

Elements of *Türkî-yi ‘acemî* in an eyewitness report on the Ottoman siege of Baghdad (1034-35/1625-26) preserved in Iskandar Munşî’s *‘Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsî*

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Abstract

The present contribution on the one hand is a sequel to Römer (1989), inasmuch as it deals with a second Ottoman eyewitness report of the Ottoman siege of Baghdad in 1625-1626 under grand vizier Hâfız Aḥmed Pasha. This report, together with a Persian introductory paragraph, is included in Iskandar Beg Munşî’s (1561/2 – ca. 1633/34) *Tārīḥ-i ‘Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsî*. On the other hand, this letter is linguistically more interesting than the previous one. Although it is Ottoman, it features a number of elements of *Türkî-yi ‘acemî*, the use of which probably goes back to Iskandar Beg himself. It is these elements that the present article focusses on. The letter is given in transcription and translation on the basis of ms. ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325: 320v-322r along with a re-worked version of the same letter to be found in Iskandar Beg Turkmân (1334h.ş./1955: 3, 1053-1057), which contains many mistakes and differs in wording.

Keywords: Ottoman siege of Baghdad, Hâfız Aḥmed Paşa, Ottoman private correspondence, Iskandar Beg Munşî, *Türkî-yi ‘acemî*

1. Introduction

More than thirty years ago, I published a letter written as a report to a friend at home by a Ṭurnacıbaşı taking part in the disastrous siege of Baghdad by the Ottomans under grand vizier Hâfız Aḥmed Pasha in 1625-1626¹. This letter is part of a collection of twenty original Ottoman documents, which very probably are war booty². Where and how it was acquired and put into this collection is unknown. It could have been an isolated letter or one of the two letters mentioned by Lambeck (1766: 378-379) when he talks about single sheets extant in an Ottoman transla-

¹ Römer (1989).

² ÖNB, cod. A.F. 2 (68): fol. 1r-v.

tion of the history of al-Cannābī (d. 1590)³: *In fine Libri reperiuntur duae Epistolae Turcicae de obsidione Bagdadensi a Turcis facta A.C. 1626. Cum versione Italica memorati Interpretis D'ASQUIER*⁴. In the manuscript ÖNB cod. A.F. 12, however, there is no trace of these letters.

Another copy of a similar description of the Baghdad campaign is included in Iskandar Beg Muṣṣī's (ca.1560–ca.1632) *Ālam-ārāy-i 'Abbāsī*.⁵ The letter written by an unnamed soldier of the Ottoman army to a friend in Istanbul called Muṣṣī Çelebi is embedded into the Persian text and contains a number of mistakes and misspellings.

As we shall see below from Iskandar Beg Muṣṣī's Persian introduction to the topic, there seem to have been many similar letters, which, together with official Ottoman correspondence, and differently from the letter I published earlier, were all intercepted by the Safavid authorities even before getting on their way. Only one item of the batch was copied by Iskandar Beg.

2. *Türkī-yi 'Acemī*

Furthermore, the letter presented here is much more interesting on a linguistic level than the purely Ottoman letter in ÖNB cod. A.F. 2⁶ published by Römer (1989), as it contains many elements which can only be interpreted as *Türkī-yi 'acemī*, i.e., the Oghuz Turkic *koiné* of the Safavids. It functioned as a lingua franca and was widespread in the Safavid army and at the court⁷. Middle Azerbaidjanian, called *Turc Agemi* by Europeans⁸, hence the designation *Türkī-yi 'acemī*, is likely to

³ ÖNB, cod. A.F. 12, Flügel (1865: II, 85-87, no. 853). On al-Cannābī, see Brockelmann (1949: 387 (300)) and (1938: 411).

⁴ "At the end of the book two Turkish letters are found about the siege of Baghdad by the Turks, A.D. 1626. With an Italian translation by the renowned interpreter d'Asquier", cf. Lambeck (1766: 378–379); Michel d'Asquier (d. 1664), an interpreter and at the same time a citizen of the Republic of Letters, an antiquarian and book collector, was born in 1598 in Marseille. He served at the Habsburg court, and took part in a number of Ottoman-Habsburg peace negotiations. He died in 1664 and was buried in Vienna in St. Stephen's Cathedral. On him, see Hamilton (2009), for the above quotation: 239.

⁵ On him and his work, see Savory (1985). The version which is used here is ÖNB, cod. Mixt. 325, 320v–322r, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/1002F0A2>, cf. Flügel (1867: III, 174-175, no. 953). I am grateful to Dr Andreas Fingernagel (ÖNB) for the permission to publish the photos and to Dr Walter Scheithauer (Vienna) for sharing the letter. Subsequently, we read and discussed it in one of my reading seminars on Ottoman inedited documents. – A note on transcription: In the present article, I will use the system of *Islam Ansiklopedisi* throughout, i.e., also for Persian and Arabic, in order not to have too many different systems in one text. However, the pronunciation of vowels will be those of Classical New Persian and Arabic respectively.

⁶ Flügel (1865: 248, no. 256).

⁷ Johanson (1997: 89).

⁸ The term was coined by Raphaël du Mans (1613-1696), the prior of the Capuchin hospice in Isfahan. Besides a description of Persia, he wrote a Turkish Grammar, cf., Johanson (1997: 87); see also Richard (1996).

have been widespread also in Caucasian and Transcaucasian areas, which changed between Ottoman and Safavid rule until 1606. Its linguistic and geographical limitations are not yet clear and it could well have been a mixed language between Ottoman and Azerbaidjanian⁹. The author of the letter may have spoken an Eastern Anatolian dialect closely related to *Türki-yi ‘acemī*, as it is assumed that there was a gradual East-West change in Anatolia between *Türki-yi ‘acemī* and Ottoman¹⁰. Also, “during the İsfahān phase of [the] Şafavids”, it was called *Ḳızılbaşī* in contrast to *Rūmī* (Ottoman) and *Çağatāī*¹¹. *Türki-yi ‘acemī* is closely related to dialects spoken by the *Ḳızılbaş*¹².

3. Iskandar Beg Munşī and the *Tārīḫ-i ‘Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*

However, Iskandar Beg Munşī (1561/2 – ca. 1633/34)¹³ himself was of Turkic origin himself¹⁴, more precisely, he belonged to the Turkmen clan of the *Ḳızılbaş*¹⁵. Most *Ḳızılbaş* were from Turkmen tribes, but some were also non-Oghuzic¹⁶. Therefore, it is a more convincing idea that he inadvertently, instead of copying what was in front of him, partly changed it into the Oghuz Turkic language he was more familiar with. Iskandar Beg Munşī’s work is all the more precious as a historical source, because he was an eyewitness of many events he relates, and whenever he was not, he tried to find reliable sources¹⁷. His position as *munşī* or court scribe not only gave him access to Shāh ‘Abbās personally¹⁸, but he was also able to make use of documents. Moreover, he had not only taken part in the Safavid siege of Baghdad in 1623, but also accompanied the shah in the subsequent fighting against the Ottomans at Necef, Kerbelā, and Baghdad in 1625-26¹⁹. Thus, he may even have been present when the letters were seized.

Savory (1978) is a complete translation of the *Tārīḫ-i ‘Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*. Concerning this translation, Ehsan Yarshater, when talking in his Foreword to the translation about the difficulties encountered by Savory, states that “its style would make an exact translation tedious reading ... By paring away the verbal superfluities of the original he has furnished the reader with a fluent and attractive

⁹ Stein (2005: 228).

¹⁰ Stein (2005: 228).

¹¹ Gandjei (1986: 124).

¹² Bellér-Hann (1992: 124).

¹³ Ghereghlou (2018).

¹⁴ He belonged to the “Azerbaycan Türkmenleri”, cf. Bala (1988b: 1082), Yazıcı (2000: 563).

¹⁵ Ghereghlou (2018).

¹⁶ Bellér-Hann (1992: 124).

¹⁷ Savory (1978: vol. I, XXVII).

¹⁸ Ghereghlou (2018).

¹⁹ Ghereghlou (2018).

translation²⁰. Savory himself says that he simplified the text, omitted poems and quotations, as well as the description of spring at the beginning of each year²¹. Savory used “the Tehrān printed edition of the *Tārīk-e ‘Ālam-ārā-ye ‘Abbāsī* edited by Īraj Afšār²², filling in the numerous *lacunae* in this text by reference to three other manuscripts²³. Glyn M. Meredith-Owens translated the text of the letter for him into English²⁴.

The letter as it is given in Īraj Afšār’s printed version not only contains many mistakes which ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325 does not have. Some of the mistakes may be modern misprints. The letter was apparently re-worked in other manuscripts and made “more elegant”²⁵. Parts of the text come in places different from ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325. Some of the wording also shows considerable differences. As an example for comparison, I will just give the introductory formula of this letter here (Iskandar Beg Turkmān, 1334h.ş./1955: vol. 3, 1053-1054): *Cenāb-i ‘izzet-me’āb rūḥum-i (!) pūr-fütūḥum Muşlī Çelebi kāmyāb ḥazretlerine dürer-i da vāt-i şāfiyāt-i maḥabbet-āyāt ve ğurer-i teslīmāt-i vāfiyāt-i meveddet-ġāyāt iḥāfindan songra i lām-i muḥibbāne budur ki lutf idüb bu dā’ileri tarafından zerre vu şemme su’al-i şerif tecviz buyurılır iser bi-ḥamdi llāhi ve-l-minne ḥālā vücūd-i nā-būdumuz şıḥḥat dāyiresinde mevcūd olub leyl u nehār du ‘ā-yi devām-i devletünñuze müdāvīm (!) ve dādār-i şerifingüze müştāk-i ‘azīm olduğumuza iştibāh buyurılmaya* “After having offered pearls of pure blessings, signs of love and ornaments of manifold greetings, the purpose of affection to his highness, the mighty excellence, my spirit full of conquest, fortunate Muşlī Çelebi, the friendly communication is the following: if you are kind enough to grant an atom and a particle of a noble question about this supplicant of yours, praise and thanks be to God, our non-existing body is still circling in health, and there may be no doubt that we are constantly praying for the continuation of your fortune and that we are strongly longing for your noble appearance”. Savory’s translation is indeed a very fluent one, although he leaves out the translation of stylistic refinery. Thus, his translation of the letter begins with “[After the customary compliments to Moşlī Çelebī, the letter reads:] ‘To proceed:

²⁰ Savory (1978: vol. I, XVIII-XIX).

²¹ Savory (1978: vol. I, XXVII). This is not what I will do here. I believe that stylistic peculiarities of a text ought not to be left out in favour of making the content more visible. The beauty of texts written in a more intricate style, in the Ottoman case, in *dīvān nesri*, ought somehow to be transferred to the target language.

²² Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955).

²³ Savory (1978: vol. I, XXVII).

²⁴ Savory (1978: vol. I, XV). The translation of the letter is to be found in Savory (1978: vol. III, 1275-1280).

²⁵ It is known that Iskandar Beg wrote a draft of the *Tārīkh-i ‘ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī* before putting it into its final form, see Ghereghlou (2018). ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325 could be derived from this early draft.

if you inquire about what took place on this regrettable expedition and about cruel Baghdad, the abode of affliction, what can we say?”

In ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325: 320v-321r, however, the introductory formula runs like this, *‘izzetlü sa‘âdetlü birâder be-cân-i berâber Muşlî Çelebi hazretleri zîde kadruhü selâm-i firāvân kaldukdîñ (!) şongra re’y-i nemir ve zâmîr-i habîrlerine mestûr olunmayub ma‘lûm-i mahfil-i latîfleri olan oldur ki eger bu cânib ahvâlerinden su‘âl olunursa bi-feyz-i fazl-i lâ yezâl vücûd-i nâ-bûdumuz dâyire-i şîhhatda mevcûd olduğı (!) mu‘ayyen u mukarrerdür ve eger fî l-cümle haber-i miñnet-eser-i sefer-i Bağdâddın su‘âl olunursa ümîd ki hiç Tengri bendesine naşib bolmayub şöyle teblikeye giriftâr bolmayalar* “Mighty and fortunate brother of kindred spirit, his highness Muşlî Çelebi, may his rank increase. After manifold greetings – may it not be hidden to your pure wisdom and well-informed mind and may the following be known to your pleasant place: If you inquire about the situation on this side here, by the abundant grace of the Eternal it is obvious and certain that our non-existing body is still circling in health. And if you inquire wholly about the affliction of the news of the Baghdad campaign, it is hoped that it may not be the destiny of any slave of God. They may not be exposed to such danger”²⁶.

Clearly, the text was changed, as the addressee’s name is the same in both cases, Muşlî Çelebi.

Another, shorter example is, e.g., ÖNB Mixt. 325: 321r *Paşa hazretleri yitgen zemânda üç ming Kızılbaş ol kâfir-i bed-ma‘âş Şahtdın giçürüb ceng u idâl şürü‘ idüb çün ricâlî l-ğayb atlarunung (!) ‘akabında idi ‘asker-i islâm muhtallü l-ahvâl olub*

“When his highness the Pasha arrived, 3000 Kızılbaş brought this unbeliever of bad lifestyle over the river. The battle began. When the *ricâlî l-ğayb* came behind their horses, the troops of Islam were afflicted”.

Iskandar Beg Türkmen (1334h.ş./1955: 1054) *bu tarafdan Murâd Paşa [yi]-tişüb tob ve tüfeng ile mevcûd bulunan Kızılbaşung üzerine hücum idince anlarûhi²⁷ bi-ż-żarûre cenge şürü‘ idüb mâ beyn de bir iki hamle gicdi hikmet-i ilâhî ricâlî l-ğayb Kızılbaşdan yaña olub hâk u bād ve tiğ-i bārân birle leşker-i islâmung yüzün döndürüb el-hâşil inhizâma ‘illet-i müstakille olmağın*

“On this side, Murâd Pasha arrived. When he attacked the Kızılbaş who were present with cannons and rifles, they willy nilly started to fight. Several attacks were performed between them. Through God’s wisdom, the *ricâlî l-ğayb* were on the side of the Kızılbaş. With soil and wind and rain-like swords they made the troops of Islam turn around. In a nutshell, it was a separate reason for defeat”.

²⁶ Both introductory formulas conform to the standard of private letters, cf., e.g., Procházka-Eisl – Römer (2007), as does the introductory formula of the letter in Römer (1989). Especially the phrase *vücûd-i bi-vücûdumuz* “our non-existing body” in *bi-hamdi llâhi ta‘âlâ vücûd-i bi-vücûdumuz şîhhat u selâmet üzere olub* “Praise be to God, our non-existing body is healthy and unharmed” seems to have been current at the time, cf. Römer (1989: 120).

4. The 1625-1626 siege of Baghdad in the light of the two letters

Ever since Süleymân the Magnificent's 1534 Iraq campaign, the city had belonged to the Ottomans. But in 1623, Bekir Subaşı led a Janissary revolt, in the course of which Baghdad was promised to Shah 'Abbās. Hāfız Aḥmed Pasha was sent against Baghdad, made Bekir Subaşı beylerbeyi of Baghdad, so that the latter became loyal to the Ottomans again. However, Shah 'Abbās laid siege on Baghdad and conquered it in November 1623. In 1625, Hāfız Aḥmed Pasha became Grand Vizier and *serdār* of the troops early in 1625. He set out for Baghdad from Diyarbakır in May 1625 and arrived in November 1625. The Grand vizier had miscalculated the difficulties of the siege and thought that it would be an easy task to take the city from the Safavids²⁸.

If we compare the content of the letter in question here with the letter in Römer (1989), we see that apparently the Ṭurnacıbaşı relates more facts about the whole campaign and the chronology of the siege. Although his, too, is not a completely accurate account of the details, and although he equally complains bitterly about the catastrophic situation and describes the heavy blows the Ottomans received from Shah 'Abbās and his army, he seems to be better informed about what went on and how the campaign was organised. The letter dealt with in this present article is less informative content-wise and focusses more on giving a picturesque lament on the circumstances of the nine-month siege and the difficulty that the Ottoman troops were caught between the Safavid troops inside Baghdad and the relief troops of Shah 'Abbās circling the besiegers, a fact that was not described by the Ṭurnacıbaşı²⁹.

5. Linguistic Aspects

In this article, we are going to discuss a few grammatical items found in the letter that are noteworthy inasmuch as they are either typical for *Türki-yi 'acemī* or for texts with mixed Ottoman and *Türki-yi 'acemī* features. However, the text sample is far too small to give a complete overview of its grammar.

5.1. Phonology and spelling

The orthography of ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325, and to a certain extent, but not as strongly, also the version of Iskandar Beg Turkmân (1334h.ş./1955) show a number of spellings, which are also encountered in Old Ottoman texts and represent

²⁷ Instead of *anlardahı*.

²⁸ For a more detailed account and references to secondary literature on this campaign, see Römer (1989: 119-120).

²⁹ Römer (1989: 126).

the Uighur or Karakhanid writing tradition. The most striking example in ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325 is the absence of *şād* or *ṭā'* in some cases to distinguish between words with front and back vowels. Thus, although it is always *şongra* 'after', in other words, *sîn* or *te* are used consistently, e.g., *orta* 'middle', *toplar* 'cannons', *bizüm cānibümüze salub* 'they attacked our side'³⁰.

Plene vs. defective spelling is inconsistent. The copula suffix for the 3rd person -DUr is written with *vāv*³¹; in Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955), *bir* 'one' and *şimdi* 'now' are spelled with *yā'*, but *oĝlan* 'boy' without a *vāv*.

ikdām itmekde 'when endeavouring' is written with an *elif* at the end instead of the *he*, as we know from Old Anatolian texts. Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955) has *bunga* 'to this' with an *elif*.

With the closed e, there is more regularity to be seen. The words well known from Ottoman usage are spelled with *yā'*, e.g., *biş* 'five', *giç-* ~ *geç-* 'to cross', but we also encounter *biglerbigi* 'beylerbey', which is not common in Ottoman.

The spelling of *ikdām ittiler* 'they endeavoured' suggests that the devoicing of syllable-initial *d* with suffixes after unvoiced consonants had already taken place³². Initial *d-* vs. *t-* appears in *bir daşına* 'to one of its stones', *töküb* 'spilling'.

The loss of *r* in *ķutar-* 'to save' is a widespread phenomenon, just as the loss of initial *y-* in *igid* ~ *yigit* 'young man'³³.

Devoicing of *-b* in -UB apparently already was current: *idübdürler* ~ *idüpdürler* 'they have done'.

In *Türkî-yi 'acemî*, *ng* is still extant³⁴, e.g., *tengri* 'God', but in our text we see a change to the more modern form of *n* as well³⁵, especially *ming* ~ *min* 'one thousand', Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955): *bing*. The genitive and the possessive suffixes of the 2nd persons nearly always have *-ng*, *ense* vs. *engse* (Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955), *dostum gendü mahabbet-nāmeni komayub* 'my friend, do not leave this friendly letter [lying around]' (Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955), *leşker-i islāmın* 'of the Islamic troops' Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955), the ablative suffix in *-dIn* appears sometimes hypercorrectly as *-dIng*, which also suggests that the development towards *-n* was well under way (for an example, see below). With the exception of *ön* 'before', *ng* is always written with *nūn* and *kef*, differently from Ottoman usage. Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955) has *ng* sometimes with a *gāf* after the *nūn* (*yengiçeri*, *devletüngüze*), *gāf* occurs also several times in *degüldür*, *tüfenge*, *gemiler*, *biglerbigi*.

³⁰ Gandjei (1986: 120).

³¹ Bellér-Hann (1995: 60).

³² Cf. Bellér-Hann (1995: 99).

³³ Cf. Caferoĝlu – Doerfer (1959: 286, §2223 and 296: §232.10).

³⁴ Bellér-Hann (1992: 115, note 2).

³⁵ Johanson (1997: 90-91) says that in his text, all occurrences of *ng* > *n*.

We witness the well-known correspondence of *v-/b-* in a single example, *şükürümüz bardur* ‘we are thankful’. On the other hand, the correspondence of *b-/m-* is attested regularly in *men* ‘I’, *ming ~ min*, *mundan akdem* ‘before that’. However, Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955) has *bing* throughout.

The change of *ç* to *ş* is attested in *şorbacılar* ‘the *şorbacı*s’. However, according to Caferoğlu – Doerfer (1954): 295, § 2327 this change occurs only in syllable final position.

The verb *bol-* ‘to become’ in its form with *b-* is prevailing, but it also occurs as *ol-*, especially in the introductory formula. This is obvious, as both versions of this formula are purely and typically Ottoman, and therefore were probably copied by Iskandar Beg Munşī with special care.

Labial harmony in non-first syllables is inconsistent in our letter. Not only do we encounter the usual occurrence of *U ~ I* in the possessive suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons of the plural, e.g., *tarafimuza ~ tarafumuza*, which is widespread in Middle Ottoman, but Pietro della Valle in his unpublished grammar of 1620 written in Isfahan³⁶ observes “confused” sounds in suffixes and suggests pronouncing them “unclearly, neither *u* nor *i*”³⁷. This corresponds well to the unrounded neutralized vowel postulated by Johanson (1979)³⁸. Similarly, forms like *unutmayacekdürler* ‘they will not forget’, *kullanmek* ‘to use’, Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955): *kesmakda* ‘when cutting’, *eyledük* ‘we did’, *ümîdvârlük* ‘hopefulness’³⁹ as well as some hypercorrect instances like *atlarunung* ‘of their horses’, *tilküning* ‘of the fox’ Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955) reflect the same fact, i.e., the “Indifference Stage” of labial harmony⁴⁰. This is a situation similar to the one in the West Balkan dialects, with, e.g., *evëm* ‘my house’ besides *evüm*. What is rendered as *ë* corresponds to a phoneme near to *i*⁴¹. Moreover, we find a mixture of the forms attested by Bellér-Hann (1995: 54-60) and those mostly to be encountered in Middle Ottoman texts. *Türkî-yi ‘acemî* was slower in its development of labial harmony than Ottoman⁴². Johanson (1988a) attributes this phenomenon to Iranian influence, nevertheless saying, “However, not all deviations from the vowel harmony rules of Standard Turkish can be attributed to external factors”.

Cases like *baklamaka* ‘in order to bind’, *aka* ‘agha’ may be a reflex of the Persian identical pronunciation of *ğayn* and *kāf*.

³⁶ cf. Stein (2005); on Pietro della Valle, see, e.g., Petrolini (2020).

³⁷ Stein (2005: 234, 235).

³⁸ cf. Johanson (1979: 100) cited by Stein (2005: 235).

³⁹ For similar forms, see Bellér-Hann (1995: 53).

⁴⁰ Johanson (1978-1979), (1986), (2016).

⁴¹ See Čaušević (2014: 95).

⁴² Bellér-Hann (1995: 59-60).

5.2. Morphology

The personal pronoun of the 3rd person plural is *anlar* ~ *olar*. According to Johanson (1997: 91), *olar* is a South Oghuz feature, but it does occur as well in Old Ottoman and Azerbaidjanian dialects⁴³.

The ablative suffix regularly is *-dIn*, sometimes hypercorrectly (see above) *-dIng*: *kal‘e taşarrufinding nâ-ümîd oldılar* ‘They lost hope that they would seize the fortress.’

We find some old forms, *yazulğaylar* ‘they should be written’, although in this instance there is a misspelling and the plural together with the possessive suffix is not correct; *fâtiha ile yazulğaylarlar (!)* ‘May they be written with the *Fâtiha* (?)’⁴⁴; Iskandar Beg Turkmân (1334h.ş./1955): *bilmezven* ‘I do not know’, *buyurulur iser* ‘if one deigns to...’, although the latter may also be due to a simple misspelling, as the form in *-IsAr* usually designates the future tense in Old Ottoman⁴⁵.

Besides the coordinative converb in *-UB*, there also occurs *-UbAn*, which can also have an instrumental function⁴⁶, e.g., *Diyâle çayı geçûben ehl-i islâm olan tarafa gelüb* ‘they crossed the river Diyâle and came to the side where the Islamic troops were’, or ‘by crossing the river Diyâle, they came to the side where the Islamic troops were’. The *-UbAn* converb is also current in modern Azerbaidjanian and Oghuz dialects of Iran⁴⁷.

Postterminal items in *-UB/-UBDUr* are very widespread in modern varieties of Azerbaidjanian and function as *-mİşDUr* in Ottoman⁴⁸, e.g., *dört cânibümüzi bî-dîn cemâ‘at şöyle ihâta idübdürler ki* ‘the unbelieving group had surrounded all four sides around us in a way that...’. There may have been some Persian influence from the ‘Persian perfect type *âmada* (*ast*) ‘he has come’⁴⁹.

The optative of the 1st person plural in *-AK*, which has developed as an analogy to the preterite of the same person in *-DIK*⁵⁰, is well-known from Eastern Anatolian dialects and Azerbaidjanian⁵¹, e.g., *necât bulak* ‘so that we might be saved’.

The impossibilitative construction with the negation of the verb *bil-* ‘to know’ is attested in Azerbaidjanian⁵² but also for Old Ottoman⁵³, *ki murğ pervâz kıla bilmez* ‘so that no bird could fly’.

⁴³ Mansuroğlu (1959: 171, § 3218); Caferoğlu – Doerfer (1959: 301, § 3218).

⁴⁴ *-GAy* is attested for some 13th-century Old Ottoman texts, see Mansuroğlu (1959: 178, § 32242).

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Kerslake (1998: 193).

⁴⁶ Johanson (1988b: 139, 141).

⁴⁷ Bellér-Hann (1995: 107).

⁴⁸ Johanson (1997: 95); Bellér-Hann (1995: 101).

⁴⁹ Johanson (1988a).

⁵⁰ Johanson (1997: 92), citing Adamović (1985: 38, 57).

⁵¹ Johanson (1997: 92), Schönic (1998: 253).

⁵² Caferoğlu – Doerfer (1959: 304, §3223.4).

⁵³ Kerslake (1998: 191).

5.3. Syntax

The temporal converb construction with the participle in *-An* and the locative case in *-AndA* is a typical feature of Azerbaidjanian⁵⁴ and of *Türkî-yi ‘acemî*⁵⁵, e.g., *yarın bolanda* ‘when it became morning’, Iskandar Beg Turkmân (1334h.ş./1955): *görende* ‘when they saw’.

Attributive temporal converb constructions with *zemân(da)* occur with the widespread *-DUK*, but also with *-GAN*, e.g., *paşa hazretleri yitgen zemânda* ‘when his highness the pasha arrived’, *gice ortaya geldügi zemânda* ‘when night set in’.

Persian-type subordinate clauses are frequent, especially those with *ki* ‘that’. Very probably this is due to the fact that the letter is embedded into a Persian text. Moreover, there definitely is a certain “replica syntax”/ “replica hypotaxis” based on the Indo-European model of subordinate clauses⁵⁶. Sometimes several *ki* clauses are accumulated one after the other, e.g., *ve hîle vu tezvîr ki şîveleridür ikdâm itmekde idi ki şâh-i ‘acem ‘ubûri müte ‘akîb gelüb ašlâ bize mültefit olmayub ol ‘asker ki kapuçı başı Mehmed Aka Cisânlu ve Muştafâ Paşa Mandalî kal ‘esini muhâşara idüb...* ‘Ruse and cunning, which are their way were spreading. Thus, the shah of the Persians came after his crossing and paid no attention to us. Those troops that besieged the fortress of Mandalî under the kapucıbaşı Mehmed Aka Cisânlu and Muştafâ Pasha...’.

The Persian *izâfet* construction combined with rhymed prose plays a relatively important part, although we cannot call the style of the letter belonging to *divan nesri* to the extent it is present in some Ottoman sultan’s decrees⁵⁷, except perhaps the introductory formulas e.g., *haber-i mihnet-eşer-i sefer-i Bağdâd* ‘the affliction of the news of the Baghdad campaign’.

5.4. Vocabulary

The vocabulary of the present letter does not seem to differ much from other texts of the same period. Just two items seem worth mentioning here.

The word *narsa* ‘thing’ known from modern Uzbek occurs once.

Şiş min ‘6000’ is an interesting mix of Persian and Turkic numerals⁵⁸.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of this unique Ottoman/*Türkî-yi ‘acemî* letter, apart from its historical interest, which is not the subject of this article, has shown that in both ver-

⁵⁴ Caferoğlu – Doerfer (1959: 303 §3223.2).

⁵⁵ Bellér-Hann (1995: 104-105) with further literature in note 308.

⁵⁶ Johanson (1988a); Johanson (1975: 105).

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Römer (2017).

⁵⁸ I have not been able to find any other example in the secondary literature.

sions the language basis is typically Middle Ottoman on an intermediate stylistic level. The document dealt with here is interspersed with elements of *Türkî-yi 'acemî*. The use of none of these elements, however, is consistent, neither as far as the spelling and phonological aspects are concerned, nor regarding morphological and syntactical phenomena. Quite evidently, the letter was stylistically re-worked in those manuscripts that were used for the printed edition of *Târîh-i 'Âlam-ârâ-yi 'Abbâsî*. Also, the spelling and the order of items told of the printed version differs from the text in ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325. Finding out the exact stemma of the manuscripts unfortunately is beyond the scope of the present article.

7. Appendix

7.1. ÖNB cod. Mixt. 325: 320v-322r

7.1.1. Transcription

Yakî az çavuşân-i rûmîya ki az ordüy-i sardâr ba-Istanbül mî-rafta 'arâyiz va makâtib-i umarâyî burda dar râh giriftâr-i 'asâkir-i zafar-şi 'âr şuda bûd makâtib ki maşhûb-i ü bûd bâ hâmil-i ânhâ âvarda ba-nazar-i aşraf rasânîdand har yak⁵⁹ az vakâyî ' u hâlât-râ ba- 'ibârât-i muhtalifa markûm namûda bûdand ânçi pâşâyân u umarâ' u a 'yân u arbâb-i davlat navîšta bûdand ba-mazanna-i ânki şâyad husn u sa 'y u hidmat u miñnat u muşakkat-i h^uud-râ zâhir sâhta hâlî az agrâz-i dunyavî na-bûda bâşad pîrâmûn na-kardand⁶⁰ az ân cumla maktûbî ki yakî az 'uzamâ ba-Muşlî Çalabî nâm düst-i h^uud ba-turkî navaştâ hakâyik-i hâlât bi-ğarazâna i lâm namûda bûd ba-nazar-i kamtarîn rasîd bahs⁶¹ dar-în şahîfa sabt uftâd ki mutâla 'a kunandagân-râ bar dakâyik-i ahvâl-i tarafayn⁶² hâsil şuda râkim-i hurûf-râ binâ'an bar râbita-i mulâzamat az makûla-i hoş-âmad-güyân va hidmat-furûşân ki dar bâzâr-i mâya dar gar u sûd u ziyân va şidk u kazb-i aqvâl-and na-şumarand va agar dar imlâ' u rasmu l-haţt-i fârsî vu turkî ğalaţî va nâ-marbûtî ba-nazar rasad çün nakl-hâ al-maştar⁶³ şuda har âyina arbâb-i isti 'dâd haml bar hatâ-yi râkim-i hurûf na-namûda az ân ma 'zûr h^uâhand dâşt 'izzetlü⁶⁴ sa 'âdetlü birâder be-cân-i berâber Muşlî Çelebi hazretleri zîde kadruhü selâm-i firâvân kıldukdîñ (!) şongra re 'y-i nemîr ve zamîr-i habîrlerine mestûr olunmayub ma 'lûm-i mahfil-i latîfleri olan oldur ki

⁵⁹ Iskandar Beg Türkân (1334h.ş./1955: 1053): correctly has *ba 'zî*.

⁶⁰ Iskandar Beg Türkân (1334h.ş./1955: 1053): *na-gardîd*

⁶¹ Iskandar Beg Türkân (1334h.ş./1955: 1053): *ba- 'ayn*

⁶² Iskandar Beg Türkân (1334h.ş./1955: 1053): *ittîlâ 'i tâmm*

⁶³ Iskandar Beg Türkân (1334h.ş./1955: 1053): *nakl bi-l-maştar*

⁶⁴ Until here, the degree of the differences between the text of ÖNB Mixt. 325 will have become clear. In order to give a complete picture of the version in Iskandar Beg Türkân (1334h.ş./1955), including all the misspellings, mistakes, and problems, its transcription is added below. For its translation, see Savory (1985: 2, 1275-1280).

eger bu cānib aḥvālinden su'āl olunursa bi-feyz-i fazl-i lā yezāl vüçüd-i nā-būdumuz dāyire-i şīḥatda mevcūd olduğu (!) mu'ayyen u muḳarrerdür ve eger fī l-cümle haber-i miḥnet-eşer-i 321r sefer-i Bağdāddin su'āl olunursa ümīd ki hiç Tengri bendesine naşīb bolmayub şöyle tehlikeye giriftār bolmayalar şimdi tokuz aydur ki miḥnet-ābād-i ḳal'e muḥāşaradur ve 'asker-i zafer-rehber ki 'adū-yi mūr u malahdan efzūndur dāyire-i kirdār ortaya alub pervāş⁶⁵ atnuñ ḥişārından zāyī 'bolmayub mundan akdem ki leşker-i Kızılbaş-i evbāş-i bed-ma'ās-i mezheb-tirāş eşeri zāhir degüldi niçe kerre ḳal'eniñ etrāf u cevānibinden meterisler ḳazub yarışlar olundu ve her kerrede min (!) kapukulu ve yeñiçeri ve şorbacı telef olub ğayr ez helāk-i 'asker-i islām ve celādet-i ehl-i ḳal'e hiç narsa müyesser oldı (!) şu esnāda şāh-i 'acem Zeynel Han diyen fitne-engīzi kırk min 'asker ile gönderüb Diyāle çayı geçūben ehl-i islām olan tarafa gelüb her cānibden kırā (?) gösterdiler ve ḥile vu tezvīr ki şiveleridür ikdām itmekde idi ki şāh-i 'acem 'ubūri müte'ākīb gelüb ašlā bize mültefit olmayub ol 'asker ki kapuçı başı Mehmed Aḳa Cisānlu ve Muştāfā Paşa Mandalī ḳal'esini muḥāşara idüb kuvvet-i bāzūy-i celādet ile taşarrufa getürüb ve ba'zı tu 'me-i şemşir ve bir kaçın esīr ve ḳalanın gendüleri kimi Kızılbaş-i bī-dīn idüb Mehmed Big⁶⁶ diyen ḳal'esi dahı taşarrufa getürüb gendü cānumuza müteveccih olub ol tağallub taşarrufından leşker bi-ğāyet endūhnāk olub def'u l-vaḳt serleri ve te'hīr u tedbīrleri için ilçi gönderüb ināde-i şāhīb sa'ādet şöyle idi ki Diyāle cānibine cisr muḳadder ide ki ser-i fitne olan Zeynel-i bī-dīn celādet idüb şaṭṭ-i mezkūra ne (!) cisr baklamakā (!) sür'at gösterüb 'asker-i zafer-medār vāḳıf olunca müretteb itmişdi Diyār-i Bekr biglerbigisi Murād Paşa ile şiş min süvār-i nāmdār ve yedi zarbzen (!) gö gönderildi ki māmī' olub koymayalar ki Diyāle Deylen 'ubūr idüb cānib-i 'askere teveccüh ḳılalar Paşa ḥazretleri yitgen zemānda üç ming Kızılbaş ol kāfir-i bed-ma'ās Şaṭṭdın giçürüb ceng u cidāl şürū' idüb çün ricālū l-ğayb atlarunung (!) 'akabında idi 'asker-i islām muḥtallū l-aḥvāl olub ā'ibī igidler ki sancaḳ ve Karamā(n) ve Marğaş (!) ve Anatolı ve Diyār-i Bekr ilinden idi şerbet-i şehādet içürüb gice ortaya geldügi zemānda Murād Paşa mecrūḥ 'arābaya dāḥıl olub yarın (?) şāh-i 'acem ḥazretleri fırsat bulub gendüsi ile olan 'asker ile gelüb Diyāle ve Şaṭṭ cemī' olan beyninde Medāyin diyen yirde cisr bağlayub leşkerinüñ bir kaçın Bağdād-i köhne tarafına geçürüb bākīsın bizüm tarafımuza giçürüb qurd av yolu bizüm cānibümüze salub her yandan kırā (?) gösterdiler 'asker-i 321v islām şöyle qiyāmeti gendü nazarlar ile müşāhede idüb lā 'ilāc ordu tarafına cisr u ḥandāḳ ḥafı idüb toplar tertīb idüb 'arābalar çekmege ikdām ittiler (!) mā ḥaşıl ki biz Bağdādi ve ve (!) Kızılbaş bizi muḥāşara ḳılub 'arāba ve cisre mültefit (!) olmayub dört biş kerre şufūf ārāste idüb hüçüm iderlerdi 'asker-i islām muḥārebe idüb ḳarār (u) firāra muḥāl olur idi eger ḳal'e aşḥābı ilen ceng iderdük

⁶⁵ Instead of *pervāş*?

⁶⁶ Iskandar Beg Turkmān (1334h.ş./1955: 1054) has *Lak ḳal'esi dimikle (!) meşhūr bir ḳal'e dahı içinde olan ehl-i islām teshīr idince* "when he conquered the fortress named Lak and the Muslims in it".

(lacuna) *kaṭ'î* 'ömrümüz iderlerdi ve eger *Kızılbaş* ile *mücâdeleye* râğib olur idük *kal'eding* (!) *nihâyet âzâd* yitmege *tevabhüm* idi *mâ haşıl* ki *devr-i Âdemden* şimdiye dik şöyle *girdâba* hiç kimse *düşmemiş* idi *ümîdvârluk* ki *var* idi *kal'e cem'inüñ kaḫt* u *LM* kökine idi ki *şâyed* bu *nev'îyle* *taşarruf müyesser* ola *şâh-i 'acem za'f-i leşker-i islâmî* *istimâ'idü* *bî-mülâhaza* *Bağdâd-i köhne cānibinden* on *biş min âdem ta'şîn* *idü* *üç min* belki *efzün yük* *zahîre yükleyüb* *kal'e civārından* *gemi* ve *'arābaya* *haml* *idü* *kal'eye dāhıl* *itdiler* *şol haberüñ* *istimâ'ından* bir *katla* *leşker-i islāmung* *beyni* *şikest* *bolub* *kal'e taşarrufinding* (!) *nâ-ümîd* *oldılar* *netice-i tedbirât-i şâh-i 'acem takdîrât-i hālîk-i lem* *yezel* ile *müvâfîk* *olub* *dest-i velâyet-i hazret-i 'Alî ibn-i Abî Tâlib 'm kâr-gerdür* *meger rûh-i hazret-i imâm-i a'zam bā-kerem-i hazret-i emîrû l-mü'minîn* *merḫamet bağışlayub* *necât bulak* *'azîzüm* *dostum* *gendü maḫabbet-nâmeni* (!) *komayub* *nihân mutâla'a* *itdükden* *şongra* *nihân idü* *izhâr kılma* *mâ haşıl* şöyle *eṭrâf* u *cevānibi* *zabt* *idüpdürler* ki *murğ pervâz kıla* *bilmez* ve bir *kaç müddetdür* ki *ordumuzda* bir *vukîye zahîre* hiç *tarafdan* *gelmek* *mümkün* *degüldür* ve *orduda* *kemyâb* *bolub* *birinc* ve *un* ve *hurmâ* bir *vukîye* bir *ğurüş* ve bir *vukîye* *yağ* *iki* *ğurüş* ve bir *kile* *arpa* *sekiz* *ğurüş* ve *ot* ve *odun* bir *ğurüş* *at eti* bir *vukîye* *kırk* *ağçe* *ele* *girmez* *zurefâ-yi Rûm* ki *tabî'at nâzîklüğünden* *paçlavunı* (?) *nezâketler* *meyl* *iderlerdi* *nâdir* *at eti* eger *görecek* *olsalar* *şalavât* *gönderüb* *ta'accub* *iderlerdi* ve *latîf-endâm* *şebibiler* ki *ketân göynük* *bedenlerine* *âzâr* (!) *iderdi* *şimdi* eger *köhne* *haymedin* *pirâhen* *ellerine* *girse* *ganîmet* *bilürler* ve bir *kaç sipâhî* ki *kümeyt-i mısri* *altun* *yarak* *kullanmek* (!) *'âr* *bilürlerdi* *el-hâl* *ulağa* *muhtâc* *bolub* *hasret* *çekerler* *ol* *niçe dâne* *yigitler* ki *kahvehâned* *cins-i Kızılbaş* *maşhara* *caçlayub* *lakırtı* *çalarlar* idi **322r** *şimdi* *KRKÇ* *Rüstem* *taşavvur* *iderler* ve *tâyîfe-i levend* ki *doyumluk* *laf* *iderlerdi* *hayme* ve *esbâbı* *salub* *baş kurtarmak* *içün* *Allâhdın* *ricâ* *iderler* *mücmilen* eger *üç* *baḫşdın* *bir* *baḫş* *at* *bolsa* *mâ bakâ* *piyâde* ve *perîşân* *kalub* *gice* *vü gündüz* *necât* *istid'a* *iderler* ve *Kızılbaş-i zâlim* şöyle *leşker-i islâmî* *hakîr* u *zebün* *idüpdürler* ki *mānend-i 'Azrâ'il cān almağa* *harîş* *alub* (*olub?*) *'arāba* *içinde* *gice* *hırsızlık* ve *gündüz* *zarb-i tiğ* ile *girüb* *fi l-meşel* eger *kimse* *uyarken* *oların* *istimâ'* *itse* *sersâm* *olsa* *gerekdür* *gice* ve *gündüz* *al* u *sitârdın* ve *aslihadın* *fâriğ* *bolmayub* *fânûslar* *yakub* *nöbet* *birle* *beklerüz* ve *yarın* *bolanda* *şükr* *iderüz* *menüm* *rûhum* *evâyil-i Ramazân-i şerîfde* *üç* *ming* *âdem cānib-i Hille* ve *Kerbelâya* *irsâl* *itmiş* *każâdın* *şikest* *Aşlan Paşaya* *aşub* *bir* *kaç* *a'râb* *levend* ile ki *bakîyetü s-seyf* *kalmışlar* idi *Haleb ü Şâm* *tarafına* *gürîzân* *olub* *gendü* *başların* *kutardılar* *mâ haşıl* *kelâm* *dört* *cānibümüzü* *bî-dîn* *cemâ'at* şöyle *iḫâta* *idübdürler* ki *tereddüd* *mesdüd* *olub* *çıkanı* *destgîr* *kılurlar* ve *şâhib* *sa'âdet* *gendüsü* *'akl-i nâkîş* ile *her* *ümmetini* *bile* *teblikeye* *salmakdan* *nâdim* *olub* *bir* *kat* ile *hazret-i pâdişâh-i islâm* *kapusına* *gelüb* ve *hazîne* *'arz* *idü* *hiç* *eşer* *zâhir* *olmadı* *bislenmedi* ki *şol* *kâfir* *eline* *düşüb* *sâlim* *ü şâhib* *dergâha* *irişmediler* *bâ* *ânki* *hazret-i hündkâr* *daḫı* *kaṭ'î* *nazar* *idü* *hazîne* *anlar* (?) ki *diler* *Türkî mesellerindin* *hâli* *merķüm* *olundu* *ne* *Bağdâd* *ve* *ne* *Başradan* *gelen* *var* *ne* *gendü* *hündkârumdan* *yardım* *var* *evâyil-i hâlde* eger *kümek* ve *hazîne* *irsâl* *olunaydı* *eli* *bolurdu* *şimdi* eger *hündkâr* *nefs* *nefs* ile *gelmek* *itse* *bu*

*cem ūng mededine yitmese gerekdūr bir yanumuz Diyāle suyu bir yanumuz Şatt ense-
de (!) Şāh-i ‘acem önümüz Bağdād meger bize Tengriden ola imdād leşker-i islām
arasında bīmārluḡ bir mertebeye yitūbdūr ki şerḡ itmek mümkin degūldūr bu
vilāyetūng hevā vu suyu Kızılbaşuḡ egri kılıcından bedterdūr zahmet-i istisḡā ve
karın aḡrısı ve nezle ve müfācāt-i kula/u/ḡdan ḡālī degūldūrler devletlū baş ki bir
dahı ol vilāyete çıka yārān-i vefā ve ihvān-i şafāya bizden selāmlar eyleyūb du ‘ādın
unutmayacekdūrler (!) ve ḡelāl idūb fātīḡa ile yazılḡaylarlar (!) el-ḡamdū li-llāhi
vāḡhidi (!) l-ḡabhār şükürümüz bardur ki ḡāk-i murādḡa berāber merḡad-i imām-i
a ‘zamda meşakḡat çekūb eger rūḡı meded itse fīḡā ve-illā ferāmūş ḡılmayalar Ra-
mazān-i şerīfūng müntaşaf tārīḡde yazıldı sene 135⁶⁷*

7.1.2. Translation

Fol. 320v One of the chaushes of Rūm, who had been going from the army of the commander to Istanbul had been taken prisoner by the victorious troops while on his way, carrying petitions and letters of the emirs. The letters that he had on him, together with their bearer were brought and submitted to the most noble view. Each of them told some of the events and circumstances with different expressions. What the pashas, emirs, notables, and statesmen had written was [because] they could not come around to show their good endeavour, service, affliction, and pains with the thought that they might have had worldly motives. Among all these, a letter that a great one named Muşlī Çalabī had written to his friend in Turkish, telling the true circumstances without any motives came to [my] lowly sight. It is being rendered completely on the present page, in order for the readers to gain total knowledge about the details of the conditions of both sides. On the basis of [his] bond of service, they ought not to count this writer of the text among the kind of flatterers and sellers of their services, who at the bazaar of capital seek gain and profit, are untrustful, and utter lies. If a mistake or an inconsistency in Persian and Turkish orthography and writing is seen – as the copy was made line-by-line – skilful persons may not attribute this to a mistake by the writer of the text and excuse him.

Mighty and fortunate brother of kindred spirit, his highness Muşlī Çelebi, may his rank increase. After manifold greetings – may it not be hidden to your pure wisdom and well-informed mind and may the following be known to your pleasant place: **fol. 321r** If you inquire about the situation on this side here, by the abun-

⁶⁷ The date is definitely wrong: It must of course be 1035 and not 1135. It is not clear what the “middle” date of a month is, perhaps the 15th day? 15 Ramazān 1035 is 10 June 1626. It could also be the second decade, which is 6-15 June 1626. The Ṭurnacıbaşı’s letter is dated 28 Şevvāl 1035/23 July 1626, cf. Römer (1989: 127). As it was written later than the letter dealt with here, we also are informed about the withdrawal of the Ottoman troops, which seems to have been rather chaotic.

dant grace of the Eternal it is obvious and certain that our non-existing body is still circling in health. And if you inquire wholly about the affliction of the news of the Baghdad campaign, it is hoped that it may not be the destiny of any slave of God. They may not be exposed to such danger. Now it is nine months that the place of affliction, the fortress is being besieged. The army led by victory, which is greater than the ant- and locust-like enemy, has taken action. The horse of fear never left the fortress. Earlier, when there was no trace of the Kızılbaş, the badly behaving ruffians, the destroyers of religion, trenches were dug several times in the vicinity of the fortress, and there was fighting. Each time one thousand *kapukulu* and Janissaries and *çorbacı* perished. Nothing was accomplished except the death of the troops of Islam and the bravery of the people in the fortress.

Meanwhile, the shah of the Persians sent a troublemaker called Zeynel Han with 40.000 troops. They crossed the Diyâle river and came to the side where the Muslims were. From all sides they used catapults (?). Ruse and cunning, which are their way were spreading. Thus, the shah of the Persians came after his crossing and paid no attention to us. Those troops that besieged the fortress of Mandalî under the *kapucıbaşı* Mehmed Ağa Cisânlu and Muştafâ Pasha he brought into his possession forcibly. Some were killed, some were taken prisoner, and the rest were made faithless Kızılbaş like themselves. Mehmed Big conquered the fortress called [Lak] as well. He wanted our lives and because of this defeat the troops became most anxious. In order to gain time and for their heads, for a delay and for [taking] measures, they sent an envoy. The fortunate lord's will was to build a bridge towards the Diyâle. The head of the trouble, the faithless Zeynel started to act and was quick to build a bridge over the aforementioned river. When the victorious troops found this out, it had been made ready. The beylerbeyi of Diyâr-i Bekr Murâd Pasha was sent with 6000 renowned troops on horseback and seven cannons in order to hinder them and not to let them cross the [river] called Diyâle and move towards the troops. When his highness the Pasha arrived, 3000 Kızılbaş brought this unbeliever of bad lifestyle over the river. The battle began. When the *ricâlu l-ğayb* came behind their horses, the troops of Islam were afflicted, and penitent heroes who were from the sancağ, from Karaman, Mar'aş, Anatolia, and Diyâr-i Bekr were made drink the drink of death. When the night set in, Murâd Pasha was wounded and got into a wagon. The next day, his highness the shah of the Persians found a possibility to come with the troops that were with him. At a place called Medâyin, which was where the rivers Diyâle and Şaṭṭ came together, he built a bridge and brought some of his troops over to the side of Old Baghdad. The rest were brought in our direction. They rushed towards us like hunting wolves and used catapults (?) from all sides. The troops of Islam fol. 321v witnessed such a tragedy with their own eyes. Helplessly they [built] a bridge towards the troops, dug trenches, installed cannons, and endeavoured to pull the wagons. In a word, we besieged Bagh-

dad and the Kızılbaş besieged us. They did not bother about the wagons and the bridge, but put up the lines of battle four, five times and made assaults. The troops of Islam fought, and both staying and fleeing were impossible. When we fought against the people in the fortress [lacuna], they would take our lives, and when we wanted to fight the Kızılbaş, the idea would arise that eventually there would come relief from the fortress. In a word, ever since the time of Adam, nobody had fallen in such an abyss. There was some hope that [within] the assembly of the fortress hunger and ... would spread, so that perhaps acquiring it would be feasible in this way. The shah of the Persians heard of the weakness of the troops of Islam, but heedless of it, he selected 15.000 men from Old Baghdad, and they carried 3.000 or more loads of provisions, loaded them onto boats and wagons from the vicinity of the fortress and brought them into the fortress. When the troops of Islam heard this news, their morale was devastated again and they despaired of acquiring the fortress. The outcome of the Shah of the Persians' measures was congruent with the eternal Creator's decisions, and the sanctity of his eminence 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib – peace be upon him – has been active. May the greatest Imam's spirit by the emir of the believers' grace grant mercy [so that] we may be saved. My dear friend, do not yourself let the friendly letter become known. When you have read it, do not make it known and do not show it around⁶⁸. In a nutshell, they seized all the surroundings in such a way that not even a bird could fly [through]. It has been some time that in our army not an okka of provisions can come in from any side, and it is difficult to find in the army. One okka of rice, flour, and dates costs one gurüş, one okka of fat costs two gurüş, one kile of barley costs eight gurüş, hay and wood cost one gurüş⁶⁹. An okka of horse meat is not to be had at forty akçe. The elegant ones of Rūm who, by their elegance tended to [dislike?] beans, if they saw any rare horse meat, they would thank God and be astonished. The celebis with their beautiful stature, whose poor bodies were irritated by cotton, now think themselves rich when they can lay their hands on a shirt made of an old tent. Some spahis who were ashamed of using an Egyptian horse with golden bridles now need and yearn for an ass. Those refined youths who in the coffeehouse made fun of the Kızılbaş and slandered them, 322r now think of them as Rüstem the The levends, who talked about booty, now throw their tents and belongings away and beg God to save their

⁶⁸ The Ṭurnacıbaşı is just as afraid that his report may become known, and he gives an obvious reason, *lutf'idiüb bu mektübi çoklık taşra çıkarmayasız cāyız ki bir yirde okunduğda ṭurnacıbaşı āl-i 'Osmānuñ 'ırzına müte'allık ba'z-i ahvāl yazmış diyü bizi kinamayalar* "Be so kind not to circulate this letter much. Possibly, if it is read anywhere, they might reproach us of having written about some circumstances in connection with the honour of the Dynasty of 'Osmān", cf. Römer (1989: 122, 126).

⁶⁹ The Ṭurnacıbaşı also gives prices for barley and biscuit, which differ between the time of the siege and during the withdrawal of the troops. For a comparison between his account and Ottoman historians, cf. Römer (1989: 129-130).

lives. If of a total of three lots one lot of horses is there, the remainder (of the men) stay on foot and are dispersed. Day and night they pray for salvation. The cruel Kızılbaş have made the troops of Islam so low and weak that they are eager to take the souls like 'Azrâ'il. By night, they steal [from] the wagons, and by day, they enter by the force of the sword. For example, if somebody is asleep and hears them, he naturally will be dizzy. Day and night they do not refrain from cunning, torment, and fighting. We light lanterns and watch in turns. At daybreak we give thanks. My spirit, in the first decade of the noble Ramazân 3.000 men were sent to Hille and Kerbelâ, they were broken by fate. They passed to Aşlan Pasha. Some Arab *lev-ends* who had been spared the sword fled towards Haleb and Şâm and [thus] saved their lives. In a word, the faithless community surrounded us on all four sides in a way that the return was cut off and they seized those who came out. The fortunate lord was sorry for having stupidly endangered each of his groups. He went another time to the threshold of His Majesty the padishah of Islam and made a petition for money, but no trace of it was seen. There was no support for it, because he fell into the hands of these unbelievers and did not arrive safe and sound at the Porte. His Majesty the sultan stopped watching. Those who want money – their condition was rendered by the Turkish proverbs, “Neither from Baghdad nor from Basra anyone is coming, nor is there any help from my sultan”⁷⁰. If at the beginning help and money had been sent, it would have been possible. Now, however, even if the sultan came himself, he would certainly not be able to help this assembly. On one side there is the Diyâle river, on the other side the Şaṭṭ, in our neck there is the shah of the Persians, in front of us there is Baghdad. Perhaps there will come help for us from God. Illnesses have reached such a degree among the troops of Islam that it is impossible to describe them. The climate of this country is worse than the curved sabre of the Kızılbaş. Dropsy and stomach aches, having a cold and sudden diseases of the ears (?) are continuous. Fortunate is the person who will again get out to that country (= home?). Greet the faithful friends and the pure brethren from us. They shall not forget to pray [for us]. May they be written with the *Fātiḥa* (?). Praise be to God the One the victorious. We are thankful that we live difficulties on the soil of our wish next to the mausoleum of the greatest Imam. If his spirit helps, they ought certainly not to forget it. Written in the middle date of the noble Ramazân of the year 135.

7.2. Transcription of Iskandar Beg Turkmân (1334h.ş./1955):

Vol. 3, 1053 *Cenâb-i 'izzet-me'âb rûḥum (!) pür-fütûḥum Muşlî Çelebi kârn-yâb ḥazretlerine dürer-i da vât-i şâfiyât-i mahabbet-âyât ve ğurar-i teslimât-i vâfiyât-i meveddet-ğâyât ithâfindan songra i lârn-i muḥibbâne nudur (!) 1054* ki eger luṭf idüib

⁷⁰ I have not been able to identify this proverb so far.

bu dā ʿileri ʿarafından *zerre vü şemme suʿāl-i şerif* tecvîz buyurulur *iser bi-ḥamdi llāhi ve-l-minne ḥālā vüçüd-i nā-būdumuz* şıḥḥat dāyiresinde mevcūd olub *lejl ü nahār du ʿā-yi devām-i devletüngüze müdāvīm* (!) ve *dīdār-i şerifüngüze müştāk-i ʿazīm olduğumuz* iştibāḥ buyurılmaya *hemān cenāb-i müsebbebü l-esbābdan ricā* olunur ki bir *dabiça dīdār-i şerifüngüz* ile müşerref olmaḳ müyesser *kıbla* (!) *āmīn bi-ḥürmeti seyyidi l-mürselīn fī-mā baʿd* bu *sefer-i nedāmet-eser* ve *Bağdād-i bī-dād-i miḥnet-ābād ḥavādīsīn istifsār* buyursangız *dileyüm* böyle *sefer dūşmātumuz* (!) *idilenlere*⁷¹ *naşib olmasun* *toḳuz aydur* ki *kalʿe muḥāşara olalı* bir *daşına rahne virilmeyüb* ol *muḥāşaramuz* *dere ḥalvet-i tilkünüg*⁷² *mişālinde* *Kızılbaş-i baʿd-ma ʿāşung* (!) *eseri aslā zābir olmamış* *iken* *meterisler* *ķurilub* ve *naķablar sürilüb* *ḥavāleler* *ķalkub pence*⁷³ *defʿa yorişlar* olub *her yorişda yince*⁷⁴ *biñ nüfūs* *ķapukulu* ve *serdengicdiden* *helāk* olub *günden güne* *kalʿede* olan *melʿunlar* *ğālib* ve *leşker-i islām mağlūb* olmaḳdan *ğayrı* *nesbe-i*⁷⁵ *başarmayub* bu *esnāda* *şāh-i ʿacem* ʿarafından *serdār* olan *Zeynel ḥān* *dimekle* *ma ʿrūf* bir *fitne-engiz* *ğālibā* *ķırķ* *bing* *mikdārı* *Kızılbaş-i bed-ma ʿāş-i ḥilekār-i nā-be-ķār* ile *peydā* olub ol *Diyāle şuyında* *ʿubūr* *bolub* *bizüm* ʿarafımıza *giçüb* *pence*⁷⁶ *defʿa* *alaylar* *yağlayub* (!) *ķır* *altı* *göster*[ür?] *iken* *üzere* *iken* *şāh-i ʿacem* *kendi* *V* ile *VKN* *leşker*⁷⁷ *-i ḥün-riz* ile *ayak* *bayak* *gelüb* *hiç* *bizüm* ʿarafımıza *mültefit* *olmayub* bir *mikdār* *leşker* *kalʿe-i Mandalā* *üzere* *ta şyīn* *idüb* *şāhib* *sa ʿadet* *ḥazretlerinin* *ķapuçı* *başını* *Mehmed Akā* ve *Cestānlu Muştafā Paşa* ve *sāyir* *ma ʿan* olan *leşker-i islāmı* *ķuvvet-i bāzū* ile *kalʿe-i mezkūrdan* *cıķardub* (!) *kimin* *maḥbūs* *kimin* *tu ʿme-i şemşir* ve *kimin* *gendüsü* *kipi* *Kızılbaş-i bī-dīn* *eyledi* *ba ʿdehū* *Lek* *kalʿesi* *dimikle* (!) *meşhūr* bir *kalʿe* *dabi* içinde olan *ehl-i islām* *teshīr* *idince* bu *ahbārlardan* *leşker-i islām* *üzere* *mehm-i*⁷⁸ *ʿazīm* *müstevlī* olub *ābā*⁷⁹ *çıkub* *muķābele* *olmağa* *olamıdur* *diyü* *tedpīr* (!) *üzere*⁸⁰ *iken* bu *maḥall* *şāh-i ʿacem* *ḥadem* *ü ḥaşemi* ile *bizüm* ʿarafımıza *teveccüb-i tām* *idinçe* *serdārı* olan *nā-be-ķār* *mezkūr* *sebķ-i* *ḥidmet* için *pīş-rev-i* *Lek* *idüb* *Diyāle* *şuʿi* *üzere* *cisr* *ķurmak* *sürü* *ında* *iken* *şāhib* *sa ʿadet* *men ʿu* *defʿine* *Diyār-i Bekr* *biglerbigi* *Murād Paşa* ile *on* *biş* *bing* *mikdārı* *ķoçak* ve *yigitler* *biş* *ilāhī*⁸¹ *pāre* *ḥob* ile *gömzereüb*⁸² *ķazāyā* ol *ma ʿlün-i* (!) *ḥile-ķār* *bizden* *çüst* *ü pūr* *TVB* *cisri* *ķurub* *üç* *dörüt* (!) *bing* *mikdārı* *Kızılbaş* ve

⁷¹ Instead of *düşmānumuz* *olanlara*.

⁷² Instead of *tilkünüg*.

⁷³ Instead of *niçe*.

⁷⁴ Instead of *niçe*.

⁷⁵ Instead of *nesne-i*.

⁷⁶ Instead of *niçe*.

⁷⁷ Perhaps for *kendileri* *ile* *olan* *leşker*?

⁷⁸ Instead of *vebm-i*.

⁷⁹ Instead of *āyā*.

⁸⁰ With *elif* and *be* at the end.

⁸¹ Instead of *altı*.

⁸² Instead of *gönderüb*.

LF'MH nüzül itimiş (!) iken bu taraftan Murād Paşa [yi]tişüb toğ ve tüfeng ile mevcüd bulunan Kızılbaşung üzerine hücum idince anlarühi⁸³ bi-ž-žarüre cenge süürü^c idüb mā beyn de bir iki hamle gicdi hikmet-i ilāhî ricālū l-ğayb Kızılbaşdan yaña olub hāk u bād ve tiğ-i bārān birle leşker-i islāmung yüzün döndürüb el-hāşıl inhizāma illet-i müstakille olmağın ceng-i mezkūrda Diyār-i Bekr ve Karaman ve Haleb ve Anatoli sancağlarından hande bir güzide yigit var ise şehādet şerbeti nüş idüb mā bakāsi tiğ-i zebr-ālūda biş alub⁸⁴ gice araya girmekle Murād Paşa bir yince⁸⁵ tevābi^c iyle yaralu yaralu cān kurtarub geldi andanşongra pādīşāh-i 'acem gelüb Diyāle şu'i ile Şātt (!) kadīşan⁸⁶ yirde cistr kurub leşker bing bir miqdārı bizüm tarafımıza ve bir miqdārı köhne Bağdād tarafa geçürüb etrāfumuzda kurd adını şalub gāh bu taraft[a] gāh o tarafta bas (!) gösterüb el-hāşıl biz Bağdādı ve Kızılbaş bizi muhāşara idüb ya 'nī topa dutulmuş meymūna döndük kal'e ile ceng eylesek bu yanumuzdan Kızılbaş HVlar⁸⁷ ve Kızılbaş ile ceng eylesek engsemüzden kal'e halkı ümmetümüzü keser āhīru l-emr lā-i lāc etrāfumuzda handağ kesüb tapur eyledük (!) tapura dahı mültefit olmayub pence (!) def'a 1055 tapurumuz üzerine gelüb alaylar bağlayub māh-i Şa 'bānūng yigirmi yedinci günü tapurumuz üzerine yoriş itmek nitiyle⁸⁸ geldükde şahib sa 'ādet dahı leşker-i islām arasında nidā şalub şağır u kebīr atlu piyādesi 'umūmen nefir-i 'āmm üslūbı yeñiçeriden ğayrı ki meterislerde kal'eye mukābil durmuşlar idi karşı çıkub mukābil olduk kuşlukdan ikindüye degin toğ ve tüfeng altında ceng olunub serdārları olan Zeynel Hān şiddet idüb hemān toğ altında sāyebān kurduğda melā 'n-i mezkūr bu işāreden bişāret nakķārelerini döğüb şağır u kebīri göz qaraldub toğ u tüfenge muqayyed olmayub bir hamle zarb eylediler ki eger küb-i Elburz olsa önlerinde tār u mār olurdu muhāşşal bu hamle ile leşker-i islāmın kalbını kola urub medeñlü (!) segbānumuz tapurdan vışaru (!) çıkdınsa⁸⁹ ekseri at ayağı altında pāymāl olub ispāhī t̄āyifesi meydānı dār gördükde şahib sa 'ādet alayında dahı durmayub qarārlarını firāra tebdil ve başlarumla (!) şahrā vu biyābāna düşüb tapur yolın azub ekseri ol günden berü nā-peydā olub filāncamız menküb u ma 'kūs pervāne-i bī-per gibi tapura penāh getürüb qorınma⁹⁰ qarār virdük bu ma 'releden şongra şahib sa 'ādet ümerā'-i 'izām ve küberā'-i zevī l-ķadri ve l-ihtirām ile müşāvere idüb qarār virdiler ki bi-z-zāt bir dahı tapurdan dışara çıkağa şarfumuz yokdur hemān kal'e muhāşarasına berk yapuşub şāyed ki kal'eying (!) kahtlık ile tükeldüb emāna getüreyüz diyü bu ümīd ile kal'enüing dört yanını ihāta itdürüb şāh-i 'acem bu

⁸³ Instead of *anlardahı*.

⁸⁴ *Yimiş olub?*

⁸⁵ Instead of *niçe*.

⁸⁶ Instead of *karışan*.

⁸⁷ Instead of *durlar?*

⁸⁸ Instead of *nıyetiyle*.

⁸⁹ Instead of *çıkdıysa*.

⁹⁰ Instead of *korınmağa*.

tedbîrümüze vâkıf olunca bî-pervâ öte gice köhne Bağdâd tarafına on biş bing miqdârı Kızılbaş gicürüb üç bing belki artun zahîre dive ve kaşır ile Kuş kal'esi civârında yitürüb leşker-i islâm karşularına gülüv itdüğince devletümüz yâr olmayub anda dahı haylı segbânumuzu Şatt (!) şuyına tüküb ve pençesi (!) tu 'me-i şemşir olub muhaşşal kuşluk vaqti idi ki dide-i başirümüz ile müşâhede iderdük bu 'azîm zahîre ve koyun tâ yağ ve tavuğa degin gemiler ile kal'ebe (!) kondı ol ecilden leşker-i islâmung bili yükülüb⁹¹ bir uğurda kal'eden nâ-ümîd olduk ilâhî gendü hâlümüz yine mütehayyır ola diyü bu âferide (!) fikirlerde iken şâh-i 'acem bu havâdisden hâtır-i cem 'hâşil idüb Kızılbaş dört yanumuzung yolların kesüb diyü bi-z-zât Şatt (!) ve Firâtdan hakkâ ki berü bahırdan kuş uçurmayub zalim Kızılbaşung atı ayağı altı Şatt (!) ve Firât gibi şular ki her biri Tuna şu'ı tuğyanındadır bir çay gibi görünmeyüb Hille ve Kerbelâ ve MSYB taraflarına âfetin şalub mahall-i mezkûrlarda leşker-i islâmung seg⁹² ve paşa māmında⁹³ at ve it oğlanı nāmında olan cümle yeksân⁹⁴ görünüb Hilleden olan Aslan Paşa ve kapukulu ve 'arabî bir tarikke tehir eylediler ki takridinden⁹⁵ vilger⁹⁶ kâşır ve kalemler müddetlerdür (?) ki ordu-yi hümayûna bir vukîye zahîre gelmeyüb her kim evvelde bir zahîre çok tedârük itdiyse hâlâ kemîn tatub kesen şatar ordumuzung ucuzluğu bu minvâl üzere olubdur ki zikr iderüz bir vukîye un bir gurûşa bir vukîye bağ (!) iki gurûşa bir vukîye hurmâ bir gurûşa bir kile arpa sekiz gurûşa etmeküng üç dirbemi bir akçe ve etting (!) bir vukîyesi kırk ağçe şatılur ol nâzik-tab 'cânlar ki bi-gilvâ'i nezâket ile yirlerdi şimdi at etin görende şalavât getirür oldılar ol h'ud-pesend dilâverler ki kahve-hânelerde Kızılbaşdan duymak almak (?) ümîd ile gelürler idi şimdi gendü çâdir ve esbâblarını koyub ancak cânların furtamağ (!) minnet bilür oldılar ol müna'ım ekâbirler ki gümüş rahıtlu atlara binüb foci⁹⁷ ile hammâma giderlerdi şimdi semerlü işek görende tahassür⁹⁸ 1056 çeker oldılar ol ecilden ki ordumuzung dört hışşadan bir hışşası ancak atludur mâ bakâ leşker-i islâm yabak⁹⁹ ve perişân kalubdur¹⁰⁰ eger BBRNDV¹⁰¹ bir ayla¹⁰² göçmelü ola'uñ¹⁰³ YH yengiçerining 'VR nâsâyis-hânesini götürür ve ardına cebe-hâne ve top-hânemizüng bir ferdine iyelik iden ez hemîn bu fikre kalmışuz ki sultân Süleymân devrinden Bire-

⁹¹ Instead of *beli bükülüb*.

⁹² Instead of *big*.

⁹³ Instead of *nāmında*.

⁹⁴ Instead of *yigitân?*

⁹⁵ Instead of *takrîrinden*.

⁹⁶ Instead of *diller*.

⁹⁷ Instead of *çoçı*.

⁹⁸ Instead of *tahayyür*.

⁹⁹ Instead of *yayağ*.

¹⁰⁰ *kalu-bdur*.

¹⁰¹ *yirinden?*

¹⁰² Instead of *atla?*

¹⁰³ Instead of *olanuñ*.

cikde ve Başrada intikâl iden balyimez ve seng-endâz topları kal'e dögmek için getürmişler idi böyle yurtta koymağdan âl-i 'Osmâna nâm nengdür diyü şahib sa'âdet bu endîşe ile helâk olu bdur (!) niçe def'a yardım ve hazîne için müstakillen âdemler gönderilmişdür birining ešeri olmadı bilmenüz¹⁰⁴ Kızılbaş eline giriftâr oldılar bohsa (!) sa'âdetlü hündgâr hazretleri bi-z-zât leşker-i islâmung tûmârı bir yüzitden¹⁰⁵ götürilmek ister hemân ma'nâdur ki türkülerde söylenür ki şîr ne Bağdâddan ne Başradan gelür var ne kidi¹⁰⁶ 'Osmânludan bize yardım var hele bu aya dek hazîne ve yardım gelse ulaşıcağ (!) ihtimâli dar¹⁰⁷ imdi fe-ammâ bundan böyle hündgâr hazretleri bi-z-zât gelse imdâdumuza yitmez niçün (!) ki kazîye bu mazmûn üzeredür bir yanumuz Diyâle şu'ı bir yanumur (!) Şâtt (!) 'MKNHFR¹⁰⁸ şâh 'Abbâs önümüz Bağdâd meger bize Hudâdan ola imdâd muhaşşal-i kelâm ve der¹⁰⁹ Âdemden berü lu¹¹⁰ nedâmetlü girdâba kimse düşmemiş vegüldür (!) ki bizüm bu ahvâlümüze muṭṭali' ola hem rûhum böyle fehmi iderüz ki şâh-i 'acem her tedbîr ki eylediye taqdîr u müvâfîk geldüğü mahzâ hazret-i 'Alî kerreme llâhu vechebû kerâmeti ešerinden oldüğü (!) şübhe yokdur bilmenüz¹¹¹ imâm-i a'zam hazretleri bizüm cihetümüzden himmeti süst olduğı ne sebebdendür bohsa (!) ancak gendü merkad-i şerifi ve rûh-i latîfi için ol hazretümg dergâhına penâha teveccüh idübdür benüm rûhum bu nükte-i zâra tidükde¹¹² bu 'aceb kelimâtı cehren okumayub hemân şive-i sîrr eyle ki ma benyümüzde (!) mahfidür güzârîdesiz¹¹³ ki h^vud-binler desvâsından¹¹⁴ selâmet olasız âmîn yâ mu'în mahfi buyuru YLSH¹¹⁵ ki ordumuzda bir hastalık müstevlîdür ki bu vilâyetümg âb u hevâsı Kızılbaşümg egri kılıcı gibi kesmağdadur (!) iç ağırsı ve istiskâ rahmeti ve nezle ve merg-i mefâcâ ve bād-i semûm böyle derd u belâlardan gibi sa'âdetlü baş gerekdür kim bir dabıça ol cânibe çıka hemân yârân-i bā-şafâya selâmumuzu tiyürüb¹¹⁶ helâllük dileyesiz âhîret haqqı helâl itsünler el-hükümü li-llâhi l-vâhidi l-kahbâr hemân bu ki şükürümüz vardur ki bakîye-i 'ömrümüzü imâm-i a'zam turâbında şarfeyledük yârân-i bā-şafâya dabı bā-sîrr hem mektûblar yazub göründermişüz (!) kuşür birlerine¹¹⁷ nazâr itmesünler ancak oldı

¹⁰⁴ Instead of *bilmeyüz*.

¹⁰⁵ Instead of *yir yüzinden*.

¹⁰⁶ Instead of *kendi*.

¹⁰⁷ Instead of *var*.

¹⁰⁸ Probably a misspelling of *eñsemüz*.

¹⁰⁹ Instead of *devr-i*.

¹¹⁰ Instead of *bu*.

¹¹¹ Instead of *bilmeyüz*.

¹¹² Instead of *yitdükde*.

¹¹³ Instead of *güzâr idesiz*.

¹¹⁴ Instead of *vesvâsından*.

¹¹⁵ Misspelling for *buyurulmaya?*

¹¹⁶ Instead of *yitirüb*.

¹¹⁷ Instead of *yirlerine*.

zīrā bir satır yazınca düşmen geldi diyü üç dört def'a ürkündülik (!) vâkı' olur zâlim Kızılbaşunğ ise gözi leşker-i islâmî şöyle alubdur kurd koyuna segirdür gibi tapurumuz üzerine segirdüb tâ handakumuzunğ etrafında kese kes[e]dür (?) çi ginceler¹¹⁸ oğrısı ve çi gündüzler oğrısı¹¹⁹ müddetlerdür ki giceler fânüslar ile ordumuzunğ 1057 arasını kesüb rüzigârumuz bile giçer ne bilmezven kurşağumuzı çizebilürüz ve ne elümüzden bırakmazı¹²⁰ iki elümüz bir başka kalubdur hâlümüz Allâhdan gayrı kimse bilmez meşrûhen tahrîr olunsa yüz böyle mektûbda zîğmaz (!) hakkâ ki muşibet-i rüz-i mahşer bu günlerümüzünğ birisinki (?) olmaz dahı seni bunga kıyâs idesiz ve-s-selâm

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¹¹⁸ Instead of *giceler*.

¹¹⁹ An *elif* is missing.

¹²⁰ Instead of *bırakmazuz?*

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برونوزولات و کرامت حضرت شاه نجف است و ایشان مستتر هموندند من کفتم که درین ماه پنجاه
 بی کیم که آنچه نامیکویم اگر صورت وقوع داشته باشد آنرا آن درین زودی بوضوح پیوندد و بعد از آن کنگو در همان
 دوسه روز قوت برزگی که بر طبق نصب بوده می انداختند و بر این اندام بدین روش بود در وقت کشش دادن
 به ترتیب و توب خانه معطل ماند برین تقریبات در اوقات، نزد حافظ اهدا باشا، خواستاده توب
 بزرگ دیگر مدد و کول طلب نمود حافظ اهدا باشا، توب نداشت و اعلام نمود که چون درین روز
 کساری از پیش زلفه کوچ که بر او آید که هرگاه ظهور نماید بدست آید آتم تابع بعدا دست و اگر کم
 نومی دیگر باشد که من آن چه سخت میدهد مرا و پاشا کوچ کرده برینا در وقت مخصوص آن از کیفیت روح متعلق
 نجات یافته

الوالالباب پوشیده ماند که چنانچه این سفر خیر اثر و قیام که در پیش سپاه فرمایش در دیده که درین آمد
 رفت بطور بپوست و رانم خود و اطلاع بر آن حاصل شد چه آنکه خود برین البیعتش و توفیق
 و چه اگر از آنجا و اعلام واقف گردید بر سبب اجمال بر صحتش بان نکاشت و از اطباء اندیشید
 تمامی حالات و وقایع امور را پنج بچه بوقوع پیوسته بود و خبر نیار و در وقت آن بود که ما در جمعی بودیم
 برت در ای که بدترین منذ الکسند بعضی قضایا از منقوله تکلفات و زرب عبارات مشتبه می نمود
 محل بر خوش آمدنماند بر شاه گدب بان راه دمیگی ایجادشان روید که از اردوی سردار به استیصال
 میرنده عراض و حکایت امر ای برده در راه کفاح کوه خا رسیده بود و کتاب که مصوب او بود با
 حامل آنها آورده بر نظر اشراف رسیدند هر یک از وقایع و حالات را به عبارات متخلفه فرمودند
 بودند آنچه بان و امر او اعلان و ارباب دولت نوشته بودند بمطالعته اکتفا بدین وسیله و بعد
 و تحت و شفقت خود را اظهار ساخته خالی از اعراض و بیوی نموده باشد بر آنون که در آنرا بکمال مکتوبی که
 یکی از عظمای بصری جلای نام و دست خود بر ترکی نوشته تحقیق حالات بی غرضانه اعلام نمود و بد نظر
 کترین رسید چنان درین صحنه نشانی و کس که کسندگان را بر در تالیق احوال طریق حاصل شده و رانم
 حرف را بنا بر ابطه فارست از منقوله خوش آمد گویان خدمت فرودشان که در بازار مایه در کرد و
 و زمان و صدق و کذب احوال اندیشند و اگر در احوال و رسم الخط فارسی در ترکی عطفی و نامر بومی نظر
 چون نقل الماطر شده براینه ارباب استعدا و عمل بر خطی را تم حرف نموده از آن مخدع خوانند و
 عرقلو سواد و پراوریکان برابر مصی علی حقه تری زید قدرت سلام فرادان قیل و قده که صحت
 رای نیز و غیر خبر بریه منسور او بنام یوس معلوم محفل لطیف سری ادلان اذله که اگر بوجان احوال اندیشند
 الو نور سه بیض فضل الابرال و بود ما بود و در این صحت و در موه و اوله و می معین و مقرر هر در آنرا بکمال خیر نجات اثر
 غولباد

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سفر بغداد وین سوال اول نورسه امید که هیچ نگزی بنده سینه نصیب بود لیوب شویله تنگامیه
گرفت ر بولیمه رشیدی طفو ز آید در که محنت آنا و قلعه محاصره و در عرض کفر ظاهر که
عدوی مورد محنت افزون در دایره کرد و در آید تا آید لوب پر و اش آتنگ حصار ندن
ضایح بود لیوب بودند اقدام که لشکر فر با شش اربابش بدعا شش مذنب باش
انری ظاهر و کله ری بچه که قلعونیک اطراف و جوا بندن مترس خازرب پیرش
اولیندی و هر که ده پنجه بین ناپو قولی و بکجوی دشو ما حلقه اولوب غیر از انک عکر سلام
و جلالت اهل قلعه هیچ نمرسه غیر اولدی شو اناده شاه عجم زینل خان دیلن خفته نگیزی
قصرن میں لشکر ایله که نذر د ب دیال چای کچون اهل اسلام اولان طرفه طلب
هر جانیدن قهرا کوستر ویر و جیل و نذیر که سنجون لری در اقدام ایتمک و ایدی
کشت عجم عبوری متعاقب کلوب اصلا بزه ملقت اولیوب اول عکر که ناپوچیا
باشی محمد اناج و موصلنی پاشا، سندی قلعه سنی محاصره ایدوب توت باروس
جلالت ایله نصره کتوب و بعضی طرفه شیشه در باجن اسیر و قالاین کند در ی کبی
قرلباش بی دین ایدوب محمد بیک دیلن قلعوسی و انجی نصره کتوب و
کند و جائزه متوجه اولوب اول غلب نصره فذل لشکر ناییت اندر هاک
اولوب دفع الوقت سر لری و نایزه تدبیر لری ایچون ایچی گو نذر د اراده حساب
سعادت شویله ایدی که دیال جاننه هر مقدراین که سر فتنه اولان زینل پدین جلالت
ایدوب شفق مذکور نه جبر با قلاقه سر عت کسرتوب عکر قلعه دار واقف اولنج مرتب
ایتمیشی دیار بکر سکلر بکسر را و پاشا ایلمشش میں سوا ز ما در وید ز ز بر بن کوا
گو نذر لری که مانع اولوب قومیله که دیال و دین عبور ایدوب جانب عکره توجه قیلر
پاشا خضر تری یکتن زمانه اوج منک قرلباش اول کافر بد معاش شط و دین
کچور د جنگ و جدال شط و ایدوب چون رجال الغیب آلمر تنک عقبنده ایدی
عکر اسلام محمل الاحوال اولوب ایچی ایگدر که سنجی و قسرا و غرضش ز ناط
دیار بکر ایلمن ایدی شربت شهامت ایچور د ب کیجه او زمانه کله و یک زمانه مراد
پاشا مجروح عرابیه و اخل اولوب مارین شاه عجم خضر تری و صمت بولوب
کند در اولان عکر ایله کلوب دیال و شط جسیع اولان پشند و دین و دین
پرده جبر با غلا یوب لشکر تنک برتا چین بغداد کهنه طرفینه کچور د با بنی سین
بزدن طرفینه کچور د ب قور و او یو لایزم جائزه سالوب هر یانندن قرا کستر و یوسکر

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اسلام قبولی جاسی کند و نظر را بر اوست بن ایدوب لاجلاج اردو طریقه جبر و خدق
 حضرت ایدوب تو پر ترتیب ایدوب عرابه لکلکله اقدام است حاصل که بنظر بنیاد است
 و قرلباش ببری صحفه قیلوب عرابه و جسمه عطفات ادلیوب است حضرت
 پیش کره صفوف آراسته ایدوب بجوم ایدو رادی عسکر اسلام محاربه ایدوب
 قران سراره محال اور ایدی اگر قلعو اصحابا الین جنگ ایدو درک قطع نظر
 ایدو در اور و اگر قرلباش ایدو صحابه راجب الیور ایدو تک قلعو دکن نهایت ازار
 یتیم که تو هم ایدی حاصل که دور کون شیدیه دیکت شو یک کر و ایسج کسه دو شیش
 ایدی امید وار لوق که دار ایدی قلعو جمعی تک فخطو کم کو کینه ایدی که شت ایدو بنوعیله
 تصرف ستر اوله شت عجم صعب لکن اسلامی استماع ایدوب سبب حفظ
 بنیاد دکنه جانشین اذن پیش بین اوم قین ایدوب اوج بین بلکه افرزون یک
 و چشمه یو کلیوب قلعو جو ارندن کمی دعرا بیه حمل ایدوب قلعو داخل ایدی لر
 شوال خرنک استماندن بر قاتلن کراسد تک سبب شکست بولوب قلعو
 نصر فذک تک نامید اولد لرتبجه تبرات شت عجم تقدیرات خالق طبرزل
 ایدو موافق اولوب دست ولایت حضرت علی ابن ابیطالب کا کار کرد
 کورج حضرت امام اعظم یا کرم حضرت امیر المؤمنین و محبت بیست یوب
 محبت بولاق عزیزم دوستم کند و محبت نامه ز اشکار اوقمیوب
 نمان مطالو ایتد کون صوکره نهان ایدوب اظهار قلمه حاصل شویلا طرف
 دجوانی بیاید و پدر لار که مرغ پرواز قبیل سلسله و پرتاج مدت دور که ارده
 مرده بر دقیمه ذخیره هیچ طلعون کلک تک ممکن و کل دور وار داده کیاب
 بولوب برنج دادن و فرمانا بر دهنه پهر غرضش دهر دقیمه باغ ایچ غرضش
 دیکر کیلار پر کز غرضش دات دادون پر یوک پهر غرضش آت ایدو
 پردقیمه قرن ایچند الکر در ظرفای روم که طبیعت ناکس کو کندن با قلا و نازک
 لر میل ایدو رادی نادر آت انا اگر کورجک اولسه لر صلوات کوندر رب تعجب ایدو
 در و لطیف اندام جلپی لر که کتان کو یک بدن لر بنه ازار ایدو بی شیمی اگر کمنه
 چینه دین بر این ال لر یو کرک شینت سیلور لار دبر نواج سبانی که کت مصری
 التون بران ایدو قولانک عاز سیلور لار در الطال الافه محتاج بولوب حضرت سبک لار
 اول نیچ دانه کت لار که قوه خانه دجیش قرلباش مسخره جاقیلوب لاقربا چارلی

کندی لیا

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سندی کوریک رسم تصور ایدر لر و طایفه لوند که در بلیق لاف ایدر لردی حیسبه دست با
 سلوب باشن فور تاق ایچون الله دین رجا ایدر لر مجسلا اگر اوج بخش دین پر بخش
 است بولس باقی باده و برایش ن فالوب کچه دکوند زنجات استعدا ایدر لر و در پیش
 عالم شوی لکر اسلام حقیق و زبون اید و بد دلار که مانند عزرا ایسل جان آلمو حریص الوب
 عرابه ایچنده کچه خرسیر لوق دکوند ز ضرب تیغ ایله کیردب فی الفی اگر کیمسه او بار کن اولار
 استماع ایتمه رسم اولسه کر که دکور کچه دکوند ز ایل دستا ردین و سحر دین با اوج یوب
 فایوس ایا قوب نوبت بر لیکور ز دیارین بولنده شکر ایدر روز نمم رجم ادر ایل مضایح
 اوج منک آدم جانب حله دکور ایدر ایل بخش قضا دین سکت اصلان پاش پرا شوب
 بر فاج اعراب لوند ایله که بخته التفت فالمش را ایدی طب یشام طریقه کیران اولوب
 کند و باشدین قونار در حاصل کلام دورت چانیمنی پادین جماعت شوی احاطه اید و بدور لار
 که تردید و اولوب چقانی مستحکمه قیلور لار در صاحب سعادت کند و مریض ناقص ایله
 بر اتمی بیله تکلیف لعدن نام اولوب بر فعات ایله حضرت پادشاه اسلام تاج پادشاه
 کلوب و خزینه عرض اید و بیسج از ظاهر اولدی بیسندی که شول کافر الینه دوشوب
 سلم و صحیح در کاه ابر شعی را با اگر حضرت خوانند کار درخی قطع نظر ایدوب فزینه اسر
 که در ترکی مثل لر دین حاکم قوم اولندی نه بغداد و نه بصره دن کلن دار نه کند خوانند
 کار دین یار دم وار ادر ایل حال ده اگر کوکب و خزینه ارسال اولیندر ایل بولور دی
 شیمی اگر خوانند کافر نفس ایل کالک ایتمه بوجونک مدینه یتیمه کر که در بر یا نگر
 دیاله سوی بر یا نگر سخط الله ده شا عجبم اوکر بغض او کبر نه تنگ دین اوله اداد
 لشکر اسلام ادر اسنده بمار لوق بر مرتبه یتیمه ده در که شریح ایتمک ممکن دکوله در بو
 دلا یتیمک هوا و سنور شباشک اگر ی قلیچدن بدتر دور زحمت استعدا قمارن اگر
 در نال و مضاجات قولو قدن خایا دکوله و لار د و لنگو باشن که بردانی اول و ولایتیه جفا
 باران و فاد احوان صفایه بر ذوق سلاطین یوسوب و عابدین ادر نوبتیه جلد و لار و حلال ایدون
 فاشک ایل یاز لئی لار لاطه اتمه واحد القهار شکر مزبار در رک خاک مرادده برابر قد امام اعظم و مفت
 چکب اگر دینی مدد آید فضا و الا فراموش خلیه لار رمضان شریفیک شصت اولان تاریخ ده بار لک
 چون رایت طریقات جاه جلال برینچی کر قوم کلک بیان
 کشت بر فرزنی و اقبال ادر شرف خراز دار اسلام بجانب عراق در حرکت آمد بخت کانه ایا محمد و بعد ان
 رسید روزی چند دیستان بیم از پلمات انجا اقامت افغان ائاده در انجا متوجه نظر و نغمات بولار کند لوند