XXII.

**FURTHER NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF THE
HURUFIS AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE
BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES.**

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NINE years ago, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 61-94, I published an article entitled *Some Notes on the Literature and Doctrines of the Hurúfî Sect*. The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Jávidán-i-Kabîr* (Ee. 1. 27) in the Cambridge University Library, and two manuscripts (*Anciens Fonds Persan*, 24, and *Supplément Persan*, 107) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, of which the former contained (1) the *Istiwá-náma* of the Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynî, of Astarábád, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawî* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán-i-Kabîr*; while the latter contained another Hurúfî treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Maḥabbat-náma*. Thanks to information contributed by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, I was also able to prove that the sect, which appears not to have taken root in Persia, the land of its birth, spread into Turkey, where it caused some commotion at several different periods, and suffered several fierce persecutions, amongst the victims of which (in A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417-18) was the bilingual poet Nesímî, whose *Dívân* is not uncommon in manuscript, and was printed at the *Akhtar* Press in Constantinople in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881). I was not, however, aware at that time how considerable was the extent of the Hurúfî literature still extant, nor did I know that the Hurúfî doctrines are still

professed and taught amongst the members of the Bektáshí Order of Dervishes.

The connection of the Hurúfís with the Bektáshís first became known to me in the following manner. About three years after the publication of the article to which I have referred above, a certain dealer in Oriental manuscripts in London, a native of Baghdad, from whom I had already purchased a considerable number of MSS., invited me to furnish him with a list of my desiderata, in order that he might submit the same to his correspondents in the East. I did so, and mentioned in my list the *Jávidán-náma* or any other Hurúfí books. Shortly afterwards (in Feb.-March, 1901) he forwarded to me a parcel of manuscripts in which was included a copy of this work (now in the British Museum, marked Or. 5,957) besides some other books of the sect in question. The prices set on these MSS. were high, but some half-dozen were secured by the Cambridge University Library, while another half-dozen were purchased by the British Museum, and now bear the class-marks Or. 5,957-Or. 5,961.

The comparatively high prices realised by these MSS. seem to have stimulated the search for other similar ones, and gradually, as the supply not only continued but increased, it became clear that these Hurúfí books existed in considerable quantities, and were still widely read and copied in the East, especially in Turkey. Prices consequently fell rapidly, and latterly few of these MSS. have fetched more than £2 or £3 in the limited market where the demand for them existed. Nor was it long before we discovered that it was from the Bektáshí dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Hurúfí doctrines flourish at the present day.

With this dervish order all who have visited Constantinople or other parts of the Turkish Empire with open eyes are familiar. Towards Christians, and even Christian missionaries, they commonly show an unusual friendliness, but amongst the Muhammadans they are regarded with

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevís, Rufá'ís, Qádirís, and other dervish orders. The reason of their ill repute I had hitherto been unable to ascertain: it was generally asserted that they shared the Shí'ite views of the Persians, but this did not explain why they were more disliked by the orthodox Sunní Turks than were the heterodox Persians with whom they were supposed to be in sympathy. Moreover, Hájji Bektásh, the founder of the order, though of Persian origin, enjoyed high favour with the Ottoman Sultan in his day, lived and died in the odour of sanctity, and is chiefly known in history as having conferred his blessing on the Janissary corps when it was first formed; a blessing in memory of which the Janissaries wore on their head-dresses a white band, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint as it rested in blessing on the head of their leader. Hájji Bektásh is said by Mu'allim Nájí (*Asámi*, p. 106) to have died in A.H. 738 (= A.D. 1337-8), which date, curiously enough, coincides with the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing the word *Bektáshiyya* (بكتاشیه) by which the order which he founded is known. Faḍlu'lláh the Hūrúfí was born two years later, in A.H. 740.

The matter is explained and the connection further established in the only printed book included amongst 46 Hūrúfí works acquired by the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and myself since 1901. This book, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5), is entitled *Káshifu'l-Asrār u Dáfi'u'l-Ashrār* ("The Revealer of Mysteries and the Refuter of Reprobates"), and was composed by one of the orthodox 'Ulamá named Isháq Efendi in denunciation of the Bektáshís. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Hūrúfí work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled '*Ishq-náma* ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Dín Firishta-záda. Of this book the Bektáshís had three years previously (in A.H. 1288 = A.D. 1871-2) ventured to publish a lithographed edition, of which also I possess a copy. In the preface of his refutation Isháq Efendi speaks (p. 2) as follows :—

“Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshís are the chief offenders, and that although it is obvious both from their words and deeds that they are not of the Muslims, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they made this fact patent to all. The books which these persons call *Jávidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Fadlu’lláh the Hurúfí, while the other five are the works of his *Khalífas* (Vicars). And since in these five books their heresies and blasphemies are very evident, they are wont to teach and study them secretly amongst themselves; but as Firishta-záda in his *Jávidán*, entitled ‘*Ishq-náma*’ (“The Book of Love”), did in some measure conceal his blasphemies, and since in the above-mentioned year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) they [i.e. the Bektáshís] made so bold as to print and circulate this work, it has unquestionably become a matter of urgent necessity that a treatise should be written to make known to the faithful their true character, and the blasphemous nature of the doctrines contained in their books. Therefore, relying on God, I have ventured to write such a treatise, comprising three chapters, as follows:—

“Chapter i:—Setting forth the origin of Fadl[u’lláh] the Hurúfí, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshís.

“Chapter ii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda’s *Jávidán*.

“Chapter iii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Jávidáns*.”

The author next speaks briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarámiṭa*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibáhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Hurúfís. Thence he passes to Fadlu’lláh, “who,” says he, “secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Khalífas* or Vicars.” “After a while,” he continues further on, “the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Tímúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlane]

caused Fadl the Hurúfí to be put to death, after which he tied a rope to his legs, dragged him publicly through the streets and *bázárs*, and removed his foul existence from this nether world."

After the death of the founder of the Hurúfí sect, according to Isháq Efendi, "his *Khalífas*, or Vicars, agreed to disperse themselves through the lands of the Muslims," and he who bore the title of *al-'Alí al-A'lá* ("the High, the Supreme") came to the monastery of Hájji Bektásh in Anatolia, and there lived in seclusion, teaching the *Jávidán* to the inmates of the monastery, and assuring them that it represented the teaching of Hájji Bektásh the Saint (*walí*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Isháq Efendi, "being ignorant and foolish, accepted the *Jávidán*, notwithstanding that its obvious purport was the denial of all divine obligations and the pandering to the lusts of the flesh; named it 'the Secret'; and enjoined the utmost secrecy concerning it, to such a degree that if anyone enters their order and afterwards reveals 'the Secret' they consider his life forfeit. By this their so-called 'Secret' is meant certain blasphemous passages in the *Jávidán*, hinted at and alluded to by detached letters like *alif* (ا), *waw* (و), *jím* (ج), and *zayn* (ز), for the understanding of which symbols they have composed a tract entitled *Miftáhu'l-Hayát* ('The Key of Life'). This they name 'the Secret'; and should one possess it, he understands the *Jávidán*, which without it is incomprehensible. They were thus careful to conceal their secret for fear lest the doctors of religion should obtain some inkling of its nature, and should suppress it; and thus, since A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8), have they succeeded in secretly seducing many.

"But in A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5), during the reign of his late Majesty Sultán Maḥmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose abode is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*úlú*), who sold false miracles to the ignorant, to be put to death, their monasteries to be levelled with the ground, and their lands and part of their allowances to be made over to the

Naqsh-bandí order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the guise of shaykhs and dervishes of the Sa'dí, some of the Rufá'í, some of the Qádirí, and some of the Naqshbandí orders, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach their blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), they fully disclosed their false doctrines, to such a degree that Firishta-záda dared to print and publish amongst the Muslims his *Jávidán*."

The author next enumerates their chief heresies and the wiles whereby they seek to mislead simple-minded Muslims. He says that they believe in the divinity of Fadlu'lláh, and regard the Deity as a power which manifested itself through Moses, Jesus, and all the great Prophets, and revealed the Scriptures which they brought, though it did not reveal their true allegorical meaning until it appeared in person as Fadlu'lláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábád in Persia, bringing the *Jávidán*, which contained the true explanation of all the revealed books which had preceded it. This being their actual belief, they pretend to be Shí'ites and devoted admirers of the Prophetic Household, declaring love of the Prophet's family to be the root of the matter, and the sins of him who loves 'Alí to be venial. Thus they accustom their neophytes to neglect prayer and fasting and to indulge in forbidden practices, like the drinking of wine, and only "when they are well assured of their infidelity," to quote our author's words, "do they teach them that blasphemous heresy which they call 'the Secret,' since in fact there is in the *Jávidáns* no mention of the name of anyone connected with the Holy Family; only, in order to attract the Shí'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Fadl the Hurúfí."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule or custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He who girds himself with one of these girdles takes the Prophet represented by that girdle as his special patron, and professes to observe his law, but in fact only observes some one point

which he regards as typical of that Prophet. They also believe in the three Persons of the Christian Trinity, and credit their own *bábás* or elders with miraculous powers, but the neophytes of the order are ignorant of these things, and merely believe themselves to be Shí'ites.

I should like, did space permit, to quote at greater length from this interesting book, but I have, I think, said enough to prove beyond all doubt the intimate connection which exists between the *Hurúfís* and the *Bektáshís*. It is curious that the sect seems to have disappeared from Persia, the land of its birth, while in Turkey its main stronghold is, as I am informed by Mr. Andrew Ryan, British Vice-Consul at Constantinople, in Albania. Hence, while the older *Hurúfí* literature is chiefly in Persian, the later literature is almost entirely in Turkish. In Arabic there appears to be but little, save a version (apparently abridged) of *Firishta-záda's 'Ishq-náma*, of which a manuscript (labelled كتاب الفضل الإلهي) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the *Hurúfís* I have not space to speak at length here; I have discussed them in outline in my article in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, pp. 69-89, and an admirable sketch of these is given by the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in vol. i of his *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 338-342, 353-355, 373 *et seqq.* Nor are the materials required for a full elucidation of these doctrines at present sufficiently accessible, though in a short time M. Clément Huart will publish in the Gibb Memorial Series a volume of Persian *Hurúfí* texts with French translations, to which I hope to add a short Introduction or Appendix. Amongst the texts which M. Huart proposes to publish are the *Hidáyat-náma*, the *Mahram-náma*, the *Niháyat-náma*, and other treatises, as well as a list of the abbreviations used by the *Hurúfís*, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Jávidán-i-Kabir* and other *Hurúfí* writings.

I regret that at present I have been unable to find any reference to the execution of Faḍlu'lláh, or the causes which led to it, in any of the chronicles of the reign of Tímúr-i-Lang,

in which it occurred. Nor are the chief dates given altogether satisfactory, for while A.H. 804 (= A.D. 1401-2) is mentioned by Ibn Hajar as the date of Faḍlu'lláh's death, and, more generally, A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) by Ishāq Efendi as the date when the Hurúfí doctrines began to be promulgated, we find on the fly-leaf of one of the Hurúfí MSS. in the British Museum (Or. 6,381), dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), the following series of dates :—

- (1) Birth of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 740 (= A.D. 1339-40).
- (2) Manifestation, or disclosure, of knowledge, A.H. 788 (= A.D. 1386-7).
- (3) Martyrdom of Faḍlu'lláh, A.H. 796 (= A.D. 1393-4).
- (4) Age of Faḍlu'lláh at the time of his death, 56 years.
- (5) Death of his *Khalífa*, or Vicar, entitled *Hadrat-i-'Alíyyi A'lá*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dajjál*), who is "Márán-sháh" (i.e. Tímúr's son, Miránsháh, whose name the Hurúfis have thus changed to make it mean "the Serpent-King"), A.H. 803 (= A.D. 1400-1).

Lastly, the following verse, inscribed by the side of the above dates, would seem to imply that Faḍlu'lláh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in A.H. 775 (= 1373-4):—

از ذال گذشته عین و هی چون ' از کعبه قدم نهاد بیرون

"*Ayn* (ع = 70) and *Há* (ه = 5) had passed from *Dhál* (ذ = 700) when he [i.e. Faḍlu'lláh] set his foot outside the Ka'ba."

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from quoting a very curious and interesting document which I found on f. 24 of the British Museum MS. Or. 6,380, and which appears to be, having regard both to the superscription and the contents, the last testament of Faḍlu'lláh, written on a piece of paper and placed by him between the leaves of the *Mahabbat-náma-i-Iláhi*. This document runs as follows:—

وصیت نامه

سواد خط مبارک ح ق ح ع [یعنی حضرت فضل جل شأنه]
بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبت نامه الهی بود قطع
یکت دل از شوق سخنها دارم قاصدی نیست که در پیش تو
تقریر کند، خدا بر حال این فقیر گواه است که بغیر از تفرقه اطفال
و مفارقت اصحاب هیچ نگرانی نمانده است، مسئله چند که
نگران بود تسلیم آن عزیز و عزیزان کرده است، اگر حق تعالی
بجمیع نیک خواسته باشد برسد باقی تا چه خواهد کرد، یا رب
یا رب شبهای من

در همه عمرم مرا یکت دوست در شروان نبود (f. 24b)
دوست کی باشد کجا ای کاش بودی آشنا
من حسین وقت و نا اهلان یزید و شمر من
روزگارم جمله عاشورا و شروان کربلا

بر آن عزیزان پوشیده نیست که این فقیر را از جهت دین نگرانی
نمانده است سلام و دعای ما درین آخر باصحاب و یاران و دوستان
برسانند و نوع سازند که این قاعده‌ها و این ابیات و این حقایق
بایشان برسد، روز چند بگوشه نا شناخت فرو کش کنند و آنرا
ضبط بکنند و این آئین نو است، آن فرزندان و ماندگان و آزادگان را
از ما به پرسند والسلام

TRANSLATION.

"TESTAMENT.

("Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. H. [= HADRAT-I-FADLU'LLAH, JALLA SHA'NUHU]¹ written on a fragment of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Maḥabbat-nāma*.)

"I have a whole heart [filled] with eagerness for speech, but there is no messenger to declare to thee [what I would say]. God is witness of the condition of this poor unfortunate that, save parting from [his] children and separation from [his] friends, no expectation is left. [The settlement of] sundry matters which were pending he leaves to that dear friend and other dear friends. If God Almighty desires good for all, it will come: for the rest [we must wait and see] what He will do. O Lord, O Lord of my nights!

In the town of Shirwán all my life not a single friend was mine:

Who and where is a friend? Alas! not e'en an acquaintance I saw!

The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shimir and Yazid,

My life is a day of mourning, and Shirwán my Kerbelá.

It is not hidden from those dear friends that no expectation remains to this poor unfortunate in the matter of religion. Convey my salutations and prayers at this last moment to my companions and friends and dear ones, and act in such manner that these rules [of conduct], verses and truths, may reach them. Let them be laid away for a few days in some secret corner, and let them be well kept. This is the New Ordinance. Let my son enquire on our part after those who are left and the noble ones. Farewell."

¹ The use of the expression *jalla sha'nuhu*, 'glorious in His state,' after the name of a man, is, of course, rank blasphemy in the eyes of the orthodox, but the Hurúfis, who regard Fadlu'lláh as an Incarnation of the Deity, habitually place it after his name, generally in the abbreviated form here employed.

This letter, obscure as it is in certain passages, has nevertheless a human and personal note rarely to be found in the misty utterances of the Hurúfís. To us it seems strange that in Asia men should have been, nay, and still are, so ready to die for subtleties so intangible and ideas so bizarre as those which constitute the doctrines of the Hurúfís and other similar sects, and we are apt to think that some great ethical or eschatological idea must underlie them. But this, in my opinion, is an error; in Asia, especially in Persia, men lay down their lives for a new Avatar and a number fraught with mystical significance, like the numbers 7, 12, 14, or 19, rather than for some social or ethical ideal. In the West religion is chiefly concerned with conduct, but in the East with knowledge.

I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

(1) OR. 5,957 (*Persian and dialect of Astarábád*).

The *Jávidán-i-Kabir* of Fadlu'lláh the Hurúfí (ff. 4^b-481^a), followed by another tract (ff. 481^b-483^b), and (f. 484^b) a short poem explaining why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jávidán-i-Kabir*. At the end of the volume (ff. 485^a-490^a) is a vocabulary of the dialect words used in the *Jávidán*, containing the explanation of some 770 words, and entitled لغت استرآبادی ("Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect"). Ff. 490 of 22·5 × 12·4 c. Transcribed by the Mu'adhdhin (Mu'ezzin) Darwísh 'Ysá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khwája of ارگری کسری in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

(2) OR. 5,957* (*Persian*).

Miftáh-i-Hurúf-i-Jávidán, a key to the abbreviations and signs employed in the *Jávidán*, of which some 150 are explained. Ff. 3 (ff. 1^b-3^b written on). Acquired with the above MS., within the covers of which it was originally placed.

(3) OR. 5,958 (*Persian*).

A tract with no proper title, described as رسالة فضل حروفی, apparently by Faḍlu'llāh, beginning:—

ذات نطق که وجود سی کلمه حضرت فضل حق است ج ۳
مجموع موجود است الخ

Transcribed by Darwīsh Ḥusayn Aḥmad in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742-3).

(4) OR. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ādam-nāma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'liq* hand, by Darwīsh 'Alí-qulí, in Rabí' ii, A.H. 987 (= June, A.D. 1579), and purchased by the Museum 30, iii, 1901. Ff. 289 of 25·3 × 17 c. and 16 lines; rubrications.

(5) OR. 5,960 (*Turkish*).

The *'Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-záda ('Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta 'Izzu'd-Dín), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1^b-2^a), and beginning:—

فی حقیقة امیر المؤمنین علی کرم الله وجهه ' و قد اختصر
الأبواب على الاثنين والثلاثين بعدد اثنا وثلثين كلمة تامة الهيئة أزلية
و ابدية و علم آدم الاسماء كلها '

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429-30). This copy was completed on Ramaḍán 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 23·7 × 15·9 c. and 25 lines.

(6) OR. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five Ḥurúfí works, dated A.H. 1274 (= A.D. 1857-8), and comprising ff. 117 of 16·2 × 10·5 c. It was bought 30, iii, 1901, and contains:—

- (1) *Risála-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayán* (on the "Point of Explanation"), ff. 1-33, beginning:—

قوله تعالى سُرِّبِهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ
أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ، اِی طَالِب بیل و آگاه اول که . . . الخ

- (2) *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 34^b-57^a), beginning:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ، 'أما بعد'، بو فقیر عبد المجید بن فرشته
عز الدین . . . آخرت نامه بو کتابی تحریر ایلدی

- (3) Commentary on a *qasída* by Abdál Bábá (ff. 58^b-81^b), beginning:—

بالقوة ایدم اولاً سودم که آشکار اولام
'تا بن دخی آدم گبی بر دم جهان بابا اولام'

- (4) Tract by Mithálí (ff. 82^b-86^b), beginning:—

ق بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين، 'حضرت ق خدا
ذات بی همتا عرشنامه الهی و تأویل کلام نامتناهی سنده که جواهر
دُر مکنون و علم لندن'

اول سبع المثانی اى حکیم، 'هست بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم'
دیوب مناسبته بو بیتى نظم بیور مشلردر بن حقیر و فقیر پُرگُنا
بندۀ کمترین فضل اله اعنى مثالی خاکپای اهل الله . . . الخ

- (5) A Turkish poem in 32 *maqálas* and a *tatimma*, beginning:—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، 'آدم و حوّا در ای دیو رجیم'
یعنی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، 'ق حق سلطان هر دو عالمی'

In this doctrinal poem, which fills the remainder of the MS., the doctrines of the Hurúfís are pretty clearly set forth.

(7) OR. 6,290 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A fine old copy of the *Diwán of Nesimi*, transcribed in Ramadán, A.H. 974 (= March–April, A.D. 1567), by Darwîsh Mustafá Ná-Murád, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 17 of 19·8 × 12·2 c., written in a good *ta'liq* and entitled:—

غزلیات نسیمی البغدادی [الملقب بعماد الدین] من اصحاب
فصل فیتاض الحروفی المقتول بسیف الشرع فی حدّ سنّه ٩٧٤ هـ
فی كشف الظنون

(8) OR. 6,293 (*Persian*).

The '*Arsh-nāma*, a *mathnawī* poem of about 1,120 *bayts*, transcribed in Muḥarram, A.H. 1274 (= Aug.–Sept., A.D. 1857), and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Begins:—

بئی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ' آدم خاکست ای دیو رجیم '
آدم خاکی که جان عالمست ' پیمیش ذات حق وی اسم اعظمست '

(9) OR. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwán of 'Arshī Dedé*, transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmūd Bábá, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of 23 × 14·2 c. and 19 lines. Begins:—

بای بسم الله ایله قرآنه ایتدم ابتدا '
قاف ویا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا '

The copyist further describes himself as:—

ساکن بدرگاه شهید بکت قرب رومیلی حصاری حافظ احمد
الشعدا '

(10) OR. 6,295 (*Turk.-Pers.*).

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Ṣaláḥī (or Ṣalāḥu'd-Dín), transcribed at Sofia

in Jumáda ii, A.H. 1238 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1823), purchased 6, xii, 1901, and containing:—

نطق شریف حضرت مصری شرح صلاحی عبد الله افندی (1)
قدس سرهما

This fills ff. 1-32, and begins:—

ایکی قاشک آرسنده چکدی خط استوا
علم الاسمايی تعلیم ایتدی اول خطدن خدا

Ends on f. 32^a thus:—

بر زمان مصری لسانندن بو نطقى نظم ایدن
شمدی رمزینی صلاحیدن ینه شرح ایلدی

The copyist's name is given as Aḥmad Fá'iz, and the date of transcription as A.H. 1231 (= A.D. 1816).

(2) A prose tract in Turkish (ff. 33-36), without title.

(3) A Turkish tract (ff. 37-46) in mixed prose and verse.

(4) On f. 47^a. The figure of the Hurúfí man, entitled:—

نصحه کبرا [نسخه کبری for] در بو

(5) Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Ṣalāhí Efendi's commentary (composed in A.H. 1175 = A.D. 1761-2: see f. 83) on a Persian *ghazal* of 11 *bayts* with the *radīf* یافتم by Mawláná Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi (ff. 48^b-83^a), beginning:—

پیر طریقت سلطان مولانای رومی حضرتلر ینگ اون بر بیت یافتم
غزلنی شیخ عبد الله صلاحی افندی شرح ایتمشدر قدس سرهما العزیز

دوش وقت صبحدم در چرخ پایان یافتم
در میان دانه خشخاش سندان یافتم

یکت گلاهی داشتم از لبکبو گم شد زمن
در میان دفتر ملا سلیمان یافتم

Shaykh Saláhu'd-Dín is described as belonging to the Khalwatí order of dervishes (من الخلوتية الكاملية).

- (6) A Persian tract (ff. 84^b–103^a) by the above-mentioned Saláhi Efendi on the “Companions of [the Battle of] Badr,” entitled:—

رساله فارسی صلاحی افندی در اصحاب بدر

Begins:—

بنظم این رساله یا الهی ‘ مرا بنما طریقِ راست راهی ‘

(11) OR. 6,379 (*Persian*).

The *Kursí-náma*, a Persian *matnawí* poem of about 4,349 *bayts*, beginning:—

ابتدارا بهترین نام خدا ‘ بود فضلش کردم از وی ابتدا ‘
فَ اللَّهُ آن خداوند کریم ‘ هادی خُلد از صراطِ مستقیم ‘

Ff. 199 of 14 × 9·5 c. Transcription completed at the end of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1025 (= Jan. 8, A.D. 1617). Purchased 13, v, 1902.

(12) OR. 6,380 (*Persian*).

A collection of Hurúfí tracts, including the *Wasiyyat-náma*, the *Tahqiq-náma*, the *Bashárat-náma*, and the *Hidáyat-náma*, transcribed (f. 23^b) in A.H. 1004 (= A.D. 1595–6), and purchased 13, v, 1902. Ff. 103 of 17·6 × 12 c. Contents:

- (1) The *Wasiyyat-náma* (ff. 2^b–23^b). The title occurs on f. 4^a in the following passage:—

خواست که رساله بر سبیل اختصار باسم وصیت نامه و یادگار
از جمعی درویشان صادق و طالبان محقق همدمان محرم و
محرمان همدم موسوم بوصیت نامه کتابت کند ‘

This tract is divided into sections (فصول), each beginning بدن ای درویش. Colophon on f. 23^b,

giving date of completion as the beginning of Muḥarram, A.H. 1004 (= Sept., A.D. 1595), and name of copyist as Walī.

- (2) On f. 24^a is a short prose passage (8 lines) on what happens to the soul after the destruction of the body, followed by the testament (*Wasīyyat-nāma*) of Faḍlu'llāh, of which the text and translation are given on pp. 541-2 *supra*.
- (3) F. 25^a. Two versified lists of the Twelve Imāms, of 3 and 9 *bayts* respectively, by Jalālī Bey and Sayyid Nesīmī.
- (4) Ff. 25-28. A *qaṣīda* of about 125 *bayts*, beginning:—

بفضل بای بسم الله سخن گوئیم که در صبرا (؟)

که بی هر دو جهان بُود و بُود همچون الف یکتا

On f. 29^b is another colophon, giving the date Muḥarram, A.H. 999 (= Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1590). This is followed by a poem of 17 *bayts* rhyming in ق, and by a few remarks on prayer, etc.

- (5) The *Bashārat-nāma-i-Ilāhī* (ff. 30^a-62^b), a *mathnawī* poem of about 1,089 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khalīfas*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'llāh named Abu'l-Ḥasan, and beginning:—

دوش در هبگام صبح اولین ، با حریف خویش بودم قرین

- (6) Ff. 62^b-64^b. A short prose tract, beginning:—

چند کلمه در باب موازین عبارات املا کرده می شود . . . الخ

- (7) The *Hidāyat-nāma* (ff. 64^b-103^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا . . . الخ ، بدان ای طالب

عاشق صادق و قنک الله تعالى فى طلب المعانى و الكمالات که

جميع سالکان . . . الخ

The '*Arsh-nāma* is cited on ff. 82^b and 92^b, and the *Jāvidān-nāma* on f. 95^a. Faḍlu'llāh is spoken of as "His Holiness the Master of the Interpretation" (حضرت صاحب تأویل).

There is a final colophon on f. 103^b giving the date of transcription of the *Hidāyat-nāma* as Sha'bān, A.H. 1003 (= April–May, A.D. 1595), followed by 3 *bayts* from the *Mahshar-nāma-i-Ilāhi* of Ḥaḍrat-i-'Aliyyi A'lā, one of the *Khalīfas* of Faḍlu'llāh.

(13) OR. 6,381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Ḥurufī tract by Mīr Fāḍilī (ff. 4^b–101^a), beginning:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بفضلہ نستعین ' قوله ج ی ج آ کلام
صاحب کمال کہ بیان فآ و همه اشیا هکرة . . . اکنون
بدانکہ این فقیر و حقیرا درین آیت با حرمت کہ وعده رؤیت را
ق تع اول بسی شب کردند '

The colophon (on f. 101^a) is dated A.H. 1163 (= A.D. 1750), and is followed (ff. 101^b *et seqq.*) by a commentary by Ḥamza Bey, and (ff. 108^a–113^a) by numerous verses from different sources. I have already referred (p. 540 *supra*) to the important series of dates given on f. 2^a of this MS. They are given in figures and also, in the following note, in words:—

ظهور و بروز ق خدا از هجرت حبیب خدام در هفت صد و
هشتاد و هشت شد '

و ولادت او در هفت صد و چهل واقع شد '

و شهادت او در هفت صد و نود و شش شد '

و مقتول شدن دجال کہ مارانشاه است علیہ اللعنة در سنه ۸۳۳

In a marginal note the last date is "corrected" to A.H. 703, which is an obvious error. Amongst the numerous other notes and verses scribbled on the blank pages of this MS. are the following :—

بهشتیدن بش نسنه طشره چیقدی اول آدم و حوّا و شیطان و
طاوس و مار، آدمدن مراد روحدر و حوّا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت
در و طاوس شهوتدر و مار غضب در (f. 1a)

بیت 'آب در چشمه خورشید نماند ای عیسی'
خون بدست آر که با خاک تیمم گُفرست (f. 2a)
رباعیات سید اسحق

سی سال ز بعده-رگ از ف خدا
ناگاه بگو شم آمد از غیب ندا
که مرده صد سال چه خفتی در خاک
بر خیز که هنگام حسابست و جزا (f. 2a)

II. IN MY OWN COLLECTION.

(14) A. 41.

One of five Hurúfí MSS. bought at the sale of the effects of a Bektáshí dervish in May, 1901. Ff. 205 of 15·5 × 10·5 c.
Contents :—

- (1) *Hikmatu'l-Asrâr* (ff. 1^b–6^a), a short tract in Turkish, consisting chiefly of quotations from the Qur'án and the Traditions, and beginning :—

اسلام دینشک بنیادی بش نسنه اوزره در آنخ

- (2) Two quotations of six verses each, apparently from the *Mathnawí* (f. 7^a).

- (3) The *Musajja'*, a short Persian treatise in rhymed prose, of Mawláná Ghiyáth (ff. 7^b–9^a), beginning:—

ای دل رهبر ره روره بر روح پرور مطلق انور ساز برابر سجع
سراسر مدحت حیدر الخ

- (4) A *qasida* of 162 *bayts* (ff. 9^a–15^b) by Kamál b. Ghiyáth, beginning:—

ای دل دانا زبان بکشا و یک دم با خود آ
اول دفتر مزین کن بتوحید خدا

This is followed (ff. 15^b–25^b) by other pieces of verse by Sa'di, 'Attār, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

- (5) The *Khutbatu'l-Bayán* (Turkish), of which the title and opening words run thus:—

هذا كتاب خطبة البيان امير المؤمنين حضرت شاه مردان كترم
الله وجهه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، حمد بی حد و ثنای بی عد . . .
الخ، اما بعد حمد و ثنا و الضلوة والسلام . . . الخ، اما بعد،
ای طالب راه حقیقت اگر بیلیمک دیلرسن که تحقیقاً کیمدر اول
شاه اولیا و وصی مصطفی اول ولی مجتبا اول سرور اصفیا . . . الخ

It comprises seventy *Kalimas*, or sayings of 'Alí b. Abí Talib, each of which is explained and illustrated, and fills ff. 26^b–181^a. The colophon is dated A.H. 983 (= A.D. 1575–6).

- (6) A short tract in Turkish entitled *Irshád-i-Kiswa* (ff. 181^b–183^a), beginning after the doxology:—

اما بعد، بر نچه كلمه تاج و كسوه بيان ادر، امام محمد باقر ع ر
بو رساليه ارشاد كسوه ديو آد وردی

- (7) Another tract in Turkish by Bába Qayghúsiz (ff. 183^a–185^b), beginning:—

ای عقل کامل بوسوزگ جوهرنه بر نظر ایله گورنه بیان ایلر

- (8) Another short tract in Turkish (ff. 185^b–186^a) on 23 things which man must avoid.
- (9) Another short Turkish tract (f. 186^a) on the tradition “He who knows himself hath known his Lord.”
- (10) A Persian tract by Zaynu’d-Dín al-Khwáfí on Šúfí ethics (آداب الصوفیّه), in 19 chapters (ff. 186^b–189^b).
- (11) Another Persian tract (ff. 189^b–192^a) on the dispute between Knowledge (علم), Understanding (عقل), Prosperity (دولت), and Health (عافیت).
- (12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-náma-i-Núshírwán*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmíhr for his sovereign (ff. 192^b–196^a).
- (13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197^b–198^b) by a disciple of the saint Jamálu’d-Dín al-Ḥusayn al-Qudsí on the 32 letters contained in the Prophet’s titles.
- (14) A Persian tract (ff. 198^b–202^b) in eleven sections, beginning:—

فصل اول در اقسام نفوس و آن چهار است فلکی و حیوانی و نباتی

و طبیعی الخ

- (15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Rafíqí and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203^a–203^b).
- (16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid ‘Imádu’d-Dín Nesímí in Turkish (ff. 203^b–204^b). He is said to have taken his *takhalluṣ* from a district called Nesím near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shiblí, but afterwards of Faḍlu’lláh the Ḥurúfí, one of whose Vicars (*Khulafá*) he became.
- (17) A few of the *qit’as* of Ibn Yamín (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Ḥurúfí, but rather such

mixture of Şúfí and Shí'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektáshí neophyte, though the notice of Nesímí indicates sympathy with the Hurúfís.

(15) A. 42 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektáshí sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17·4 × 12·1 c. Contents:—

- (1) *Bayán-i-Aḥwál-i-Ḥaṣṣ wa Amr-i-Ma'ád* (ff. 1^b–4^b) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

هذا بيان احوال حشر و امر معادی بیلدیر
ایمدی معلوم اولدیکه بزم کند و ذوقمزه احوال حشرک و امر
معادین تمثیلی اولدیرکه جمیع مشکلر انسانه معلوم اوله دورت
مرتبه اوزرینه دیر الخ

- (2) *Risála-i-Ḥulúl u Ittihad-i-bi-hál* (ff. 4^b–8^a) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سید شریف قدس ستره حاشیه تجریده بیان ایلدیگی بحشی
قطمیر نقل ادوب دیر که الخ

- (3) The *Ákhirat-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 8^b–15^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين ولا عدوان الا على
الظالمين وصلى الله على مظهر الذات محمد وآله اجمعين
اما بعد ' بو فقير عبد المجيد ابن فرشته اصلح الله شأنه و صانه عما
شانه الخ

- (4) The *Kitáb-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayán* by Shaykh-záda (ff. 19^b et seqq.), beginning:—

قال الله تعالى آية سُرِّيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى
يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ، ای طالب بیل و آگاه اولکه آفاقده نشانلر
واردیر آنخ

It comprises 22 sections (فصل), and is dated Friday, 15 Jumáda i, A.H. 1282 (= Oct. 6, A.D. 1865). The scribe, As'ad, calls himself "the least of the servants of the Family of the Cloak [i.e. the Prophet, his daughter Fátima, her husband 'Alí, and their two sons al-Hasan and al-Husayn] and the servant of Maḥmúd Bába" [who was no doubt the Pír, or Elder, of the *tekyé* to which he belonged].

- (5) F. 79^a. A Turkish quatrain and two *bayts*, one in Turkish and one in Persian.
- (6) Ff. 79^b–80^b. A short Turkish tract on the secrets of the virtues of the letters, and the knowledge of the numbers belonging to the letters.
- (7) A short Turkish tract on the true nature of man (f. 81^a). The remaining pages (ff. 81^b–88^b) are blank.

(16) A. 43 (*Turkish*).

A collection of Hurúfí poems and treatises, containing ff. 134 of 17·5 × 12·2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

- (1) A *qasída* of Shuhúdí (ff. 1^b–3^b), beginning:—

غرض ایجادِ عالمِ دین ظهورِ ذاتِ داورِ در
عجب معنی نازِ کدر که عقل آنده مقصّر در

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شهودی اوتوز ایکی حرفِ ک اسرارینه ایردگسه
امین اولدگ صوسزلق زحمتندن آب کوثر در

This is followed by other Ḥurúfī poems (ff. 3^b–11^a) by Shuhúdī, Surúrī, Khalílī, and Nesímī, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na‘ímī, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to ‘Alī.

- (2) The *Bashárat-náma* of Rafí‘ī (ff. 11^b–54^a), beginning:—

قال النبى صلعم فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات
 أول سبع المثنائى اى حكيم ‘ گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ‘

The poem comprises some 1,440 verses, and ends:—

بودعايى مستجاب ايت يا مجيب ‘
 فصلك اظهار ايت پديدار حبيب ‘

The characteristic Ḥurúfī symbols for the numbers 28 and 32 are of constant occurrence, and are always substituted in the poem for the Turkish equivalents of these numbers, *yigirmi sekiz* and *otuz iki*.

- (3) The *Tuhfa* of Shuhúdī, a Turkish *mathnawī* poem (ff. 55^b–76^a), beginning:—

ابتدا فضل عظيم لا ينام ‘ حمد لله گلدی مفتاح كلام ‘

F. 76^b is blank. On f. 77^a is inscribed a *bayt* from the *Kursi-náma* and a reported saying of ‘Alī in respect to the different classes of those who know God.

- (4) A Turkish treatise (ff. 77^b–80^b) without title, beginning:—

ولبثوا فى كهفهم ثلث مائة و آزدادوا تسعا يعنى اگلنديلر اصحاب
 كهف مغارة لرى ايچينده اوچيوز ييل دخى طقوز ييل عبارتدر سته
 ايامدن كه اوچيوز ييل اولور النخ

- (5) Another short piece (ff. 80^b–81^a), beginning:—

قال الشيخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التأويل اسرار جهر
 و اخفاء صلات اين طغراء دو ابرو و چهار مژه و موى سر منشق بخط
 استوا النخ

- (6) A tract in Persian (ff. 81^a–88^b) without title, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدى لولا هداانا الله ، بنام
قديم لا يزال الخ

- (7) The *Hidāyat-nāma*, in Turkish, with Persian preface, by Firishta-zāda (ff. 89^b–112^b), beginning:—

بنام قديم لا يزال وعلیم متعال . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، باعث
اين تحرير وسبب اين تقرير آن بود كه ياران همدم و همدمان
محرم طالبان تحقيق دينى و صادقان مستحق يقينى از اين تفسير
داعى بنده فضل يزدانى عبد المجيد ابن فرشته عز الدين اصلح الله
شأنه التماس کردند كه . . . الخ

The title is given on f. 90^a, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabī' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Faḍlu'llāh (صاحب تأويل) occur on ff. 96^a, 111^b, 112^a–112^b.

- (8) A Turkish poem of 42 *bayts* (ff. 113^b–114^b), by Darwīsh Alwān, entitled *Dast-nāma*, beginning:—

ايشتكيم نظمله برسوز ديم خوش
اگر عاقل ايشك جان ايله ايت گوش

- (9) The *Ganj-nāma*, a Turkish *mathnawī* poem (ff. 115^b–120^a) by Rafī'ī, beginning:—

ای گنج نھان بى بدايت ، وى بحر محیط بى نهايت

- (10) The *Shahriyār-nāma* (ff. 121^b–131^a), a Turkish *mathnawī* poem by Panāhī, beginning:—

ابتدا در ابتدادر ابتدا ، ابتدادن حاصل اولدى انتها
ابتدا گدای کلام لا ینام ، فى وضاع ولام حقدن والسلام

It was composed, according to the concluding verses (f. 131^a), in A.H. 860 (= A.D. 1456):—

‘دیر ۸۰۰ ییمیل ۶۰ ییمیل ایدی’ بو تمام اولمقلغه تحویل ایدی
‘نطقی حقدن اولدی بوسوزلر تمام’ ایلرکده آدیدر مساه صیام

The remaining leaves (ff. 131^b–134) are blank.

(17) A. 49 (*Turkish*: printed).

The *Kāshifū'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'ū'l-Ashrār* of Ishāq Efendi, discussed in the earlier portion of this article, a Refutation of the Bektāshīs and Hurūfīs in three chapters, published in A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874–5). Pp. 174 of 15·7 × 11·5. Begins, after the brief doxology:—

و بعد معلوم اوله که اهل اسلامی اضلالیله مشغول اولان
طوائفک اشک باشلوجه سی طائفة بکتاشیان اولوب آلتخ

(18) A. 69 (*Turkish*).

Lithographed edition of the '*Ishq-nāma* (here called '*Āshiq-nāma-i-Ilāhī*) of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishta (or "Firishta-zāda") 'Izzu'd-Dīn, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Jāvidān-nāma*, and was made (p. 3, ll. 2–3) in Shawwāl, A.H. 833 (= June–July, A.D. 1430). It is divided into 32 chapters, of which the contents are stated on pp. 5–7, and begins:—

احمد لله رب العالمین، و الصلوة والسلام علی رسالنا محمد
و آله وصحبه اجمعین، والعاقبة للمتقین، و العدوان علی الشیاطین
اما بعد، بو حقیر فرشته زاده عبد المجید عز الدین اصلح الله شأنه
ایدرکه . . . الخ

Pp. 164 of 20 × 13·5 c. There is no date or place of publication, but this is probably the edition referred to in the *Kāshifū'l-Asrār* (see p. 536 *supra*) as having been published in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2).

It is followed by another treatise, with separate pagination (pp. 19), entitled *Kamál-náma-i-Ál-i-‘Abá*, beginning:—

حَسَنَ حَمْدِ زَكِيٍّ نَامَعْدُودٍ، وَحُسَيْنِ ثَنَائِيٍّ وَفِي نَا مَعْدُودٍ أَوَّلُهُ
الْخ . . .

(19) B. 15 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 90 of 22·2 × 13·2 c. One of seven MSS. bought in September, 1901, containing:—

- (1) The *Miftáh*, or key to the contractions occurring in the Hurúfí writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2^b–3^b). This is probably “the tract entitled *Miftáhu’l-Hayát* (‘The Key of Life’)” referred to in the *Káshifu’l-Asrár*. See p. 537 *supra*.
- (2) *Sirru’l-Mufradát* (“The Secret of the single [Letters]”: ff. 4^a–5^b). This describes a form of *abjad* in which the numerical values of the letters differ from those ordinarily assigned: e.g., ح = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 8; ط = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 9, up to ن = 7 (i.e. ز) instead of 50; س again = 1 (i.e. ا) instead of 60; ع = 2 (i.e. ب) instead of 70, up to ش, which again = 7. In other words, the first seven letters of the *abjad* (ا ب ج د ه و ز) are discarded, or keep their original values of 1–7, and the remaining 21 fall into 3 groups of 7 each, the letters in each group indicating the numbers 1 to 7. Begins:—

يَخْشَى نَظَرَ اَيَّدَسَنَ كَه قَانُونِ نَيْجَه ضَبْطِ . . . اَلْخ

- (3) The *‘Ishq-náma* of Firishta-záda (ff. 5^b–85^b), lacking the Preface which precedes the Table of Contents in the lithographed edition, and beginning with the latter, which agrees with the lithograph. On the other hand, in this MS. a different Preface, lacking in the lithograph, is interpolated between the Table of Contents and Chapter i. This begins, after the short doxology:—

اما بعد ، حضرت احدیته حمد ایتدکدن صکره و رسول حضرتنه
سلام ایتدکدن صکره معلوم و مفهوم اولنه که بو علم لدنیّه الهی فارسی
لسانی اوزرینه ایدی

The author's name, title of the work, and date of composition stand here (f. 6^b) as in the lithograph, but the two texts, though probably representing two different recensions, appear in the main to correspond.

(20) C. 6 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of 'Arshî, a Turkish Hurufî poet, bought 22, v, 1901. Ff. 90 of 22·7 × 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

با بسم الله ايله قرانه ایتدم ابتدا
قاف و یا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا

(21) C. 7 (*Turkish*).

The *Divân* of another Turkish poet named Muhiyyu'd-Dîn Abdâl, bought 22, v, 1901, beginning:—

بزده بلدیگمزی سویلیم ' دگلیانه علی مدحین ایلیم
علی در مؤمنلرک رهبری ' علیدر مصطفی ننگ سودکلری

Ff. 40 of 22 × 16·3 c. Copied by Lutfî, A.H. 1271
(= A.D. 1854-5).

(22) C. 8 (*Turkish*).

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektâshî sale in May, 1901, containing ff. 104 of 23·6 × 14·1 c., and containing:—

(1) A Turkish *mathnawî* poem (ff. 1^b–30^a) in 32 chapters, by *Turâbî*, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

با بسم اللهی گل دگله عیان ' شاه مردان ستری در بو گل اینان

and ending:—

‘بو ترابی جوشوب جان ودلی‘ سویلدن سن سویلین سن یا علی‘

(2) *Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat Risālasī* (ff. 33^b–38^b), a tract in Turkish on the manner of Creation, beginning:—

ما خلق الله تعالى آدم ستين لونا من التراب خلق نور محمد
ما خلق في السموات و الأرض و ما خلق جبرائيل ميكائيل
اسرافيل عزرائيل الخ

(3) Life of Hājji Bektāsh and the *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hājim Sultān (ff. 38^b–72^a), the latter filling only 2 pages (ff. 71^b–72^a), entitled:—

هذا مناقب حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی ولایت نامه
حاجم سلطان حضرتلری قدس الله ارواحهم اجمعین‘

The *Manāqib* begins:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ‘ اما بعد بلکل کم حق سبحانه و تعالی
خلقى یراتمقدن مراد اولدرکه علم معرفت عبادة ایکی جهانده الخ

The *Wilāyat-nāma* begins:—

بارک الله فیکم طیب الله انفسکم و رضى الله عنکم و عن-
والدیکم و عن استاذیکم و عن کافة المسلمين اجمعین حاضرین (sic)
غائبین برحمتک یم ارحم الراحمین بارک الله أعزکم الله
او قیانلر ایچون دگلیانلر ایچون الخ

(4) The *Ākhirat-nāma* of Firishta-zāda (ff. 73^b–76^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ‘ اما بعد‘ بو فقیر عبد المجید [بن]
فرشته عز الدین الخ

(5) A treatise on the Letters (ff. 76^b–90^b), beginning:—

آب ت ث ج ح خ الى آخره يا چا ژا گا و علم آدم الاسماء كلها الخ

(6) The remainder of the volume (ff. 91^a–104^a) contains scraps of Turkish poetry, *gülbângs*, prayers, and (ff. 94^b–95^a) an account of the affiliation of Hájji Bektâsh and of the spread of his Order, entitled:—

در بیان سلسله حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی قدس الله
سره العالی and طریق سرايتی

(23) C. 9 (*Turkish*).

Another collection of Hurufî tracts, containing ff. 79 of 22.8 × 15.3 c. Bought 22, v, 1901. Contents:—

(1) Tract without title (ff. 1^b–17^a), beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى هدا (sic) لهذا وما كنا نهتدى لولا ان هدانا الله
... اما بعد ' بلك كلام الهى و نطق ربانى و كتاب آسمانى
ايچنده و احاديث نبويه ده گوردم كه . . . الخ

(2) The *Faqr-nâma* of Virânî Dedé (ff. 17^a–51^b), beginning:

الحمد لله رب العالمين ' ايمدى اى طالب فضل حق الحمد
لله دن مراد تنگرى آكمقدرو تنگرى آكمقدن مراد الخ

The colophon is dated Shawwâl, A.H. 1059 (= Oct., A.D. 1649).

(3) The *Fayd-nâma* (ff. 51^b–76^a), a Turkish *mathnawî* poem, beginning:—

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ' آدم و حوا در اى ديور جيم
يعنى بسم الله ايسته آدمى ' فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمى

In the colophon (f. 76^a), which is dated the end of Shawwâl, A.H. 1059 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1649), it is called:—

الرسالة الفيصية الاقدسية الموسومة بفيض نامه

(4) The *Tirāsh-nāma* (ff. 76^a–77^a), beginning:—

أَوَّلُ لِبَاسِينَ آلُورِكُنْ بُونَى أَوْقِيهِ وَإِذَا شِئْنَا بَدَلْنَا أَمْثَالَهُمْ تَبْدِيلًا

(24) C. 10 (*Turkish*).

'*Uyūnū'l-Hidāyat*, a Turkish Hurūfī prose treatise with Arabic Preface, beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة حبيبه و خليه محمد
المصطفى الخ

This Preface (ff. 1^b–3^b) is chiefly in praise of the Twelve Imāms. The Turkish text begins:—

راقم تسويدات المئان صحائف عميان كريدى رسمى بكتاشى
ناتوان بو طرزيله تحقيق بيان حال و بو نهجمله شرح ما فى البال
ايدركه . . . الخ

It thus appears that the author was a Bektāshī named Kiridī Rasmī, or Rasmī of Crete. Ff. 82 of 22·8 × 15·6 c. and 15 lines. The colophon, which is undated, runs:—

كتبه الفقير الحسين بن بنده محمود بابا فى الحصار، ومنه هو

(25) C. 11 (*Turkish*).

The *Fadilat-nāma*, a long Turkish *mathnawī* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hazaj* metre, beginning:—

ازل ياد ايداهليم حتى و قديمى ' دى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيمى

It appears to treat chiefly of the virtues of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, as stated in the following line in the Introduction (f. 5^a):—

فضيلت نامه سندن مرتضائنگ ' بيان معجز ندى مصطفى ننگ
خبر صوريدين روايات عليدين ' بيان ايله ديدىگنگ فضل وليدين

A superficial examination reveals little that is characteristically Hurūfī, the general tone of the poem being Shi'ite.

Bought 7, v, 1903. Ff. 262 of 20×14 c. The *Faḍilat-nāma* ends on f. 247, and the remaining pages of the volume are inscribed with various short poems by Nesímí, Sarmad, Asrār Dedé, etc.

(26) C. 12.

Risāla-i-Dil u Dáná, a long Turkish *mathnawí* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibráhím Efendi al-Oghlání al-Áq-sar'í, beginning:—

‘الها علمنه يوق حدّ و غایت ‘ خدایا وصفنه يوق هیچ نهایت

This is followed by *ghazals* and other poems in which the author uses his name, Ibráhím, as his *takhalluṣ*, while in others the *takhalluṣ* Khidr occurs. The MS. is one of the five bought at the Bektáshí sale in Constantinople in May, 1901.

Ff. 116 of $23\cdot3 \times 17$ and 19 lines. Good Turkish *naskh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868–9), and runs as follows:—

حرّره المحقیر سیّد اسعد السعداء چاکر آل عما عن بندۀ حضرت
سیّد محمود بابا سجّاده نشین بدرگاه شریف شهید لک دلکشا در
روم ایلی حصارى بالآ قدّس اللّٰه اسرارهم و نفعنا اللّٰه بانوارهم
اجمعین فی ۹ زسّنه ۱۲۸۵

In this MS. also I have observed nothing distinctively Hurúfí.

III. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS.

(27) ANCIEN FONDS PERSAN, 24.

For full description of this MS., which was acquired 24, vi, 1873, see the *J.R.A.S.* for Jan., 1898, pp. 63–64.

Contents:—

- (1) The *Istirā-nāma* (ff. 1^b-59^b) of Amír Abú'l-Ya'qín Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī, who mentions (f. 9^a) Ramaḍān 12, A.H. 846 (= Jan. 14, A.D. 1443), as the date of his conversion. The colophon is dated A.H. 970 (= A.D. 1562-3), and is preceded by the two following quatrains:—

اینست کتاب استوا نامه بنام
 اعلام کند بهشت و دوزخ بتمام
 هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر صدق
 داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام
 هر کو بکتاب استوا نامه رسید
 از فضل بسر نامه خامه رسید
 در یافت بهشت و روز حشر را بیقین
 با معرفت مکمل نام (sic) رسید

- (2) A Persian *Ḥurúfī mathnawī* poem (ff. 62^b-80^b) on Alexander's quest for the Water of Life, beginning:

ابتدا کردم بنام ذوالجلال ' حی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال

On the preceding page (f. 62^a) is scribbled a poem by Khayálí.

- (3) The glossary of the dialect words in the *Jávidán-i-Kabir* (ff. 62^b-80^b), beginning:—

آوی آوی آون آمی آمیند آمد آویند
 آنست آورد آوردن آمد آمدند آمدند آویخته

(28) SUPPLÉMENT PERSAN, 107 (*Persian*).

A *Ḥurúfī* work which, for reasons stated on p. 65 *ad calc.* in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1898, I believe to be the

Maḥabbat-nāma-i-Ilāhī. For further description see the article above-mentioned, pp. 64-66. Ff. 139. Dated A.H. 895 (= A.D. 1489-90). Copyist, Darwīsh Aḥmad.

IV. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

(29) OR. 40 (*Turkish*).

The *Diwān* of 'Arshī, beginning:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ اَيْلَه قَرَّانِه اَيْتَدَم اَبْتَدَا

قَاف وِيا وِدَالِي قِيلْدَم حَرْف وَاَحْدَدِه اِدَا

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *naskh*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid 'Alī Ridā, who describes himself as "dust at the feet of the Family of the Cloak" (see p. 555 *supra*)—*خاکپای آل عبا*. Some of the poems are in Persian. At the end of the volume (f. 128) is a short biographical notice of the poet. He belonged to Yeñi Bázár in Rumelia, and his proper name was Maḥmūd. He originally took the *takhalluṣ* of Chákí (چاكی), which he afterwards changed to 'Arshī (عرشی), because, as he says:—

غُلْغُلِ شَعْرَمِنْ بَعْرَش رَسِيد ' زَان سَبَب شَد تَخْلَصَم عَرَشِي

He appears to have lived about A.H. 964 (= A.D. 1556-7).

(30) OR. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wilāyat-nāma* of Hājji Bektāsh:—

هَذَا وِلَايَت نَامَةُ قُطْبِ عَالَمِ حُكْمَكَارِ حَاجِي بَكْتَشِ وَلِي قُدَس

سَرَّة الْعَزِيزِ

Ff. 132 of 24·3 × 16·8 c. and 17 lines. Poor Turkish *nasta'liq*. Dated 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1274 (= 7 July, A.D. 1858). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The contents are given (ff. 1^b-2^a) as follows:—

(فهرست) حاجی بکتاش ولی ننگ نسبی (حاجی بکتاش بن
 سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم المعجاب بن علی [بن] موسی
 الرضا الخ) و مولودی - معلمه ویردکلری - خنکار اسمنی
 ویردکلری - حاجی دیندیگی - خراسان ارنلرینه نشان
 گوستردیگی - سوسام بیراغی اوزرنده نماز قیلدکلری - اوصاف
 حمیده لری - احمد یسوی ننگ اوصاف حمیده لری - قُبَّة
 الف و تاج و خرقه و چراغ و علم و سجاده - احمد یسوی قطب
 الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسالی حاجی بکتاش ولی واروب
 گتوردیگی - * احمد یسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی - بدخشان
 مسلکنی فتح ایتدیگی - دارجه اوزرنده نماز قیلدیغی - *
 خواجه احمد یسوی اذنیله رومه گلدیگی - روم ارنلرینه سلام
 ویردیگی - ولی امریه نشان گوستردیگی ابره-یم حاجبه نظر
 ایتدیگی - خضرایله ملاقی و بوستانجی یه نظر ایتدیگی اورکوب
 ولایتنده گوستردیگی رمز - صویجه قریونگ قراری - اشارت ایله
 دیوار طوغرلدیغی - گوستردیگی ولایتی - نور الدین خواجه یه
 گوستردیگی ولایت - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی - زمهریره الما
 صاری یه گوستردیگی رمز - برفقیه امامستی - خمیر قیاده رمز
 گوستروب طاش کسدیگی - ولایتلرندن بری - گندم و مرجمکی
 طاش ایلدیگی - امرجه سلطان ایله رمزی - اشارتله قزلبچه
 خلوت یاپلدیغی - خضر نسبی ایله ملاقی اولدیغی - غائب
 ارنلرینه ملاقی اولدیغی - صاری اسماعیلی قونیه یه ملا خنکاره

* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 115^b onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

گوندردیگی در' - بر چوپانی الیله فرنگستانه آتدیغی در' -
 قدمحق انایه ولایت گوستردیگی' - قدمحق انایه نفس ایدوب
 اولادی اولدیغی' - کوانچ ابداله سؤال ایتدیگی رمزی' - دریا
 اوزرنده گمی خلاص' - قدرینه صفا نظر ایتدیگی' - سید غازی
 زیارتی' - گوستردیگی رمزلر' - سید محمود خیران ارسلانه بنوب
 گلدیگی' - یونس امرهیی طمدیق امرهیه ارسالی' - الخ

From f. 115^b to the end is in verse, and also, as already mentioned, ff. 15^a-30^b. The biography ends with Hájji Bektásh's appointment of five Khalifas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Šarí Isma'il; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

شکر و سپاس بی غایه و حمد [و] ثناء لانهایه اول واحد فرد یکتا و
 رؤف عظیم بی همتا آفریدگار عالمیانه اول پادشاهه اولسونکه الخ

(31) OR. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة فی خواص المفردات العجیبه لدرویش بابا اویس

Risála fi Khawāṣṣi'l-Mufradát 'ajība, a treatise on the virtues of the letters, etc., in four chapters, by Darwish Bába Uways. Ff. 35 of 14·4 × 9·9 c. and 11 lines; written in good *naskh* with rubrications, and dated A.H. 952 (= A.D. 1545-6). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The author is described as "one of the disciples (*abdál*) of Sultán Sayyid-i-Ghází." The text begins:—

الحمد لله الملمم (sic) الاسرار والمطلع شمس علمه الددنی
 فی قلوب انبیائه الخ

The characteristic Hurúfí signs for 28, 32, etc., occur throughout.

(32) OR. 43 (*Persian*).

A collection of Ḥurúfí tracts, bought 5, ii, 1901, and containing ff. 112 of 15 × 10 c. On f. 1 is given a list of the abbreviations used by the Ḥurúfís. The other contents are as follows:—

- (1) The *Shiráb-náma* of Sayyid Isháq, a contemporary of Faḍlu'lláh (ff. 2^b–31^b), composed in A.H. 814 (= A.D. 1411–12). Transcription ended on Dhu'l-Qa'da 2, A.H. 1018 (= Jan. 27, A.D. 1610), in the village of 'Ayn Malik in Kurdistán. Scribe, Shujá' Dedé. At the end stand the words: **بعون فآ الله الوهاب**. Begins:—

بنام عاشق اول و مُحَبِّتِ ازل كه بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بديده
تفصيل حيران اجمال الخ

- (2) The *Wiláyat-náma* (ff. 32^b–58^a), composed in Rajab, A.H. 1030 (= May–June, A.D. 1621), beginning:—

شكرو سپاس و حمد بى قياس بانى عالم ناس را كه بوهم و قياس
و تفرقه و سواس پيرامن سرادقات ذو صفات او نتوان گشت الخ

- (3) Another tract, anonymous and untitled (ff. 58^b–66^a), beginning:—

شكرو سپاس ح خالقى را كه از فوائده كلام تفرقه صورتى و معنوى
مارا در سلكت نظام كشيد الخ

- (4) The *Zubdatu'n-Naját* (ff. 66^b–69^b), beginning (after the doxology):—

بدان اى طالب صراط مستقيم و جوينده راه نجات و رستگارى الخ

- (5) A titleless and anonymous tract which seems to be the *Tahqiq-náma* (ff. 70^b–86^a), containing 4 *tahqiqs*, and beginning:—

شكر و سپاس و حمد بى قياس ح احمد قديمى را ح آ كه قبضه
خاك و قطره آب النخ

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Sharḥ-i-Javídí*) on the *Járidán-náma* (ff. 88^a–109^a) by “Hájji Efendi,” and (ff. 110^b–112^b) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word ابتدا is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Járidán-náma*.

(33) OR. 44 (*Turkish*).

The ‘*Ishq-náma* of ‘Abdu’l-Majíd b. Firishta ‘Izzu’d-Dín (Firishta-záda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430). Ff. 133 of 18·9 × 10·8 c. and 13 lines. Good, clear naskh with rubrications; dated the end of Jumáda ii, A.H. 996 (= May 26, A.D. 1588); bought 5, ii, 1901. The arrangement of the prefatory matter differs from the lithographed edition described above (p. 558 *supra*), but agrees with it in the number, order, and contents of the chapters. Begins after table of contents and doxology:—

حضرت احديته حمد ايتمكدن صغره [و] رسول حضرتينه صلوة
وسلام ايتمكدن صغره معلوم و مفهوم اولدى كه بو علم لدنه الهيه
فارسی لسانی اوزرينه ایدی بعد از آن بوروم ملکنده النخ

The contents of the 32 chapters is given as follows:—

باب ۱ فی العشق والمحبة	باب ۲ فی معرفة لوا الحمد
باب ۳ فی حقيقة الرحمة	باب ۴ میراث الأرض
باب ۵ فی کیفیة السُّتِ بِرَبِّکُمْ قَالُوا بَلَىٰ	باب ۶ فی المعراج
باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله	باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن
باب ۹ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ	
باب ۱۰ فی حقيقة السكر و التقوی	

- باب ۱۱ فی دابة الارض ،
 باب ۱۲ فی اسرار الحج والاحرام و حجر الاسود وغيره ،
 باب ۱۳ فی کیفیة امة وسطی ، باب ۱۴ فی حقیقة صلوة الوسطی ،
 باب ۱۵ فی حقیقة لا تقربا هذه الشجرة ،
 باب ۱۶ فی تعظیم بیت العتیق و سفینة نوح و غیره ،
 باب ۱۷ فی حقیقة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ،
 باب ۱۸ فی حقیقة الامانة ،
 باب ۱۹ فی ستر الحج والعمرة و غیره ، باب ۲۰ فی حقیقة كشف الساق ،
 باب ۲۱ فی حقیقة الحروف ، باب ۲۲ فی السجدة على الساق ،
 باب ۲۳ فی سرّ طلوع الشمس من مغربها ، باب ۲۴ فی کیفیة المهدي ،
 باب ۲۵ فی زمان المهدي ،
 باب ۲۶ فی حقیقة اليوم الذي يخرج المهدي ،
 باب ۲۷ فی قول المسيح من الحواريين ، باب ۲۸ فی حقیقة كنز الكعبة ،
 باب ۲۹ فی احاطة الاسم الاعظم ، باب ۳۰ فی رؤية الله ،
 باب ۳۱ فی رحم حوا ، باب ۳۲ فی حقیقة امير المؤمنين على ،

In the course of the book the author represents it as essentially a Turkish version of the *Javidán-náma* in the following words :—

معلوم و مفهوم اولدى كه بو علم لدنه الهيّه فارسى لسانى اوزرينه
 ايدى بعد از آن بو روم مملكتنده فارسى لسانى بلنلر قليمدر بعض
 الاخوان اهل مشریدن . . . شوبله تسمى ايتديلر كه بو علم
 لدنيّه الهيّه كه علم تاويلدر تركى لسانه گله ،

(34) OR. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'adat-nāma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawlānā Bāyazīd (the title is mentioned on f. 2^a, l. 6 of the text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 × 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 995 (= Nov., A.D. 1587). Bought 5, ii, 1901. The following explanation of the genesis of this book occurs near the beginning, immediately after the Doxology, which closely agrees with that of the '*Ishq-nāma*':—

معلوم و مفہوم اولدی کہ بو علم علم الہی در و دخی ابداندر کہ مؤدّی اولر علم ادیان کہ اَلْعِلْمُ عِلْمَانِ عِلْمُ الْاَبْدَانِ وَ عِلْمُ الْاَدْیَانِ ' مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ عِلْمَ الْاَبْدَانِ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ عِلْمَ اَدِیَانِ در ' صَدْرہ بو علم الہیّہ فضلّیہ (فصلیہ MS) فارسی دلنجه ایدی کہ بو بندہ فیاضہ بو علم الہی کہ ایرشدی مولانا ابا یزید حضرتلرندن ایرشدی سلمہ اللہ فی الدّارین بو بندہ فضل فیاضہ پیسر و مرشد اولوب تقلیدات ظلمائیہ جہلیہ دن خلاص ایلدی . . . بو علم الہیّہ فضلّیہ (فصلیہ MS) فارسی دلندن ترکی دلنہ ترجمہ قلدی '

(35) OR. 62 (*Persian*).

A Persian *Hurufi qasida* by Sayyid-i-Sharīf, with Persian prose commentary by the author, entitled:—

هذا شرح قصیدہ سیّد شریف علیہ الرحمة

On the inside of the cover it is labelled in a later hand "*Jāvidān-nāma*." Ff. 196 of 21 × 15·2 c. Good modern naskh, with rubrications; dated A.H. 1240 (= A.D. 1824-5). Bought 3, v, 1901. Begins:—

ستایش بر کمال لایق ذات کریمست کہ سؤالات سائلان و تقاضا
محتاجان در خزانن موهبہ وجود او هیچ تنقیص و تنقیضی پیدا
نمی کند الخ

The *qaṣīda* begins :—

زاهل مدرسه و خانقاه جمله ديار ' سؤالهاست مرا بر طريق استفسار '

The '*Arsh-nāma* is repeatedly cited in the commentary. The author mentions having met Amír Sayyid 'Alí at Tabriz, when engaged there in making copies for himself of the *Jávidán-nāma* and other Hurúfí works.

(36) OR. 488 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diván of 'Arshí*, containing ff. 129 of 22 × 16 c.; not dated; bought 18, viii, 1904; beginning as usual :—

بأ بسم الله ايله قرآنه ايتدم ابتدا '

Followed (on ff. 124^a–126^a) by the *Miftáh*, or key to the contractions employed in the Hurúfí books, entitled *مفتاح كتب حروفیان*.

(37) OR. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of 19·4 × 14 c., transcribed by Darwīsh Muṣṭafá in the *tekyé* of Bába Qayghusuz in the Qaşru'l-'Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Şafar 26, A.H. 1223 (= April 23, A.D. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumáda i of the same year (= July 11, A.D. 1808). Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contains :—

(1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu'l-Ḥaqq'iq wa Kashfu'd-Daqq'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Quḍát of Hamadán (ff. 1–40).

(2) A Hurúfí work (ff. 42^b–86^b) entitled the *Kashf-nāma* (so in title and colophon), beginning :—

ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم ' الحمد
كه اون اسميله تسميه لنمشدر أم الكتاب فاتحة الكتاب كتبه و افيه
و شافيه و كافيه و اساس و سبع المثاني و أم القرآن و سورة صلوات در

(38) OR. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-zāda, agreeing with OR. 44 (see pp. 570-1 *supra*) in beginning abruptly with the table of contents, and agreeing also in the preface which follows this. Ff. 198 of 16·6 × 11·5 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. The '*Ishq-nāma* occupies ff. 1^b-191^b, and is followed by another short Ḥurúfī treatise without title or author's name (ff. 192^a-197^a).

(39) OR. 532 (*Turkish*).

A collection of mystical and religious tracts in Turkish, none of which appear to be Ḥurúfī, though one (No. 8) is connected with Hājji Bektāsh, on which account the volume is mentioned here. The collection is, however, labelled on the cover *مجموعه حروفیه* ("Ḥurúfī Miscellany"). Ff. 158 of 16·2 × 10·11 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

- (1) The *Ḥaqīqat-nāma* of Shaykh Ṣafī (ff. 1^b-13^b), a treatise on Dreams and their interpretation, beginning, after a short doxology:—

اما بعد ' بو بر عجاله در بر عزیزگ دلگ ازرنه صفا قرنداش لرنندن
کم آنلرگ معرفت حقاری بو ضعیف ازرنه واجب در . . . الخ

- (2) The *Pand-nāma* or "Book of Counsel," ascribed in the brief table of contents on the cover to *Da'ifī* (written *ضعیفی*), beginning:—

ینه اسمی (sic) الهی ایلدم یاد ' که اولاهر سزم آنکله آباد

Ff. 17^b-35^b; dated the end of Rajab, A.H. 944 (= 2 Jan., A.D. 1538).

- (3) A Turkish poem (ff. 37^b-49^a) entitled in the table of contents *Tuhfa-i-Muḥammad Nasim*. The heading in the text and initial verses are as follows:—

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمہ اللہ شرح ابو البرکات الشیخ محمد نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی؟) حنفید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد الحی الاسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز،

بسمله نوریلہ ایچ ' فالی گلستانہ دن
جوهر عرفانی صایچ ' لعل بد خشانہ دن
حمد خدایله کشف ' ایله بو اسراری سن
رفع نقاب ایلیوب ' بکر عروسانہ دن

This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or "Mantle-poem," of al-Búşirí. Ff. 53^b-64^b. No colophon.
- (5) Another treatise on Dreams (ff. 65^b-72^a), and the Seven Circles to which they belong, entitled in the Table of Contents *Risála-i-Yedi Dá'ira* ("The Treatise of the Seven Circles"), beginning:—

حمد اول اللہ کہ جمیع مخلوقات خلق ایتدکن صگره
مخلوقات امر اوزرینه اولسونلر ایچون آخ

- (6) The *Tasfiyatu'l-Sulúk* (ff. 72^a-81^a), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitáb-i-Maqámát-i-Awliyá* (ff. 81^b-101^a), by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.
- (8) The *Maqálát*, or Discourses, of Hájji Bektásh (written بكداش) of Khurásán (ff. 103^b-107^b), beginning:—

بلمك گرگ كم خلائق درت بلوك گروهدر

- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqámātu'l-Aqtáb* (ff. 109^b-126^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . آخ ' و بعد ' ببلغل که بر عزیز
رجال الله نقدر وارسه شیخ الشیوخ محبی الدین عربی . . . آخ

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabi's *Futūḥāt*.

(10) Another tract (ff. 127^a–132^b), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dá'ira-i-Rijálu'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133^b–134^a) by diagrams of talismans, etc.

(11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmá'u'l-Husná* (ff. 135–157), beginning:

الحمد لله الذى أنعم علينا من النعم وعلمنا من الاسماء ما لم
نعلم الخ

(40) OR. 544 (*Arabic-Turkish*).

Ff. 36 of 19·1 × 10·11 c.; bought 21, i, 1905. Contents:—

(1) *Mirātu't-Tālibin* (ff. 1^b–2^b), by Zaynu'd-Dīn al-Khwāfī, beginning:—

اعلم ايها الطالب ان جناب الحق سبحانه وتعالى اعلى واقدم
من أن يصل اليه واحد . . . الخ

(2) *Risāla-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayān* (ff. 3^b–36), in Turkish, by “*Shaykh-i-Hadrat*,” in 21 sections, beginning:—

سُرِّبِهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي آلَافَاتٍ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى تَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ،
ای طالب اسرار الهی بلکل و آگاه اولغل که آفاده نشانلر وار
در . . . الخ

(41) OR. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819), of the *Diwān* of Nesimī of Baghdad, beginning:—

دربای محیط جوشه گلدی ‘ کون ایله مکان خروشه گلدی ‘

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 × 16·3 c.; scribe, Hājji ‘Alī.

(42) OR. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Virānī Bábá, followed (f. 55^b) by the ‘*Uyūnu'l-Hidāya* of Rasmī Efendi the Bektāshī.

Ff. 148 of 17·5 × 11·8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4) by Darwīsh Muḥammad Amīn. Vīrānī Bābā's work (ff. 1^b-53^a) begins:—

ایمدی ای طالب ق حق الحمد لله دن مراد تگر تعالی یی
اکمقدر . . . الخ

On f. 5^a Hājji Bektāsh is mentioned as:—

سلطان جهـان سید غازی و خنکار حاجی بکتاشی ولی و روح
محمد و علی

The 'Uyūnu'l-Hidāya (ff. 55^b-139^a) begins:—

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة جليله و خليله محمد المصطفى الخ

(43) OR. 569 (*Turkish*).

The *Bashārat-nāma* of Rafī'ī. Ff. 75 of 24 × 16·6 c. and 15 ll.; abundant rubrications; transcribed in A.H. 1268 (= A.D. 1851-2) by Muṣṭafā Nadhīf al-'Alā'ī. There is a prose preface (ff. 2^b-4^b), which, with the title, begins:—

ويسمى مقدمة الحقائق بالمشارت نامه لرفيعى عليه الرحمة
والرضوان قال النبى عليه السلام ' بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات احديهن
اول سبع المثنى اى حكيم ' گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم '

The wholly poetical portion begins on f. 4^b as follows:—

اولدى يگر مى سكر حرف اى جوان '
احمد مرسـل كتابى بى گمان '
لام السـله اولدى يگر مى طقوز '
اولده بر حرف اولدى باشقه شبيهه سز '

(44) OR. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Diwân* of 'Arshî-Dedé, beginning as usual:—

بَاء بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَيْلَه قَرَّانَه اَيْتَدَم اَبْتَدَا
قَاف وِيا وِدا لى قَيْلَدَم حَرْف وِاحْدَه اِدا

Ff. 105 of 22 × 15·5 c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807–8) by Darwîsh 'Īsâ b. Kamâlu'd-Dîn Khoja of خاكت اقدم موحدین ارکری کسری, who describes himself as حروفی. Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1^a are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Faḍlu'llāh the Ḥurufî (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339–40), and that of the birth of 'Arshî Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562–3).

(45) OR. 702 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *'Ishq-nāma* of Firishta-zāda, beginning, like the other manuscript copies described above, with the Index (ff. 1^b–2^b), which is followed by the Preface already noticed. Ff. 126 of 20 × 14 c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Sha'bān 1, A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Ḥāfiḍh Yaḥyá, of the Shādhili order of darwishes.

INDEX OF ḤURUFĪ WORKS

REPRESENTED IN THE ABOVE LIST.

The letters placed after the class-marks indicate whether the MS. in question belongs to the British Museum (B.M.), myself (E.G.B.), the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (B.N.), or the Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.).

Ādam-nāma (Persian). OR. 5959 (B.M.).

Akhirat-nāma (Turkish), by Firishta-zāda. OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 34^b–57^a; A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 8^b–15^b; C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 73^b–76^b.

'Arsh-nāma (Pers.). OR. 6293 (B.M.).

'Arshî-Dedé, Diwân of — (Turk.). OR. 6294 (B.M.); C. 6 (E.G.B.); OR. 40 (C.U.L.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.); OR. 677 (C.U.L.).

Asmā-i-Husnā. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 135–157.

Bashdrat-nāma of *Rafī'ī* (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 11^b–54^a;
OR. 569 (C.U.L.).

Bashdrat-nāma-i-Ilāhī (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30^a–62^b.

Bayān-i-Aḥwāl-i-Ḥaṣhr (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b–4^b.

Bektāsh, dar Bayān-i-Silsila-i-Ḥājjī — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),
ff. 94^b–95^a.

Bektāsh, Mandqib-i-Ḥājjī — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38^b–71^a.

Bektāsh, Maqālat-i-Ḥājjī — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103^b–
107^b.

Burda, Tarjuma-i- — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53^b–64^b.

Dā'ira-i-Rijālul-Ghayb — (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127^a–
132^b.

Divān. See under *Arshī*, *Muḥiyyu'd-Din Abdāl*, and *Nesimī*.

Fadilat-nāma (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).

Fādīlī, Mir —, *Hurufī* tract by — (Pers.). OR. 6381 (B.M.),
ff. 4^b–101^a.

Faqr-nāma (Turk.) of *Vīrānī-Dedé*, *q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17^a–51^b.

Fayḍ-nāma (Turk.) of *Vīrānī-Dedé*, *q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51^b–76^a.

Ganj-nāma (Turk.) of *Rafī'ī*. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115^b–120^a.

Ghiyāth, Amīr — or *Mawlānā*, Poems and *Musajja'* (Pers.).
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7^b–15^b.

Ḥaqīqat-nāma (Turk.) of *Shaykh Ṣafī*. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b–13^b.

Ḥidāyat-nāma (Pers.). There seem to be two different works
thus entitled, one wholly in Persian, represented by OR. 6380
(B.M.), ff. 64^b–103^b; the other in Turkish with a Persian
preface, by *Firishta-zāda*, represented by A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 89^b–112^b.

Ḥikmatul-Asrār, or *Khutbatul-Bayān* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b–6^a.

Ishq-nāma (Turk.) of *Firishta-zāda*. OR. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69
(E.G.B.), the lithographed edition; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 5^b–85^b;
OR. 44 (C.U.L.); OR. 531 (C.U.L.); and OR. 702 (C.U.L.).

Istiwā-nāma (Pers.) of *Amīr Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Astarābādī*. Anc.
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1^b–59^b.

Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr (Pers. and dialect). OR. 5957 (B.M.).
Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ee. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.
See my *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University
Library*, p. 69.

Kanzu'l-Ḥaqd'iq wa Kashfu'd-Dağd'iq of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l Quḍāt of Hamadān, translated into Turkish. OR. 530 (C.U.L.), ff. 1-40.

Kāshifu'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'u'l-Ashrār (Turk.), by Ishaq Efendi, printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).

Khāyālī, Poem by — (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), f. 62^a.

Khuṭbatu'l-Bayān. See *Hikmatu'l-Asrār* above.

Kursi-nāma (Pers.). OR. 6379 (B.M.).

<p><i>Lughat-i-Astarābādī.</i> <i>Lughat-i-Jāvidān-i-Kabīr.</i></p>	{	<p>Glossary of dialect words used in the <i>Jāvidān-nāma-i-Kabīr</i>, explained in Persian. OR. 5957 (B.M.), ff. 485^a-490^a; Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 62^b-80^b.</p>
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Maḥabbat-nāma (Pers.), by Faḍlu'llāh. Suppl. Pers. 107 (B.N.).

Maqāmāt-i-Aqṭāb (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 109^b-126^b.

Maqāmāt-i-Awliyā (Turk.) of Muḥammad b. Ḥamza. OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 81^b-101^a.

<p><i>Miftāḥ-i-Hurūf-i-Jāvidān.</i> <i>Miftāḥ-i-Kutub-Hurūfiyān.</i></p>	{	<p>A key to the contractions used in the <i>Jāvidān-i-Kabīr</i> and other Hurūfī books. OR. 5957* (B.M.); OR. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124^a-126^a; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2^b-3^b.</p>
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Mirātu't-Tūlibīn (Arab.). OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-2^b.

Mişri, *Nuṭq-i-* — (Turk.), verse by Mişri with commentary by Şalāhī. OR. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 1-32.

Mithālī, tract by — (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 82^b-86^b.

Muḥiyyu'd-Din Abdāl, *Diwān of* — (Turk.). C. 7 (E.G.B.).

Nesimī, *Diwān of* — (Turk.-Pers.). OR. 6290 (B.M.); OR. 567 (C.U.L.).

Pand-nāma of Ḍa'ifī (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 17^b-35^b.

Risāla-i-Aṣḥāb-i-Badr (Pers.), by Şalāhī Efendi. OR. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 84^b-103^a.

Risāla-i-Dil u Dānā (Turk.), by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Efendi al-Oghlānī al-Aq-sarā'ī. C. 12 (E.G.B.).

Risāla-i-Faḍl-i-Hurūfī (Pers.). OR. 5958 (B.M.).

Risāla-i-Hurūf, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^b-90^b.

Risāla-i-Kayfiyyat-i-Khilqat (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 33^b-38^b.

Risála-i-Nuqtatu'l-Bayán (Turk.). OR. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 1-33 ;
OR. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 3^b-36.

Risála-i-Yedi Dá'ira (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 65^b-72^a.

Sa'adat-náma (Turk.). OR. 45 (C.U.L.).

Şaláhî Efendi, Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh —, tract by —. OR. 6295
(B.M.).

Sharh-i-Jávidán, a Turkish commentary on the *Jávidán-náma* by
"Hájji Efendi." OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 88-109^a.

Sharíf, Sayyid-i —, *qasída of* —, with commentary (Persian).
OR. 62 (C.U.L.).

Shiráb-náma (Pers.) of Sayyid Isháq. OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 2^b-31^b.

Shuhúdi, Tuhfa and poems of — (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b-3^b and 55^b-76^a.

Sirru'l-Mufradát (Turk.), by Darwísh Bába Uways. B. 15
(E.G.B.), ff. 4^a-5^b; OR. 42 (C.U.L.).

Tahqíq-náma (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 25-28; OR. 43 (C.U.L.),
ff. 70^b-86^a. These two tracts, however, are not identical, and
the proper title is in both cases uncertain.

Tasfiya-i-Sulúk (Turk.). OR. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72^a-81^a.

Tirásh-náma (Turk.). C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^a-77^a.

Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Nesím (Turk.). OR. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 37^b-49^a.

Tuhfa-i-Shuhúdi. See under *Shuhúdi*, above.

Uyúnu'l-Hidáya (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); OR. 568 (C.U.L.),
ff. 55^b-139^a.

Virání-Bába (or *-Dede*), prose and verse of — (Turk.). OR. 568
(C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-53^a. See also under *Faqr-náma*.

Wasiyyat-náma (Pers.). OR. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 2^b-23^b.

Wiláyat-náma (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 71^b-72^a. — of Hájji
Bektásh (Turk.). OR. 41 (C.U.L.). — (another Pers.).
OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 32^a-58^a.

Zubdatu'n-Naját (Pers.). OR. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 66^b-69^b.