 296–297, A. Battal-Taymas, "Seyf Sarayî'nin Gülistan tercümesini gözden geçiriş", *TDAYB* (1955), pp. 73–98 (also with a grammatical analysis), and Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *RO*, XXII/2 (1960), p. 127sq. For the glosses in this MS see A. Bodrogligeti, "Glosses on Sayf-i Sarāyī's *Gülistān bi-t-türkī*", *Acta Orient. Hung.*, XIV/2 (1962), pp. 207–218 and "A Turkish Folk Song from the Golden Horde", *ibid.*, XV/1-3 (1962), pp. 23-30.

Literary history: J. Thúry, *Török nyelvemlékek a XIV. század végéig* [Turkish literary remains until the end of the 14th century] (Budapest, 1903), p. 52 (Turkish translation in *Millî Tetebbular Mecmuası*, II, p. 133); Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyati tarihi*, p. 372sq., and "Çagatay edebiyatı", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, III (Istanbul, 1945), p. 282sq.; Alessio Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca* (Milano, 1956), p. 117; A. Bodrogligeti, "Notes on the Turkish Literature at the Mameluke Court", *Acta Orient. Hung.*, XIV/3 (1962), pp. 273-282.

5. Some members of the Mamluk-Kipchak dynasty like Sultan Qayītbay, his son Muḥammad, and Sultan Qanṣū Ġaurī, also cultivated the poetry.

Sultan Qayītbay (1468-1495) was primarily concerned with religious poetry. There is a collection containing his prayers and religious poems written in the Arabic, Turkish-Arabic, and Turkish languages. These poems were destined to be sung on certain religious ceremonies (the melodies are indicated before the individual poems). The following specimen is a so called *muwaššaḥ* (a poem with internal rhymes):

1 *Bän bir därvīš idüm, ähl-i münācāt: Allāh Allāh!*
Dilüm täsbīḥ oqur, išüm ʿibādät: Allāh Allāh!
Säccādäm čignümdä, ʿaṣām älümdä: Allāh Allāh!
Yaʿnī ḫōd yürüräm ṣāḥib-i kärāmät: Allāh Allāh!

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2 *Bir ay yüzlü bäni yoldan apardï: Allāh Allāh!*
Ne dīn qodï bizä, ne ḫōd ʿibādät: Allāh Allāh!
Dilüm täfsīr oqur mädräsälärdä: Allāh Allāh!
Qolum qadäḥ dutar, išüm ḫarābāt: Allāh Allāh!

3 *Bïraγuram ḫïrqamï, čaγïruram: Allāh Allāh!*
Käm gördi bu dünyada ʿāšïq sälāmät: Allāh Allāh!
Yā Qayïtbay, tävbä qïl günählärüŋdän: Allāh Allāh!
Mägär Ḥaqdan gälä bizä ʿināyät: Allāh Allāh!

(Ayasofya No. 2047, 15a-15b)

1 I was a dervish attending to prayer: oh God, oh God!
My tongue celebrated the praises of God, worship was my business: oh God, oh God!
My prayer rug on my back, my stick in my hand: oh God, oh God!
(That is) I walked endowed with miraculous power: oh God, oh God!

2 A moon-faced beauty deviated me from my path: oh God, oh God!
She left us neither religion nor worship: oh God, oh God!
My tongue reads the [Koran] commentary in the *madrasas*: oh God, oh God!
[But] my hand holds the cup, drinking-bout is my business: oh God, oh God!

3 I take off my [dervish] cloak [and] call: oh God, oh God!
A lover finds little salvation in this world: oh God, oh God!
O Qayïtbay, repent of your sins: oh God, oh God!
Perhaps favor comes to us from the Almighty: oh God, oh God!

In a long poem he praises the Prophet in a simple language:

Doγdï Mäkkädä Aḥmäd,
Ḥaq räsūl Muḥammäd.
Gäldi ʿälämä raḥmät,
Buldï ümmäti dävlät.
Cümlä ḫalquŋ ḥabībi dür,
Därtlülärüŋ ṭabībi dür, etc.

(Ayasofya No. 2047, 36b)

In Mekka was born Ahmed, the true Prophet Muhammed. The mercy [of God] came to the world, his followers found felicity. He is the friend of all people, he is the physician of all sufferers.

Manuscripts: *Macmūʿ mubārak fïhi aḏkār wa muwaššaḥāt li's-Sulṭān al-marḥūm al-Malik al-ašraf Qayïtbay raḥmat Allāh ʿalaihi wa li-Maulānā al-maqām al-ašraf Abū'n-Naṣr Qanṣūh al-Ġaurī*, Istanbul, Ayasofya Library No. 2047, foll. 2a–67b, and *Kitāb min ad-daʿwāt*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Köşkü No. 1727, 105 foll. Some specimens from the Revan MS have been published by Abdülkadir İnan, "Kayıtbay'ın türkçe duaları", *Jean Deny Armağanı* (Ankara, 1958), pp. 91–94.

6. Qayïtbay's son al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qayïtbay was also a poet. The following quatrain (*rubāʿī*) is recorded in the second volume of the Arabic universal history *Kitāb ʿuqūd al-cauharīya* written for Qanṣū

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Ġaurī (921/1515, MS in the Ayasofya Library at Istanbul, No. 3313, fol. 93a):

Bu gecä üč gecä dür yaṣduγum taš.
Ḥaq bilür, ol yaṣduγa qoymadïm baš.
Sulṭānum, sänüŋ ʿazīz bašuŋčün
Bir murād ḥāṣil ola yā gidä baš.

This is the third night that my pillow is a stone. God knows that I did not lay my head upon this pillow. My Sultan, by your dear head [I beg you], either fulfill my wish or let me die!

This quatrain, without mentioning the name of its author, has been published in Latin transcription by Abdülkadir İnan, *TDAYB* (1953), p. 69.

7. The last Mamluk-Kipchak sultan Qanṣū Ġaurī (1500-1517) wrote both profane and religious poems. In the Millet Library at Istanbul there is a small divan containing Ġaurī's Arabic poems and a Turkish ghazal. In the second volume of the *Kitāb ʿuqūd al-cauharīya* above mentioned, apart from a few Arabic poems, a Turkish *rubāʿī* (quatrain), and a Turkish *murabbaʿ* ("foursome") of Qanṣū Ġaurī are also recorded. The first strophe of the latter (the whole poem consists of four strophes) is as follows:

Bu ḥūr ṣïfat göŋlümä gör kim nälär äylär!
Biŋ ʿišvä u yüz nāz ilä qaṣd-i cigär äylär.
Ya qašïnï u γamzälärini siḥir äylär
Šol šāh-i qamär-ruḫ [ki] anïŋ adï ʿAlī dür. (fol 89a)

Look, what this hourilike one does to my heart! With a thousand blandishments and a hundred coquetries he makes an attempt against my heart. By his arched eyebrows and his glances he practises sorcery, this moon-faced shah whose name is ʿAlī.

The religious poems of Qanṣū Ġaurī agree in form, language, and tone, with those of Qayïtbay. The majority of his religious poems too are written in the Arabic language, and only five of them are Turkish or Turkish-Arabic. The following specimen is taken from a long *mulammaʿ* (macaronic poem):

Yā Ilāhī, bän günähkār, *anta ġaffāru'ḍ-ḍunūb.*
ʿAybumï yüzümä urma, *anta sattāru'l-ʿuyūb.*
Qamu išlär saŋa maʿlūm, *anta ʿallāmu'l-ġuyūb.*
(Ayasofya 91a: 1-3, Topkapı 21a: 1-3)

O my God, I am a sinner, Thou art the forgiver of sins.
Don't reproach me with my vices, Thou art the veiler of vices.
Everything is known to Thee, Thou art the knower of secrets.

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In one of his ghazals he professes pantheistic ideas:

Ṣūrät-i Ḥaq dur görinän čūnki här šäydä bizä,
Baqïcaq Ḥaq görinür här ṣūrät-i zībā bizä.
Vaḥdätüŋ baḥrïda biz kim šöylä γavvāṣ olmïšuz,
Mävc ursa, taŋ mï dur, bu lücciyä däryā bizä?
(Ayasofya 84a)

Since in everything God's face is to be seen, when we look, every beautiful face seems God to us. We have become divers in the sea of Thy unity. Is it astonishing if this fathomless sea dashes over us?

Manuscripts: *Dīvān-i Qanṣū Ġaurī*, Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emirî Arabî No. 4639, 46 foll. (copied in 1325/1909), the Turkish ghazal is found on foll. 8b–9a; *Muwaššaḥāt li'l-Malik al-ašraf Qanṣūh al-Ġaurī* in the collective MS *Macmūʿ mubārak*, etc. (see Sect. 5), Ayasofya No. 2047, foll. 81a–95a, 100b, 109a–109b, and *al-Qaṣā'id ar-rabbānīya wa'l-muwaššaḥāt as-sulṭānīya al-Ġaurīya*, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Bağdad Köşkü No. 138, 30 foll., the Turkish poems are found on foll. 21a–25a, 28a–29a. See also Rıfkı Melûl Meriç, "Kansuhu'l-Gavrî'nin şiirleri", in the journal *Oluş* (Ankara, 1939), No. 19; M. Sobernheim-İbrahim Kafesoğlu, "Kansu", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.

SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

8. Apart from the productions of both profane and religious poetry numerous works concerning practical sciences have also come down to us. These works, some of them merely interlinear translations, have generally little or no literary value, but they are important as documents of the Mamluk-Kipchak literary language. As regards their contents, these works can be divided into the following groups: *fiqh*-books, hippological works, and works on the chivalric arts.

Fiqh-Books

9. *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), i.e. the knowledge of Islamic religious law, seems to have interested the Mamluks too, for no less than five *fiqh*-books have come down to us.

The most comprehensive *fiqh*-book of this period is the *Iršād al-mulūk wa's-salāṭīn* [The guidance of the kings and sultans], an interlinear translation from Arabic, produced by the Kipchak Turk and Hanafite jurisconsult Bärkä Faqïh (see above Sect. 3) in Alexandria in 789/1387 for the library of the Nāʿib as-salṭanat (Regent) al-Canāb al-ʿĀlī al-Maulawī al-Amīrī al-Kabīrī al-Malikī aẓ-Ẓāhirī al-Maḥdūmī as-Saifī Bacmān. This large work, divided into innumerable *Faṣl*s, *Kitāb*s, and *Bāb*s, deals minutely with the prescriptions of ritual purifica-

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tion (*ṭahārat*, Turk. *arïnmaq*), prayer (*ṣalāt*), legal alms (*zakāt*), fasting (*ṣavm*), pilgrimage (*ḥacc*), etc. The Turkish translation follows the order of the Arabic text, the Turkish words being simply written with red ink under the Arabic words. Therefore, the translation is not always understandable without the Arabic text. The following is a specimen of the translation:

Ayttï Rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām: Bir kɛčä sayr qïlïndïm män kökkä. Kördüm Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi's-salāmnï, sözläšti mañga, män taqï sözlädim añga. Qačan kim qaytmaq tilädim ersä, ayttï mañga: Ey Muḥammad, mändän salām bergil ummatïñga taqï aytγïl anlarγa: Rāstī učmaq yaratïlmaqï kökčäk turur, ičmäki tatlï turur. Ewüñgiz učmaqqa ḫayrlar birlä taqï qulluqlar birlä tep taqï Teñgriniñg riżāsïnï izläñgiz tep. Rāstī učmaq muštāq turur sizgä tep (fol. 39a: 4-7).

Kim kim āyātlarγa ïnansa taqï anï tafsīr qïlsa öz raʾyï birlä taqï aytsa: Bolmadï Nabīniñg erišmäki mägär kim Bayt-i Maqdiskä tegrü, taqï inkār qïlsa köklärgä erišmäkini yāḫūd turuqsa anïñg ičindä, aytsa: Bilmäs män Nabī kökkä čïqtï mï yā čïqmadï mï tep, ol kiši mubtadiʿ turur taqï azγan turur. Anïñg artïnda namāz qïlmaq ravā bolmas (fol. 39b: 2-4).

The Apostle [of Allāh] – peace be upon him – said: One night I mounted to the sky. I saw Abraham – peace be upon him. He talked with me, and I talked with him too. When I wished to return, he said to me: "O Muhammed, give my *salām* (greeting of peace) to your community and tell them: Truly, the construction of paradise is beautiful, its drink is sweet. Hurry to paradise with good works and acts of worship, and seek God's approval. Truly, paradise is waiting for you."

He who believes in the signs (miracles or Koran verses), but explains them according to his own view and says that the Prophet reached only as far as Bait al-Maqdis [on his night journey and ascension], and denies his ascension to the heavens or has doubts about it and says: "I don't know whether the Prophet ascended or did not ascend", is an inventor (heretic) and a deviated one. It is not right to perform one's prayers behind him.

Manuscript: Istanbul, Aya Sofya No. 1016, 498 foll. See also Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, p. 371; T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Abdülkadir İnan, *TDAYB* (1953), pp. 55, 63–66.

10. The *Kitāb al-fiqh* [Book of the Islamic law], another interlinear translation from Arabic, deals also with ritual purification, prayer, legal alms, and fast. Since the last part of the work is missing, the name of the translator and the date of composition or copying are unknown. The following specimen is taken from this work:

Ol Täŋri taʿālā qadïm dur äzäldä zamān yaradïlmazdan burun, sāʿatlarï yaradïlmazdan burun. Ol Täŋri taʿālā bāqī dur, äbädī, ʿäläm fānī olγandan soŋra, barča yaradïlmïš fānī olγandan sonra. Ol Täŋri taʿālā ʿālim dür qulïnuŋ

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āšikārā išlägänini, yašïrup išlägänini. Qatï yašïrγanïnï daḫï bilür. Ol Täŋri taʿālā γāyätdä išidici dür qulïnuŋ yašurup söylägänini (fol. 2a).

God, the Most High, is eternal. He existed in the beginningless eternity, before time was created and its hours were created. God, the Most High, is everlasting, eternal, the world being transitory and all creatures being transitory. God, the Most High, knows what his servant (man) does openly and what he does secretly. He knows even what [man] hides very much. God, the Most High, hears very much what his servant speaks secretly.

Manuscript: Istanbul, Ayasofya No. 1360, 266 foll. The Turkish words are written with red ink under the Arabic words. The Turkish text is vocalized. See also T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

11. The *Kitāb Muqaddimat Abī'l-Laiṭ as-Samarqandī* [The Book of Introduction by Abū'l-Laiṭ as-Samarqandī] is the third interlinear translation made by an unknown translator and copied by the Kipchak Turk Mamlūk Äsänbay b. Sudūn for the library of Qanṣū Ġaurī. Abū'l-Laiṭ of Samarkand was a famous jurist (*faqīh*) and theologian of the Hanafite school, and died in 373/983 or some years later. His work *Muqaddimat aṣ-ṣalāt* is an exposition of the fundamental obligations of Islam: purification, prayer, legal alms, fast, and pilgrimage, to which a chapter in the form of questions and answers relating to various religious problems is added. The language of this translation is almost entirely Ottoman. What still reminds us of Kipchak Turkic are the occasional use of the future-optative suffix *-γay/-gäy*, the verbal noun suffix *-γan/-gän*, and a number of Kipchak Turkic words. The following is a specimen of this translation:

Söz käsildi. Qačan diläsä kiši avdaz almaq, yuγay iki älini üč gäz, aydaγay: Bašlaram ulu Täŋri adï birlä, daḫï šükr edär män Allāha dīn-i islām üstinä. Andan soŋra istincā äyläyä (fol. 32b).

Bu mäs'älä. Ägär aydïlsa: Ïmān nädür daḫï islām nädür daḫï iḥsān nädür?, ayït: Ïmān dägän iqrār dur dil birlä daḫï ïnanmaq dur göŋül birlä. Islām dedügümüz mutīʿ olmaq dur Täŋrinüŋ buyruγïna. Iḥsān dedügümüz ol iḥsān dur Täŋri yaratγan qullara daḫï šafaqat äylämäk dür anlara (fol. 44a-44b).

Section (lit. the speech is cut off). When someone wishes to perform the ritual ablution, he shall wash his hands three times and say: "I begin in the name of God, the High, and return thanks to Allah for the religion of Islam." After it he shall perform the *istincā* (purification after natural evacuations) [fol. 32b].

The following question. If it is said: What is faith and what is Islam and what is beneficence?, say: What is called faith is confession with the tongue and belief with the heart. What we call Islam is obeying God's orders. What we

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call beneficence is beneficence toward God's creatures and feeling affection toward them (fol. 44a–44b).

Manuscript: Istanbul, Ayasofya No. 1451, 47 foll. See also T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 80. This MS has been published by Ananiasz Zajączkowski, "Mamelucko-kipczacki prekład arabskiego traktatu Muḳaddima Abū-l-Laiṭ as-Samarḳandī (Ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya 1451)", *RO*, XXIII/1 (1959), pp. 73–99 (a short linguistic analysis, glossary, the Turkish text in Latin transcription and in Arabic characters), and *Le traité arabe* Muḳaddima *d'Abou-l-Laiṭ as-Samarḳandī en version mamelouk-kiptchak* (*Ms. Istanbul, Aya Sofya* 1451) (= *Zakład Orientalistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk*) (Warsaw, 1962) (a short introduction, facsimile).

12. The *Kitāb fī'l-fiqh bi-lisān at-turkī* [A book of Islamic law in the Turkish language] is a comprehensive collection of *fatwā*s (decisions of a *muftī* on matters concerned with the religious law) composed by an anonymous compiler or translator probably before 824/1421. The following is a specimen from the work:

Ägär bir kiši daʿvī edsä bir kišinüŋ üstinä, ayïdsa: Mänüm sändä bu qadar aḫčam var desä; daḫï ol daʿvī olïŋyan kiši ayïdsa: Sänüŋ mänüm üstümä hīč nämäŋ yoq dur daḫï män säni bilmäz män desä, daḫï ol daʿvī edgän kiši danuq durquzsa aḫčasï var ïduqïna, daḫï qāẓī ḫüküm edsä: Aḫčasïnï vergil deyü; daḫï ḫüküm edgändän soŋra ol daʿvī olïŋyan kiši danuq durquzsa, daḫï ol daʿvī olïŋyan kišinüŋ danuqlarï ayïdsa: Ol daʿvī edgän kišinüŋ aḫčasï var ïdï bu daʿvī olïŋyan kišinüŋ üstinä, välākin ol daʿvī olïŋyan kiši ödädi desä, emdi ol daʿvī olïŋyan kišinüŋ danuqlarï išidilmäz (*TDAYB* 1953, plate 11, col. 1: 19-32).

If a man brings suit against another man and claims that the man owes him a certain sum, but the defendant maintains that he does not owe him anything and does not know him; and if the claimant produces witnesses that he has a money claim [on the defendant] and the judge sentences [the defendant] to return the money; if after the judgement the defendant produces witnesses and these witnesses of the defendant assert that the claimant [in fact] had a money claim on the defendant, but that the defendant [already] paid it, then the witnesses of the defendant will not be heard.

Manuscript: Istanbul, Millet Library, Feyzullah No. 1046, 439 foll. This MS belonged to the library of Sultan Ṭaṭar al-Malikī al-Mūtadī who ruled for a few months in 824/1421. See also T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Abdülkadir İnan, *TDAYB* (1953), plate 11 (facsimile of the above Turkish text), and "Karışık lehçelerle yazılan türkçe eserler (XV-XVI. yüzyıllar)", *Türk Dili*, V/53 (Ankara, 1956), pp. 272–275.

13. Apart from the *fiqh*-books discussed above, an undated manuscript of another Kipchak Turkic *fiqh*-book is preserved in the Yusuf Ağa Library at Konya (Turkey), see Abdülkadir İnan, *TDAYB* (1953), p. 68, and *Türk Dili*, V/53, p. 273.

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Hippological Works

14. The hippological works deal with the features of horses, horse diseases and their cure, and give instructions for the training of horses.

Among the hippological works we may primarily mention the *Kitāb baiṭarat al-wāżiḥ* [A clear farriery book], a translation from Arabic, made by the order of Ṭolu Beg, the courtier of one of the Circassian Mamluks. Ṭolu Beg is probably identical with the Mamluk embassador Ṭolu who stayed at the court of Toḫtamïš on April 14, 1395 (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 133sq.). He seems to have been very interested in horses and in archery, for by his order another book too was translated into Turkish (see below Sect. 16).

The name of the translator, and the date and place of the translation are not mentioned in the work. The *Kitāb baiṭarat al-wāżiḥ* is divided into two parts. In the first, shorter part, the marks are discussed on the basis of which it is possible to ascertain whether a horse is good or bad. A horse is good if its face is beautiful, the distance between the forehead hairs and the upper lip is long, the tongue is long (a horse with a long tongue was supposed not to become thirsty quickly), the ears are fine, etc. Flat ears indicate that the horse is bad. A special chapter (*bāb*) is devoted to the features which were considered as good in a stallion, but bad in a mare. The second, longer part, is an exposition of the various horse diseases and of their treatment. As medicaments the most frequently recommended are: wine, milk, honey, vinegar, olive oil, garlic, parsley, fig, fennel, vine root, linseed, tail fat, wax, salt, soap, water-bath, mud-bath, and bandages. We learn from this interesting book that ignorant horse doctors were sitting along the roads curing sick horses in order to make money. The author warns the readers against such quacks. The following is a specimen taken from this work:

Ammā ol aγrïγlarnïng͡ biri ṣudā' turur. Anïng͡ 'alāmatï ol turur, kim aṭ dāyim bašïn ašaγa salar, yoqaru kötürä bilmäs; taqï közin ača bilmäs, dāyim közini yumar taqï dāyim közi yašï aqar. Taqï arpasïn yemäs. Yatsa, küč birlä yatur. Taqï közläri ṭamarlarï qan bolur taqï közining͡ aqï qan bolur. Taqï dāyim bu ṣïfat üzä bolur (fol. 49a).

One of these ailments is the headache. The symptom of it is that the horse constantly lowers his head and cannot raise it. He cannot open his eyes, he constantly closes his eyes, and tears constantly flow. He does not eat his barley. When he lies down, he lies down with difficulty. The veins of his eyes become bloody, and the white part of his eyes also become bloody. And he is constantly in this state.

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Manuscripts: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan Köşkü No. 1695, 67 foll., see T. Halasi Kun. *op, cit.*, p. 79, and Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu* (= *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları*, No. 11), vol. I (Istanbul, 1961), p. 591, No. 1823. A short linguistic analysis of the work is given in Saadet Çagatay, "Eine osttürkische Handschrift: *Bayṭarat'ul-vaziḥ*", *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München 28. August bis 4. September* 1957 (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 602–604. Another MS is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, Suppl. turc 179, foll. 1–99a, see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, vol. I (Paris, 1932), p. 249sq.; see also A. Zajączkowski, *RO*, XX (1956), p. 139sqq.

15. The treatise *Kitāb al-ḫail* [A book on horses] is a translation from Persian. The name of the translator is not known. The book is divided into two parts (*bāb*). The first, longer part deals with the features of horses and contains a short exposition of equine diseases and of their treatment. The second, shorter chapter is concerned with the training of horses (*riyāżat al-ḫail*). The following specimen is taken from this work:

Fārä dedükläri ol dur kim qulaqï dibi šiš bolur maqtalïna yaqïn. Anï käsüp mäddäsin käsüp čïqarïp daḫï därisini üstinä čäkip bayγlasalar, ḫōš bolur. Vä daḫï bu ʿillätdän āḫ āḫ deyüp öksürür. Vä daḫï ʿalafïn yemäz. Vä daḫï aqan ṣu ičär bolsa, ölür (fol. 84a-84b).

The disease called *fārä* (mouse) is manifested by a swelling of the parotid region near its mortal spot. If one slits up [the swelling] and after removing its content he sews up the skin, [the animal] gets well again. Because of this sickness [the animal] coughs with an akh akh sound, does not eat its fodder, and dies if it drinks running water.

Manuscript: Istanbul, Bayezit Umumî Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin No. 3176, foll. 66b–102b. Copyist: Ḥusain b. Aḥmad al-Ärżurūmī ... as-sākin fī madrasat aš-Šaiḫū. Date and place of copying are not given. Exlibris: Muḥibbaddīn Tamrāz. See also H. Ritter, *Der Islam*, XVIII (1929), p. 136sq., T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Cf. below Sect. 16.

Works on the Chivalric Arts

16. Two works on the chivalric arts (*furūsīya*) have come down to us. One of them bears the title of *Ḫulāṣa* [Epitome] or *Kitāb fī ʿilm an-nušūāb* [A book on the knowledge of arrows] and was composed and translated from various Arabic works by an anonymous compiler for Ṭolu Beg (see above Sect. 14). The work consists of an introduction and five chapters (*bāb*) in which the following topics are discussed: (1) Who was the first archer? (2) The former masters of archery. (3) The fundamental principles (*aṣïllar*) of archery. (4) Shooting with a bow in a standing and

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in a sitting position. (5) Mistakes while shooting with a bow.

In the introduction the advantages of horsemanship and archery are discussed with abundant reference to the Prophet: "Know and be informed that God, the Most High, in the intention of [promoting] championship [of the faith] made horse tethering (*at baγlamaq*) and archery [our] religious duty (*farż*) as He mentions it in the Koran (*Kalām*): [Sūra VIII, 60/62] وَ أَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَ مِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ The meaning is as follows: Make ready against the unbelievers all you can of force and of horses tethered, He said. And the Prophet – peace be upon him – also explained the word force (*quvvat*). He said three times: Force means archery. The Prophet too – peace be upon him – shot with arrows, sat on horseback, girded himself with a sword, and stabbed with a lance" (Bayezit, fol. 3a-3b).

The heavenly origin of the bow is narrated as follows:

Qačan Ādam ʿalayhi's-salām učmaqdan čïqdï, dunyā yüzinä käldi. Ādam ʿalayhi's-salām [sic!] *Täŋri taʿālā buyurdï äkin äkmäk. Qačan kim Ādam ʿalayhi's-salām äkin äkmägä bašladï ersä, qarγalar käldi. Äkinni yediyisä, Ādam ʿalayhi's-salām Täŋri taʿālāya šikāyat qïldï. Ol sāʿat ičindä Cabraʾïl ʿalayhi's-salām indi, yay daḫï bir kiriš daḫï iki oq alup käldi. Ādam ʿalayhi's-salām aytdï: Yā Cabraʾïl, bu nä turur, deyüp ṣordï. Cabraʾïl yaynï vä daḫï kirišni vä daḫï oqnï atmaγa verdi daḫï aytdï: Bu Täŋri taʿālā quvvatïndan durur. Andan oqnï atmaqnï ögrätdi vä daḫï adïnï nuš āb dedi vä daḫï bir rivāyatda nušša abba dedi. Āb ol qarγanïŋ adï turur suryanī tilinčä vä daḫï abba oqnuŋ adï durur. Maʿnīsi ol bolur kim qarγanï sürgil bu oq birlä temäk bolur. Andan soŋra aŋa ʿarab tilinčä nuššāb ad berildi deyüp aytdïlar. Qačan kim Ādam oq atmaqnï ögrändi, γāyat sävindi vä daḫï anï kändüsinä silāḥ qïldï* (Bayezit, foll. 8a-9a).

When Adam – peace be upon him – was driven out of heaven, he came to the earth. God, the Most High, ordered Adam – peace be upon him – to sow. When Adam – peace be upon him – began to sow, crows came. When these ate up the seed-corns, Adam – peace be upon him – complained with God, the Most High. Immediately Gabriel – peace be upon him – descended [from heaven] and brought a bow, a bowstring, and two arrows. Adam – peace be upon him – asked: O Gabriel, what is that? Gabriel gave him the bow, the bowstring, and the arrows to shoot, and said: This is the force of God, the Most High. Then he showed [Adam] how to shoot arrows, and called [the arrows] *nuš āb*, and according to [another] tradition he called them *nušša abba*. *Āb* is the name of the crow in Syriac, and *abba* is the name of the arrow. The meaning [of these words] is: Drive away the crows with this arrow. Afterward in Arabic the name *nuššāb* has been given [to the arrow]. Adam, after learning how to shoot with a bow, was very glad and made it a weapon for himself.

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Manuscripts: Istanbul, Bayezit Umumî Kütüphanesî, Veliyüddin No. 3176, foll. 1b–66a (cf. above Sect15). On fol. 1a the title of the work is *Kitāb fī ʿilm an-nuššāb*, but on fol 3a *Ḫulāṣa*. See also H. Ritter, *Der Islam*, XVIII (1929), p. 136sq., and T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 79. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, Suppl. turc 179 (Blochet, I, p. 249sq.) there is another MS copied in Cairo about 1430, the language of which is more Ottomanized than that of the Istanbul MS (see above Sect. 2). This MS has been studied and edited by Ananiasz Zajączkowski, "Mamelucko-turecka wersja arabskiego traktatu o łucznictwie z XIV w.", *RO*, XX (1956), pp. 139–261 (contents, linguistic analysis, glossary, text in Latin transcription and in facsimile). See also Zajączkowski's paper "Mamelucka wersja arabskiego traktatu o łucznictwie z XIV w. – Une version mamelouke du traité arabe sur le tir à l'arc du XIV-e s. (Mss. Turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. 179)", *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Um.*, vol. LI (1950), pp. 664–669. A short specimen in Latin transcription and with German translation in O. Pritsak, *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I, p. 85.

17. The second *furūsīya*-book, entitled *Munyat al-ġuzāt* [Wish of the champions of the faith], is the Kipchak Turkic translation of the third chapter of the Arabic work *al-Furūsīya fī ramy al-cihād* of Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb Aḫī Ḫazzām, the Master of the horse of the caliph al-Mutaḍid Billāh (1352-1362). The translation was undertaken by an anonymous translator in Egypt by order of the Ḫāṣṣäkilär Ḫāṣṣī Temür Beg. The work falls into six chapters dealing with the following "sciences" (*fann*): (1) horsemanship (*aṭqa minmäk*), (2) holding of the lance, (3) handling of the sword, (4) holding of the shield, (5) shooting an arrow (*oq atmaq*), (6) shooting a bullet (*top urmaq*). A short specimen:

Bu bāb süngüning lävnlärin bäyän qïlur. Lävnlärdä yaḫšï lävn süngüdä sarï lävn bolur taqï qalγan lävnlär biri birisindin yaḫšïraq turur. Ammā qara lävndä ḫayr yoq turur. Vä's-sälām (*TDAYB* 1953, plate 8:2-5).

This chapter deals with the colors of lances. The most beautiful color for lances is yellow, and the remaining colors are also very beautiful. Only the black color is not good. That's all.

Manuscript: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmed III No. 3468, 115 foll. (chapters IV and V are missing). Copied in 850/1446–47. Exlibris al-ʿĀlī al-Amīrī al-Kabīrī as-Saifī al-Mucāhidī al-Murābiṭī al-Ġāzī Altun Buγa. Description of the MS in Ritter, *Der Islam*, XVIII (1929), p. 125, and *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, IV (1934), p. 45, T. Halasi Kun, *op. cit.*, p. 79, and Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *op. cit.*, p. 619, No. 1912. A portion of the MS has been published in facsimile by Abdülkadir İnan, *TDAYB* (1953), plates 1–10; a short specimen in Latin transcription and with German translation in O. Pritsak, *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I, p. 85sq.

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