

FEHIM NAMETAK

FADIL PASHA'S QASIDA AS AN ANSWER
TO ZIYA-PASHA'S ZAFERNAMA*

The most important XIX Bosnian writer in the Turkish language who lived and worked in Sarajevo is certainly Fadil-pasha Šerifović. Born in Sarajevo (1802) in an aristocratic family (*ešraf*), whose members, from generation to generation, filled the post of *nakibul-ešraf* (representatives of Muhammad's ancestors in Bosnia) and he filled the post himself, but also many other posts (*qadi*, *mutesellim*, *mutesarraf*, *mir-i liva askeri*). He wrote at the time when Turkey was heavily influenced by European literature, but stayed out of range of those modern movements in literature. He died in Istanbul in 1882.

He kept close contacts with leading figures of the Empire, and in terms of literary people, he particularly respected, beside our own Sabit Užičanin, Fuzuli, Nedim, Şeyh Galib and other Turkish classics. He also respected his contemporary, the famous Turkish poet Ziya-pasha (1825-1880), to whom he dedicated one *qasida-panegirik* (*medhiye*) on the occasion of Ziya-pasha's arrival to Bosnia on the post of a controller (*müfettiş*). The *qasida* will not be discussed here, the one appearing in Fadil-pasha's *Divan*, but another one, the one that Fadil-pasha sent in form of response to Ziya-pasha's *Zafernama*, involving Fadil-pasha.¹

* See: "Fadil-pašina kasida kao odgovor na Zija-pašinu Zafernamu". In: *POF* 28-29/1978-9, Sarajevo, 1980, pp. 67-78.

¹ The *qasida* of Fadil-pasha Šerifović, written to congratulate Ziya-bey (later: Ziya-pasha) on the post of a *müfettiş* (controller) in Bosnia, was published in a book of M. Kaya Bilgegil: *Ziya paşa üzerinde bir araştırma*, Ankara, 1979, p. 41-42. He borrowed the *qasida* from the work *Tarih-i Enveri*, XXVI, by Muhamed Enveri Kadić, missing the second line:

*O mîr ekmel vü a'kal ki misli gelmedi dehre
Felâtûn-ı zaman andan eder noksânını istikmâl.*

Muhamed Ševki Sarajlija's transcript (The Oriental Institute, nb. 4520, p. 68) and Muhamed Enveri Kadić's transcript (Gazi Husrev-bey's Library, R-92, p. 45) of Fadil-pasha's *Divan* contain this *qasida* with their bayt number of 15.

For any further information on Ziya-pasha, besides Namik Kemal, the greatest Turkish poet after the reformation (Tanzimat), we direct readers to the vast Turkish documents and books on XIX century literature, particularly: Prof. Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar: *19 uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Dördüncü Baskı, İstanbul, 1976; Şemsettin Kutlu: *Tanzimat Dönemi Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, İstanbul, 1972. and particularly M. Kaya Bilgegil: *Ziyâ Paşa üzerinde bir araştırma*, Ankara, 1979.

Shortly after the return of Ziya-pasha from Bosnia to Istanbul and Fadil-pasha's appointment to Izmit (Nycomedea) district head an incident broke out between Ziya-pasha and Grand Vizier Ali-pasha, which took on a new dimension when Fadil-pasha became part of the conflict. Ziya-pasha wrote a satirical poem *Zafername*, at Ali-pasha's expense, abusively explaining Ali-pasha's intervention in Crete. It is a known fact that Ali-pasha had opponents due to his reformist activities, for giving the autonomy to Crete, as well as for establishing contacts with Serbian Government. But, being a person close to the Sultan and the government, he had both opponents and rivals to the post in the government, but also to Fadil-pasha, being his friend and associate. Ziya-pasha himself wrote a *tahmis*² on this poem, and later added a prose comment on this *tahmis*. He signed the *qasida* with the name *Fadil Paşa Bosnevi Mevlevi mutessarif-i İzmit*, and *Tahmis* with the name of a poet Hayri-efendi. Ziya-pasha signed the prose comment with the name of the police chief Husni-pasha. *Zafername* with *Tahmis* was printed in lithography in Istanbul in 1866. Fadil-pasha composed a "*rediyya*" (rebuttal) in 35 bayts (couplets) and sent it to Ziya-pasha. Formerly, because of the signature below the *Zafername*, it was considered to be a work of Fadil-pasha, both by us and the others, but having compared it with the printed copies of Ziya-pasha's *Zafername* and the date from the work *Tarih-i Enveri* by Muhamed Enveri Kadić (collected papers), we came to conclusion that it was indeed written by Ziya-pasha.

In his essay on Ziya-pasha, Musa Ćazim Ćatić misinterprets the origin and the purpose of *Zafername*. Namely, he says that Ziya-pasha wrote a comment on *Zafername* by Sabit Užičanin, in which he speaks abusively about this poet of ours. Ćatić certainly never considered Sabit's *Zafername* either, the one written about a Crimean Khan Selim Giray on the occasion of his successful war operations against Russians and Poles, and not seeing Ziya-pasha's *Zafername*, clearly saying that the sting is directed towards Ali-pasha, not somebody else.³

The existential quality of Fadil-pasha's *reddiyya* (rebuttal), expressing his deepest feelings of being wronged, is reflected in the fact that Fadil, here, more than in any other poem speaks of his viewpoints and his poetics. Excluding the caustic offences to Ziya-pasha which, to a degree, could be understood as having in mind Ziya-pasha's act, this poem reveals a range of secrets on its author. Thus, Šerifović, in the third *bayt*, claims that he would not have written a verse that would harm the reputation of the country or its

² *Tahmis* is a poetical form, mostly used by divan poetry, composed in at least 5 stanzas of 5 lines. The basis of every *tahmis* is two lines (*bayt*) of one poet whose lines the author of the *tahmis* uses to complete the three lines of his. Usually the author's lines are at the beginning of the stanza, and it ends with the lines of the poet that is being imitated.

³ Musa Ćazim Ćatić, "Dvije-tri o Zija-paši", *Gajret V/1912* and *Sabrana djela*, II, Tešanj, 1968, p. 44-55.

high dignitaries, and if he did, he would call in all fair and educated people and poets to testify.

According to Fadil-pasha, the purpose of poetry is, among other things, bringing up the truth (bayt 9), and in that case one is not forced to use other person's name, because if one tells the truth, one has no reason to be ashamed (bayt 16). At the end of the poem Fadil-pasha says that he throws his pen to fire, because it is stained from writing this poem. He is a nobleman, a son of a nobleman and it is not suitable for him to argue with someone from a lower class. Especially, the poet's reproof to Ziya-pasha for his hiding behind Fadil-pasha name is noticeable from the verses; this poet also mentions the case of a poet Nef'i, who wrote a collection of satirical poems "Sihâm-i kaza" (The Arrows of Faith), but did not cowardly sign his poems with somebody else's name.

In this poem too, Fadil-pasha admits the great poetical capability of Ziya-pasha and says that he enjoys the reputation of a famous pre-Islamic poet Imru al-Qays, but throws all paid respect under his feet. Šerifović particularly blames Ziya-pasha for signing him, Fadil, as the author of the poem, saying that he would be proud if he created such a masterpiece. In any case, with this poem, Fadil-pasha does not belittle Ziya-pasha's poetry, but castigates to his improper act of tricking the earlier friendship of theirs. So is Ziya-pasha, according to Fadil, keen to betray their friendship, and as such, he is also ungrateful to the country that had him hold a high post, so "he is a common sailor on the Greek ship Enosis (Uniting)", with which Fadil-pasha alludes to his co-operation with Greeks (bayt 29).

Such hard accusations at Ziya-pasha's expense Šerifović uttered against no one. The vocabulary of this poem clashes with the rest of Fadil-pasha's poetry, never earlier or later did he refer to anyone as *köpek*, *hâin-i dîn ü millet*, *devletin nân ü ni'am azgüyen*, *kâfir*, *bedkâr*, *bi-'âr*, *domuz*, *fâcir*, *'âbir* and so.

We take the liberty of claiming that this poem was not influenced by the divan literature, and that neither contemplatively nor lexically could it be fit in the divan poetry, that being the reason why it was excluded from the hand-written copies of *Divan* by Fadil-pasha Šerifović. The poem, even, gives enough elements from which it would be concluded that it was originally conceived in our language and that is a reflection of our man who rejected all courteousness and affectation imposed by the poetics of the divan poetry. All 35 couplets of this *qasida* are full of the injured poet's acrimony.

This rebuttal, more than any other Fadil-pasha's poem, expresses his time, his relations with contemporaries, and from it one could also sense turmoil in Ottoman Empire which included, on one or another side, Ziya-pasha and Fadil-pasha Šerifović. A tradition says that Fadil, as Hayri-efendi did, ran to Ali-pasha to justify himself because he did not write *Zafernâme*, and Ali-pasha said that their justification was not needed, because he knew that only Ziya-pasha was able to write such a poem.⁴

⁴ Şemsettin Kutlu, *Tanzimat Dönemi Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Bateş Yayınları, İstanbul, 1972, p. 155.

When *Divan* was composed, this poem was excluded, because as we said earlier it did not fit to this poetry, neither ideologically nor lexically, and maybe because the conflict with Ziya-pasha was probably overcome. The process of composing it included a selection for a so-called *mürettep divan* (edited text of divan, authorised divan), later to be given to the finest Sarajevo calligrapher Muhamed Ševko Imamović to make two copies of it. The poem was preserved, to the best of our knowledge, only in Kadić's *Mağmū'a* (collected papers) (XXVI, p.105). The title of the prologue of the poem was written as: "*Mezkûr Zafernâme ve tahmisi ve nesren şerhi mûma ileyh Fadil paşadın eline geldiğinde kendi hatt-ı destile yazdığı reddiyye ve tezkibiyyeyi 'aynen buraya kayd eyledim'*".⁵

The text of this rebuttal is provided according to the only transcript in our possession, so we point out that, it was, therefore, not possible to arrange a critical edition of the poem. In Kadić's *Mağmū'a*, written with a lead pencil, some letters have faded and are hardly readable, so we doubted two or three words, and finally we have chosen this manner of reading of the rebuttal:

و من کور باغها نامه و تهمیسی و تهمیسی
 اله کله نغزیده کندی غلط دکتیمه یازدین بر دیم
 عیناً بویا ای قید ایلم
 بر کور دیشلی ترین خان دینه ویت دولت نانه و لغم از غوغاییه اول
 ایاصح نامه انکار ایله هجوس اعلو تیر قدرته انی برجم ایله رب قاهر
 دولت کانیله نام و کوریه هر قور ایله هجود هرله اولدی بندده صار
 خارج طور ارب نظم و نثر سولیم یاور اصل دل و دانش شعری سائر
 صدر عالی کریم بویجه کله بندگی ام بوجیده بویجه احسانه اولمیشله
 عهد آتالار ایله مصلحت مولانا اولد او لمیش لیل و نهار اریه کله ناکر
 قطره نقدیم یازدیغ لغز یا نده شید ایتج اولدیم اولمیش اولدیم
 حقه اراپی بیور دولت ادا قوریم عینه ایتیم ایل قطعه لرم و دانش
 یازدینم قطعه لرم نسا ایدم پانجه عطف نظم المسم کورده کی حسن هر
 بواجیه لطف و لغم بارشده لغز ایلم
 ملتبی اولدی کیم افرانجه ضعیف سید کا
 امری الصیه بن عصر بر شا عرابی
 بو سف آر و یایه ایدی قران اول بیجا

⁵ "When the mentioned Zafernâma, Tahmisi and prose comment came into the possession of Fadil-pasha, he himself wrote the rebuttal and denial I hereby recorded". See: Kadi-zade (Kadić) Muhamed Enveri, *Tarih-i Enveri*, XXVI, p. 105.

بی کربیب زانچه غد را به عداوت آید که نبرد من کندی فتنی یازدم او شسته ای
 کینه ای بر من افشالی نه یابید بیلورن آید من بجای کبی ظلمتی اجرا غار
 فعل مقبولی جز آنجیره کیویع بولند بیلور اعدا و ادانی آتی احسا بار
 می آتانه عورته بکثره غنیمت طاعتن مستند اولدی او حسرتی غمزه
 نام زبیر ایلی بن کثره قیام المومین خیمه ایستون اودنی لیم مست عیش
 او عهود نماضی سهرت ایله دروغ سوره لیم نام ایستورده خیمه شال سحر
 ایلمه سرتت ایله سهرم قضایه تقلید کینه لکجونی عز و ابتدی نفسی ماهر
 تبخنی کندی که به رشخ ایسام ایتمی بیت ستردی مصد لیم او قیام
 دیو وده مادی رحمنه اولوبدیرید ائده اولده متولد اولد اربین ماکر
 صفت و طوریه لکجونی بکثره طوکوزن بو عصر در اربینله دخی شلی نام
 عا - و ناموس و حیا جوهری بود ذاشته سحر نایابی کبی طبیعتی غیره
 لیم لکجول روید او قور و رشخ کویط از بیت ایچ وید اناسی سوری لکجول
 ایده لیم کاندی افشا که سله خلوه خیمه مالک سولمک بو نظمی لیم او فتنه شمر
 کینه در کوردم آنده کورینا کدب وین بیلور احوالی اولدی اربله لکجول

بعضیلر هجرت ایله در هر مینه کرم اودنی ملکت علیله اولدی هجرت
 قنقن ملکت ایله هجرتیم اولورسه اوشقی اولور آئیده او مذکوب بولنه اولور
 قولوغی لیم ویرد اول صوبه کرمه اشق طولوسور لاغر و آج ادر این بر جانی
 اونی بر بیلد چه خدمت ایستیم سیره در اولسه طره آنورکین و اورینده منم
 بکر مطبونه ایله خادیم بو قصیده یازدی مال مسرود و کل اولدی کولکده صادر
 انا یتمه من عجب حالکن ایستیم ایضاح کماذب ونا سیرینه ایستیم جویم صفا
 نظام می ایستیم ملکت آتیه یا ختم آتی انا یتمه من بور دیم من اول و اخر
 نوره من شایسته لوبله اولوبدیر ایستیم بن سیریف ابن سیریف سیریف
 عمری اولدی لیم اوله صفت و کربیبیم حین و لکنه اولدی لکجول سوره

ایستورده هجرت ایله انقاس حیانت الحالی
 ایلدم بحق دعا ایده قبول اول قار

قاریخی برای صدارت عظمیٰ د نعتہ خاصہ عالمی پاشا
 بو عجلت ایردی یوم سادسی اشین ایلم برید
 بند ویردی مقام صدره و نوبه اسبوحه اصالی
 آتیلدی فائزله اقبالی یازدی بیت غلامیم
 ایلی تاریمی قامی بوزدی حاکم اولدی آتالی
 بشخیر کره عالمی صدری آتدی آتشف عالی ۱۹۸۳
 بشخیر کره کلمه صدره مجله آتشف نالی ۱۹۸۳
 رسدی پاشا نعت صدره تی عصفه تاریمی:
 بیت صدره کسین آتدی اولدی زینله اولدی
 مقام نریبه وزیر ویردی کلمه ایتمه نر انکار
 کلامه بر بنده سی فائزله ایلم برید
 ۱۹۸۳ صدارت صدری آتدی تاریمی پاشا برید نکره
 دیکه:
 سه عالمی پاشا کلمه اولدی الر عام صدری پاشا
 جلالی عصفه ایتمه جهاه صدره بوزدی تاریمی
 یازدی بر جاکری تاریمی مهملی فائزله ویردی
 مرمه ایلم برید صدری عصفه تاریمی پاشا برید نکره
 ۱۹۸۳

(Rebuttal II)

(Fāilātūn fe'ülūn fāilātūn fe'ülūn)

- 1 Bir köpek dişli teres hāin-i din ü millet
Devletin nān ü ni'am azgüyendir ol kāfir.
- 2 Eylemiş namıma isnād ile hicvi imlā
"Tir-i kudret" le anı recm ede rabb-ı kāhir.
- 3 Devletin şanile nam-ı vukelāya dokunur
Ebedi hicv ü hezel olmadı benden sadir.
- 4 Haric-i tavr-i edeb nazm ü nesir söylemedim
Bilir ehl-i dil ve danış şu'arā-yı sâ'ir.

- 5 Sadr-i 'Alî⁶ keremin bunca sene bendesiyim
Borcudur boynumun ihsânına olmak şâkir.
- 6 Ömür ve ikbâlımı ede hazret-i Mevlâmız dâd
Olmuşum leyl ü nehâr ed'iyesinde zâkir.
- 7 Kit-a-yı takdîmimi yazmış hüner yanında 'anîd
Etmiş olsaydım o nazmımla olurum fâhîr.
- 8 Hadd-i edebi bilir devletin edna kuluyum
'Arza etseydim emel kit'alarım var vâfir.
- 9 Yazdığım kit'aların nesr edeyim bak birini
Haklı nazım eylemişim gün gibi zâhir ü bâhir.
- 10 Bunca lütf ü ni'am padişaha mazhar iken
Mülteci oldu kim Efrenci Ziya bedkâr.
- 11 İmrüül-kaysa bedel 'asırda bir şa'ir idi
Bu sefer Avrupaya etti firar ol bî-'âr.
- 12 Bî sebep zatıma gadr ile 'adavet etti
Sırası geldi hiciv yazdım o şahsa dâir.
- 13 Gittiği yerde ehaliye ne yaptı biliriz
Etti Haccac gibi zulmunu icra gâdir.
- 14 Fi'li makbulu cihan içre şuyu' bulmuştur
Bilir a'la vü edani anı emr-i bâdir.
- 15 Pîç atan 'avrete benzer bağidir mel'anetin(i)
Şimdi oldu o cesaretli müzevvir hâsir.
- 16 Nâm-i diğêr ile ben neşre kıyâm eylemedim
Nice etmiş o deni kim müteşâ'ir şâ'ir.
- 17 O cühüd mahlasını şöhret ile derc etsin
Katm-i nâm eylesin kahpe misal-ı sâhîr.
- 18 Eylemiş sirkat ile "sehm-i kaza"-i taklid
Kimseye hicvini 'azv etmedi Nef'i mâhir.
- 19 Kubhunu kendisinin bed meniş iham etmiş
Beyt-i meşhûri musaddik kim o kıbtî zâhir.

⁶ Mehmed Emin Âli-pasha (1815-1871), was the Grand Vizier five times. Fadil-pasha praised several chronograms congratulating him the filling of the post.

- 20 Divden mader-i rahminde olupdur peydā
Andan oldu mütevellid o edepsiz mākir.
- 21 Sifat-i tavrı tulumbaciye benzer donuzun
Bu ‘asırdā aranılsa dahi misli nādir.
- 22 ‘Ar u namus u haya cevheri yok zatında
Şi‘r-i nāpāki gibi tineti gayr-i tāhir.
- 23 Kim hezl-i ruyu ile o kudurmuş köpeğin
Ezip içsin anası südü gibi ol fācir.
- 24 Edeyim kâzibi ifşa ki bile halk-i cihān
Bana söyletti bu nazmı kim o fitne sāhir.
- 25 Kimsede görmedim anda görünen kezb ü cübñ
Bilir ahvalini ol bi edebin her āmir.
- 26 Bazılar hicret ettiler Haremeyne gerçi
O deni milletin ‘aksine oldu hācir.
- 27 Kangi millet ile hembezm olursa o şeki
Olur ānide o mezheb yolunda ol ‘ābir.
- 28 Kulağı kim verir ol savb-i kerihē eşeğin
Dolaşır lağar ve aç arar iken bir çā’ir.
- 29 Anı bir besliyecek hizmet iştirim Şire’de
Olsa mellahı Enosis vaporunun sāğır.
- 30 Bıkr-i mazmun ile hāmem bu kaside yazdı
Mal-ı mesruk değil oldu gönülde sādır.
- 31 Ana yetmezmi ‘aceb halını ettim izah
Kāzib ve naşirine işte cevabım hāzır.
- 32 Hāmemi etti mülevves ateşe yaktım anı
Ana yatmezmi bu reddiyyemiz evvel ü āhir.
- 33 Göremem şanıma lāyık o köpekle itişim.
Ben şerif ibn şerifim nesebimde tāhir.
- 34 Ömrü oldukça ola san‘at ve kesb-i hünerān
Çin ve Hinde o nekes olsun anınla tācir.
- 35 Eylesin hicv ile enfas-ı hayatını ikmāl
Eyledim Hakka du‘a ede kabul ol kādir.

The translation:

1. Caddish traitor to the faith and people, with dog teeth,
Non-believer who speaks little of bread and this country's benevolence.
Having taken confidence in my name, he's written a satire,
2. May "The Arrow of Faith" of Lord the Victor strike him.
A satire that would harm the country and the name of the head,
3. Was never written by me.
I never wrote anything improper in a song or poem,
4. All honourable, learned people know, and other poets.
I've served the honourable Grand Vizier for so many years,
5. It is my duty to be grateful for benevolence.
Mighty Lord gives us life and happiness,
6. And I think of Him, day and night.
The poem "I wrote and suffered because of" artistically was written
defiantly,
7. I would be proud, if it were mine.
I'm a faithful servant to the Empire, he who knows the frames of moral,
8. Had I written the stanza, I would have given hope for this "poem of mine".
Look at any poem I've revealed,
9. What I've written, is true and obvious and clear as day.
The man who won such royal kindness and favour,
10. Hid in France, he, Ziya the evildoer.
He was the poet of his time as Imru al-Qays⁷,
11. But fled to Europe, the shameless man.
With no motive, he expressed his hostility to my person,
12. So the time has come, and I wrote a satirical poem in his regard.
We know what he did to the inhabitants of the place he went to,
13. He was as violent as Haġġaġ.⁸

⁷ Imru al-Qays, the greatest pre-Islamic poet, lived in V – VI century.

⁸ Yusuf Haġġaġ (661-714) was an Omayyadian Arabian governor and commander, born in Kufa. Served as a regional governor in Iraq and Hijaz. He was brutal, and due to his brutality served as an object of comparison with brutal and unjust rulers or governors.

- His heinous crimes became famous worldwide,
 14. The greatest and the lowest know about the thing that suddenly emerged.
- He spills his curse like a harlot,
 15. And now that courageous geek is finally unmasked.
- I never published anything in somebody else's name,
 16. Imagine the things that lowborn person pretending to be a poet did.
- He tries to make his pseudonym famous,
 17. Let the harlot not cover his name with the captivating model.
- His theft imitated "The Arrows of Faith",⁹
 18. Ingenious Nef'i¹⁰ never passed off his skilful satire to anyone.
- His wicked nature expressed his own monstrosity,
 19. Who would be the one to confirm the famous bayt of the scoundrel?
 It was clear that he was the devil himself even when he was in his
 mother's stomach,
 20. And because of that, the ruthless impostor was born.
- The character and behaviour of this hog resembles a ruffian,
 21. Should one seek one, one would find him difficulty.
- He knows no shame or pride,
 22. His nature itself is unclear too, as his poem is unclear.
- That funny-looking rabid dog,
 23. That reprobate disgraces himself, as he disgraces his mother's milk.
- Unmask the liar, so the whole world knows,
 24. Who this rotten misleader, who assigned this poem to me, is.
- In no people have I seen the lies and stupidity as I see in him,
 25. Everyone responsible knows this shameless person's situation.
- While some moved to Mecca and Medina,
 26. This ruffian moved to another part of the world.

⁹ An allusion to Nef'i's work *Sihâm-i Kaza* [The Arrows of Faith].

¹⁰ Nef'i, one of the greatest XVII century Turkish divan poets, Born in Hasankale in 1572?, died in Istanbul on the 27th of January 1635. At the time of Ahmed I (1603) he was employed as a notary, then was in charge of Murat's (II) endowment in Edrene, and then as a tax (*cizya*) collector. As a poet, he became famous for his two divans (poem collections), one in Turkish, another in Persian, and for his collection of satirical poems under the title of *Sihâm-i Kaza* (The Arrows of Faith), printed in 1943. The collection contains poems that treat satirically dignitaries and famous poets.

- Whoever this outlaw joins forces with,
 27. He would accept to follow his path.
- Whoever follows this arse's path,
 28. Will roam around hungry and thirsty looking for a grazing land.
- In Hermople,¹¹ I heard that he made a living,
 29. Working as a common sailor on the Greek boat Enosis.¹²
- My pen wrote this *qasida* purely and honestly,
 30. It is no stolen good, it came from my heart.
- My God, has he had enough, I explained his state to him,
 31. To the liar and his publisher, there, my reply is ready,
- I stained my pen, so I throw it to the fire,
 32. Is this denial, the first and last, enough to him?
- It is beneath my dignity to fight this dog,
 33. I am a nobleman, a son of a nobleman, with a pure origin.
- While he is alive, may he be skilful in art and profit,
 34. May that ruffian trade with it in China and India.
- May he end his life in satire,
 35. I beg that of God, for He is mighty.

FADIL-PAŠINA KASIDA KAO ODGOVOR
 NA ZIJA-PAŠINU ZAFER-NAMU

SAŽETAK

Najznačajniji bosanskohercegovački pjesnik na turskom jeziku u XIX stoljeću, Fadil-paša Šerifović (Šerif-zade, 1802-1882), iako pjesnik starog načina pjevanja, održavao je prisne veze i sa nekim modernim turskim pjesnicima. Fadil-pašini kontakti sa poznatim turskim tanzimatskim pjesnikom Zija-pašom (1825-1880) intenzivirani su dolaskom Zija-paše u Bosnu u svojstvu mufettiša (kontrolora zemaljske uprave). Tom prilikom je Fadil-paša spjevao kasidu pohvalnicu ovom turskom funkcioneru i pjesniku koja je uvrštena u rukopisni *Divan* Fadil-paše Šerifovića (Orijentalni institut, Rukopisni fond br. 4520 i Gazi Husrevbegova biblioteka R-92 i R-93). Nedavno je ova kasida-pohvalnica i izdana u knjizi M. Kaya Bilgegil: *Ziyā-paşa üzerinde bir araştırma*, Ankara, 1979.

¹¹ Turkish name for this Greek island is Shire.

¹² The word "enosis", by our reading manner, is written *أنوسيس*, and marks the name of a Greek ship Enosis, meaning uniting. This bayt (29) leads us to conclusion that Fadil-pasha either had some evidences or at least hints that Ziya-pasha collaborated with the Greeks.

U ovom radu po prvi put se izdaje jedna druga pjesma Fadil-paše Šerifovića, za koju se nije znalo ni u okviru bosanskohercegovačke kulturne baštine na turskom jeziku, a niti u okviru historije turske književnosti. Pjesma je satiričkog sadržaja i sadrži oštru osudu Zija-paše koji je svoju čuvenu *Zafernamu*, upućenu kao kritiku velikom veziru Mehmed Emin Ali-paši (1815-1871) potpisao imenom *Fadil-paša Bosnevi Mevlelvi mutesarraf-i İzmit*. Teško je naći u turskoj književnosti uopće, a još manje u književnosti na turskom jeziku u Bosni pjesmu koja na ovako oštar način kritizira neku ličnost, pojavu ili društvena kretanja.

Po načinu pisanja ova pjesma izlazi iz okvira divanske poezije pa je njen autor, Fadil-paša, koji je naručio prepisivanje svog *Divana* kod sarajevskog kaligrafa Muhameda Ševki Imamovića izostavio iz *Divana*. Pjesmu smo pronašli u opsežnom historijskom djelu Sarajlije Muhameda Enveri Kadića *Tarih-i Enveri*, sv. XXVI, str. 105.

FADIL-PASHA'S QASIDA
AS AN ANSWER TO ZIYA-PASHA'S ZAFERNAMA

SUMMARY

The most important XIX century Bosnian-Herzegovinian poet in the Turkish language, Fadil-pasha Šerifović (Şerif-zade, 1802-1880), though an old school poet, kept close relations to some modern Turkish poets. Fadil-pasha's contacts with Ziya-pasha (1825-1880) were intensified with Ziya-pasha's arrival to Bosnia in the capacity of a *müfettiş* (controller). On that occasion Fadil-pasha praised a commendation qasida to this Turkish official and poet, which is included into the hand-written *Divan* by Fadil-pasha Šerifović (the handwritings' fund to the Oriental Institute nb.4520 and Gazi Husrev-bey's Library R-92 and R-93). Recently, this qasida -commendation was included into the book by M. Kaya Bilgegil: *Ziyā-paşa üzerinde bir araştırma*, Ankara, 1979.

For the first time, this work includes a new poem by Fadil-pasha Šerifović, known neither within the scope of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian cultural heritage in the Turkish language, nor within the scope of the Turkish literature history. The poem is a satire and contains a harsh disapproval of Ziya-pasha, who signed his famous *Zafernama*, sent as a critique to Grand Vizier Mehmed Emin Ali-pasha (1815-1871), with the name *Fadil-pasha Bosnevi Mevlelvi mutesarraf-i İzmit*. It is difficult to find, in Turkish literature alone, not to mention in Bosnian literature in Turkish, a poem with such a harsh critique of a person, occurrence or social movement.

By the manner of writing, this poem leaves the scope of the divan poetry, so its author, Fadil-pasha, who ordered copying of his *Divan* from the Sarajevo calligrapher Muhamed Ševki Imamović, excluded it from *Divan*. We found the poem in the ample historical work *Tarih-i Enveri* by Muhamed Enveri Kadić, v. XXVI, p.105.