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Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Jan., 1928), pp. 99-130

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25221317>

Accessed: 28/03/2011 09:10

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A Hitherto Unknown Turkish Manuscript in "Uighur" Characters

By G. L. M. CLAUSON

(PLATES II AND III)

BRITISH Museum MS. Or. 8193 was presented to the Museum on the 18th July, 1918, by one of our members, Mr. R. S. Greenshields (I.C.S., retd.). It had been purchased by him at a sale held on behalf of the British Red Cross Society in London on 22nd April, 1918. I understand that the MS. was presented to the British Red Cross Society by Sir Douglas Seton Steuart, in whose family it had been for many years. It was no doubt brought from India by one of the donors' ancestors, whose name, "The Honble. A. Seton, Esq.," is written on the fly-leaf in a hand which recalls the late eighteenth century. A note in the same hand on the first folio of the MS. states that it is in the "ancient pehlawee character" (a statement apparently founded on a similar note in Persian on the margin of the *recto* of the second folio) and that "according to another information . . . a certain religious person, Mohummud Moostukeem of Nornawl, intimated that this book had been presented to him by one of his pupils in the reign of Mohummud Shah (i.e. between A.D. 1719 and 1748), but no one can read it. Also in the time of the Nawab Feiz Gullub Khan it had been presented to the inspection of a learned Molawee of Delhie, who could not read it, but judged the writing to be in the ancient Cuffic character." The only other evidence of the history of the MS. which appears to survive is a note in Persian written in the field of the miniature on folio 87^v, as follows:—

مولود فرزندی اغری طوالله (sic) عمرها زینب سلطان خانم شب
شنبه بیست و پنجم شهر صفر سنه الف یک انشا الله تعالی قدمش
بر جمیع دوستان بحق محمد واله امجد مبارک باد

"Birth of a daughter, may God prolong her life, Zeinab Sultan Khanum on the night of Sunday, the 25th of Safar, A.H. 1001 (=A.D. 1593). If God pleases, may her steps be blessed among all the friends in the righteousness of Muhammad and his most glorious family."

The nature of the MS., but not its contents, was known to the original owner and since it reached the Museum it has been examined by Professor Barthold, who confirmed the statement that the MS. was in the " Uighur " script, and neither " pehlawee " nor " Cuffic " and wrote a note of the contents (with certain minor omissions and inaccuracies) which is now attached to the fly-leaf.

The MS. is now, however, in a very different state from that in which it was when it left the scribe's hands. The first stage in its decline and fall was the destruction of the original binding, so that a number of leaves were lost or misplaced, and the whole book turned inside out. It is also possible that at this stage two folios from a completely different MS., written, however, by the same scribe, now numbered folios 179 and 180, found their way into this volume.

The next stage was when it was rebound, more or less in its present order, and used not as a Turkish MS. but as a book containing various suitable expanses of bare paper, on which were written the poems, in Persian, of one Kamāl Isma'il.

I have not examined this later text in any way, and shall therefore not refer to it again.

The third stage was in more recent times, when the book was again taken to pieces, and each leaf was mounted carefully in the centre of a larger leaf of comparatively modern oriental paper, a good deal thicker and coarser than the original. It seems probable that after this, the book again fell into disrepair, as one of the series of numerations referred to immediately below, which is repeated both on the inner and the outer leaves, shows certain gaps. Since the MS. reached the Museum it has been rebound in the original covers.

In its present state the MS. contains 182 folios, of which the first bears the note in English referred to above, and is entirely of the later paper.

There are two earlier series of numerations in the MS., both in Indian Arabic hands. The shorter series is in black

ink in the inner upper corner of the recto of certain folios ; the longer series is in red ink in the outer upper corner of the recto of the original folios, and in part repeated in the outer upper corner of the leaves in which they are mounted. Neither series represents anything like the original order of the folios.

It will be convenient to divide the description of the MS. into three sections : (1) the paper ; (2) the illuminations ; and (3) the text.

The paper is a good oriental paper with a slightly glossy surface. It was originally arranged in quires of eight, but has since fallen into considerable disorder. As each leaf is mounted separately, it is fortunate that the leaves are in some cases slightly tinted, so that the arrangement in quires can largely be reconstructed. The great majority of the leaves are a more or less yellowish white ; a few are brown, buff, or pink of various shades. In their present state the original leaves measure about 8 in. by 4½ in., in some cases a little less. Most leaves have been slightly wormed, in some cases before they lost their original order. A certain number bear pricked designs, which appear to have been something in the nature of primitive tracing for the purpose of ensuring identity of outline between two designs. In all cases the pricking is accidental so far as our leaves are concerned, and was done before they fell into disorder, probably indeed before the text was written. As will be shown below, the illuminations are for the most part inserted on a systematic plan. By using all these items of evidence, therefore, (1) colour of paper, (2) worm-holes, (3) prickings, (4) arrangement of illuminations, and (5) the text, it has been possible to establish an order of leaves which is probably correct. I understand that the Museum authorities propose to reassemble the leaves in this order, but the original numeration will have to be preserved also for those students who are more interested in the works of Kamāl Isma'il than in the Turkish text.

Though the MS. presents other points of great interest, the illuminations are perhaps the most remarkable feature. As

far as I am aware only one other MS. in the late " Uighur " character is illuminated, that of the Mi'rāj Nāma in Paris,¹ but there is no resemblance between the styles of illumination of the two MSS. If we examine the Persian MSS. of the Timurid School, parallels to details of ornament can be found, but there appears to be no close parallel either to the general arrangement or to the chromatic scale of the illuminations. The four MSS. known to me, which provide parallels of detail are the following : (1) B.M. MS. Add 27261, a Persian MS. of mixed contents written and illuminated for a Timurid Governor of Fars in A.H. 813-14 (A.D. 1410-11). An account of this unusually fine and famous MS. will be found in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the B.M., pp. 868-71. Reproductions of pages will be found :—

(a) At No. 49 in the Oriental Series of the Palæographical Society.

(b) In F. R. Martin's *The Miniature Painting of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London : Quaritch, 1912), vol. ii, plates 53 and 240. See also vol. i, p. 30.

(2) A MS., the ownership of which appears to be divided between Dr. Martin and M. V. Goloubew, of Paris, of about A.D. 1410, described as of the Herat school. Reproductions of pages will be found :—

(a) In Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 240.

(b) In P. W. Schulz's *Die Persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig : Hiersemann, 1914), plate 35.

(3) A MS. in Dr. Martin's collection dated A.D. 1436, of which a page is reproduced in Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 53.

(4) A MS. in M. V. Goloubew's collection dated about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., and described as of the Samarqand school, of which a page is reproduced in Schulz, op. cit., plate 35. In this case the resemblance is less close.

Although there is admittedly a variation in the practice of the scribes there can be no doubt that in the case of our MS.

¹ A reproduction of a miniature from this MS. is to be found in Pavet de Courteille's *Mirāj Nāma* ; Paris, Leroux, 1888.

the illuminations were executed before the text, and have no reference to its contents. Indeed, it seems likely that they were executed by a different hand, for

(1) the speed with which the MS. was written, as shown by the dates in the colophons, seems to leave little time for preparing the illuminations, and

(2) on certain pages, e.g. 122^v and 123^r, a line of text is written actually on the miniature and not in the margin round it, an outrage unlikely to have been perpetrated by the artist himself.

The gilding of certain words in the text appears to have been done by the scribe himself.

However, whether or not the illuminator was the same as the scribe, he was a remarkable artist, and in particular he was a master of the difficult *technique* of illumination in gold.

The procedure was clearly as follows : The paper was first of all arranged in quires of eight folios, and elaborate frames were drawn on each page.

The frame is constructed of narrow lines with boundary-lines of black ink, the centre being filled with gold, or, occasionally, silver, which has now tarnished to a dull grey. The whole line is no more than half a millimetre broad.

First of all a rectangle was drawn about 194 by 119 millimetres. This is almost exactly the present size of the leaves, and in many cases this outer rectangle is wholly or partially cut away.

Next an inner frame was drawn to contain the text. The inner side of this frame, i.e. the side nearest the back of the book is the same as that of the outer frame, but the outer side, the top and the bottom are formed by two lines, about five millimetres apart parallel to the outer rectangle. This inner rectangle measures about 141 by 87 millimetres outside, and 130 by 81 millimetres inside. Single lines were then drawn,

(a) from the points where the outer line of the inner rectangle joins the outer rectangle, bisecting the angle so formed, to

the top and bottom lines of the outer rectangle respectively ;

(b) parallel to these two lines from the centre of the outer side of the inner rectangle to the outer rectangle.

The effect of two pages together, if the book is opened at any given place, is that of an inner rectangle bounded by double lines poised within an outer rectangle on the apices of four triangles based on the centres of the top, bottom and sides of an outer rectangle. The base of the triangles measures about 55 millimetres.

Apart from title-pages, which received special treatment, a frame of this kind lends itself to three alternative methods of treatment :—

(1) The whole of the space within the inner frame may be covered with a design, the triangles in the margin sometimes being decorated in harmony with the design ; or

(2) the centre space may be left free for the text, and the design confined to the margin, i.e. the space between the outer and the inner frame ; or,

(3) the spaces in the triangles and between the inner and outer lines of the inner frame may be decorated and the centre and the rest of the margin left blank.

The arrangement of illuminations within the quire is systematic, the number of double page illuminations in each quire varying from two to four. The commonest schemes of illumination are the following (the dots representing the leaves and the x's double page illuminations or the verso of the preceding and the recto of the following leaf) :—

. x . . . x . . . x . ; . . x . . x . . x . . and . . x x . .

A peculiarity of the MS. is that, as will appear below, the same design is used several times, sometimes with the same, and sometimes with different colouring.

Coming now to the colours used by the artist it will be convenient to refer separately to the outlines of the drawings, the backgrounds and the designs superimposed on the backgrounds.

The outlines are normally drawn in gold, sometimes in red or black ink, occasionally in silver.

Backgrounds are either in metal (gold or silver) or in colour (mauve, crimson, orange, brown, various shades of pink, and a much faded colour, which was probably originally green). It will be noticed that the choice of colours is peculiar, they might almost be described in modern phraseology as "lingerie tints". That the choice was deliberate and did not represent the full range of the artist's palette is shown by the fact that the geometric designs of gold lines on folios 87^v-88^r and 159^v-160^r are picked out with dots of blue and red. Another curious feature is that the colours are not laid on in flat washes but with a stippled effect, which makes them look as if they had been imperfectly ground.

The designs superimposed on the background are normally in colour, and not metal. Metal is, however, occasionally used for small *motifs* of conventional foliage, particularly when superimposed on a larger design.

In the case of folios 180 and 179, which appear to come from a different MS., the outline of the marginal decoration on the inner side of the two leaves is identical with that on folios 105^v and 106^r and the background is gold in both cases. On folio 179^r the design is uncoloured, but on folio 180^v the design is tinted green, blue, pink, and purple of shades not found elsewhere, and the colours are put on flat and not stippled, as if they had been prepared with a different medium from that used elsewhere.

We now come to the description of the principal types of illumination of the four classes referred to above.

A. Title pages. These are two :—

(1) Folio 159^v-160^r, the Muḥabbat Nāma. In this case a broad label of the usual type surrounded by a very delicate frame in black and blue ink with bands of gold and green, the centre being left free for the title, is set at the top of the page, and the whole of the rest of the page and of 160^r is decorated with a repetitive design of gold lines in bands. Each

band consists of a series of squares standing on their corners, the adjacent corners of each pair of squares being joined by a line. Bands consist alternatively of four squares and three *plus* two three-quarter squares, the squares of each band lying under the connecting lines of the band above and vice versa so that a blank space of zig-zag shape is left in which the text is written also in zig-zags. A small rosette of gold picked out with spots of red and blue is set in the middle of each square.

(2) Folio 173^v. *Qoshuqlar*. The label designed to contain the title is of similar type, but without the band of green. The title, however, is written above the label, which contains the first *qoshuq* (quatrain). The rest of the page is occupied by an elaborate "all-over" pattern of interlaced gold lines centred upon one complete and three half hexagons; six lines of text (three quatrains) meander round these lines. The next leaf, which presumably bore similar decorations, is lost. **See Plate II.**

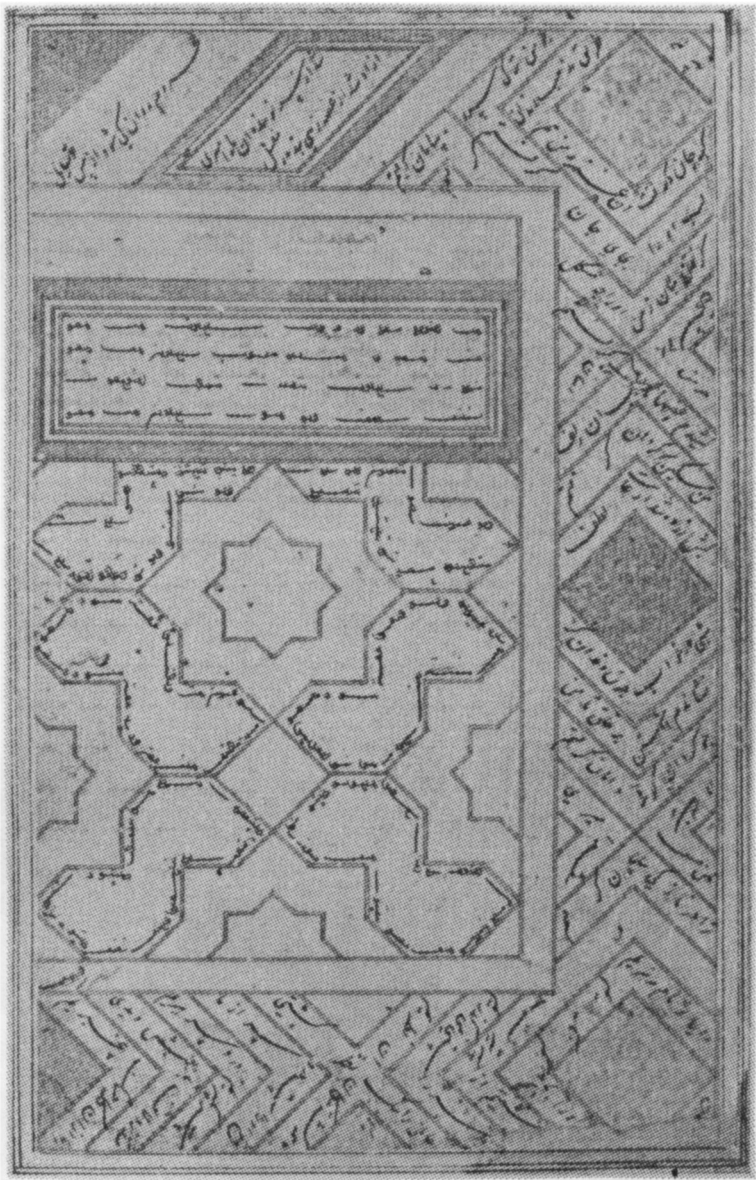
B. Designs covering the centre panel. These are of three main classes: (1) geometrical, (2) free-hand repetitive designs, (3) pictorial representations more or less conventionalized.

(1) Geometrical designs. There are six varieties:—

(a) A simple repetitive design of gold lines in bands, similar to those on A. (1) but based on linked hexagons (alternately three complete and two *plus* two three-quarter hexagons) instead of squares; folios 87^v–88^r.

(b) A similar but more open design of squares on their corners with connecting lines, with an intervening grille of diagonals parallel to the sides of the squares, eight complete squares arranged 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, with six half and four quarter-squares in the margin, the squares tinted contrasting colours and surmounted with gold *motifs*, the triangles in the margin similarly decorated; folios 167^v–168^r.

(c) A similar but more complicated repetitive design of eight-pointed stars with encircling lines, four complete and



Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8193 ; folio 173^v.

(To face p. 174.)

four half stars to the page, with a cross with pointed arms between each four stars, the stars, crosses and intervening bands being tinted with two contrasting colours and left uncoloured respectively, and the former surmounted with small *motifs* in both metals ; folios 34^v-35^r and 38^v-39^r.

(d) A similar design of six-pointed stars (five complete and two half stars) with hexagons (eight complete and twelve half hexagons) between them ; folios 47^v-48^r and 65^v-66^r.

(e) A central band of two complete and two half diamonds joined by lines with six zig-zag lines above and six below, parallel to the sides of the diamonds, the diamonds and the spaces between the zig-zag lines being tinted in contrasting colours ; folios 16^v-17^r, 20^v-21^r, 101^v-102^r.

(f) A central design in a square on its corner of an Arabic phrase in " quadrangular Cufic " script of the type illustrated in Bresnier's *Cours pratique et theorique de Langue Arabe* (Alger, 1855), p. 154, surrounded by a network of lines in geometrical patterns, the spaces between them and the triangles in the margin being tinted in contrasting colours ; folios 95^v-96^r and 163^v-164^r. [In the latter case the phrase is على 'Ali four times repeated, in the former two different phrases which have so far resisted decipherment.]

(2) Free-hand repetitive designs. There are three varieties :—

(a) Symmetrical curling floriated foliage covering the whole field, two varieties, one on folios 44^v-45^r, the other on folios 81^v-82^r and 109^v-110^r.

(b) Symmetrical curling floriated foliage in one diamond-shaped mass in the centre with subsidiary masses in each corner, the edge of these being roughly parallel to the edges of the central design, three contrasting colours being used for the central mass, the corner masses and the background, two varieties very similar to one another, one on folios 50^v-51^r, 92^v-93^r, 121^v-122^r, and 133^v-134^r, the other on folios 69^v-70^r, 90^v-91^r, and 98^v-99^r.

(c) A most curious and interesting design of conventional foliage with human and animal heads springing from it, the background green, the outlines gold and the foliage and heads uncoloured. This seems to have been a favourite Timurid theme. Examples will be found in :—

(1) B.M. MS. Add. 27261, folio 10^b.

(2) MS. of about A.D. 1410, Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 240, upper row, Schulz, *op. cit.*, plate 35, bottom right-hand corner.

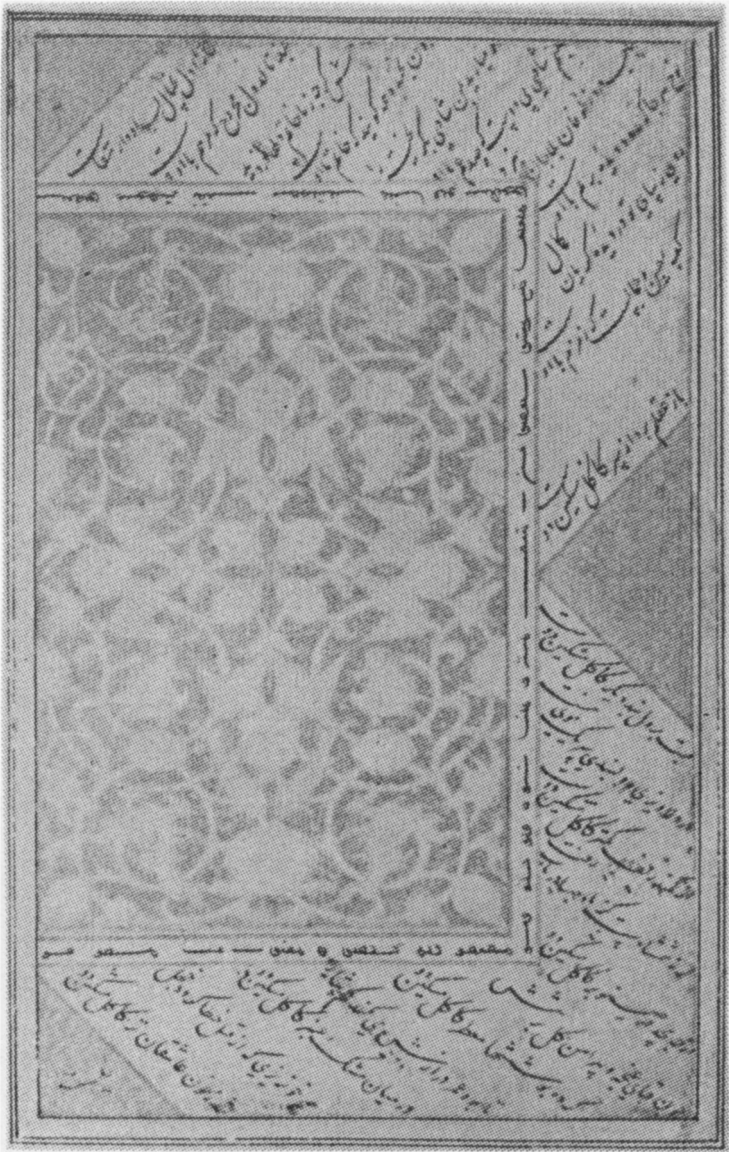
(3) MS. dated A.D. 1436, Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 63.

(4) MS. of end of fifteenth century A.D. Schulz, *op. cit.*, plate 35 (less close).

In the present case the design, which is identical in form on folios 14^v–15^r, is a single panel four times repeated, the lower two panels being inverted. In the inner corner of each panel is a human head of Sino-Mongol appearance, full face, and wearing a cap, cap to the centre ; next come two half human heads, with caps, full face (making four similar heads for the whole design) with two wings springing from under the chin, which is pointed to the centre ; next a wolf's head in profile, a bird's head in profile (cock or parrot ?) and a fish in profile, head to the centre ; next half a monster's head full face (the other half being cut off by the frame) a human head full face, and half a monster's head full face (making two complete faces for the whole design) ; next a wolf's head in profile, and a typical Chinese dragon's head, part profile part full face, both eyes being shown ; in the outer corner a human head with cap full face, chin to the centre. The triangles are coloured pink and decorated with gold scroll work. **See Plate III.**

(3) Pictorial representations. There are three principal varieties :—

(a) A highly conventionalized flower-pot in silhouette, two varieties, one decorated with two fishes in profile, head upwards on a metal background on folios 6^v–7^r and 22^v–23^r,



Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8193; folio 14v.

the other without this decoration on a plain background on folios 9^v-10^r.

(b) Several similar designs of which the central figure is a rose-bush with ten flowers on it :—

(i) A single rose-bush, folios 86^v-87^r (in the latter case two deer on a much smaller scale coloured mauve, are shown running up the trunk and five mauve or crimson birds sit in the branches.)

(ii) A rose-bush with a feathery plant at its foot, and two cypresses on a smaller scale beside it, folios 12^v-13^r.

(iii) A rose-bush between two cypresses with a feathery plant at the foot, folio 25^r.

(iv) An exactly similar design except that the centre piece is not a rose-bush, but a conventionalized tall brown tree (? a pine or cedar) with a straight trunk dividing at the top into three curling branches with a few needle-like leaves, folio 24^v.

(c) A highly conventionalized landscape, in the centre a bird's eye view of a hexagonal lake with a stream running through it, a meander pattern of Chinese appearance being repeated all over the surface. The subsidiary details vary :—

(i) Two cypresses and a conventional flower-pot, on the surface of the lake three gold ducks, folio 3^v.

(ii) The same but five gold fishes instead of the ducks, folio 4^r.

(iii) Three crimson shrubs and one faded green tree with a long trunk, on the lake two large white fish in profile, folio 178^v (the accompanying leaf is missing).

C. Designs covering the margin. The basis in all cases except one is conventional floriated foliage.

Two varieties of pure foliage occur. In one which appears on folios 27^v-28^r, 61^v-62^r, 73^v-74^r, 84^v-85^r, and 177^v (accompanying leaf missing) the triangles are coloured in contrast to the design, in the other on folios 105^v-106^r and 180^v-179^r (from the different MS.) the triangles are obliterated by the design. Another variety has bodies of birds in flight, growing from the foliage, a design which appears also on folio 406^r of B.M.

MS. Add. 27261, the triangles being coloured to contrast, folios 53^v-54^r and 113^v-114^r.

In the remaining variety the scroll work though reminiscent of foliage resembles rather a Chinese conventionalized cloud design, the triangles being coloured to contrast, folios 77^v-78^r, 117^v-118^r and 181^v-170^r. A similar design is found on folio 418^r of B.M. MS. Add. 27261, reproduced in Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 239, bottom right-hand corner.

D. Decorations of the triangles and the margin of the inner frame only. The spaces in question are tinted and in the case of one pair of leaves adorned with a spray of conventional foliage in gold, folios 58^v-59^r, 111^v-112^r, 161^v-162^r.

The quire consisting of folios 76-83 is unique in that both sides of the two outer leaves, 76 and 83, are decorated with conventional sprays of foliage in gold in the triangles.

We now come to the text. The script is that variety of the " Uighur " script which appears to have been used in Persia (including Afghanistan) in the fifteenth century A.D. It is only a little less removed from the prototype than the South Russian-Anatolian (?) variety represented by the MS. of the *Makhzenu'l-Esrar* from which extracts with a facsimile were published by M. Pavet de Courteille (*op. cit.*) and the MS. of the *Hibatu'l-Haqā'iq* published in facsimile by Nejib Eff. Asim (Constantinople, 1334 Turkish Civil Era). It closely resembles the script of the Bodleian MS. of the *Bakhtiyār Nāma* and the Paris MS. of the *Mi'rāj Nama* and *Tezkere-i Evliyā* published by M. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, Leroux, 1882, and Imprimerie Nationale, 1889-90 respectively).

The actual hand is particularly clear, symmetrical, and, of its kind, calligraphic, but the alphabet is the most inconvenient ever tolerated by man. It contains no more than thirteen letters: three vowels-cum-semi-vowels (1) *a*, *e*; (2) *ī*, *i*, *y*; (3) *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*, *w*, and ten consonants, (4) *b*, *p*, *f*; (5) *ch*, *j*; (6) *t*, *d*, *dh*, *ṭ*, and *ḍ*; (7) *s*, *sh*, *th*, *z*, and *ẓ*; (8) *h*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *gh*, *q*, *ayn*; (9) *k*, *g*; (10) *l*; (11) *m*; (12) *n*; (13) *r*. In three

of these cases the confusion is purely gratuitous ; two signs which originally represented *t* and *d* respectively are used indifferently for any letter in (6), two signs which originally represented *s* and *z* respectively are used indifferently for any letter in (7) and the diacritical marks which were originally used to distinguish *q* from *kh* and *qh* are here used nearly always over the medial or final letter representing this group and hardly ever over the initial. To add to our difficulties it is often hard to distinguish between (i) initial (1) and initial (8), (ii) final (9) and final (13), (iii) medial (7) and an undotted medial (8) and (iv) medial (6), medial *wa/pre* and medial *un/ün*. On the other hand we do get some help. *Sh* is nearly always distinguished by two subscript dots, and *h*, *h*, *kh*, and *'ayn* are frequently and *qh* (in Arabic words only) occasionally distinguished by writing the Arabic letters س, ح, ش, ع, and غ respectively under the character representing them. Even with this intermittent help, however, conundrums constantly occur. It is not easy to recognize *zulf* in a word which at first sight looks like *sulb*, nor *kāfir* in a word which might just as well be *kabīr*. Professor Barthold himself was so disconcerted by the script that he read *Bāqīr* for *faqīr* and failed to recognize the town of Yezd in " Yast (?) ". I cannot therefore guarantee that in the texts transcribed below I have always made the right guess. In some cases, e.g. as between the Persian words *pas* and *bāz* only personal preference, or a second text in Arabic characters, can decide.

In order to darken counsel as little as possible, I have generally spelt all Arabic and Persian words with full diacritical marks, including those over long vowels. In the case of pure Turkish words I have been in considerable doubt whether to use the voiced consonants *d*, *g*, *b*, *q*, etc., or the unvoiced *t*, *k*, *p*, *qh*, etc., particularly at the beginning of words, since we do not know to what extent these consonants had become voiced in the fifteenth century. In general I have attempted to follow the practice of the British Museum MS. Add. 7914 (dated A.H. 914 = A.D. 1508-9) referred to below, as this seems

likely to be the best guide ; but that MS. is itself shaky in distinguishing between *b* and *p* and *j* and *ch*, and cannot distinguish between *g* and *k*.

Similarly I have been in great doubt as to the extent to which " soft " or " modified " vowels should be introduced into Arabic and Persian words. As the Dative of دنیا is دنیاکا we may be sure that it was pronounced *dunye*, perhaps even *dünye* ; but the form دشمنلیق shows that دشمن was pronounced *dushman* not *düşmen*. I cannot, however, I fear hope to be entirely consistent since the practice of the period was probably fundamentally arbitrary and inconsistent. I have consistently refrained from using the " hard " Turkish *ı* in non-Turkish words, other than those containing a " hard " guttural, except in the suffixes.

It should perhaps be remarked that the practice of writing *ö/ü* in the first syllables of words as *oi/ui*, which prevailed in the earlier period in Chinese Turkestan, and still intermittently survived in that area as late as the fourteenth century A.D., is entirely unknown in our MS.

In prose passages the text is written sixteen lines to the page, in verse generally eighteen half-couplets to the page. These figures do not, of course, hold for all the illuminated pages.

So much for the script, we now come to the contents of the texts.

There are three dated colophons in the MS., as follows :—

Folio 129^v, l. 5.

*Tamām boldi Sirāju'l-Qulūb kitābī. Qutlugh bolsun. Tārīkh [i.e. tārikh] sekiz yüz otuz bishude, Chīchqan yıl Rajab ayıning yigirmi toquzida, Yezd shahrıda Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.*¹

" Here ends the book *Sirāju'l-Qulūb*. May it be auspicious. *Manşūr Bakhshī* wrote it in the town of *Yezd* on the 29th

¹ The form is curious. Perhaps *bititti* " caused to be written " should be read.

of Rajab, A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 29th November, A.D. 1431]."

Folio 135^v, l. 8.

Tamām boldī Mathalā kitābī. Tīrīkh sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yıl, Sha'ban ayīning törtide Yezd shahrīda Mīr Jalāl Dīnnīng suhbatında bu faqīr Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.

Here ends the book Mathalā (" For example "). This poor Manşūr Bakhshī, of the entourage of Mīr Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn, wrote it on the 4th of Sha'ban A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 4th December, A.D. 1431].

Folio 178^r, l. 13.

Tamām boldī Muḥabbat Nāma kitābī. Qutluḡ bolsun. Tīrīkh sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yıl, Rajab ayīning altīsında Yezd shahrīda Mīr Jalāl Dīn buyurḡhan üçhün bu faqīr Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.

" Here ends the book Muḥabbat Nāma. May it be auspicious ! This poor Manşūr Bakhshī wrote it on the 6th of Rajab A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 6th November, A.D. 1431] in the town of Yezd at the order of Mīr Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn."

It will be observed that the last colophon is dated about three weeks before the first, and it is on this fact that the main outline of the rearrangement of the *disjecta membra* of the MS. set out above is based.

The retention in the date of the year of the old Turkish twelve-year cycle is to be noted.

I regret that I have found no further information about the two personages mentioned in this colophon. If his own client can find no higher title for him than " Mīr ", Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn is not likely to have been very important. Manşūr was a bit of a poet and two quite good poems by him, transcribed from this MS., will be found in the Appendix. Both names were very common at this period.

As these colophons indicate, we have a MS. of distinctly mixed contents. With folio 174, the earliest surviving folio of the MS., we are plunged into the middle of a series of fifty moral maxims, the earliest one surviving being the eighth.

The moral level, however, cannot be described as particularly exalted, we commence :—

" 8th. The work which is rightly yours do well, in order that God, exalted be He, may make your work good among men.

9th. Be chaste (*parhizgār*) that you may be respected ('*azīz*') " . . . and so on.

This section is followed by a few detached maxims of the Prophet on sumptuary questions and other similar matters. The whole ends on folio 159a with the colophon :—*Kātibu'l-faqīr Maṣṣūr Bakshshī*.

Folio 159^v is the title-page, described above, of the Muḥabbat Nāma. The text is, with the exception of the gap noted below, complete and covers the following folios : 159^v, 160, after which two folios containing approximately 36 couplets are missing, 161–169, 181, 171, and 178^r, ending with the colophon quoted above. Another text of this work by *Khorezmi* written in a clear *nasta'liq* hand and dated A.H. 916 is one of the items of B.M. MS. Add. 7914 and it is described at some length in Rieu's *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the B.M.*, page 290. The present text is very definitely superior to that of the later MS. In particular it omits the fourth Nāma in the latter MS. which is clearly spurious as it is in Persian (while the whole point of the work is that the author wrote it in response to his patron's request for a poetical composition in that patron's own Turkish dialect), and raises the number of Nāmas to eleven as against the number ten mentioned in the Introduction. It also omits the Persian *Mathnawī* at the end. Elsewhere single couplets are omitted and other variant readings occur. One variant of some interest is in the first couplet of the poet's panegyric of his patron. Our MS. (folio 161^v, ll. 4 and 5) reads :—

Aya arslan yūrekliḡ k̲han uruḡhī.

Kichik yashdīn uluḡhlarnīḡ uluḡhī.

Add. 7914 (folio 293^v, l. 7) reads :—

Zehi arslan yūrek Qongrat uruḡhī, etc.

Our MS. no doubt preserves the original reading, *arslan yūrek* is hardly grammatical; *Qongrat* was probably introduced at a time when the identity of the Muḥammad Khoja Beg addressed was beginning to be forgotten and a tribal name had to be inserted to give the necessary clue.

The folio following 178 and containing the counterpart of the miniature on the *verso* of that folio is lost, but it seems probable that there next followed a short anthology of which folios 172, 182, 177, 175, and 173 are surviving leaves. Folios 172 and 182 are consecutive and as they are both on pink paper it seems likely that they formed the centre of a quire. Folio 173, as its *recto* bears the text of a *ghazal* while its *verso* bears the title and commencement of a collection of *qoshuqs* (*quatrains*) is likely to have followed the other leaves. The contents of these leaves which are reproduced in the Appendix are as follows :—

(a) a *ghazal* and *baît* by Maṣṣūr Bakhshī and the latter part of a third poem by him.

(b) three and a half *ghazals* by Luṭfi.

(c) two *ghazals* by Qambar *oghlu*.

(d) one *ghazal* each by Qāsim and Jauhari.

(e) four *quatrains* of the type called *qoshuq*.

Maṣṣūr Bakhshī is, of course, the scribe of our MS.

Luṭfi is a poet of whom something is known. An incomplete copy of his *Dīvān* is another of the items contained in B.M. MS. Add. 7914, and a notice of him will be found in Rieu's Catalogue, p. 286. As he was personally known to Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī he must have been alive after A.H. 844, and the present MS. was therefore written in his lifetime. The three complete poems, but not, unfortunately, the incomplete one, appear also in Add. 7914, and, as is shown by the collation in the Appendix, there are substantial divergences between the two texts.

I regret that I am not in a position to give any information regarding the other three poets mentioned. Their names do

not appear in Rieu's Catalogue, and time did not permit me to make my way into the uncharted seas of Nawā'ī's *Majālisu'n-Nafā'is* where the information may be forthcoming.

The *Qoshuqs* are of great interest. As far as I am aware, these are the only specimens surviving, but my researches have admittedly been incomplete and others may be known.

The word *qoshuq* is translated by Pavet de Courteille [*Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*: Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1870, p. 432] " a sort of poetic composition or drinking song sung according to the principles of the *orghushtek* ". He quotes three passages containing the word, two from the *Abushqa* and one from the *Bābur-Nāma*. One describes someone as not understanding the metre of the *tuyuq* or even of the *qoshuq*. The same quotation is given by Radloff [*Opyt* ii, 640].

The *tuyuq* or *tuyugh* was a quatrain verse-form based on the old Turkish system of *parmaq hisābi*, i.e. counting the syllables but disregarding the quality of vowels. Twenty *tuyughs* written by Qaḍī *Burhānu'd-Dīn* survive, see Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* [London, Luzac and Co., 1900], vol. i, p. 211.

Pavet de Courteille [op. cit., p. 55, s.v. *orghushtek*] quotes a passage stating that the *qoshuq* metre was *ramal murabba' mahdhūf* and giving a couplet in that metre, a catalectic tetrameter of the measure — ◡ — ◡. As will be seen from the Appendix, however, our *qoshuqs* are trimeters, and appear to be rather of the "*parmaq hisābi*" nature than strictly metrical.

The next part of the MS. in order of date is folios 2-129. The colophon on folio 129^v, quoted above, gives the name as Sirāju'l-Qulūb, " The Lamp of Hearts," but mentions no author's name. The work was no doubt translated from a foreign language, presumably Persian, possibly by Mansur Bakhshī himself.

It is a kind of catechism, dealing with various points of Moslem theology and eschatology. Each section is introduced by a short question, to which a reply, generally lengthy, is

given. The words *suvāl* and *jawāb* (" Question " and " Answer ") are gilded, and so too are some names of prophets, holy personages, etc. The name of God *ḥaqq* (or *tengri*) *ta'ālā* is not gilded, but is normally put at the commencement of a new line, the remainder of the preceding line being left blank or filled by one, or two, ornamental flourishes.

As the beginning of the work is lost, the identity of the questioners (there was more than one since they say " tell us ") cannot be determined. The respondent is Muḥammad himself (see folio 104^r, l. 14, where a reply begins " The Prophet peace be upon Him, said . . .").

The title *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* is not uncommon. One, in the form of a catechism, is mentioned by Haji Khalfa, see Fluegel's edition (London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1842) vol. iii, p. 588), *سراج القلوب فارسی علی طریق الجواب والسؤال*. Another, or possibly the same work, although the opening words are different, is contained in B.M. MSS. Or. 1231 and Add. 23,581, see Rieu's Persian Catalogue, p. 17, where reference is made to a similar work, with a different commencement, at Vienna, see Fluegel, Vienna Catalogue, vol. iii, p. 453.

The author of the work represented by the two B.M. MSS., of which Or. 1231 is an ancient copy dated A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519), is given in the former MS. as Imām Abū Mānsūr Sa'īd ibn Muḥammadi'l-Qaṭṭānu'l-Ghaznawī and in the latter as Imām Abū Naṣr ibn Sa'd ibn Muḥammad. The title Ghaznawī indicates a connexion with the Turkish dynasty of Ghazna, and it is possible, indeed probable, that this *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* formed the foundation of our work. The order of sections is more or less the same and the contents of the various sections are more or less identical, but the translation is by no means close or exact and in particular the frequent Arabic quotations in the Persian text are completely omitted in the Turkish version.

The following is a summary of the contents with references to the Persian text of Or. 1231, here designated P. ; in the first

two or three cases I have quoted the question in full, so as to give an idea of the general form.

Folio 2^r, l. 1-14. The end of a description of the Throne of God = P. 10^r middle—10^v, l. 1.

Folio 2^r, l. 15. " Tell us how many Prophets (*payghambar*) God created ; how many were Apostles (*mursal*), and how many books came down from heaven to the Prophets " = P. 10^v, l. 2.

Folio 4^v, l. 2. " Tell us who Azrayil is." The reply includes an extract from the Prophet's account of his journey to Heaven = P. 11^v, l. 3.

Folio 5^v, l. 14. " Tell us who Munkar and Nakir are." The reply includes an account of the interrogation of the dead = P. 12^v, l. 2.

Folio 11^r, l. 15. An account of the Baitu'l-Ma'mūr = P. 14^v, l. 7.

Folio 13^v, l. 6. An account of Jabal Qāf = P. 15^v, l. 4.

Folio 16^r, l. 8. Şur and Asrafī = P. 19^r, l. 1.

Folio 18^v, l. 2. The end of the world = P. 16^r, l. 12.

(Note that these two sections are in reverse order.)

Folio 33^v, k l. 3. The fastenings of the door of heaven and the lock (*qufl*), P. 20^r, l. 12.

Folio 33^v, l. 12. The key of heaven = P. 20^v, l. 5.

Folio 31^r, l. 2. The Prophet Yūnus = P. 20^v, l. 9.

Folio 28^v, l. 2. The destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea = P. 26^r, l. 7.

The order of P. is slightly different here. The end of this story is lost.

Folio 32 starts near the beginning of the story of Suleimān. 32^r, l. 1 = P. 28^r, l. 3 ; the question is put in P. 27^v, last line.

Folio 37^r, l. 6. The five beings who had no father or mother, but walked on the earth = P. 21^v, l. 2. The stories are those of (1) Adam and Eve (folio 37^r, l. 7) ; (2) the Prophet Şālih's camel (folio 39^r, l. 5) ; (3) the ram which Gabriel gave to the Prophet Isma'il to be sacrificed in his place (folio 40^r, l. 8) ;

and (4) Moses' rod which became a serpent. The end of (3) and beginning of (4) are lost.

Folio 43^r, l. 5. A pious interpretation of the cries of various birds = P. 30^r, l. 9.

Folio 44^r, l. 9. The Baitu'l-Ma'mūr again = P. 30^v, l. 4.

Folio 46^v, l. 4. The highest building in the world (i.e. the one built for Pharaoh by Haman !) = P. 31^r, l. 6.

Folio 48^v, l. 4. The table sent down to the Prophet 'Isā = P. 31^v, l. 7.

Folio 54^v, l. 4. The visit of Shaddād ibn 'Ad, while still alive, to Paradise and Hell. Apparently not in P., the end is lost.

Folio 58^r commences in the middle of the story of the Prophet Jirjis which starts at P. 35^r, l. 2.

Folio 72^v, l. 9. The Prophet 'Uzair (the father 40 years old, with a black beard, and the son 120 years old with a white beard) = P. 39^v, l. 10.

Folio 75^v, l. 7. Noah's flood and the fate of the sea on the Day of Resurrection = P. 33^v, l. 7.

Folio 78^r, l. 13. Dhū'l-Kifl. Mentioned in P.'s table of contents, 2^r, l. 7, but apparently omitted from the text.

Folio 83^v, l. 6. Speech of the Prophet 'Īsā in his mother's womb. Not in P. ?

Folio 84^r, l. 3. The rock which Moses struck = P. folio 49^r, l. 5.

Folio 86^r, l. 1. The Aṣḥābu'r-Rass = P. 51^r, l. 4.

Folio 91^v, l. 8. The Aṣḥābu Ukhdūd = P. 53^v, l. 3.

Folio 100^r, l. 1. The Prophet Ayyub. Not in P. ?

Folio 104^r, l. 10. Sulcimān's hidden sepulchre and Bulūqiyā = P. 60^v, l. 10. This is the last section both in our MS. and in P.

The Sirāju'l-Qulūb ends on folio 129^v, the last folio of a quire, with the colophon quoted above.

Folio 130 begins most abruptly but appears to be the beginning of the next work which is called the Mathalā Kitābī, " the Book of For Example." It starts: " Do no

evil, for God, exalted be He, keeps you," and then plunges into a series of sentences each of identical form. All, except the first, begin with the word *mathalā* "for example" in gold and continue "if a man says . . . he is an infidel (*kāfir*)."

It ends on folio 135^v with the colophon quoted above.

Folio 136^r is completely blank except for the frame, and the late Persian text.

Folio 136^v is not illuminated, but the whole of the text inscribed on it is in gold and is unusually large script. Were it not for the fact that it is undoubtedly the last and not the first page of a quire, folio 136 might have been regarded as the commencement of the MS. The text begins:—

Fol. 136^v. ¹ *Al ḥamdu lillāhi rabbī'l 'ālamīn* ² *us-salātu us-salāmu 'alā* ³ *khairi khalqihī Muḥammadin* ⁴ *wa ālihi ajmi'in.* ⁵ *Bilgīl kim bir neche* ⁶ *hikāyatlar Raḥatul-Qulūb* ⁷ *kitābīdīn ikhtiyār* ⁸ *qūlīp bitidir*, and continues on the following pages.

The introduction to this section of the MS. may be translated as follows:—

"In the name of God etc. Know that certain stories selected from the book entitled *Raḥatu'l Qulūb* are written here; also certain stories of prophets and sages, the questions put to the Prophet, upon Him be peace, by the king of the Yemen who came to him, and a few profitable words which the daughter of the King of China obtained by inquiry from the son of the King of the West have been collected and are written here in order that they may be profitable to those who read them. May it be that by the grace of God, exalted be He!, the book may be written to its end, if God, exalted be He!, pleases."

It will be seen, therefore, that this section of the MS. is a medley. It begins with the last item on the list:—

"The maiden said 'Who first in the world spilt innocent blood?' The youth said, 'The first man in the world who spilt innocent blood was Qābil, who killed Ḥābil, and their story is as follows . . .'"

Folio 141^r, l. 8. The story of the Prophet Şālih's camel.

Folio 144^r, l. 15. " The maiden said ' What are the two dead things which may be eaten (*halal turur*) ? ' The prince said, ' One is the fish, the other is the locust (*çhekürtke*). ' "

A number of shorter questions follow, some in the nature of riddles rather than religious questions.

Folio 145^v, l. 1. An anecdote of Loqman the sage.

Folio 146^r, l. 1. " The Companion named Wahb ibn Munabih, may God be satisfied with him, says, ' In the Old Testament I found twenty sayings which are wise. ' " The twenty are quoted.

Folio 147^r, l. 3. " Again the Prophet, peace be upon Him, says ' There are twenty things which, if anyone does them, alleviate poverty, distress and misery ' . . . "

Folio 148^r, l. 1. " The rules for eating food. "

Folio 149^v, l. 9. " Aristotle the sage says that four things will make the eyes bright . . . and so on. "

Folio 150^r, l. 6. " Again a Companion named Khālid Walid relates that one of the kings of the people of the Yemen came into the presence of the Prophet, peace be upon Him, and said ' Oh Prophet of God, I have come to ask you a few questions and to learn '. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said ' Very good '. That person said ' Oh Prophet of God, I seek to be wiser than the people '. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said ' Fear God ' . . . ", and so on.

Folio 153^v, l. 17. " A Companion named ' Āmir-i Majnūn (?) asked the Commander of the Faithful ' Ali ' Who is wise (*sirek*) ? ' . . . "

Folio 155^v, l. 2. " Again, they asked a sage named Yaḥyā-i Mu'ad-i Rāzi, may the mercy of God be upon him . . . " and so the MS. ends in the middle of a story.

There remain to be described only folios 179 and 180, which belong to a work not represented elsewhere in the MS. The script is the same, and the illuminations are clearly by the same hand, since the outline of the design which decorates the margins of one side of each leaf is identical with the

outline of the designs on folios 105^v-106^r ; the colour scheme, however, is, as stated above, different, and it is therefore probable that the leaves belong to a different book.

The text is continuous, but the two leaves in their present position are reversed, i.e. folio 180 precedes folio 179. The principal text is part of a *Mi'rāj Nāma* which presents extraordinary coincidences with and divergencies from the text printed by Pavet de Courteille in his edition of the Paris " Uighur " MS. [*Mirâdj-Nāme*, Paris, Leroux, 1882]. The surviving fragment commences in the middle of p. ۷۸, l. 7, of Pavet de Courteille's text with the description of the Prophet's visit to the lake of Kauthar [Kevser]. The first two sentences are almost word for word the same, the next contains the same sense in rather different words, and the next is identical. Our text then skips out a page and a half of the Paris text, rejoins it for a short time, and then departs once more and so on. The explanation of these phenomena is perhaps to be found in the fact that the four persons sitting round Kauthar distributing the water are stated in our text to be Muḥammad, 'Ali, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain, while in the Paris text they are stated to be Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and 'Ali ; in other words our text is Shi'i, while the Paris text is Sunni.

As the Prophet could hardly have visited Kauthar and found himself sitting beside it, the assumption is that the Sunni version is the original one.

The text in the margin of the two unilluminated pages is even more interesting, as it belongs to a class of text hitherto unknown in " Uighur " script. It is part of a series of Arabic proverbs in gold, each proverb being followed by a paraphrase in Persian prose, and a Persian distich enlarging upon the theme. As may be imagined the decipherment of Arabic and Persian texts in this script was extremely difficult and I am much obliged to Mr. Fulton of the British Museum for his assistance. The full text will be found in the Appendix.

This article is already too long and there is therefore no

space to enlarge further on the many interesting points raised by this MS. I should, however, like to make one or two observations on the dialect employed. In so far as the texts are native to the Yezd district and not imported from Turkistan (as the Muḥabbat Nāma presumably was) they have a fair claim to represent the fifteenth century ancestor of the Azerbaijani dialect. The shibboleths which I have noticed point, as might be expected, to relationship with Kaşgari's Ghuzz group rather than his Türki group. "White," for instance, is *aq* not *üring*; but the morphology is primitive rather than modern. Note, for instance, such forms as *turur*, *tileben*, *aytmaq* "to say", the future in *ghay*, *gey* and the imperative in *ghil*, *gil*.

The poems of Qambar ogli contain one or two distinctively "Western" forms like *qilan* (for *qılqhan*), *menüm* (for *mening*) and the verb *eylemek*.

Some individual words are of particular interest. For instance *sirek* "wise" is quoted by Radloff [Opyt iv, 702] from the Baraba dialect only, and *chekürke* "locust" corresponds neither to Kaşgari's *chekürke* nor to Osmanli *chegirge*. No doubt a careful study would disclose many other points of interest.

I should not like to close this paper without expressing to Dr. Barnett and Mr. Edwards of the British Museum my gratitude for the many kindnesses which I received from them in the course of my studies on the MS.

APPENDIX

(a) The shorter poems

Folio 172^r, l. 1.

Lutfi

*Ay laṭāfat bostānī ichre serw-i khosh khirām,
Tapti rukhsaring gülündin husn-i bāgh-i ihtirām.
Ay yüziüngni künge okhshatsam, muwajjahdur dalil;
Ab-i haywān disem irningni, irür mā lā kalam.
Bolsa düzakhta khayālīng, tangha köymeklik halāl;
Bolmasa jannatta yādīng, jāngha āsāyish ḥarām.*

*Zar waraq teg bolmisham simin saqaqing shauqidin,
 Körki ne zard-u nizär itti meni saudäyî kham.
 Wa'd-duhâ wa'l-layl oqurmen yüz-ü zulfungnî körüp
 Keçti 'umrum barcha-u wardim irür bu subh-u sham.
 Garchi mahrum dur raqibing haqqdin ozmazmen umäd,
 Birdi kâfirning murädin birmegeymü bizge kâm ;
 İtlaringiz birle boldi Lutfi yärüm ishine,
 Jân qadamlarî fidâsî qilsalar ishni tamâm.*

Apparatus Criticus. Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 202^r lines 11 following. The order here is 1, 2, 4, x, 3, 6, 5., v. 7 is absent, x is as follows :—

*Qämating töbî nihâli dur labbing Kauthar suyu
 Yüzüing ol hür-i bihishti tuttî bu 'âlî maqâm.*

The following variants occur :

1. 2. *gülindin* for *gülündin*.
 1. 4. *aghzingnî* (?) for *irningnî*.
 1. 5. *tenge* for *tangha*.
 1. 9. *zulf-u nürungnî* for *yüz-ü zulfungnî*.
 1. 10. *Lutfi 'umrî-u wardi* for *'umrum barcha-u wardim*.
- Folio 172^r, l. 16.

Lutfi

*Ay âyat-i rahmat yüzüingüz shânüda nâzil
 Bolghay qacharing birle qachan mihr muqbil.
 Sizdin gerek ökrense parî âdamilignî
 Yusuf daqlî ta'lîm gerek alsa shamâyil.
 Yalghuz men imezmen hausing bile giristâr
 Husnunggha irür hür-u malik jân bile mâyil.
 Hârût közüing sihrini kördi khajil oldi,
 Andin yashunub ikhtiyâr itti jah-i Bâbil.
 Ol sach mu turur subha yaqin yâkhôd uzun ton
 Yâ ghâtiyadin dil-ü köngüllerge salâsil ?
 Jân muşhafî sipâra bolur qayghuda her dam
 Haikal iligi boynuma tabuldî hamâyil.
 Hijringde tiler Lutfi qulung öz ajalînî
 Sansiz kechüren 'umurdin ay dostnî hâşil.*

Apparatus Criticus. Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 199^r lines 4 following in the order 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7.

1. 6. *turur* for *irür*.
1. 9. *dur* for *turur*.
1. 11. *jân* omitted.

- l. 12. *boynuma* for *boynuma*.
 l. 13. reads *Hijringde tiler her dam ajal Lutfi-yi meskin*.
 l. 14. *sinsiz* for *sansiz*.

Folio 172^v, l. 13.

Lutfi sözi

Sening üsrük közungge ne khabar bar ?
Kim andin 'aql-u jan-gha küp khatar bar.
Munajjim qash-u közung körgech aytur
Kim oshbu ay bashında fitnalar bar.
Qashim köz bahrî üzre köprüküng dur.

Folio 182^r, l. 1.

Senge her neche kim mundin gudhar bar.
Qiran qildî közüng ay teg yüzüngde
Qiran dur anda ârî kim nazar bar.
Qadû kelgende Lutfi öz halakin
Tiler alningda kûmi bu qadar bar.

Apparatus Criticus. Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 175^v lines 3 and following in the order 1, 3, 2, 4, 5.

Line 5 reads *Yolungda qash irür köz bahrîna pul*.

- l. 8 *kim ârî* for *ârî kim*.
 l. 9. *kilgende* for *kelyende*
 l. 10. *qâsîngda* for *alningda*.

Folio 182^r, l. 6.

Qambar oghli

Kök ichinde sizleyin bir sauk-i dilber bolmaghay,
Sachî sumbul yüzi gül qaddî senüber bolmaghay.
Chîn-u Mâchîn-u Qitayda bolmaghay mânandîngiz.
Sizleyin bir qaddî sarkash zulfî jambar bolmaghay.
Ghamza-yî ghammâjîngiz (?) teg tideyi nargis imez,
T[ur]ra-yi tarrârîngiz (?) teg mushk-u 'anbar bolmaghay.
Yanmaghaymen 'ishqîngîzdîn gar meni yantursalar.
Khaira barghanlar 'ajab kim ahl-i Khaibar bolmaghay.
Sûratîng wasfîn qılanlar körmegen dür husnungî.
Sizge okhshîsh raudada bir hûr-i paikar bolmaghay.
Teki tekrâr eyledim khul sûratîng majmû'asîn
Khâtîrînda mundin artuq nirse az bar bolmaghay.

Folio 182^v, l. 1.

Gar sening terking qîlursam, ay dilârânum menüm,
Pas mening adim chîqanda Ibn-i Qambar bolmaghay.

Qambar oghlī

Dilbarā zenzīr-i zulfung shāna qılding ; qılmaghīl !
 Sad hazārān 'āqīlī fitna qılding ; qılmaghīl !
 Chīn kōngül shahrīn musakhkhar qılding ; ay Türk-i khatā (?)¹
 Khittayī ma'mūrumī wayrāna qılding ; qılmaghīl !
 Gīj-u (?) bahrayn oldī chashmīm, khūnī dildin manj orar,
 Qatra qatra ashkümi dur-dāna qılding ; qılmaghīl !
 Āshnā qılding mēge 'ishq-ī haqīqīnī majā[r (?) ,
 'Aqlum-ī yekpāragī paykāna qılding ; qılmaghīl !
 Bī tahashshī jām-i may nūsh eyleding akhyār ile,
 Garchi sen bu shifāni rindāna qılding ; qılmaghīl !
 Sham'-i rukhsārīng qatīnda yüz tümen parvāna bar,
 Men da'īf-i yanghuchī parvāna qılding ; qılmaghīl.
 Qambar oghlīn bulbul-i dil qasdā taksar ayleding,
 Gül yüzüingde sumbulī dardāna qıldin ; qılmaghīl !
 Fol. 177^r.

Qambar oghlī

Te kim ² ol serw-i sahī sumbulnī gül bosh eyledi,
 Sad hazārān bulbulī gulshān madhūsh eyledi.
 Ghayrat ildürmen ki sahhār (?) ne ichün öpti labbların,
 Baghrumīng qanī mayi qumqāna teg josh eyledi.
 Her niche faryād idermen yād olur yād eylemez,
 Dilbar-i paymān-shikan 'ahdīn farāmūsh eyledi.
 Yanmūsham bashdīn ayagga sham' teg ichi otīna,
 Bilmezim (?) bu 'ishq otīn qaydīn mēge tosh eyledi.
 Qasd-i jānīm qıldī dilbar nāwak-i michken (?) bile,
 Niche-kim nīsh ordī ol bu qasdā dil nūsh eyledi.
 Yārumung aqdām qashīnda mäh-i nau kördi felek,
 Shol sababdīn dur hilāl-i halqa dar gūsh eyledi.
 Bulbul ayru tūshse güldin, lāl olur hich sözlemez ;
 Qambar oghlīn yār fīrāqī bile ³ khāmūsh eyledi.

Jauharī

Qasdā kōnglüm ol sheker irnīn tileb jān tarta dur.
 Arsuluq bīchārānī yā rīzq yā qan tarta dur.

Fol. 177^v.

Dūnyede men dur men-u (?) yalghūz kōngül wāy anī ham.
 Zulfī wu közi qashī her biri bir yan tarta dur.

¹ The edge of this folio is clipped and the last letter of this and other lines is partly or entirely lost.

² The first letter of this and some other lines is lost.

³ Text reads *bayle*, presumably in error.

Khūsh qashīnīng yasīnī kirbik oqī birle közi
Garchi üsrük tür körüngni yanglu esen tarta dur.
Te khayālī, keldi mihmān köz essiz mihmānūgha,
Gāh durr-i 'Ummān-u gāh la'l-i Badakhshan tarta dur.
Ay kishi tarttı madā'in (sic) dilbarīnīng alnıda
Hich neme lāyīq yoghūdīn Jauharī jān tarta dur.

Lutfī

Ghamzangiz khūnī wu her dam könglüm ol yan tarta dur.
Barmasam qashīn chun meni qan tarta dur.
Tat közungdin ki dīngha (?) niche yüz orsam meni,
Kufr zar-i zulmīle cl ne musulman tarta dur.
Khāk-i pāy-i kim anga zulfī teger küp ihtirām,
Yā meni topraq yā rīz-q-i parīshān tarta dur.
Alnıda jān tarta durmen, te meger tūshgei qabūl
Hich nazar qılma bu miskīn zar-i kim jān tarta dur.
Qashlarī yasīn qolaqqa yitküre tartar közi.

Fol. 175^r.

Manşūr Bakhshī sözi

Ay khudūy-i lam yazal, ay pādshāh-i lā yazāl,
Barcha 'ālamnīng khudāwandī irürsen bī-zawāl.
Mithl-u mānandīng senīng yoqtur, yana bolghusī yoq.
Kimse okhshamaz senge perverdigār-i bī-mithāl.
Mülketīngge yoq zawāl, ay hayy-u qayyūm-u ahād,
Khālīqu'l 'arsh-u samāwāt, ay kerīm-i bā-kamāl.
Yā ghiyāth-al mustaghīthīn, barchagha faryād rās,
'Alīmu'l asrār-i 'ālam, yā 'alīm-i dhū'l jalāl,
Qudratīng birle yarattīng 'arsh-u kürsī wu qalam.
İlķmetīngning ökmīne yitmek turur 'aql-u khayāl.
Jinn-u ins-u wahsh-u tayr-u mūr-u mākī rīzqīnī
Yetkürersen jumlagha qudrat bile bī qıl-u qāl.
Kim ki ichti rahmatīng daryāsīdīn bir jur 'ayī,
Barcha 'ālamdīn munazzah boldī wu boldī zulāl.
Kim fanā boldī muhabbat bahrīna, jāndīn kechib
Wasīliyat mülkide bāqī bolup taptī nawāl.
Kimge kim qıldīng nazar, hīrd-u hawādīn boldi şāf,

Fol. 175^v.

Dünye-din kechdi, körünmez közige māl-u manāl.
Mülk-ü māl aulūd-u qatundīn munazzah qıl köngül,
Chün hijāb irmish senge haqq yolıda ahl-u 'ayāl.

*Mashivallahdīn (?) köngül mülkini khālī qılmaqhan,
 'Aqibat mardūd olup tekti anga sansız malāl.
 Yā ilāhī ! ol irenlerning haqqı kim şüdqıla
 Waşl genjini tileben taptılar sendin wişāl.
 Barcha mu'minlar gunāhin qıl kerem birle 'afū,
 Hashr küinide alargha birmegil sen inş'āl.
 Bu faqir Manşūr bakhshīnīng du'āsın qıl qabūl,
 Akhīratta haqq Muḥammad birle birgıl itişāl.*

Bayt

*Sening dardīng mence ter mendin artuq.
 Senge gul bolduqlum sultāndīn artuq.
 Sening dhikringni aysam chol ichinde,
 Bolur ol chol mence bostāndīn artuq.*

Fol. 173^r.

*Aḥsanu'l taqwīmī kören chūn Anā'l-Haqq dimesün.
 Pas nedin bartar oluptur Manşūr-i dīwānasī ?
 Sham'-i wahdat dur jamālīng suhbat-i rūshan qılır.
 Qarshuda khosh khosh yanadur Saiyidūng parwānasi.*

Qāsīm sözi

*Ay şanam ! Tengring üçhün dardīmgha qılghıl chāranī,
 Ghamza oqınī atıp qıldīng yürekke yāranī.
 Ishıvalar qılmaq bile baqlrīmınī pāra eyleding.
 Ne ziyān qılghay senge sorsang bu baqlrī pāranī ?
 Terk-i dūnyе tauba (?) qıldım, 'āshūq oldum ḥusnunga,
 Qıldım erse men sening ay yüzüнге nazḡaranī.
 Ol kāghadh (?) teg iki yüzlüg mudda'īnī, ay şanam,
 Bashīnī kesgil qalam teg. Sortayın (?) men ghāranī.
 Qāsīm-ī bīchāra ger ölse ishıgıngde, bigim,
 Öz qulung birle kötergil sen oshol bīchāranī.*

Fol. 173^v.

Qoshuqlar

*Te köngül ol bi-wafā iliginde dur.
 Jān qushī dayım jafā iliginde dur.
 Nola ? Iligin goysa qasda könglüme,
 Anıng üçhün kim dawā iliginde dur.*

*Ker chaman ichre khīrāmān boyle ;
 Gulshanī qılghıl mu'attar boyle ;*

*‘Andalīb-u hūrñi qılghıl khajil ;
Birni oyan-u birni kötü koyile.*

*Iki chashmīm bir biri rukhsārī dur.
Her (?) chamanda fitnay-ī rukhsārī dur.
Te sanagdīn (?) almāsīñi körgeli
Akhratīngdīn chūn bihī rukhsārī dur.*

*Te köngülge saldı dilbar mihriñi ;
Mihrūme qıldı ziyāda mihriñi.
Ol qamar teg yüzü, zuhra teg jafā,
Munfa‘il qıldı felekning mihriñi.*

**(b) The Arabic and Persian texts in the margins
of folios 180^r and 179^v**

Bayt

*Her ki bar haqq buvad bā arđ-u-jahān
Hāşil ārad bā jumlag-i a‘rād.
Pas dar wartha-yi halak aftād¹
Ān ki az rāh-i haqq kunad i‘rād.*

Tisa‘a thamānūn

Idha amlaqtum (?) fa-tājirū wallāhi bi’ş-şadaqāti

*Şadaqa sabab-i ziyādat-i māl ast wa sa‘ūdāt-i hāl ast wa her
ki şadaqa dihad tuwāngar ast wa hāl-i farāhat.*

Bayt

*Hīch chīzī ma-dān tu chūn şadaqa
Hast az ū māl chahra pīshī
Ū rasānad kasān ba-istighnā
Ū rahūnad sarranj-i (?) darwīshī.*

Tis‘īn

Man lāna ‘ūduhu kathurat akhşānuhu

*Ar narm bāşhad wa siyāsāt ba-waqt na kunad wa marāsīm-i
adab-rā muhmal gudharad sar dastān-i ū kardan kashī (?)
kunand wa ūrā ħurmat na dārand wa bā murād-i ū na ravand.*

¹ Sic here and in the Persian prose translation of Proverb 93 for *uftād*.

Bayt

Her ki bā kīhtarān kunad narm
Mānad andar batīyat-i īshān
Na na andash (?) ba dastī kardān¹
Na barandash ba-wājib-i firmān.

*Ihdā tis'īn***Qalbu'l aḥmaqi fī fannūhi**

Her chī dīl-i aḥmaq bāshad ba-zabān bi-gūyad wa khalq-rā
az sirr-i khīsh ibhā kardā nad.

Bayt

Her ki ū hast bā hamāqat juft
Jāygāh-i dīlash dahān-i vay ast
Her chī dārad zī nīk-u bad dar dīl
Ān hama bar sar-i zabān-i vay ast.

*Ithnā-tis'īn***Lisānu'l 'āqili fī qalbihi**

Her ki khīrad bāshad sirr-i khīsh dar dīl nigāh dārad wa bā
hīch kas nagūyad.

Bayt

Her ki ū hast bā-kamāl u khīrad
Hast panhān zabān-i ū dar dīl
Na shawad hīch sirr-i ū paydā
Na buwad hīch guft-i ū bātīl.

*Thalātha-tis'īn***Man jarra fī 'ināni amalihi 'athara bi-ajalihi**

Her ki 'inān ba-dast-i amal dihad wa bar mojib-i hawā-yi
nafs rawad zūl bāshad ki dar muḡhār-i halāk aftād.

Bayt

Dar hama kārhā ba-guftī hawā
Her ki bi-dihad 'inān ba-dast-i amal
Bīm bāshad ki ān amal nagāh
Andar andāzadash bi-jā-yi ajal.

*Arba'a-tis'īn***Idhā wasalat 'alaykum atrāfi'n-ni'ami falā tanfaru**

¹ The reading is uncertain owing to worm-holes.