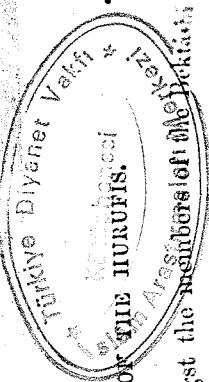


with the top consisting of intertwined snakes, which we have on coins of Demetrius and Mañās (Gardner, plate 2, fig. 2; plate 16, fig. 1), but from the original evidence the olive-branch with wreaths of wool, which we have on the coins of Sōphytēs (Gardner, plate 1, fig. 3). And the form on the Sōhgaurā plate would represent one of the first steps towards the subsequent elaborations of the device that step having been made, after somewhat opening and straightening the curved ends of the top of the calyx, and by expanding and notching the extremities of them.

* * * A word may be added in conclusion. The author of this record almost seems, like the author of the inscription on the Piprahwa vase, to have laid himself out, from some prophetic instinct, to compose an enigma to exercise the wits of epigraphists of modern times. In justification of this remark there is, not only the difference between Professor Bullock's rendering of the record and mine, but also this. If the record were not of such very early date, the opening clause might just as well be taken thus:—*Savva-tiyāna-mahāmaggāna*, the Three Vehicles!," with reference to the three systems in which Buddhists may attain Nirvāna; and quite possibly, with a little ingenuity, a meaning to match that could be devised for the rest of it. We know, however (at least we have reason to believe), that, so far as any rate as regards any such three divisions as the Hīmayāna, the Mahāyāna, and the Madhyamayāna, there was only one system. that which came to be called the Hīmayāna, before the time of Kanishka.

Türkiye Eyalet Vakfı	
Islam Arkeolojik Müzesi	
Demirbaş No 17773	
Tasvir No	29775
	B.O.F.

1907
J R A S



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

The connection of the Hurufîs with the Bektâshîs 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 *Jâvidân-nâma* or any other Hurufî 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 Hurufî 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 Bektâshî dervishes that they were, in almost all cases, directly or indirectly derived, and that it was amongst the members of this Order that the Hurufî doctrines flourish at the present day.

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

XXII.

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

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., M.R.A.S.

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 Hurufî Sect*. The materials for that article were chiefly derived from a manuscript of the *Jâvidân-i-Kabîr* (Ec. I. 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 *Jâvid-nâma* of the Amîr Ghiyâth'u'd-Dîn Muḥammad b. Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Husaynî, of Astarâbâd, composed shortly after A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1425), (2) an allegorical *mathnawî* poem, and (3) a glossary of the dialect words used at the *Jâvidân-i-Kabîr*; while the latter contained another Hurufî treatise which appeared to be that entitled the *Meḥabbat-nâma*. 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, spread 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 (A.H. 820 = A.D. 1417-18) was the bilingual poet Nesîmî, whose *Dirân* 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 Hurufî literature still extant, nor did I know that the Hurufî doctrines are still

"Be it known that of all those sects which busy themselves with misleading the people of Islám, the Bektáshis 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 *Járidán* are six in number, one of which was composed by their original misleader, Faḍlu'lláh the Hurúfi, while the other five are the works of his *Kháifas* (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 *Járidán*, entitled '*Isiq-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 Bektáshis] 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 Faḍl[u'lláh] the Hurúfi, and the principles and laws of certain of the Bektáshis.

"Chapter ii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of Firishta-záda's *Járidán*.

"Chapter iii:—Setting forth the blasphemies of the other *Járidáns*."

The author next speaks briefly of the Carmathians (*al-Qarúniya*), whom he regards as the successors of the *Ibáhiyya*, or communists (meaning probably the Mazdakites), and the progenitors of the Hurúfis. Thence he passes to Faḍlu'lláh, "who," says he, "secretly busied himself in teaching his blasphemies, and raised up for himself nine *Kháifas* or Vicars." "After a while," he continues further on, "the evil doctrines of these heretics became known amongst men, and the son of Timúr [*i-Lang*, i.e. Tamerlan]

a much more unfavourable eye than the Mevlevis, Rúfá'is, Qádiris, 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 Shi'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, Hájjí 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. Hájjí Bektásh is said by Mu'allim Najj (*Asáná*, 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* (بكتاشية) by which the order which he founded is known. Faḍlu'lláh the Hurúfi 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 Hurúfi 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 *Káshifá'l-Asrâr u Dáfi'á'l-Askrár* ("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 Bektáshis. For the most part it consists of a detailed refutation of a Hurúfi work of 32 chapters (according to the number of the letters in the Perso-Arabian alphabet) entitled *Isiq-náma* ("The Book of Love") by 'Izzu'd-Din Firishta-záda. Of this book the Bektáshis 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:—

caused Faḍl 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 Ishaq 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-'Alá* ("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 (*awli*). "The inmates of the monastery," continues Ishaq 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 Mahmúd Khán-i-Ghází (whose *hóde* is now in Paradise), their blasphemies became in some degree apparent, so that he commanded their elders (*úlu*), 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-bandi order of dervishes. So, in the course of the next thirty or forty years they continued, some in the *giris* of shaykhs and dervishes of the Saḍí, some of the Ráfí, some of the Qádiri, and some of the Naqshbandi order, each in his own chosen retreat, secretly to teach the blasphemies and heresies, until finally, in the year A.H. 12 (= 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 Faḍlulláh, 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 Faḍlulláh in the year A.H. 800 (= A.D. 1397-8) at Astarábad 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 Shi'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 Shi'ites, they say that He who appeared in the form of 'Alí was again Faḍl the Hurúfí."

They have also, according to Ishaq Efendi, a rule of custom which they call "the sixteen girdles," each girdle representing allegiance to one of the Prophets. He wears 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 part

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 Shi'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 Hurúfis 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 *الفصل الاثني عشر*) was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in December last.

Of the doctrines of the Hurúfis 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 seq.* 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 Hurúfis, and the glossary of the dialect-words employed in the *Jávidán-i-Kabír* 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 Timúr-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 Ishák 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. 784 (= 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 *Kaáfiya*, or Vicar, entitled *Hádat-i-'Athyyi A'vá*, A.H. 822 (= A.D. 1419).
- (6) Death of Anti-Christ (*Dejjál*), who is "Márán-sháh" (i.e. Timúr'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 جون ' از کعبه قدم نهاد بیرون ،

"*Áyun* (ع = 70) and *Há* (ه = 5) had passed from *Dhal* (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 خطا مبارک ح ق ج آ [یعنی حضرت فضل جمل شانه]
 بر قطعه کاغذ نوشته در میان اوراق محبت نامه الهی بود قطع
 یک دل از شوق سخنها دارم قاصدی نیست که در پیش تو
 تفریر کند ، خدا بر حال این فقیر گواه است که بغیر از تفرقه اغتال
 و مفارقت اصحاب هیچ نگرانی نمانده است ، مسئله چند که
 نگران بود تسلیم آن عزیز و عزیزان کرده است ، اگر حقی تعالی
 بجمع نیک خواسته باشد برسد باقی تا چه خواهد کرد ، یا رب
 یا رب شبهای من

در همه عمرم مرا یک دوست در شروان نبود ، (246)
 دوست کسی باشد کجا ای کاش بودی آشنا ،
 من حسین وقت و نا اهلان یزید و شمر من ،
 روز گارم جمله عا شورا و شروان کر بلا ،

بر آن عزیزان پوشیده نیست که این فقیر را از جهت دین نگرانی
 نمانده است سلام و دعای ما درین آخر اصحاب و یاران و دوستان
 برسانند و نوع سازند که این قاعده ها و این ابیات و این حقایق
 با ایشان برسد ، روز چند بگوشه نسا شناخت فرو کش کنند و آنرا
 ضبط بکنند و این آئین نواست ، آن فرزند را ماندگان و آزادگان را
 از ما به برسد و السلام ،

TRANSLATION.

"TESTAMENT.

("Copy of the Blessed Writing of H. F. J. II. [= HADRAT-I-
 FADLU'LLAH, JALIA SULA'NUHU]¹ written on a fragment
 of paper and placed amongst the leaves of the *Mahabnat*.
nama.)

"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 desire
 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 Shirvan all my life not a single friend
 was mine:*

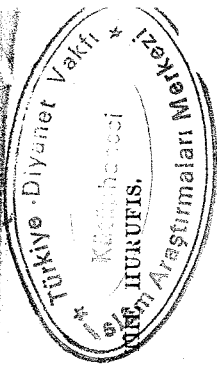
*Who and where is a friend? Alas! not e'en an acquaintance
 I saw!*

*The Husayn of the Age am I, and each worthless foe a Shir
 and Yasid,*

My life is a day of mourning, and Shirvan my Kerbelâ.

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 Hurufis, who regard Fadlu'llah 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 Avutar 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 Faḍlu'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 *ابدأ* 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 "لمت استرآبادی" ("Glossary of the Astarábádí dialect"). Ff. 490 of 22.5 × 12.4 c. Transcribed by the Mu'adhhdhin (Mu'ezzin) Darwísh 'Isá b. Kamálu'd-Dín Khwája of كسرى in A.H. 1196 (= A.D. 1782). Bought 30, iii, 1901.

- (2) Or. 5,957* (*Persian*).

Miyálá-i-Huruf-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 *حروف نضل* apparently by Faḍlu'lláh, beginning:—

رسالة نضل حروف
ذات نطق كه وجود سى
كلمه حضرت نضل حتى است
جمع موجود است الخ

Transcribed by Darwísh Husayn Ahmad in A.H. 1155 (= A.D. 1742-3).

- (4) Or. 5,959 (*Persian*).

The *Ádam-náma*, transcribed in a fine, bold *ta'liq* hand, by Darwísh '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 *Íshq-náma* of Firishta-záda ('Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishta 'Lzú'd-Dín), comprising 32 chapters, preceded by a table of contents (ff. 1^b-2^a), and beginning:—

في حقيقة امير المؤمنين على كرم الله وجهه ، وقد اختصر
الارباب على الاثنين والثلثين بعدد اثنا وثلثين كلمة تامة الية آرية
وإبدية وعلم آدم السماء كلها ،

This work was composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1429-30). This copy was completed on Ramadán 20, A.H. 1276 (= April 12, A.D. 1860). Ff. 72 of 28.7 × 15.9 c. and 25 lines.

- (6) Or. 5,961 (*Turkish*).

A collection of five Hurúfí 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) *Bisālat-i-Naqṭatu'l-Bayān* (on the "Point of Explanation"), ff. 1-33, beginning:—

توله تعالیٰ سزیم آیتنا فی الآفاق وف أنفسهم حتی یبین لهم
الله الحق ، ای طالب بیل و آگاه اول که . . . الخ

- (2) *Akḥīrat-nāma* of Firīshā-zāda (ff. 34^b-57^a), beginning:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، بو فقیر عبد المجید بن فرشته

عز الدین . . . آخرت نامه بو کتابی تحریر ایلدی

- (3) Commentary on a *qasīda* by Abdāl Bābā (ff. 58^b-81^b), beginning:—

بالتوه ایدم اولاً سودم که آشکار اولام ،
تا بن دخی آدم گمی بزدم جهان بابا اولام ،

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

ق بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين ، حضرت ق خدا
ذات بی همتا عرشنامه الهی و تأویل کلام نا متناهیسنده که جواهر
ذکر مکتون و علم لندن ،

اول سبح المثنی ای حکیم ، هست بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ،
دیوب مناسبته بو بیته نظم بیور مشر در بن حقیر و فقیر پُر گناه
بنده کمترین فضل اله اعنی مثنی خاکپای اهل الله . . . الخ

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

سطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ، آدم و حوا در ای دیور رحیم ،
یعنی بسم التهن اینه آدمی ، ق حق سلطان هر دو عالمی

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

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

A fine old copy of the *Divān of Nesīmī*, transcribed in Ramadān, A.H. 974 (= March-April, A.D. 1567), by Darwīsh Muṣṭafā Nā-Murād, 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
نعل فیاض الحروف المقتول بسيف الشرع في حد سنة هكذا ذكر
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:—

بني بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ، آدم خاکسنت ای دیور رحیم ،
آدم خاکی که جان عالمست ، پیش ذات حق وف اسم اعظمست ،
(9) Or. 6,294 (*Turkish*).

The *Divān of 'Arshī Dadé*, transcribed in Rajab, A.H. 1289 (= Sept., A.D. 1872), by Sayyid Maḥmūd Bābā, and purchased 6, xii, 1901. Ff. 157 of 23 × 14.2 c. and 19 lines. Begins:—

بني بسم الله ايله قرآنه ایتدم ابتدا ،
قاف ویا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا ،

The copyist further describes himself as:—

ساکن بدرگاه شهید بگ قرب رومیلی حصارى حافظ احمد
الشعرا ،

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

A collection of five tracts, all, apparently, by Shnykh 'Abdu'llāh Ṣalāhī (or Ṣalāhu'd-Dīn), transcribed at Sofia

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

(1) نطق شریف حضرت مصری شرح صلاحی عبد الله افندی (1) فُتس سَرهما

This fills ff. 1-32, and begins:—

ایکی قامتگ آرسنده چکدی خَط استوا،

علم الاسمائی تعلیم ایتدی اول خطدن خُدا،

Ends on f. 32^a thus:—

بر زمان مصری لسانندن بو نطقی نظم ایدن،

شمدی رمزینی صلاحیدن یننه شرح ایلدی،

The copyist's name is given as Ahmad Fā'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 Ḥurūfī man, entitled:—
نصحه کبرا [نسخه کبری] در بو،

(5) Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Ṣalāhī Efenđi'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 Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (ff. 48^b-83^a), beginning:—

بهر طریقت سلطان مولانای رومی حضرتلر یننگ اون بر بیت یافتم

غزلنی شیخ عبد الله صلاحی افندی شرح ایتمشدر فُتس سَرهما العزیز،

دیش وقت مُکدم در چرخ پایان یافتم،

در میان دانه خشنخاش سندان یافتم،

یک کلاهی داشتیم از لیکبوگم شد زمن،

در میان دفتر ملام سلیمان بیافتم،

Shaykh Ṣalāhu'd-Dīn is described as belonging to the Khalwatī order of dervishes (مدرسه الخلوئیة الکاملیة).

(6) A Persian tract (ff. 84^b-103^a) by the above-mentioned Ṣalāhī Efenđi on the "Companions of [the Battle of] Badr," entitled:—

رساله فارسی صلاحی افندی در اصحاب بدر

Begins:—

بنظم این رساله یا الهی، مرا بنما طریق راست راهی،

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

The *Kursé-nāma*, a Persian *mathnawī* poem of about 4,349 *bayts*, beginning:—

ابتدارا بهترین نام خدا، بود نفلش کردم از وی ابتدا،

فَت الله آن خداوند کریم، هادی خُلد از صراط 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 Ḥurūfī tracts, including the *Wasīyyat-nāma*, the *Tahīq-nāma*, the *Bashārat-nāma*, and the *Hidāyat-nāma*, 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 *Wasīyyat-nāma* (ff. 2^a-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 درویش 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 (*Wasīyat-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 بود و بیک 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 *mashnaci* poem of about 1,089 *bayts*, composed by one of the *Khatīfs*, or Vicars, of Faḍlu'llāh named Abu'l-Ḥasan, and beginning:—

دوش در همگام ضیح اولین ، با حریف خورش بودم ترین ،

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

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

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

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا . . . الخ ، بدان ای طالب
عاشق صادق و تفکک الله تعالی فی طلب المعانی و الكمالات که
جمیع سالکان . . . الخ

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

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

- (13) Or. 6381 (*Persian and dialect*).

A Hurufī tract by Mir Fāḍlī (ff. 4^b-101^a), beginning:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و بفضله نستعین ، قوله حجّ حجّ حجّ کلام
ماحب کمال که بیان فت و همه اشیا هکرة . . . اکون
بدانکه این فقیر و حقیرا درین آیت با حرمت که وعده رؤیت را
فیع 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 بروزت خدا از هجرت حبیب کُدام در هفت صد و

دستاد و هشت شد ،

و بروزت اودر هفت صد و چهل واقع شد ،

و شهادت اودر هفت صد نود و شش شد ،

و مقتول شدن دجال که ماران شاه است علیه التعمته در سنه ۸۳

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:—

بهشتندن بشن نسنه طشه چیتدی اول آدم و حوڑ و شیطان ؛
 طایس و مار ، آمدن مراد زو حدار و حوڑا جسم در و شیطان طبیعت
 در و طایس شیونددر و مار غنص در (f. 1a)
 بیت ، آب در چشمه خورشید نماند ای عیسی ،
 خون بدست آر که با خاک نیتم گفترست (f. 2a)

رباعیات سید اسحق ،

سی سال ز بعد مرگ ازت خدا ،
 ناگاه بگوشم آمد از غیب ندا ،

که مرده صد سال چه کفتی 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 Bektáshí dervish in May, 1901. FF. 205 of 15.5 x 10.5 c. Contents:—

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

اسلام دیننگ بنیادی بشن نسنه اوزره در آیخ

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

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

ای دل رهبر ره روز بر رنج پرور
 مسلط انور ساز بر ابر سحر
 سر اسر مدحت حیدر الخ

(4) A *ghazal* 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'dí, Aţfár, Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, etc.

(5) The *Khuthbatu'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 بى حد و ثنائى بى عد . . .

الخ ، اما بعد حمد و ثنا و الصلوة والسلام . . . الخ ، اما بعد ،
 اى طالب راه حقيقت اگر بيلمك ديرلسن كه تحقيقتا كيمدر اول
 شاه اوليا و وصى مصطفا اول ولى مجتبا اول سرور اصفيا . . . الخ

It comprises seventy *Kâtîbas*, or sayings of 'Alî b. Abî 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 *Ir-sâ'id-i-Kîsra* (ff. 181^b-183^a), beginning after the doxology:—

اما بعد ، بر نچه كلمه تاج و كسوه بيان ادر ، امام مكتمل باقره تر
 يوسالیه ارشاد كسوه ديور آد وردى ،

mixture of Šūfī and Shī'ite treatises as would be suitable to the Bektāshī neophyte, though the notice of Nesīmī indicates sympathy with the Hurūfīs.

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

Another of the five MSS. bought at the Bektāshī sale in May, 1901. Ff. 88 of 17.4 x 12.1 c. Contents:—

(1) *Bayān-i-Aḥcāl-i-Ḥaṣr wa Amr-i-Ma'ād* (ff. 1^b-4^b) on the Resurrection, beginning:—

‘ هذا بيان احوال حشر و امر معادى بيلدير ’

ايمدى معلوم اولديكه بيزم كندو دوتمزده احوال حشرى و امر

معادين تمثيلى اولديركسه جميع مشكلل انسانه معلوم اوله دوزت

مرتبه اوزرينه دير الخ

(2) *Risāla-i-Ḥalāl u Ittihād-i-bi-ḥal* (ff. 4^b-8^a) on Incarnation and Union, beginning:—

سيد شريف قدس سره حاشيه تجريدده بيان ايلديكى بحشى

تفسير نقل ادوب دير كه الخ

(3) The *Ākhirat-nāma* of Firishta-zāda (ff. 8^b-15^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين ولا عدوان الا على

الظالمين وصلى الله على مظهر الدّاءات محمد وآله اجمعين

اما بعد، بوفقر عبد المجيد ابن فرشته اصلح الله شأنه و صانه عنها

شانه الخ

(4) The *Kitāb-i-Nuqtatū'l-Bayān* by Shaykh-zāda (ff. 19^a et seqq.), beginning:—

(7) Another tract in Turkish by Bābā Qayḡhūsiz (ff. 18^a-185^b), beginning:—

اى عقل كامل بو سوزى جوهرنه بر نظر ايله گور نه بيان ايلر

(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-Dīn al-Khwāfī on Šūfī ethics (آداب الصوفيه), 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 (عافيت).

(12) A Persian tract entitled *Mudhaffar-nāma-i-Nūshirvān*, supposed to have been compiled by Buzurjmīhr for his sovereign (ff. 192^b-196^a).

(13) An Arabic tract (ff. 197^b-198^b) by a disciple of the saint Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Qudāsī 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 وان چهار است فلکى و حیوانى و نباتى

و طبیعى الخ

(15) Two Persian *ghazals* by Raḥīqī and a Persian quatrain (ff. 203^a-203^b).

(16) A note on the genealogy of Sayyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn Nesīmī in Turkish (ff. 203^b-204^b). He is said to have taken his *tahaddus* from a district called Nesīm near Baghdad, and to have been originally a follower of Shaykh Shiblī, but afterwards of Faḍlu'llāh the Hurūfī, one of whose Vicars (*Khatū'iqi*) he became.

(17) A few of the *ghī'as* of Ibn Yamīn (f. 205). Here the MS. breaks off abruptly. It contains, as will be seen, little that is essentially Hurūfī, but rather such

قال الله تعالى آية سُكْرِيْمُ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْآفَاقِ وَفِي السَّمٰوٰتِ حَتَّىٰ
يَسْمِعُنَّ لِقَمِ آتَمَةِ الْحَقِّ ، اى طالب بيل و آكساده آفانده نشانلر
وار دبر اليج

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 Mahmúd Bába" [who was no doubt the Pir, or Elder, of the *tekke* 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 x 12.2 c., bought in September, 1901, and containing:—

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

غرض ايجاد عالمدين ظيور ذاتت داور در
تجيب معنى نازكدر كه عقل آنده مختصر در

It contains 71 verses, and ends:—

شبهوى اوتوز ايكي حرفنگ اسرارينه ايردگسه ،
امرين اولدگ صونزلق زحمتندن آب كوتلور ،

This is followed by other Hurúfí poems (ff. 3^b-11^a) by Shuhúdí, Surúfí, Khalílí, and Nesímí, in Turkish, and by one Persian *bayt* by Na'ímí, and two Arabic *bayts* ascribed to 'Alí.

- (2) The *Bashárat-náma* of Kaf'í (ff. 11^b-54^a), beginning:—

قال النبي صلعم فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات

اول سبع المعاني اى حكيم ، گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ،

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

بو دعائى مستجاب ايت يا مجيب ،
فصلنگ اظهار ايت پديدار حبيب ،

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

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

ابدا فصل عظيم لاينام ، حمد لله گلدی منقح كلام ،

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

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

ولبتوا فى كيفهم ثلث مائة و آزداده تسعما يعنى اگلديدر اصحاب
كيف مغاره ارى اوچيوز بيل دخی طغوز بيل عبارتدر سته
ايتامدن كه اوچيوز بيلگ بيل اولور اليج

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

قال الشيخ ابو الحسن هذا استمع من صاحب التأويل اسرار جبر
واخفاء صلات اين طغراه دو ابرو و چهار مژه و موى سر منشقى بحق
استوا اليج

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

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

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

بنام قديم لا يزال و علميم متعال . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، باعث
اين تحرير و سبب ايسن تقرير آن بود كه پاران همدم و همدمسان
مكرم طالبان تحقيقات ديني و صادقان مستحقى يقينى از اين تفسير
داعى بنده فضل يزنانى عبدالمجيد ابن فرشته عتر الدين اصلح الله
شانه التماس كردند كه . . . الخ

The title is given on f. 90^a, l. 14, and the date of composition (on the same page) as Rabi' i, A.H. 830 (= Jan., A.D. 1427). Persian verses by Fadhullāh (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 Darwish Alwān, entitled *Dast-nāma*, beginning:—
ايشكيم نظمه بسوز ديسم خوش ،
اگر عاقل ايسگ جان ايله ايت گوش .

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

اى گنج نوان نبي بدايت ، وف بحر محيط بي نهايت ،

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

ابندا در ابتداء ابتدا ، ابتداءن حاصل اولدى انتها ،
ابتدا گاردى كلام لا ينام ، فى وضاد و لام حقدن و السلام ،

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

ديسر ۸۰۰ يميل ۶۰ يميل ايدى ، بو تمام اولمقلغه تحويل ايدى ،
نطقى حقدن اولدى بسوزلر تمام ، ايلركده آديدر مساد مسيام ،

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

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

The *Kāshifū'l-Asrār wa Dāfi'ū'l-Asrār* 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 x 11.5. Begins, after the brief doxology:—

و بعد ، معلوم اوله كه اهل اسلامى اضلاليله مشغول اولان
نيزانگ اثم باشلوجهمسى طائفة بكتاشيان اولوب الخ

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

Lithographed edition of the *Isiq-nāma* (here called *ʿAshiq-nāma-i-Itāhī*) of 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. Firishita (or "Firishita-zāda") 'Izzu'd-Dīn, which is professedly a translation into Turkish of the *Jawā'id-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 العالمين ، والصلاة والسلام على رسولنا محمد
: آله وصحبه اجمعين ، والعاقبة للمتقين ، والعدوان على الشياطين ،
فما بعد ، بو حقير فرشته زاده عبدالمجيد عتر الدين اصلح الله شانه
بدر كه . . . الخ

Pp. 164 of 20 x 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 *Kamâl-nâma-i-Âl-i-'Abâ*, beginning:—

حسن حمد زكي ناممدود ، و حسن ثنائ رفی نسا معدود اوله

الخ . . .

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

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

(1) The *Miftâh*, or key to the contractions occurring in the Hurûfî writings, of which some 150 are given (ff. 2^c-3^b). This is probably "the tract entitled *Miftâh-i-Hayât* ('The Key of Life') referred to in the *Kāshif-i-Asrâr*. See p. 537 *supra*.

(2) *Sirr-i-Mafradât* ("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. ل) 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. ل) 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:—

بخشی نظر اید هس که قانون نیجه ضبط . . . الخ

(3) The *'Ishq-nâma* of Firishîta-râda (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 ایندکن مگره و رسول حضرتنه سلام ایندکن مگره و معلوم و مفهوم اوله که بو علم لدنیة الهی فارسی لسانی اوزینه 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 *Dicân* of 'Arsâhî, a Turkish Hurûfî poet, bought 22, v, 1901. Ff. 90 of 22·7 × 14·4 c. Not dated. Begins:—

باسم الله ايله قرانه ایتدم ابتدا ،

تاف ویا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحد ده ادا ،

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

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

بزده بلد یگیزی سویلیم ، دکلیمه علی مدحس ایلیم ،

علی در مؤمنلرگ رهبری ، علیدر مصطفی ننگ سود کلری ،

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 *Tiwâbî*, containing about 1100 couplets, and beginning:—

باسم اللهی گل دگلک عیان ، شاه سردان سترفی در بو گل اییان ،

and ending:—

بو تزلزلی جوشوب جان ودلی ، سوبلدن سن سوبلین سن یا علی ،

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

ما خلق الله تعالى آدم ستین لونا من الشراب خلق نور محمد

ما خلق فی السموات و الأرض و ما خلق جبرائیل میکائیل

اسرائیل عزرائیل 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 حضرت ولی قدس الله ارواحهم اجمعین ،

The *Manāqib* begins:—

الحمد لله . . . الخ ، اما بعد بكل کم حق سبحانه و تعالی

خلق یرتقدن مراد اولدرکه علم معرفت عبادة ایکی جهانده الخ

The *Wilāyat-nāma* begins:—

بارک الله فیکم طیب الله انفسکم و رضی الله عنکم و عن

والدیکم و عن استاذیکم و عن كافة المسلمين اجمعین حاضرین (ie)

غائبین برحمتک یا ارحم الراحمین بارک الله اعزکم الله

اولقیانلر ایچون دکلیانلر ایچون الخ

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

الحمد لله . . . الخ ، اما بعد ، بو فقیر عبد المجید [بس]

فرشته عزرائیل الخ

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

آب ت ت ح ح ح ح الی آخره یا جا تا کا و علم آدم الاسماء کتبا الخ

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

در بیان سلسله حضرت خنکار حاجی بکتاش ولی قدس الله

سزه العالی and طریق سراپتی

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

Another collection of Hūrufī 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 هذا لهذا وما كنا نتهدى لولا ان هدانا الله

اما بعد ، بکک کلام الهی و نطق رتانی و کتاب آسمانی

ایچنده واحادیث نبویه ده گوردم که . . . الخ

(2) The *Faqr-nāma* of Vīrānī Dedé (ff. 17^a-51^b), beginning:

الحمد لله رب العالمین ، ایمدی ای طالب فضل حق الحمد

لله دن مراد تنگری آتقدن و تنگری آتقدن مراد الخ

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

(3) The *Fayḍ-nāma* (ff. 51^b-76^a), a Turkish *mathnawā* poem, beginning:—

مطر بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ، آدم و حوا در ای دیو رجیم

یعنی بسم التهدن ایسنه آدمی ، فضل حق سلطان هر دو عالمی ،

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

الرساله الفیضیه الاقدسیه الموسومة بفیض نامه ،

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

أول لباسين آلبركن بونى اوقيه وَإِنَّا شِدْنَا بِكَلِمَا أَمْثَلِكُمْ تَبْدِيدًا

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

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

الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من امة حبيبه و خليه مكنه
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
ناتوران بو طرزيله تحميق بيان بحال و بو نهجله شرح ما فى البال
ايدركه . . . الخ

It thus appears that the author was a Bektāshī named Kiriđi 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 من بدده محمود بابا فى الحصار ، ومنه جو

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

The *Fađilat-nāma*, a long Turkish *nathnāci* poem in the apocopated hexameter *hasay* metre, beginning:—

ازل ياد ايديلم 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 (آغاز كلمه), f. 5^a:—

فضيلت نامه سندن مرتضانت ، بيان معجزندن مصطفى رنگ ،
خبر صورتين روايات عيلدين ، بيان ايله ديدديگت فضل ويلدين .

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

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

(26) C. 12.

Risāla-i-Dil u Dānā, a long Turkish *nathnāci* poem in which *ghazals* are intermingled, by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Efendi al-Oghlānī al-Āq-sarā'ī, beginning:—

البا علمنه يوق حد و غايت ، خدايا وصفنه يوق هيچ نهايت ،

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

Ff. 116 of 23·3 × 17 and 19 lines. Good Turkish *nāsh*. The colophon is dated A.H. 1285 (= A.D. 1868-9), and runs as follows:—

حزرة الحقيق سيد اسعد الشعدها چاكر آل عبا عن بدده حضرت
سيد محمود بابا سجاده نشين بدرگاه شريف شهيد لك بانوارهم
روم ايلي حصارى بالآفدس الله اسرارهم و نفعنا الله بانوارهم
اجمعين في زمسه ١٢٨٥

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

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 *Istirāc-nāma* (ff. 1^a-59^b) of Amīr Abū'l-Yaḥyā Ghīyāthū'l-Dīn 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 بنام ،

هر کس که بخواند این کتاب از سر عدق ،

داند همه ارواح کجا کرد مقام ،

هر کس بکتاب استوا نامه رسید ،

از فضل بسر نامه خامه رسید ،

در یافت بهشت و روز حشر را بیفتی ،

با معرفت مکتل نام (sio) رسید .

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

ابتدا کردم بنام ذو الجلال ، حتی و قیوم و قدیم بی زوال ،

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

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

آویته آوی آوی آوی آوی آوی آوی آوی آوی
آوست آورد آورد آمد آمدند آمدند آویخته

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

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

Mahabbat-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 *Dicān* of 'Arshī, beginning:—

‘باه بسم الله ایله قرآنه ایتم ایتدا‘

‘قاف و یا ودالی قیلدم حرف واحده ادا‘

Ff. 128 of 23 = 16·6 c. and 17 lines. Good plain Turkish *naskh*, within red lines. Bought 5, ii, 1901. Copyist, Sayyid 'Alī Riqā, 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 Bazar in Rumelia, and his proper name was Maḥmūd. He originally took the *takhta*s of Chāki (چاکی), which he afterwards changed to 'Arshī (عرشی), because, as he says:—

‘غُلغل شعر من بعرض رسید‘ زآن سبب شد تکلم عرشی‘

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

(30) Or. 41 (*Turkish*).

The *Wilāyat-nāma* of Ḥājji Bektāsh:—

‘هذا ولایت نامه قطب عالم خُتکار حاجی بکتاش ولی قدس
سزده العزیز‘

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:—

گوندردیگی در' - بر چوپانی ایله فرنگستانه آتدیدیگی در' -
 دمتجی انایه ولایت گوستردیگی - قدحجی انایه نمس ایدوب
 اودی اولدیغی - کوانج ابداله سزال ایندیگی رمزی - دریا
 اوزنده گمی خلاص - قدرینه منظر ایندیگی - سید غازی
 زیارتی - گوستردیگی رمز - سید محمود خیران ارسلانه بتوب
 گدیگی - یونس امرهیی طبعیق امرهیه ارسانی - 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 Khalífas, or Vicars; his testamentary instructions to Šári Isma'íl; his death, and the miracles performed after it; and his burial. The text begins:—

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

(31) Or. 42 (*Turkish*).

رسالة فی خواص المفردات العجیبه لدرویش بابا اویس

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

الحمد لله المعلم الامبرارو المطلع شمس علمه اللدنی
 فی تلوب انبیانه الخ

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

(فهرست) حاجی بكتاش ولی ننگ نسبی (حاجی بكتاش بن
 سید محمد بن موسی ثانی بن ابراهیم الهجیب بن علی [بن] موسی
 انزلی الخ) و مولودی - معلمه ویردکلی - خنکار اسمعی
 ویردکلی - حاجی دیندیگی - خراسان انزلینه نشان
 گوستردیگی - موسام بیرافی اوزنده نماز قیلدقلی - اوصاف
 حمیدهلری - احمد یسوی ننگ اوصاف حمیدهلری - نُبّه
 الف و تاج و خرقه و چراغ و علم و سجاده - احمد یسوی قطب
 الدین حیدری بدخشانه ارسانی حاجی بكتاش ولی واروب
 گتوردیگی - * احمد یسوی حضورینه ایرشدیگی - بدخشان
 ملکنی فتح ایددیگی - دارچه اوزنده نماز قیلدیغی - *
 خواجه احمد یسوی اذنیله رومه گلدیگی - روم انزلینه سلام
 ویردیگی - ولی امریه نشان گوستردیگی ابرهیم حاجبه نقر
 ایددیگی - خضرایله ملاقی و بوستاجی به نظر ایددیگی اوزوب
 ولینده گوستردیگی رمز - صویچه قریونگ قراری - اشارت ایله
 دیوار طوغرلدیغی - گوستردیگی ولایتی - نورالدین خواجهیه
 گوستردیگی ولایت - بش طاش طانقلق ویردیگی - زهربرو الما
 صاری به گوستردیگی رمز - بر فقیه امامستی - خمیر قیاده رمز
 گوستروب طاش کسدیگی - ولایتلردن بری - گندم و مرجمکی
 طاش ایددیگی - امرجمه سلطان ایله رمزی - اشارتله قزچده
 خلوت یاپلیدیغی - خضر نسبی ایله ملاقی اولدیغی - غائب
 انزلینه ملاقی اولدیغی - صاری اسماعیلی قونیهیه ملا خنکارو

* The sections indicated between the asterisks, as well as the end of the tract, from f. 116^b onwards, are in verse, the remainder in prose.

(32) Or. 43 (*Persian*).

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

- (1) The *Shiráb-nāma* 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 Kurdistan. Scribe, Shujá' Dodé. At the end stand the words: **بِعُونَ قَاتِلَهُ الرَّهَاب**. Begins:—

بنام عاشق اول و محبت ازل که بنظر جمیل نگران جمال و بدید؛
تفصیل حیران اجمال الخ

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

شکر و سپاس و حمد بی قیاس بانای عالم ناس را که بوهم و تیاس
و تفرقه و سواس پیرامن سرافاقات ذو صفات او نتوان گشت الخ

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

شکر و سپاس خ خالق را که از فواتح کلام تفرقه صورت و معترف
مارا در سلک نظام کشید الخ

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

بدان ای طالب صراط مستقیم و جوینده راه لجات و رستگاری الخ

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

شکر و سپاس و حمد بی قیاس خ احد قدیمی را خ که تفسیه،
خاک و قطره آب الخ

- (6) Two portions of a Turkish commentary (entitled *Sharḥ-i-Javíd*) on the *Jaridán-nāma* (ff. 88^b-109^a), by "Iḥájji Efeendi," and (ff. 110^b-112^b) some other writings, including a discussion of the question why the word **لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ** is repeated six times at the beginning of the *Jaridán-nāma*.

(33) Or. 44 (*Turkish*).

The *Isḥq-nāma* of 'Abdu'l-Majíd b. Firishṭa 'Izzat-*Dín* (Firishṭa-záda), composed in A.H. 833 (= A.D. 1430), ff. 133 of 18.9 x 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 احدیتنه حمد ایتمکد نصرتك [وا رسول حضرتین صلوٰه
وسلام ایتمکدن صگره معلوم و مفهوم اولدی که بو علم لدنه الهیه
ناری لسانی اوزربنه ایدی بعد ازان بو روم ملکده الخ

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

- باب ۱ فی العشق و المحبة ، باب ۲ فی معرفه لواء الحمد ،
باب ۳ فی حقیقة الترجمة ، باب ۴ میراث الأرض ،
باب ۵ فی کیفیت آسنت بریکم قالوا بلی ، باب ۶ فی المعراج ،
باب ۷ اسرار کلمة الله ، باب ۸ فی قدم القرآن ،
باب ۹ حکمت السموات و الأرض فی سنة آیام ،
باب ۱۰ فی حقیقة السکر و التثوی ،

باب ۱۱ في دابة الارض ،

باب ۱۲ في اسرار الحج والاحرام وحجج الاسود وشعره ،

باب ۱۳ في كيفية آفة وسطي ، باب ۱۴ في حقيقة صلوة المؤمني ،

باب ۱۵ في حقيقة لا تقربا هذه الشجرة ،

باب ۱۶ في تعظيم بيت العتيق وسفينته، نوح وغيره ،

باب ۱۷ في حقيقة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ،

باب ۱۸ في حقيقة الامانة ،

باب ۱۹ في ستر الحج والعمرة وغيره ، باب ۲۰ في حقيقة كشف السنان ،

باب ۲۱ في حقيقة الحروف ، باب ۲۲ في السجدة على السنان ،

باب ۲۳ في ستر طلوع الشمس من مغربها ، باب ۲۴ في كيفية المهدي ،

باب ۲۵ في زمان المهدي ،

باب ۲۶ في حقيقة اليوم الذي يخرج المهدي ،

باب ۲۷ في قول المسيح من الكورثين ، باب ۲۸ في حقيقة كنز الكعبة ،

باب ۲۹ في احاطة الاسم الاعظم ، باب ۳۰ في رؤية الله ،

باب ۳۱ في رحم حوا ، باب ۳۲ في حقيقة امير المؤمنين علي ،

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

معلوم و مفهوم اولدى كه بو علم لدنه الهيّه فارسي لساني اوزرينه

ايدى بعد از آن بو روم مملكتنده فارسي لساني بلنلر قليلدن بعضى

الاخوان اهل مشردن . . . شويله تهمى ايشديلر كه بو علم

لدنيّه الهيّه كه علم تاويلدر تركي لساننه گله ،

(34) Or. 45 (*Turkish*).

The *Sa'ādat-nāma*, composed by one of the disciples of Mawlānā Bāyazīd (the title is mentioned on f. 2^r, l. 6 of text). Ff. 42 of 18·6 × 10·9 c. and 13 lines. Dated Dhū 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 '*Isḥāq-nāma*':—

معلوم و مفهوم اولدى كه بو علم علم الهى در و دخسى ابداندر كه

يقى اولر علم اديان كه اَلْعِلْمُ عِلْمَانِ عِلْمٌ الْاَبْدَانِ وَعِلْمُ الْاَدْيَانِ ،

ان عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ عِلْمَ الْاَبْدَانِ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ عِلْمَ اَدْيَانِ دَرِ صَگَرِهْ بُو

عِلْمِ الْبَيْتِ فَضْلِيَهْ (فصيله MS.) فارسي دلنجه ايدى كه بو بنده فياضه

و علم الهى كه ايرشدى مولانا ابا يزيد حصر تارندن ايرشدى سلمه

تَهْ فِي الْقَارِيْنِ بُو بنده فضل فياضه پيسر و مرشد اولوب تقليدات

للمنايينه جهلتهندن خلاص ايدى . . . بو علم الهيّه فضليه

فصيله (MS.) فارسي دلندن تركي دلنه ترجمه قلدى ،

(35) Or. 62 (*Persian*).

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

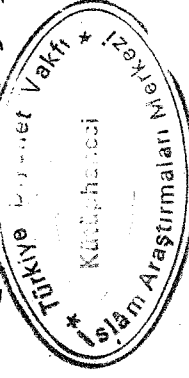
هذا شرح قصيدة سيد شريف عليه الرحمة

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 :—

ستاريس بر كمال لايق ذات كر پيمست كه سؤالات مسائل و تقاضا

محتاجان در خزانن موهبت و حجاب او هيچ تنقيس و تنقيسى پيدا

نمى كند الخ



The *qasida* begins:—

زاهد مدرسه و خانقاه جمله ديار ، سؤاليماست مرا بر طريقت استفسار ،

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

(36) Or. 488 (*Turkish*).

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

بسم الله ايله قرآنه ايتدم ابتدا ،

Followed (on ff. 124^a-126^a) by the *Miftāh*, or key to the contractions employed in the Hurūfī books, entitled *مفتاح كتب حروفيا*.

(37) Or. 530 (*Turkish*).

Ff. 88 of 19·4 × 14 c., transcribed by Darwish Muṣṭafā in the *tokyē* of Bābā Qayghusuz in the Qasrū'l-'Ayn at Cairo; the first portion was completed on Ṣafar 26, a.h. 1223 (= April 23, a.d. 1808), and the second on 17 Jumādā i of the same year (= July 11, a.d. 1808). Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contains:—

(1) A Turkish translation of the *Kanzu'l-Ḥaqā'iq wa Kashfū'd-Daqā'iq* of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Aynu'l-Qudāt of Hamadān (ff. 1-40).

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

ذلک فضل الله بؤتیه من یشاه والله ذو الفضل العظيم ، الحمد

که این اسمیه تسمیه لمشدر ام کتاب فاتحه کتاب کتمه واقیه

و شانیه و کافیه و اساس و سبع المثانی و ام القرآن و سورة صلوات در

(38) Or. 531 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the '*Ishq-nāma* of Firishṭa-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 Hurūfī 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 Hurūfī, 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 حرزیه* ("Hurūfī Miscellany"). Ff. 158 of 16·2 × 10·11 c. Bought 1, xi, 1904. Contents:—

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

ایما بعد ، بو بر عجاله در بر عزیزک دلتک از نه صفا قرنداش لرندن
کم آنرک معرفت حقلری بو ضعیف از نه واجب در . . . الخ

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

ینه اسمی الی ایلم یاد ، که اولاهر مشرم آنگله آباد ،

Ff. 17^a-35^b; dated the end of Rajab, a.h. 94; (= 2 Jan., a.d. 1538).

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

حضرت شیخ وردی رحمہ اللہ شرح ابو البركات الشيخ محمد
 نسیم جلوتی (خلوتی) حنفید قطب العارفین الشیخ عبد العزیز
 الاسکداری قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز ،
 بسملة نوریلہ ایچ ، فالی گلستانہ سن ،
 جوهر عرفانی صالح ، لعل بعد خشانہ سن ،
 حمد خدایہ کشف ، ایله بو اسرار سن ،
 رفیع نقاب ایلیوب ، بکر عروسانہ سن ،
 This is dated A.H. 1173 (= A.D. 1759-60).

- (4) A translation of the celebrated *Burda*, or "Mantle-poem," of al-Rûsîrî. 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 *Risâla-i-Yedi Dâ'ira* ("The Treatise of the Seven Circles"), beginning:—

محمد اول اللہ کہ جمیع مخلوقات خلق ایتدکن مکرر

مخلوقات امر اوزربنه اولسونلر ایچون آلیخ

- (6) The *Tasfiyatul-Sultâh* (ff. 72^a-81^a), a treatise on religious discipline and exercises.
- (7) *Kitâb-i-Maqâmât-i-Ankîyâ* (ff. 81^b-101^a), by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.
- (8) The *Maqâlat*, or Discourses, of Hâjji Bektâsh (written by Khdâsh) of Khurâsân (ff. 103^b-107^b), beginning:—
 بلنک گرت کم خلائق دزت بلوکت گروهدر
- (9) A treatise entitled in the Table of Contents *Maqâmâtul-Aqtâb* (ff. 109^b-126^b), beginning:—

الحمد لله على نعمائه . . . آلیخ ، وبعد ، بلنکل که بر شرتز
 رجال اللہ نغدر وارسه شیخ الشیخ محمى الدين عربى . . . آلیخ

Special commendation is bestowed on Shaykh Muḥiyu'd-Dîn ibnu'l-'Arabî's *Futūḥât*.

- (10) Another tract (ff. 127^a-132^b), entitled in the Table of Contents *Dâ'ira-i-Rijâ'at'l-Ghayb*. This is followed (ff. 133^b-134^b) by diagrams of talismans, etc.
- (11) Another tract, incomplete at end, entitled in the Table of Contents *Asmâ' u'l-Husnâ* (ff. 135-157), beginning:—
 الحمد لله الذى انعم علينا من النعم وعلمنا من الاسماء ما لم
 نعلمه آلیخ

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

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

- (1) *Murâtul-Tâlibin* (ff. 1^b-2^b), by Zaynu'd-Dîn al-Khwâfî, beginning:—

اعلم ايها الطالب ان جناب الحق سبحانه وتعالى اعلى وانفس

من أن يصل اليه واحد . . . آلیخ

- (2) *Risâla-i-Nuqatul-Bayân* (ff. 3^b-36), in Turkish, by "Shaykh-i-Hadrat," in 21 sections, beginning:—

مكريم آياتنا في الآفاق وفي أنفسهم حتى تبين لهم آتة الحق ؛

ان طالب اسرار الهنى بكل و آگاه اولمكل كه آفاده نشانلر وار

در . . . آلیخ

(41) Or. 567 (*Turkish*).

A good modern copy, dated Rajab, A.H. 1234 (= April-May, A.D. 1819); of the *Diccion* of Nesimî of Bagdad, beginning:—

دریای محیط جوشه گلدی ، کون ایله مکان خروشه گلدی ،

Bought 14, vii, 1905; ff. 214 of 23·5 × 16·3 c.; scribe, Hâjji 'Alî.

(42) Or. 568 (*Turkish*).

Prose and verse writings of Virânî Bâbâ, followed (f. 55^b) by the '*Ujûnu'l-Hidâya* of Rasmi Efendi the Bektâshî.

Ff. 148 of 17.5 x 11.8 c.; bought 14, vii, 1905; transcribed in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833-4) by Darwīsh Muhammad Amin. Virānī Bābā's work (ff. 1^b-53^a) begins:—

ایمدی ای طالب ق ححق الحمد لله دن مراد نگر تعالی بی
اکتدر . . . الخ

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

سلطان جهیان سید غازی و خندکار حاجی بکتاشی ولی و روح
محمد و علی

The 'Uyūn-i-Hidāya (ff. 55^b-139^a) begins:—
الحمد لله الذى جعلنا من أمة جليله و خليفه محمد المصطفى الخ

(43) Or. 569 (*Turkist*).

The *Bashārat-nāma* of Raḥī. Ff. 75 of 24 x 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:—

و یسمى مقدمة الحقائق بالمشارت نامه لرعیی علیه الرحمة
والرضوان قال التمی علیه السلام ' بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ،
فاتحة الكتاب سبع آيات احديتین

أول سبع المثاني ای حکیم ، گلدی بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ،

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

اولندى یگرى سبک حرف ای جوران ،
احمد مؤسسل کتابی بسى گمان ،
لام الففله اولندى یگرى طقوز ،
اولده بر حرف اولندى باشقه شیهه سر ،

(44) Or. 677 (*Turkish*).

Another copy of the *Dirān* of 'Arshī-Dedé, beginning as usual:—

بام بسم الله ايله قرآنه ایتدم ابتدا ،
تاف ویا دالی قیلدم حرف واحده ادا ،

Ff. 105 of 22 x 15.5 c. Transcribed in A.H. 1222 (= A.D. 1807-8) by Darwīsh 'Isā b. Kamālu'd-Dīn Khojā of Ḥāk' adām موحدین as حرزى کسرى . Bought 17, ii, 1906. On f. 1^a are scribbled two dates, that of the birth of Faḍlu'llāh the Hurufī (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339-40), and that of the birth of 'Arshī Dedé (A.H. 970 = A.D. 1562-3).

(45) Or. 702 (*Turkist*).

Another copy of the 'Ishq-nāma of Firishṭa-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 x 14 c. Transcription ended on Saturday, Sha'bān 1, A.H. 1219 (= Nov. 5, A.D. 1804). Scribe, Sayyid Hāfīdh Yahyā, of the Shādhili order of darwīshes.

INDEX OF HURUFY 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.).

Adam-nāma (Persian). Or. 5959 (B.M.).

Akhīrat-nāma (Turkish), by Firishṭa-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* (Persian). Or. 6293 (B.M.).

'*Arshī-Dedé, Dirān* 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-t-Husnā. Or. 582 (C.U.L.), ff. 135-157.

- Paškârat-nâma* of *Rasfî'î* (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 11^b-54^a;
Or. 569 (C.U.L.).
- Paškârat-nâma-i-Jâhî* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 30^a-62^b.
Bayân-i-Ahwâl-i-Hasb (Turk.). A. 42 (E.G.B.), ff. 1^b-4^b.
Bektâsh, dar Bayân-i-Silsila-i-Hâjji — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.),
ff. 94^a-95^a.
- Bektâsh, Manâqib-i-Hâjji* — (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 38^b-71^a.
Bektâsh, Maqûlât-i-Hâjji — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 103^b-
107^b.
- Barda, Tarjuma-i-* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 53^b-64^b.
- Dâ'irâ-i-Rijâl-i-Ghayb* — (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 127^a-
132^b.
- Dicân*. See under *Arshî*, *Muhyiyû'd-Din Abdâl*, and *Nesimi*.
- Fâtilat-nâma* (Turk.). C. 11 (E.G.B.).
- Fâtîlî, Mbr* —, Hurûfî tract by — (Pers.). Or. 6381 (B.M.),
ff. 4^b-101^a.
- Fagr-nâma* (Turk.) of Virâni-Dedé, *q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 17^a-51^b.
Fayd-nâma (Turk.) of Virâni-Dedé, *q.v.* C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 51^b-76^a.
- Ganj-nâma* (Turk.) of Rafî'î. A. 43 (E.G.B.), ff. 115^b-120^a.
Ghiyâth, Amîr — or *Maolânâ*, Poems and *Musajja'* (Pers.).
A. 41 (E.G.B.), ff. 7^b-15^b.
- Haqiqat-nâma* (Turk.) of Shaykh Safî. Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-13^b.
Hidayat-nâma (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-zâda, represented by A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 89^b-112^b.
- Hikmatû'l-Asrâr*, or *Khatbatû'l-Bayân* (Turkish). A. 41 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b-6^a.
- Ishq-nâma* (Turk.) of Firishta-zâda. Or. 5960 (B.M.); A. 69
(E.G.B.), the lithographed edition; B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 5^b-83^b;
Or. 44 (C.U.L.); Or. 531 (C.U.L.); and Or. 702 (C.U.L.).
- Islâh-nâma* (Pers.) of Amîr Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn Astarâbâdî. Anc.
Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.), ff. 1^b-59^b.
- Javâid-nâma-i-Kabîr* (Pers. and dialect). Or. 5957 (B.M.).
Other MSS. at Cambridge (Ec. 1. 27), Leyden, and St. Sophia.
See my *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University
Library*, p. 69.

- Kanzû'l-Haqâiq wa Kashfû'd-Dagâ'iq* of Shaykh Muhammad
'Aynu'l-Qudât of Hamadân, translated into Turkish. Or. 533
(C.U.L.), ff. 1-40.
- Kâshifû'l-Asrâr wa Dâfi'ul-Ashrâr* (Turk.), by Ishâq Efendi,
printed A.H. 1291 (= A.D. 1874-5). A. 49 (E.G.B.).
Khayâlî, Poem by — (Pers.). Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.),
f. 62^a.
- Khatbatû'l-Bayân*. See *Hikmatû'l-Asrâr* above.
- Kursi-nâma* (Pers.). Or. 6379 (B.M.).
- Glossary of dialect words used in the
Javâid-nâma-i-Kabîr, explained in
Persian. Or. 5957 (B.M.), ff. 483^a-
490^a; Anc. Fonds Pers. 24 (B.N.),
ff. 62^b-80^b.
- Lughat-i-Astarâbâdî*.
Lughat-i-Javâid-i-Kabîr. {
- Mahabbat-nâma* (Pers.), by Fadıllâh. Suppl. Pers. 107 (B.N.).
Maqâmât-i-Aqdâb (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 109^b-126^b.
Maqâmât-i-Awliyâ (Turk.) of Muhammad b. Hamza. Or. 532
(C.U.L.), ff. 81^b-101^a.
- { A key to the contractions used in
the *Javâid-i-Kabîr* and other
Hurûfî books. Or. 5957^a (B.M.);
Or. 488 (C.U.L.), ff. 124^a-126^a;
B. 15 (E.G.B.), ff. 2^b-3^b.
- Mirâtet-Tâidîn* (Arab.). Or. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-2^b.
Misri, Nuqq-i- — (Turk.), verse by Misri with commentary by
Salâhî. Or. 6295 (B.M.), ff. 1-32.
Mithâth, tract by — (Turk.). Or. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 82^b-86^b.
Muhyiyû'd-Din Abdâl, Dicân of — (Turk.). C. 7 (E.G.B.).
- Nesimi, Dicân* of — (Turk.-Pers.). Or. 6290 (B.M.); Or. 567
(C.U.L.).
- Pand-nâma* of Davîfi (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 17^b-33^b.
- Risâla-i-Ashâb-i-Badr* (Pers.), by Salâhî Efendi. Or. 6295 (B.M.),
ff. 84^b-103^a.
- Risâla-i-Dil-u-Dânâ* (Turk.), by Shaykh Ibrâhîm Efendi al-Oghlânî
al-Aq-sarâfî. C. 12 (E.G.B.).
- Risâla-i-Padl-i-Hurûfî* (Pers.). Or. 5958 (B.M.).
- Risâla-i-Hurûfî*, a treatise on the Letters. C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^b-90^b.
Risâla-i-Kayfiyyat-i-Khalqat (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 33^b-38^b.

- Risâle-i Naqlatü'l-Bayân* (Turk.). Or. 5961 (B.M.), ff. 1-33;
Or. 544 (C.U.L.), ff. 3^b-36.
Risâle-i Yedi Dâ'ira (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 65^b-72^a.
- Sa'âdat-nâma* (Turk.). Or. 45 (C.U.L.).
Şâhî Efendi, Şaykh 'Abdül'âlî —, tract by —. Or. 6295
(B.M.).
- Sharh-i-Jâvidân*, a Turkish commentary on the *Jâvidân-nâma* by
"Hâjji Efendi." Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 88-109^a.
Sharif, Sayyid-i —, *qasida of* —, with commentary (Persian).
Or. 62 (C.U.L.).
- Shirâb-nâma* (Pers.) of Sayyid Islyâq. Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 2^b-31^b.
Shuhâdî, Tuhfa and poems of — (Turk.). A. 43 (E.G.B.),
ff. 1^b-3^b and 55^b-76^a.
Sirrû'l-Mufradât (Turk.), by Darwish Bâbâ Uways. B. 15
(E.G.B.), ff. 4^a-5^b; Or. 42 (C.U.L.).
- Tahqiq-nâma* (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-Sâlik* (Turk.). Or. 532 (B.M.), ff. 72^a-81^a.
Tirâsh-nâma (Turk.). C. 9 (E.G.B.), ff. 76^a-77^a.
Tuhfa-i-Mahammad Nesim (Turk.). Or. 532 (C.U.L.), ff. 37^b-49^a.
Tuhfa-i-Shuhâdî. See under *Shuhâdî*, above.
- 'Ughonû'l-İidâya* (Turk.). C. 10 (E.G.B.); Or. 568 (C.U.L.),
ff. 55^b-139^a.
- Firânî-Bâbâ (or -Dedâ)*, prose and verso of — (Turk.). Or. 568
(C.U.L.), ff. 1^b-53^a. See also under *Zaghr-nâma*.
- Wasfiyat-nâma* (Pers.). Or. 6380 (B.M.), ff. 2^b-23^b.
Wiliyat-nâma (Turk.). C. 8 (E.G.B.), ff. 71^b-72^a. — of Hâjji
Bektâsh (Turk.). Or. 41 (C.U.L.). — (another Pers.).
Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 32^a-58^a.
- Zabâtü'n-Najât* (Pers.). Or. 43 (C.U.L.), ff. 66^b-69^b.

