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The Poetry of Shāh Ismā‘il I

By V. MINORSKY

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I. INTRODUCTION

MY interest in Shāh Ismā‘il’s poetry was aroused thirty-six years ago, when from my Ahl-i Haqq friends I learnt that the *Khatā’ī* mentioned in one of their hymns was no less a person than the founder of the Ṣafavi dynasty¹: *Khatā’ī-dā nātiq oldī, Türkistanın piri oldī* “(Godhead) came to speech in the person of Khatā’ī, (who) became the pīr of the Turks (of Āzarbāyjān)”, according to the explanation given to me.

For some time I suspected the Ahl-i Haqq doctrines to be identical with the arcana of the Safavids, but later came to the conclusion that the home of the former was in Kurdistan, in the region of Sulaymānī, and that only by a kind of alliance were they related to the Ṣafavi propaganda.

It was only in 1920, in Paris, that I could carefully study a copy of Khatā’ī’s *dīvān* (Bibliothèque Nationale, sup. tunc 1307). This time my attention was attracted by the autobiographical hints of the crowned poet and by the dialectic peculiarities of his Turkish poems. I read a paper on Shāh Ismā‘il’s poems before the Société Asiatique (9th December, 1921), and started on the preparation of a selection from Khatā’ī’s *dīvān*. My work was several times interrupted. Meanwhile, the problems of the rise of the Safavids occupied my mind, and I came to look upon the *dīvān* as an historical document characteristic of the strivings of the age.

In view of its manifold interest, the *dīvān* should be published in

¹ See my *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude . . . des Ahl-i Haqq* (in Russian), Moscow, 1911, pp. 80, 108–110; also my *Notes sur les Ahl-e-Haqq*, Paris, 1922, p. 21, and my article “Khatā’ī” in *Enc. of Islām*.

its entirety ; but even a proper collation of the manuscripts is impossible in the present state of the world : *jahān dar-ham oftāde chūn mū-ye Zangī* ! I can only sum up some results of my protracted but desultory research in the hope that my article may serve as a stepping stone to some younger scholar living in happier times.

“ It is a remarkable fact that while Sultān Selīm and Shāh Ismā‘il both possessed poetic talents, the former wrote almost exclusively in Persian, and the latter, under the pen-name of Khaṭā’ī, almost exclusively in Turkish.”¹

The spectacle of the Ottoman sultan, who led his victorious army to Tabriz, becoming a victim of Persian refinement is certainly astonishing, but its significance is somewhat limited : it points only to the prestige of a brilliant tradition among the upper classes of a nation which had not yet found its own literary way. The preference shown by the founder of the Safavid dynasty for a Turkish dialect, which as an instrument of poetical expression stood no comparison with the melodious, easy-flowing, and highly polished Persian, has much deeper roots. As a poet, Selīm appeals to the inner circle of his intimates. Ismā‘il has in view a much larger auditory of his supporters. The Sultan plays with words for his own amusement, and no one will take seriously the master of a well-stocked harem when he laments : “ Oh, sultan of the moon-faced, you have killed this dervish.”² The Shāh’s poetry also abounds in commonplaces, but it has personal elements as well, teems with queer religious ideas, and its ostensible purpose is to rally a party round a definite programme.

Founders of esoteric sects are fond of special dialects and symbols intelligible only to their immediate milieu. Faḍlullāh the Ḥurūfī wrote in the dialect of Astarābād ; the hymns of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq are in Gūrānī, the Bābis used a mass of cryptic and conventional terms. Shāh Ismā‘il’s ancestors often had recourse to the Iranian patois of the neighbourhood of Ardabil.³ Gradually the Safavid influence spread among the Turcoman tribes of Āzarbaijān, and especially of Armenia, Northern Syria, and Asia Minor. The sedentary population of Persia

¹ E. G. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, 1924, p. 12.

² See the *Dīvān* edited by P. Horn, Berlin, 1904 (most beautifully printed but not very successfully decorated), and P. Horn, “ Der Dichter Sultān Selīm I,” *ZDMG.*, lx, 1906, pp. 97–111. Horn does not go beyond saying that Selīm is “ a complete master of the poetical technique ”.

³ The specimens occurring in the *Silsilat al-nasab* have been studied by Kasravi in his *Ādhari*, 1304/1926. B. Miller sought to prove the connection of this dialect with Tālishī ; see *K voprosu ob yazike naseleniya Azerbayiana*, in *Ucheniya Zapiski*, I, 199–228.

was still attached to the Sunna,¹ and its conversion to the new Shī'a doctrines could be envisaged only with the help of the supporters of the first hour. Shāh Ismā'il, even though he must have been bi-lingual² from birth, was not writing for his own heart's delight. He had to address his adherents in a language fully intelligible to them, and thus the choice of the Turcoman Turkish became a necessity for him.³

Shāh Ismā'il's son Sām-mīrzā states that his father wrote also in Persian, and as a sample quotes one single verse. Some traces of Persian poetry are found in one Paris MS.; but with this exception, all the known copies of Khatā'i's *divan* are entirely in Turkish.⁴

II. MANUSCRIPTS

The MSS. of Khatā'i's *divān* are not very numerous, and vary considerably in their contents, single verses, and spellings. Those of which I possess knowledge are as follows⁵ :—

P 1. Bibl. Nat., supp. tunc 1307, 83 folios, contains 253 ghazals and three mathnavis: *Fil-munājāt* (24 distichs), another mathnavi beginning: *qadīm-i dhāt-i bī-mithl-u-bagā dur* (18 distichs) and a heroic mathnavi (60 distichs in *mutaqārib*). The MS. was completed in 948/1541, only eighteen years after Shāh Ismā'il's death. It must form the basis of any future critical edition as giving a number of very outspoken poems and verses which the other scribes preferred to omit. Cf. Blochet, *Cat. des MSS. turcs*, ii, 229.

P 2. Bibl. Nat., supp. tunc 995 (formerly in Schefer Collection), 64 folios, contains in Turkish: 205 ghazals, 9 quatrains, 2 mathnavis (of which one is the *Naṣīhat-nāma*, beginning: *sīghīn fadl-i haqqā, äy tālib-i rāh*), and in Persian: one ghazal and a few verses. According to Blochet, op. cit., ii, 123, the MS. was completed in the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. The MS. may have been copied from the same original as TZ.

¹ See *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 77: "In Tabriz most of the inhabitants are Sunnis of the Shāfi'i sect."

² The admixture of Chaghatai forms in Ismā'il's poetry would indicate that he did not feel any one definite dialect as his own, but this admixture must have a purely literary origin (influence of Chaghatai *divāns*).

³ I discuss the role of the Turcoman tribes under the Safavids in my book, *A Manual of Safavid Administration* (now being printed).

⁴ *Tuhfa-yi Sāmi* (957/1550), Tehran 1314/1935, pp. 6–9. 'Ali-Quli Vālih, in his *Riyād al-shū'arā* (1169/1756), speaks of a Turkish, and a Persian *divan* by Khatā'i. He quotes in Persian three verses and an inscription on Ismā'il's signet-ring; see MSS. 57, f. 167v, and 230, f. 171, of the R.A.S. Bengal. I owe this reference to my friend, L. F. Bogdanov-Dugin (Calcutta). The legend of the signet-ring is: *buvad mihr-i 'Aliyy-o āl-i ī chūn jān marā dar bar||ghulām -i shāh -i mardānast Ismā'il bin Haydar*.

⁵ Cf. my article "Khatā'i" in *EI*.

L. British Museum, Or. 3380, contains the *Naṣīhat-nāma* (168 bayts), the mathnavi beginning : *qadīm-i dhāt*, and the ghazals (ff. 10b–83). According to Rieu's *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, pp. 205–6, the MS. is “apparently of the sixteenth century”.

TZ. The MS. presented to me by my friend S. H. Taqizadeh, 80 folios, contains 223 ghazals, 9 quatrains, and the *Naṣīhat-nāma* (167 distichs). Dated 17 Rabi' ii 1245/16th October, 1829, but copied from a MS. presented to the Ardabil sanctuary in 1022/1613 and bearing the seal of Shāh 'Abbās I.

LEN. Leningrad, Oriental Museum of the Academy of Sciences, Or. 297, 75 fols. According to the notes communicated to me in 1923 by my late friend Yuri Marr, it contains the introductory praises to God, 'Ali, etc. (ff. 1–16), and a longish allegory in the form of a mathnavī *Āshiq-va-ma'shūq*, in ten *nāmas* (f. 16–75). Dated 1036/1626.

B. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Or. fol. 209, ff. 386a–419b, contains only a selection of 34 ghazals (204 bayts). Dated 1077/1666. Cf. Pertsch, iv, *Pers. Hand. Berlin*, p. 63, No. 18, ii, 4. I personally consulted the MS. in 1922.

VAT. Vatican, ture. 221, of which I could examine only one page in the show-case at the exhibition arranged for the members of the XIXth Congress of Orientalists in 1935.

IS. A MS. belonging to the collection of 'Ali Emīrī Efendi (according to Babinger, *Der Islam*, xii, 1922, 233, in the Umumiye Library). Date unknown. Yūsuf-beg Vezirof, *Ādharbayjān adabiyatına bir naẓar*, Istanbul, 1337, pp. 27–31, quotes 6 ghazals apparently from this MS.

TS. On Sām-mīrzā's *Tuhfa-yi Sāmī*, v.s., p. 1008a.

Z. Shaykh Ḥusayn Zahidi, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafavīya* (circa 1059/1649), Berlin, 1343/1922, pp. 68–72, quotes four poems by Khatā'i glorifying the imāms.

To sum up : the MSS. which claim to contain a complete set of the ghazals are P 1, P 2, L, TZ, and possibly VAT and IS. Of these, the oldest and the most complete is P 1, representing a special tradition. P 2 and TZ go back to the same original, which apparently was presented to the Ardabil Library by Shāh 'Abbās I. As time wore on, many of the extravagances of the early Safavid period looked too far-fetched and the earlier poems of Shāh Ismā'il had to be cut out from his *dīvān*. On the whole the text of P 2 and TZ reads better, but it has obvious lacunae, and the archaic spellings of P 1 have been simplified and modernized. It is possible that L belongs to the same later tradition. As regards the Mathnavīs, the *Naṣīhat-nāma* appears in P 2, L, and TZ. Of the mathnavis of P 1, two are otherwise unknown, and the third (*qadīm-i dhāt*) is found also in L. The *Āshiq-va-ma'shūq* exists only in LEN. [Is it by Shāh Ismā'il ?]

III. LANGUAGE¹

The language of the *dīvān* is a Southern Turkish (Turcoman) dialect directly associated with the so-called “Āzarbāyjān Turkish”, as spoken in North-Western Persia and North-Eastern Transcaucasia. Shāh Ismā‘il still uses a number of words and forms which are unknown in the present-day speech. On the other hand, his Turkish already shows traces of decomposition due to the influence of the Iranian milieu: in Polivanov’s terminology, it is asynharmonic. The Chaghatai elements of the *dīvān* are very curious, but their purely literary origin, through imitation, is beyond any doubt.

1. PHONETICS

A. VOWELS

(1) The existence in our text of a narrow *e*, as distinguished from *ä* and *i*, must be postulated from the presence of such a sound in modern AT. In writing, both *e* and *i* are expressed by ای or ی, but the following examples can be read only with *e*: ایتمن (193) *etmän* “I do not”; ایشیکونکی *eşigüni* (230) “thy threshold” (acc.); دیکیل *degil* (203) “say (then)”; سیومه *sevmä* (63) “love not”; کیچ *geč* (203) “pass on”; کیرپوچ *kerpuč* (102) “a brick”; ی *ye* (83r) “eat”; یېرى *yeri* (83r) “march”; یېك *yeg* (83r) “better”.

(2) Vowel *u* predominates in suffixes (WT. *i*) :—

(a) In the first syllable of the possessive enclitics of broad stems: حانوم *janum* “my soul”; عشقونک *aşqun* “thy love”, but, besides *qılıjum*, *qılıjım* is also found. *U* does not penetrate into the second syllable of these enclitics: حانومیز *janumüz* “our soul”, شارعیز *şa'rümüz* “your shari'at”. Narrow stems have -im, -imiz: جدمىن *jiddimni* “my endeavour” (acc.); اشکيمدن *äşkimdän* “from my tears”; پيرمیز *pîrimiz*.

(b) In the genitive suffix: حقوقنک *haqqun* “of the Right”.

(c) In the personal endings of the present and past tenses: باخديوم *baxtum* “I looked”; ايتديوم *ayittum* (*äyittüm*?) “I said”.

¹ In this chapter the signs č, š, x are used for *ch*, *sh*, *kh*. Abbreviations: AT.—Āzarbāyjān Turkish; WT.—Western (Ottoman) Turkish; Deny—J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris, 1922.

(d) In verbal formants: اوكنور *ögränür* “he learns”; *yapušur* “it sticks”; *yanduran* “he who makes burn”.

(e) In *-dur* “is” and *dägil* “is not”.

(f) In adjectives in *-ik*: اكسوك *äksük* “less”; *artug* “more”; *ačux* “open”.

(3) Vocalic harmony is weak: اريغينه *ärliğinä* “to thy manhood”; اولاحق اوز **öläjağuz* (194) “we shall die”; بيلمع *bilmaj* “to know” (AT. *bilmaz*); سوسيزلاره *susizlärä* “to the thirsty”, but سوسيزليجيم *susızlığüm*. It must be noted that in many cases *alifs* stand only as *matres lectionis* for *ä* (not for *a* or *ā*): ايچندا *ičindä* “inside”; كولداكى *gökdäki* “the one in the heavens”; كهلار *gäjälär* (**gejälär*); ايلاكىل *aylä-gil* “do (then)” ; äylämä; ايلامه *tä-ki* *ayläsäm* “ut faciam”; سيومادوكم *sevmädügüm* “the one disliked by me”.

(4) There are very few traces of labial vowels affecting the syllables following them (Deny: attraction labiale). The possessive suffix of 3 p.s. is always *-i*: قولىنى *hüsni-nün* “of his beauty”; يولىنى *qulönü* “servum suum”; كوزين *gözin* “oculum suum”; يولىندى *yolindä* “on his way”. Similarly in the accusative ending *yüzümni* “faciem meam”; اغويى *aquyönü* “venenum suum” (acc.). Also قونخوسيز *qorxusız*; سوسيز *susız*; كوندوزيز *gündüzin*. In verbal forms: *dogmış*, *oldı* [on *boldum* and *oxidum* v.s. 1 A (2)].

(5) Very strange is *ü > i* ديشدە *dišdä* (for *düšdä*) “in sleep”, cf. 17v. Vice versa **düz* (69r) apparently stands for *diz* “a knee”. The possibility of such fluctuation is confirmed by the name of the Caucasian town *Shishä/Shiishä*.

B. CONSONANTS

(1) The initial *b* of WT. before a nasal is regularly represented by *m*: *munü* “hunc”; *min* “a thousand”, but exceptionally (203) one finds *bunun*. There are a few cases of the initial *p*: *pozman* (205).

(2) Initial dental stop is usually voiced¹: *daš*, *datlu*, *daj*, *düsti*, but exceptionally one finds *tökmäk*, etc.

¹ By analogy we may presume that such is also the case of the initial guttural stop *g* (*k*).

(3) The guttural stop *q* is either maintained or becomes *x(g)*: قو *qamu* “all” (but 249: حمو *xamu*, cf. AT. *hamu-si*), *xačan*, *xansi* “which”, *xanī* (?) “where”, *xanjaru* or *xanjari* “wither”, *baqip*, but (163) باخوبن *baxubän* (?), *axar* “it flows”, *axšam* (226) يوق (203) but باشمخ *bašmaj* (**bašmax*), اخجاع *bašmax* “thus”.

(4) The nasal guttural *n* (*sagır nun*) is usually preserved and transcribed -ك- (*-ng-*), although this group is felt as a simple consonant, as is clearly indicated by scansion: تکا *Tana* “ei”, قولنك *gulun-* *am* “I am thy slave”, *yanaqjinun* “of his cheek”. However, some traces of denasalization are noticeable: alongside with اونكدن *öndän* “from before”, one finds (83r) اوکمند *ögündän* (2) اوکنجه *ögünjä* “before him”, and these last forms find a confirmation in “ughiunda, davanti” quoted by Pietro della Valle.¹ The slip (192) for قامتونك *Qamtonk* “thy stature” is also characteristic of the same tendency.

(5) Among the rare cases of assimilation expressed graphically can be quoted: توشقى لار, (95) دوشىدى (for دوشى) *töštilär?* (WT. *döšediler*), كيرو پور (22) *giriüp-tür*.

2. ACCIDENCE

A curious feature of our text is the use of certain southern (Turcoman) forms beside the corresponding eastern (Čağatay) forms. Most probably this indiscriminate practice is to be explained by the literary influence of the Čağatay works produced at the Timurid court of Herat.

A. NOUNS

(1) Stems ending in a consonant, whether simple or provided with the possessive suffix of the 1 and 2 p.s., have double forms in genitive (*un/nun*) and accusative (*i/ni*). Examples of southern forms عشقونكى *ışqonki* (167) “Deum”, حق گنجونك *hqonk* حقونك *hqonki* (167) “amorem tuum”, اشدقونك *aşdərnün* (43) اشدرنونك *aşdrönök* (43) اشدق لاري *ışq*. Examples of eastern forms: اژدرنونك *ażdärnün*, رخونكى *äkmäkn* (143), فلکنونك *äkmäkn* (143) بلبنونك *belbenök* (230) *ruxunni* (230) بولرنى *bulärni* (?), سينمى *sınä-m-ni* (191).

¹ See E. Rossi, *Atti del XIX° Congresso dei Orientalisti*, p. 207. In his MS. sketch of Turkish, della Valle, without any doubt, describes the dialect spoken at the court of Shāh ‘Abbās I.

“hos, eos”, گونکلومىنى (65) *gönlünni*. These forms occur side by side in the same poems : *Yūnisi, imāmī, Ya'qūbni* (1); *gönlümi, gönülni* (66).

(2) Stems ending in a vowel have in the accusative a double form *-ni/-i*, the former still surviving in AT, and the latter being usual in WT. Examples : بندە نى *bändä-ni* “servum” (111) *bir pärini* (105) but عطائى (83r) بخطائى (80v).

(3) Stems ending in a vowel form the dative regularly : دلخستى يە *dil-xastä-yä*; but the form بندى يە may indicate the passage of the final ä (which in Persian becomes e !) into i before the suffix *-yä*, viz. **bändiyä* (instead of the theoretical *bändä-yä*).

(4) Stems accompanied by the possessive suffix of the 3 p.s. usually have the shortened form of the accusative in *-in*: جملونك كونلىن *jümlänün gömlin*, يارسىن *yaräsın* “his wound” (acc.). In locative and ablative the practice is twofold : يولىنده (192) *yolindä* (?), but كىتمە خطائى چىمىدىن *getmä xata'i căşmidän*, the latter form being Čağatay.

(5) Apart from the adverb *giundiizin*, the old instrumental case seems to be recognizable in the following verse (79v) :—

بو توحيدە با غشلا غيل مە سەن
بو توحيدىن او توما كيل (sic) مە سەن

“Pardon me on account of this *tauhid* (profession of God's unity),
“And by dint of this profession (instr. *tauhidin* ?) do not dismiss me (**ötürmä-gil*).”

B. PRONOUNS

Demonstratives : *bu*, acc. pl. *bularni* (82r), intensified او شبو (14, 142) “this here”; *ol*, gen. *anun*, plur. *alar*; *şul*.

C. VERBS

(a) Tenses

(1) Enclitic endings of the substantive verb : 1 s. -äm, 2 s. -sän, 1 pl. -üz; but alongside with سەن مو سەن *sän-mii* (?) *sän* “art thou?”, one finds سەن پادشاھ سەن *sän padişah sin*. 3 p.s. *dur*, *durur*, negative دكول *dägül*.

(2) While the living southern dialects form two presents (WT : *baqīyor/baqar*, AT : *baxır/baxar*), the system of our text is eclectic. One interesting example is vaguely parallel to WT present i : شاه حیدر و نک دور ییر “قانی دو رییر” “the blood of Sh. H. remains (unavenged)” : *dura-yur* (?) (WT *duru-yor*). The AT form of present i is possibly represented by the bisyllabic دییر (6) *diyir*; but (21) is clearly vocalized *diyärlär*, which is present ii. Another form of present ii is represented by دیرم (145) *deräm*, (159) *dersin*, as well as by ایدیرم *aydör* (*äydir* ?) “he says”, *ögränür* “he learns”, *yapuşur* “he sticks”; with interrogation نیدر *neydär* and *neylär* “quid facit”.

As the personal form of the 1 p.s. the alternative form *-män* (Čag.) is very frequent : *tökärmän*, *qılurman*, *yaturman*; this ending has a variant *-min* بیر دیرمین سنى *bir dermin səni* “I call thee unique”.

The negative form of 3 p.s. (present ii) is in *-maz*, e.g. ایعز *imätz* “is not”; it can be intensified by the following *dägül* اولنزا نهان دکول (66). For the 1 p.s. one has : *-mäzäm*, *-mänäm*, and *-män* : *bilmäzäm*, *qılmazam*, *etmänäm* (173), *baxmanam* (120), *eylämän* (65), *bilmän* (31, 83), *dınlämän*, *pozman*, *yuman* (205) “I do not wash”. Other persons are اولنزاوز دیزسن *olmazoz demäzsän* “non dicens”, اولنمازور *olmazoz* “non sumus”.

(3) Future in *-jaq* is very scarce *اولادج او ز **ölüjaquz* (sic). Forms in *-isär* are not attested.

(4) Past tenses.

(a) Simple past in *-di*: او لدی *oldi*; 1 p.s. ایتدوم *(212)* *ayittum*, باخدوم *baxtum*.

(b) Narrative past in *-miš*: چكمیشام *(23)* *čäkmišäm*, *qoymışäm*, or ایلامیش من *(216)* *olmışmän*, *eylämiš*, *olmışdurur* (44, 74), ایتمیش او ز *etmişüz*.

(c) Perfect formed from the verbal adverb in *-üp*: کلوبدر *(212)* *gälüptür* “he is come”, دیوبام *diyübam* “I have said”.¹

The three past tenses are used rather indiscriminately: *tā-ki män gördüm* (157) “since I have seen” side by side with *tā ăzad olmışäm* (157) “since I have become free”, and also *tā görüp män*

¹ This perfect (in-*üp*) is still in use in AT, but in this dialect the 1 p. is not used.

“ since I have seen ”. The use of کی (194) *varmış-kimi* “ as if it went ” is similar to the practice of WT.

(d) Imperfect: دیردوم *der-düm*, بیلمز ایدوم *bilməz-idüm*.

(e) Pluperfect: پیر بولیشدی *pır bolmuşdı* “ he had become *pır* ”.

(β) Compound Tenses

(f) Participle in *-ur/-ar* + the verb *olmax*: صورر اولسە (137) : *sorar olسا* “ if he happens to ask ”; قیلوراولدى (83r) “ he commenced doing ” (Russian: *стал делать*); سىن سىومن دىرلرکافر اولدى (81) “ the infidels commenced saying : I do not love thee ” (?).

(g) Verbal adverb in *-a* + the verb *görmäk*. ترجم قىلمىدى يالوارە كوردوم (137) “ he had no pity for me and I was quick in entreating (him) ”; اوزونكى خاك ايدە كور (96) *edä-gör* (or *äydä gör* ?) “ be quick in transforming thyself into dust (or: “ in calling thyself dust ” ?).

(γ) Moods

(a) Imperative 2 p.s. is often reinforced by the particle *gil*: ایلا کیل رقىي قويە قاپونكىدىن (76) *demä-gil*. In the verse (176) *äylä-gil*; دىغا کیل (214) *kider* كيل the particle *gil* is separated by other words from *qoyma* to which it belongs. 2 p.p. is in *un/in*: كلونك *gälün bilin* and, in stems ending in a vowel, in *-n/niz*: دينك *den* “ say, you ”, ساننك *(148) sanman* or ساننكىز *(162) sanmaniz* “ do not think, you ”. 3 p.s. is in *sun/sün*: نىلسون *saxlasun*, ساخلاسون *neylasün* “ what should he do ? ”.

(b) Conditional: (aa) ايلاسام (28v) *eyläsäm* “ suppose I do ”; (bb) قىلسنك نه اولە (172) *qilsan ... nä ola* “ suppose thou do . . . what will happen ”; كوررسم (82) دىلهسنك *görärsäm* (141) “ if I see, should I see ”; اوilar ايسنك *owlar-isän* “ if thou hunt ”; اولزايسە (26) صوررسە (108) دوترسە.

The personal ending of 2 p.s. of the conditional is in *-sän*, but in a good many cases *-sän* is found in its place. In some instances the use of 2 p.s. indicative (-*sän*) is quite natural: كرچە مندن در حجاب

اولورسن “although thou art hidden from me” (conditio realis), but the intention of using the conditional is quite obvious in هر نه قیلسن (66) شاد قیلسن وقتی دور “it is high time thou gladdenedst me”; This practice accounts also for the following verse درمان ایدرسن وقتی دور نه یرده اکرسن بیترم خانده چاغیرسن یترم nä yerd'äkärsän bitäräm, xandä čağırsän yetäräm “wherever thou sow me I shall grow, whenever thou call me I shall join (thee) ”.

(c) Optative. (aa) Non-contracted forms in *-a* + verbum substantivum are scarce: 1 p.s. قیلام (184) *qīlayim*, كوریم *göräyim* (in 3 syllables), نوله ایعیم (198) **neyliyim* (AT. *neymiyim*), نوله ایعیم **nola uymiyim* “what if I do not sleep; 2 p.s. صانهسین (113, 217) “thou wouldst think”, but اوله سن, probably *ola-sän* as in AT; 3 p.s. تا کیم دک (236) *tā-kim dägä*, (6) يازمايە (156) *yazmaya*, but such forms as تا کیم دک (156) suggest the reading *dīsliyā* and, *čixmiyā* (-äyä > iyä). (bb) More common are the contracted forms قیلم (193), كورتم داغیدم (222), ایدم (78, 163), او لم (44), ال م (139), *olüm* (83v), *olum*, *edim*, *dağıdim*, etc. In AT. contracted forms *baxim*, *göriim*, *gätirim* are usual alongside with forms in *-am*, e.g. *alim/alam*, the difference between the two being difficult to define. (cc) Past tense: نولايدى او لايدى بير اولو سواش (83r) *n'olaydii olaydii bir ulu savaş* “what would happen if a great fight were to happen”.

(d) Verbal adverb in *-a* + *bilmäk* to express possibility or + *bilmämäk* to express impossibility (as in AT): كوره بیلمن (212) *görä-bilmän* “I cannot see”; باخه بیلمز (131) *baxa-bilmäz*.

(e) Verbal adverb in *-a* + *olmax*. Only one example: مینه دلدل ايلمه براقي اولن *minä . . . olan*, apparently in the sense “constantly riding on D. and B.” This form is not recorded in Deny, § 820.

(δ) Impersonal Forms

(a) Infinitive in *mäk/maj*: ايلمك (89), but *maj* is found even in soft stems: بیلمغ *bilmağ* (*bilmax*). The infinitive is declinable

حالین استمزدونك كورمكى (173), but in such cases the infinitive is usually transformed into an abstract noun in *lik/lığ*: ايتىكلىك (70), خوبلاره باخغلىغى .

(b) The form in *-dik* is chiefly used as a verbal noun : سيمادوكوندن (43) *sevmädügündän* (*sic*) “on account of his not having loved” ; يوزىنه غنچە قارشو كولدو كىچون **güldüigi-içün* “because of his having smiled to someone-with-the-face-like-a-rose-bud”. [Not to be confused with ويرمدومچون = *čin vermädüm* “as I gave not”.]

(c) Participles : (aa) in *-an* : كلن دوران “the coming age”. It also has a quasi-passive sense (corresponding to *-dik* in WT) : ويرن ايماتى سن آيرمه مندن (80r) “withdraw not from me the faith given (by thee)”. Cf. AT: *sän verän söz* “the word given by thee”.

(bb) In *-är* : سوده بىكىزز بۇئى كوردوم (159) “I saw in water a similar (*bänzär*) stature” ; شاه قىتىدە حىرم اولسون باش وجانندن كىچر (102) “let the one who gives up his existence become an intimate of God”. But the چمندە كشت ايدر كوردوم حىبى may be an asyndeton : “I saw the beloved : he is walking in a meadow.”

(cc) In *-mis* : كىلىشىردىن اوز “we are of those who have come”: يوزىندن *-üp* : ساقاب الميش كىدر (76) : “having taken the veil off his face he goes.”

(dd) In *-dik* : چىكىدو كوم جفالىر “the hardships undergone by me” ; but in such cases it is often replaced by the participle in *-an*, the use of *-dik* being chiefly restricted to verbal nouns (v.s. b).

(ee) In *-äsi/asii*. This future participle is found only in the *gazal* 251 تارتلاسى دور *gäläsi-dur* “venturus est”, *tökmäktä-ikän-dur* “will be weighed”.

(e) *Verbal Adverbs* are Numerous and Various

(a) *ikän* : *var-ikän Alläh* (14a) “there being God”, *tökmäktä-ikän* “while being poured”.

(b) In *-injä* : اولىنجە (211) *olmayinja* “so long as it is not”; كوندو زين تاشام اونجە (227) “in the day-time until night falls” ; دوينجە **doyunja* “to satiety”.

(c) In *-a* (twice repeated) : صوره صوره *sora-sora* (251) “by

dint of asking, or while asking”, يانه يانه (168) *yana-yana*. See also مينه اولن (γ, e).

(d) In *-üp* (but باقيب (104) *baqip*). Often it has the longer form *-übän*: باخوبن (p. 79) *eyliyübän* “having done”, (163) *baxubän* “having looked”. The form قورخوبى (79v) seems to be faulty, the metre requiring *qorxubän*.

(e) In *-gač* (cf. Deny, p. 1000) is very common: كوركچ (145, 215) *görgäč* “as soon as I saw”, ايلكچ (242) *äylägäč*. Often it has a longer form in *-gäčin*: كوركچين *görgäčin* (150, 164a, 211, 242).

(f) In *-äli*: كورالى (55, 188) *göräli* “since I have seen”, عاشق اوللى (60) دوشلى آيرۇ (38) *olači* “since I have been separated”.

(h) In *-mädin*: كورمدىن (139, 158, 215, 245) “without seeing, or having seen”, ايتمىدىن (158).

(i) Very common are adverbs derived from the participle in *-an*: كورنده (163) *görändä* “on seeing”, *bağrim yaxanda* (163): “while my breast is on fire”; كورندن بارلو *görändän bärliü* “since having seen”.

(k) Ditto from the verbal noun in *-dik*: تندە جان اولدوغجه (141) “as long as there is a soul in the body”; جان اولدوغنجه (236); كوردوڭە (139).

(ζ) Voices

(a) Most of the voices, passive, reciprocal, etc., are formed regularly.

(b) Causative: (aa) in *-dur*: *azdurur* (45) “makes go astray”; **yutturan* “he who makes swallow”. (bb) In *-t*: **axütum* “I made flow”; *erit-gil* “make thou melt!”; *görsät* (247) “show thou!” (as in AT), but also *gostär* (247) (as in WT), *yügurt*, *tükürtmä* (Mathnavi No. 3). (cc) In *-ar*: *cixardı*. (dd) In *-güz*: *dirgüzdi* “he brought to life”.

(c) Necessitative is not attested, being replaced by constructions with *gäräk* “it is necessary, il faut”: *kişi öz kämälini bilmağ gäräk* “a man must know his own perfection”. Often *gäräk* stands as a predicate corresponding to Arabic *lāzim*: *särv ayağıñä su gäräk dur* (88) “water is necessary to the foot of a cypress”; *mäni bilmägä däñälär gäräk dur* (46) “to know me sages are necessary”.

3. SYNTAX

In general, Turkish and Persian words and constructions are used indiscriminately : *dolu az ab* (85) ; *mäh-yüz* (" moon-faced ") ; *shâhî-ki* (Persian *yây-i ishârat!*) *jahânun âfâlî-dur*.

Although Persian constructions with *idâfat* are common, the suffix of the *idâfat* is often left out : *miskîn khatâ'i khästâ-yâ* (54r) : " to the unfortunate, sick Kh." The pronoun *man* " I " is always felt as a Turkish word (= WT *ben*) and not as its Persian homonym : *män gädâ* (220) " I, the beggar ", similarly to the 2 p.s. *sän mäh-i tâbân* (164) " thou, the resplendent moon ". On the other hand Turkish words occur as the second part of an *idâfat* construction : '*aks-i saç* (225) " the reflection of (thy) tresses " ; *qasr-i bânz* (220) : ".the castle of thy face (lit. complexion)."

The " pronominal reminder " (Deny, § 1094) of a status constructus is often dropped : *yüzün suhbâtdâki* (for *suhbâtindâki*) (f. 65r). The 2 p.s. and 3 p.s. are sometimes confused (i.e. *n* for *n* and *n* for *w*) : *vâslün tâbundan*, and *jamâli dilär sänün* (45v) : " he longs for thy beauty." Inversion is common : *tâ jüdâ duşdi gönü'l qaşî kâmânumdan mänim* (f. 53r) " since (my) heart has been separated from my (beloved) whose-eyebrows-are-like-bows " ; *tâjâllî-si zuhûr oldî imânum*.

Turkish " composite epithets " (Deny, § 1090) are used profusely : *fälâklâr onun-čün nuh-ayvân olan* (f. 11r). " He for whom the heavens are nine porticos."

Auxiliary verbs : *tajrîd ol* " renounce " ; *fikri* (sic) *qilurman* (79) ; *qilurman bâd-du'alar*.

The Participle in -är : *kîmîna qaçar qaçağan nar kimi* " (God creates) some who run as a swift stallion " (f. 81v) ; *bânzâr boyî gördüm* (54r) " I saw a similar stature ". But see 2, δ, (c), bb.

Relative sentences formed analytically : *gânjâ bânzâr eylâkim ol gâldi mâr iüstüñä* (65v) " it resembles a treasure, such as a snake sits upon " ; *nâsnâ-kim haqq-dan gälân dur andan ol-gil bî-günâh* (66v) ; *daurân-ki jânân dauri-dur* (36v).

Asyndeta : *asilmîş-dur hamîşa gûsdâ gördüm* (56v) : " I saw (thy words) were ever attached to (my) ears (like ear-rings) " ; *nola hüsñün zakâtî bûsâ versän, da'ifäm, dârdümändäm män-gädâyä* (71r) " what if you gave me a kiss as a toll of your beauty (for) I am weak and sick " ; *Nuşayri qıldı yetmiş-iki pâra yina dirgüzdi jân verän 'Alî dur* (16r) ;

Anacolutha : *bu Xata'îniün yerin* (**yeri*) *oldî gâmindân tâq-i hijr*

(78r); and *yüzüni* (**yüzün*) *dağ olmayinja bajrı qanlu* (68v) may be slips, but *azaldän sevgüni* (**sevgün*) *var-idi jändä* (79r) is supported by the metre (see above); *hıjr oxi bajrumü niččä yer yāra söyləniz* (41r) “tell my beloved that the arrows of separation (have pierced) my breast in several places”.

4. METRICS

I have systematically refrained from making any alterations in the text, however obvious the disturbances of the metre were and however easy the corrections would be. This can be done only after all the available manuscripts have been collated and the text finally established. Even so old a MS. as P 1 is full of mistakes against the metre. Partly it may be due to the fact that some poems were destined to be sung rather than recited, and partly to the characteristics of the Turkish language, which does not distinguish the length of the vowels. In fact, it is mostly the Arabic and Persian loan-words that give guidance in Turkish metrical poems.

Syllables ending in two consonants are to be read *alla Turca* in two syllables: *fikr* > *fikir* (79v), *shukr* > *shükür*.

Turkish *matres lectionis* (*alif*, *w*, *y*) are of course not considered as lengths, while Turkish vowels are lengthened *ad libitum*; for instance the word *kimini* (spelt *kīmīnī*) is to be scanned as ~— — : *yaratmadī*, (spelt *yārātmādī*) gives ~— — ~; *dursa otursa* (spelt *dūrsa ītūrsa*) gives — — ~ — ~, the syllable *-sa* being long in the first case and short in the second.

The Persian system of super-long syllables (~ — ~) is only partially observed even in Perso-Arabic words: ‘*ishq* giving — ~, while in *sändän özgä dibärä hīch kim mänä yār olmasun* the word *hīch* counts only one long, similarly to the last syllable of *özgä*!

Apparently the poet was not shocked by such licences, and there is no ground for us to improve his original. In fact many verses merely follow the syllabic pattern of the metre, without much attention to the lengths. One case is particularly worth our attention: the striking appeal to the ghazis (No. 18) is an example of the purely syllabic Turkish system which Mehmed Emin-bey re-introduced into the Ottoman poetry under the name of *parmak-hisabī* (“the counting on fingers”).¹ The pattern consists of sixteen syllables to a hemistich,

¹ See Minorsky, “Natsionalnīya stihotvoreniya Eminbey,” in *Drevnosti vostochnaya*, II/3 and III/1, Moscow, 1903. M. Emin-bey’s *Türkçé-shi‘irler* was published in Stambul in 1316/1899.

of which the last eight represent the burden. The first eight syllables come usually in groups of four.

*Allāh Allāh | den ghāzīlär | ghāzīlar dīn-i Shāh mān-ām
Qarshu gālin sijda qīlun*, etc.

Sometimes the combination is 3 + 2 + 3 or 2 + 3 + 3.

Uchmagħda | tūtī | qushiyām . . .

Nā yārd' | äkar-sān | bitārām || khanda | chaghīr san | yetārām

With regard to rhymes it can be remarked that Turkish words *yüz*, *söz*, and *duz* (No. 212) are supposed to rhyme, on the strength of their outward appearance in Arabic script!

5. GLOSSARY

In the following selection I have incorporated the less common words found in P1. References are to the single poems as numbered in my own copy of the *divan*; references in brackets are to the pages of the same MS.

اپس 98, 159, 167 <i>äpsäm</i> “modest,	اوکوش 102 <i>ögüşh</i> “numerous, silent” many”
(72v) <i>axsham</i> “an evening”	(83v) <i>ögümdän</i> “from
(83r) <i>ärdäm</i> “gift, talent”.	اوکومدن my front”
This archaic word occurs both in Mongolian (<i>erdem</i>) and in older Turkish texts, see Houtsma, <i>Glossar</i> , 26, Darīr's <i>Life of the Prophet</i> , Chester Beatty Collection, No. 410, f. 78a	252 <i>ulash-</i> “they met, joined”
(83r) <i>äkmäk</i> “bread”	(80r) <i>umarüm</i> “I expect”
(26r) <i>anjag</i> “only”	اورم 2 <i>itürdi</i> “he lost”; (82r) <i>itürür</i> “he loses”
اوخور 100 <i>oxur</i> cum dat. “he calls something”; 159, 169 <i>oxidum</i> (?) “I called”	ايدىر 65, 125, 134 <i>ayidir</i> (or <i>äyidir</i>) “he says”; 212 and 193, 212 “I said”
(66v) <i>üzü</i> “that he may pull out”	ايراغ (50r) <i>iraq</i> “far”
(66v) <i>öz</i> “self”	برو 18 * <i>isra'adan-bärü</i> “from beyond, from the eve (?)”; cf. AT <i>isra'a güni</i> “the day before yesterday”
اوشتہ 99 <i>ush</i> ; 167 <i>ushtä</i> “here, voici”	ایکیت (83r) <i>igit</i> “a champion”
(40r) <i>uslan-</i> “he came to his senses”	ايل 52r) <i>el</i> “a stranger”
	ايلىرلر 251 <i>ilätärlär</i> “they push, hustle”
	ايله ک 231 <i>elä-ki</i> “so that”

- شیطانه ۲۴۹ *uyma* “pander not to the devil” (82r) *chäri* “army”
- ۲۰۴ *imdi* “now” (but 66 : *shimdi*) (47v) *basha chizginim* “may I wind myself round (thy head)”
- ایی (80r) *äyn* good (61v) *chävrä* “circumference”
- بای (79r) *bay* “rich”; cum dat. *hüsna bay* (55v) “rich in beauty” (67r) *chiy* “dew”
- برلو ۱۳۱ *bärlü* ۱۸ “since” (58r) *chin* “truth, true”
- بنکزر ۶۹ *bänzär* “he resembles” (49v) *xachan* “when”
- بوز ات ۷۲ *boz-at* “a grey horse” (72v) *xansi* “which”
- بولدی ۵۹, ۱۳۱, ۲۴۳ *boldü* “he became” (72v) *xandä-kim* “wherever”
- بولدم ۱۸۸, etc., *bulдум* “I found” (52v) *xanî* “where”
- پر جوہ ۱۲۸ *birjiivä* “together with” (76v) *xanjaru* “in what direction”
- پیله ۲۴۱ *birlä* ۱۹۰ پیرلن ۹۶ “with” (55v) *dapu* “adoration”
- پیله ۱۴a *birlä* ۱۹۰ پیرلن ۹۶ “with” (13v) *dax* “also”
- پیلچی ۱۶۷ *bılıjji* “an expert” (32v) *dash-* “overflowed”
- پاس (66v) *pas* “rust” (39v) *dashïna* cum dat. “may he aim at”, cf. *tashïna*
- پوزمن ۶۴v *pozman* “I do not break” (64r, 79v) *dañ-la* “at dawn, on the morrow.”
- پاپیشدور ۱۰۶ *tapmîshdur* “he found” (23v, 39r, 68v) *dägmä* “every, common”
- پاشینه (73v) cum acc. *kim ešikümi taşına* “whoever aims at, or visits your threshold”, cf. داشینه (52r, 69r) *dop-talu* (sic) “brimful”
- پانکری ۶۵, ۱۴۰ *tarrı* “God” (AT *tari*) (69r) *duz* “salt”
- تک “like”, *män-täk* (77v), *män-täki* ۹۲ *sänün-täk* (76v), *divânä-däk* ۹۰ = *dälü-daq* ۱۱۳ (69r) *düz* “a knee” (? for *diz*)
- تونخور ۷ *toxur* (?) “he touches” (67r) *düzätmiş* “he arranged”
- (cf. *toqun-maq*, rather than *toq-* “satiated” from which no verb is known) (45r) *dürlü* “various”
- توش اولور (72r) *tüs olur* “happens” (61r) *dün* “a night”: *dün-vä-gün* “day and night”
- توکنور (39v) *tiükänür* “it ends, it is exhausted” (78v) *don* “clothes, garments, an avatar” (in the latter sense usual in the Ahl-i Haqq hymns)
- چاخر (42r) *chaxır* “wine” (71v) *dişdä* (?) “in a dream” but (17v) *düşhdä*

- دینكلمن (25v) *dīnlämän* “I hear, I understand” دینندم (47v) *däynädim* “I understood”, دینه ده (73r) *däynä-dä* “understand then”; cf. *chix-da* (20r) “go out then” سابدی (45r) *sapdii* “pierced”, WT *sapladi* ساچی *sachî* “a (wedding) present” ساغینما کیل (39v, 82v) *saginma-gil* “believe not, expect not!”, cf. Budagov, i, 688 سواش (39r) *savash* “a fight” سورو ب (48v) *sorup* (?) “having asked” سورولوب (62v, 162v) *sürüküp* “having crawled” سوکر 45 *sökär* “he splits, pierces” سوکو (79r) *sevgü* (?) “love”; سوکو يار (49r, 59v) *sevgü yär* “beloved friend”; سولو ياروم (76r) سوکو (*) سونعىدى (49v) *sun* “pour in!” سون (45r) “did not pour in” or *sönmädi* “did not go out, was not extinguished” سین (39v) *sin* “a tomb” سینامادىن (82r) *sınamadın* “without having tried, explored”, Radloff, iv, 630 صندى (79r) *sındi* “scissors” السىن صندى دوشدى (350: *sındu*) “scissors”? صورر (48v) *sorur* (?) “he inquires”, AT *sorushur* صونكى (16r) “after” (perhaps *son* + expletive *ki*?) عورت (82v) *avrät* > *arvat* “a woman, a female”
- قات *qat* “a side, a layer”: här *qatla* (51r) “in every way”; bir *qatla* (76v) “at once”; *qatında* (39r) “at his side, with him”, *qatına* (read: *qatna*) (25v, 36r) “to his side, for him” فاق (50r) *qatî* “strongly, very” قاچنن (81v) *qaçajan* “nimble, ready to flee”, Deny, p. 569 قارشنور (78v) cum acc. *qarşınur* “he meets, affronts” فارقىش (79r) *qarqış* “a curse” قال ايوي (24r) *qal-evi* “foundry, smelter” قامو (2r) *qamu* “all” خاندە (26v) “where”, cf. قاندە (15v, 23r) قايرمىز (63v) *qayırmaz* “he does not make” قلاش (26v, 48r) *qallash* “a rogue” قلماش (26v) *qalmâsh* or *qulmâsh* “futile, unreasonable”, said to be derived from Ar. *qul mā ši'ta*, Vullers, ii, 739, cf. Mathnavi, iv, 3810; vi, 1637 قورخۇقا (78r) *qorxutma* “frighten not!” قوشان (7r) *qoshan* “gird!” قولباش (39r), pronunciation and meaning doubtful: *qul-baš* “chief of slaves” or *qol-baš* “chief of a wing, detachment”? قير (33r) *qiyyar* “he minces, kills”, Budagov, ii, 105 قيرغۇ (73r) *qırğıj* “a bird of prey (kestrel?)” قىلاو (62v) *qılau* “sharp”

- كېك (83v) *käpäk* “bran”; probably كېك **kamik* “a bone”
 يار (48r) *gär . . . yā* “either . . . or”
 كر (48r) *gär . . . yā* “either . . . or”
 كز *gäz* “a turn”: *bir gäz* “once”
 كسلو (82r): *yaratmadī täng äldä
 bes barmajī, ki här käslü bilä
 yolin varmajī* “did he not create five fingers to a narrow hand that (each) should know how to proceed with its own match (?)”. Cf. Deny, § 537
- كبله (73v) *külbä* “a hut”
 كته (65v) *gänä* “again”, also شه (69r) *yinä*
 تکوده (76v) *gävdä* “a body”
 كوزك (66v) *görgü* “a mirror”
 كوزلرم (76r) *gözläräm* “I shall look, wait for”
 كونه (79r) *güvänmä* cum dat. “boast not”
 كيرزبوج (39r) *kerpüch* “a brick”
 كيرد دوران (39r) *gerü duran* “the one staying back”; قويان (39r) “the one putting away” (?)
 كيمى (73r) *kimi* “like”, but also كىسي (76v) *kibi, gibi*
 كى — expletive: *äzälđän sevgüm-ki var idi janda* “thy love was certainly in the heart” (spelt سوكونكى), cf. also [22v]: *hijrüñ-ki* (?) and [16r] *sor-ki* (?)
 لش (83r) *läsh* “a carcass”
 -لەن (17v) “with”: *sänün-län*. Also -inän: *safä-inän* (13v)
 مخت (82r) “a coward”
 موجك (81v) *müchäk* (?) “a little hair” (?), the word may refer to some insignificant, despicable utensil (“a whisk” ?)
 مونجه (17r) *munja* “thus”
- مى (30r), an interrogative particle (very scarce)
 نچوكت (22v, 35v) *nächük* “how”
 نېر (15v) *näyrä* “whither”
 نېشى (70r) *nä + ishää* “what for”
 نېچون (22v) *nichün* “why”
 نېجىھ (54r) *näjä* “how”
 نېچىھ (52v, 66v) *nichchä* “how many”
 هر (72r) “ever”: *män qapunda här gadäy*, cf. 75r: *bu gün här jän-fidä-yäm*
 يارا (32v) يارا (30v) يارا (76r) *yara* “a wound”
 يارلىغارم (66v) *yartüjarım* “I pardon, I have mercy on”
 يالنوز (83v) *yaljuz* “alone”
 يامان (80r) *yaman* “bad, evil”
 يىخدى (60v, 64r) *yixdi* “he smashed, crushed”
 يخشى (25v) *yaxshii* “good, fine”, AT *yaxchi*
 يىتكا (58r) *yana* “a side”
 يىنكىلىن (59v, 69v) *yämildän* (?) : “again, anew” (hardly *yünüldän* from *yünül* “light, slight”)
 يوكورت (83r) *yügürt* “make leap up!”
 يوكوش (19v, 56v, 75r) “many, much”, cf. اوکوش, Radlov, iii, 447
 يولوخدوم (82v) *yoluxdum* cum dat. “I met with”
 برى (73v) *yeri* “it is a place for, it becomes”, cf. *miskin yerä* (40r) “wretchedly” (?)
 تىرى (83r) *yeri* “go, march”, as in AT
 يىك or يىك (25v, 54r) *yeg* “better”, also يىك كى (25v, 54r) *yegräk*

IV. CONTENTS

The contents of the *dīvān* are threefold :—

(1) poems with autobiographical hints ;

(2) poems of religious character ;

(3) ordinary lyrics in which pagan hedonism is often interwoven with Sufi ecstasy.

I. Autobiographical details, which form a particular feature of P 1, are sparse. The royal poet several times manifests his pride in his ancestors (Nos. 15, 195, 249), and speaks of the family home (*khānadān*) of Ardabil (Nos. 12, 168). The slogan of his personal action is Revenge : in No. 92 he says that the blood of his father is still unavenged, but from No. 15 it appears that the vendetta had been eonsummated. In the latter case Ismā‘il can refer either to the death of the Shirvān-shāh Farrukh-Yasār in 1500, or, more probably, to the final conquest of Shirvān in the winter of 1509–1510. The early struggles with Shirvān and the Aq-qoyunlu Turcomans of Baghdad are reflected in the curious No. 103 (v.i.), in which Tabriz appears as the capital of Ismā‘il and *mulk-i ‘Ajām* is the designation of Persia.

The Mathnavi No. 3 is also curious for the political side of Ismā‘il’s activities. Most probably it was composed by Ismā‘il in his early youth : its childish and comic braggadocio attests a complete lack of experience. Ismā‘il discloses his plans of conquests, in which the Franks are included ; he gives his views on the inequality of men, on leadership, on valour, etc. (v.i.).

II. The *dīvān* opens with the usual praises of God, the Prophet, Ali, and the Imāms. Single poems are inspired with common feelings of a pious Muslim ; such is the vision of the Last Judgment (No. 204), which makes Khatā‘ī shudder at the thought of his future destiny. The interest of the collection centres, however, in the poems reflecting the intimate religious views of the author. The *dīvān* alone¹ gives a clue to the secret heresy of the early Safavids. These dynamic ideas, mystical and religious as they were on the surface, easily found their expression in direct action. They formed the political platform of the elements which constituted the spearhead of the movement.

In P 1 ‘Ali’s panegyric precedes that of Muḥammad.² ‘Ali is given the usual Shi‘a titles of *Shāh* (Nos. 101, 195), *Shāh-i mardān*, *Bahr-i*

¹ Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 16–19, 76–7, speaks briefly of the organization of the Ṣafavi order, but admits that the data of his sources are very meagre (“sehr spärlich”). The more important is Khatā‘ī’s *dīvān* with its mass of authentic facts.

² In L and TZ the *dīvān* begins with a poem praising God for having created ‘Ali.

haqīqat “the Sea of True Reality”. He is proclaimed God (*Haqq*), and those who refuse him this distinction are called unbelievers (No. 194). Muḥammad is only a Prophet, while ‘Ali is a “Manifestation of God” (*mazhar-i Haqq*) (ff. 2v, 5v), “God’s light” (*nūr-i ilāhī*) (2v). In a long litany (11r), having the burden :

‘*Alī dur, Alī dur, Alī dur, ‘Ali*
‘*Aliyyun, Az̄īmun, Shafī‘un, Walī*

‘ Ali is presented as the creator of Heaven and Earth.

“ Do not call a man him who opens to the world the door of Islām, know him as God. . . .”

“ He was God (*Haqq*) and came down from Heaven to Earth, to show himself to men. . . .”

“ His names are a thousand, his aspects (*sifāt*) a million, the day and the night revolve by his order. One of his names is ‘Ali, but he is the Demiurge (*kardigār*). Heaven and Earth hold firm through his word.”¹

Ismā‘il is proud of his descent from ‘Ali (through Husayn, No. 101) and Fāṭima (No. 15). He believes in the reincarnation of the divine substance of ‘Ali. He himself used to abide with God, but now he has appeared in the world (No. 237). Both the prophetic and imamite gifts are combined in his person (No. 15). He calls himself *Valī Shāh Ismā‘il* (corrected in the later versions into *va-līkīn!*). He had already appeared in the world by order of ‘Ali (No. 168). He is of the same essence as ‘Ali and is composed of the latter’s Mystery (No. 211). A man can be a manifestation of Godhead ; Ismā‘il is the Adam having put on new clothes. He has come as God’s light, as the Seal of the Prophets, as a Perfect Guide (No. 249), as the guiding Imām (No. 249). He is *Agens Absolutus, Oculus Dei* (or even *Deus ipse!*), his body is God’s house, he commands the Sun and the Moon (No. 204). With more circumlocution, he is “separate from what is not-God” (No. 249). The Ḥallājian formula *anā'l-Haqq* lives in his soul, he is Absolute Truth (or God) (No. 195).

Quite particularly Ismā‘il insists on the *sijda, sujūd* “obeisance, prostration”, which his adherents owe to him (Nos. 18, 204, 249). This claim of divine rights was especially distasteful to the orthodox. We find the confirmation and criticism of this claim in a letter which ‘Ubaydullāh-khān addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp in 936/1529. The Uzbeg ruler presses the Shāh to answer his question : “ Whom did

¹ However, 14r, ‘Ali is called only “the shining moon of the Sun-Muḥammad”.

(‘Ali) command : ‘ prostrate yourself before me ’ ? The Prophet says : ‘ were *sijda* permissible with regard to any one but God, I should have ordered the females to prostrate themselves before their husbands,’ whence it results that *sijda* is not permissible with regard to anyone but God and is a blasphemy ” ; see *Ahsan al-tawārikh*, ed. Seddon, 231.

Alongside with this extravagance Ismā‘il humbly insists on his attachment to ‘Ali, and calls himself his Qanbar, slave and lowest menial (Nos. 15, 195). He is ready to sacrifice his soul for the Beloved, i.e. ‘Ali (Nos. 194, 239).

Ismā‘il addresses his supporters as a community of militant dervishes, whom he calls *ghāzī*, *sūfī*, *akhī* (No. 7). Very interesting are the general mystic terms which he uses : *ahl-i iqrār* “ Men of recognition ” (No. 204) and especially *ahl-i Haqq* “ Men of Truth, God’s men ” (No. 92). The former are spoken of as pantheists for whom Heaven and Earth are God. The latter term in the technical sense belongs to the adherents of a special sect which has incorporated Shah Ismā‘il among its saints, v.s., p. 1006a.

In No. 211 is found the well-known term *qızıl-bash* “ Red Heads ”. Originally, this nickname must have been used by the opponents of the Safavids, but in due course was adopted by their adherents as a title of honour. No. 211 suggests that only those who can show the stigmas of their mortification can claim the name of Qızıl-bash. The red caps introduced by Ismā‘il’s father are frequently referred to as *qızıl tāj* (No. 7), *qırmızı tāj* (No. 18), *tāj-i sa‘ādat* (No. 193), *tāj-i daulat* (No. 249). The banners of the Sufi army are also red (*qızıl*) (No. 7). Of himself Ismā‘il speaks as a commander mounted on a sorrel, or grey, charger and leading an army of dervishes. The poem No. 18 is especially curious as a genuine hymn meant to raise the spirit of the followers. In it occurs the invocation *Allāh*, *Allāh* which was the particular *dhikr* of the Ṣafavi order.¹

The front of Ismā‘il’s religious action is turned against his opponents who are the enemies of ‘Ali and whom he intends to destroy. He calls them giaours (*gabr*), “ hypocrites ” (*munāfiq*), “ outsiders ” (*bīgāna*, No. 101, *khavārij*, Nos. 168, 211), or gives them the names of the Omayyads distasteful to the ‘Alids : Yazīd, Marvān.

III. Of the purely lyrical poetry two specimens will suffice. No. 30 lacks originality, but shows considerable skill. The images of No. 123, as if borrowed from the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, are

¹ ‘*Ālam-ārā*, 489 : “ the fighters raised the shout *Allāh-Allāh*, which is the distinctive rallying cry (*shi‘ār*) of the *Qızıl-bash*. ”

unusual ; but, as a counterpart, its technique is clumsy. For the rest, we shall only examine the resources of Khaṭā'i's imagery.

China, etc. The *nom de plume* adopted by Shāh Ismā'il admits of an easy calembour on *Khaṭā'i*, "Sinner" (cf. *khaṭālū*, 71r), and *Khitā'i* "Chinese" (71r). This further leads to puns on *Chin* "China" and *chin* "a fold, a curl" (32v, 33r, 67r), and *chin* "true". "Since I have set my heart on the curls (*chin*) (falling on) thy white face, the clime of (the white) Byzantines, Chin and Khitā belong to Khaṭā'i" (44v, cf. 48v, 67r). "It is true (*chin*) that a good Chinaman (Khītā'i) is faithful" (58r). To the same series of images belongs the presentation of the beloved as "a Khotan Turk", the fragrance of whose tresses has relegated ambergris to the navel (*nāfa*) of the desert (76v). Or, "tell that Tatar whose tresses are as fragrant as the navel (of the musk-deer, *nāfa*) that the gazelle of his eyes made Khaṭā'i roam in the desert" (41r). References to musk, Khotan, etc., are numerous : "not every cane produces sugar, and the musk (*nāfa*) of the intoxicated Tatar is not found in the navel of every deer (*geyik*)" (21r). "Thy gazelle eyes take a levy from the kingdom of Khotan, and thy august locks tax the Emperor of China" (40v).

Games, etc. "Give up your life as an offering and go for a round of polo (*charkh*) with your head. Know your soul and then throw it into your dice-bowl" (66v, cf. 33r). Presents of gold and silver filled the skirts (of the Garden) which began to "scatter pearls (as) in a wedding parade (*majlis-i shābāsh*)" (37v). Drinking bouts are described con gusto : "When a reveller (*majlis-ahli*) drinks wine (*chakhīr*) holding the goblet in his hand, you would think it is a candle, for its top is aglow" (42r) : "this goblet has the stature of a comely heart-ravisher" (74r).

Market-place. Even in the highest Persian lyrics (Hāfiẓ)¹ the terminology of trade is not considered unworthy of a poet's tongue. "I have entered the bazaar of Love and want a customer. I wish no profit or loss, I need some operations (*kirdār*)" (56r). "We are money experts (*sarrāf*), and, in this bazaar, look for real pearls ; we accept no donkey-beads (*khar-muhra*)" (59v). "You said : 'the price of one kiss of mine is one hundred lives,' I wish there were no other customer of this commodity (*matā'*) but myself."

Hunting and War. Hunting recollections naturally find numerous echoes : "The Almighty shaped the brow of thy beloved like a bow

¹ And even in the *Qor'ān* ; see Torrey, *The commercial-theological terms in the Koran*. A dissertation, Leyden, 1892.

to hunt the gazelle of thy heart" (30r). "Thy pointed eye-lashes are arrows on the bent bow of thy eye-brows" (79r, also 37v). Echoes of battles pervade many poems: arrows, shields, and armour, armies and drills form the background of a ghazel (45r); two kinds of arrows (*okh* and *khadang*) appear in one verse (79r), etc.

On the whole, the world in which the royal poet moves is purely traditional. He often refers to Qor'ānic legends of Moses, Abraham, Jacob and Isaac, Jonah and Solomon (1v, 15v, 46b); allusions are found to Manṣūr al-Hallāj (15v, 56r, 64r, 65v), Majnūn (35r), and, in a lesser¹ degree, Iranian heroes (64r).

Original images are very scarce indeed. "Think not that the ship on the sea is but a mirage, nor that this tearful eye is but a screen" (55r) may be a reminiscence of Ismā‘īl's early years in Gilan. Speaking of the tresses of the beloved: "I wonder why these ravens are perched on this rose" (70v). "The proverb says that dragons watch over treasures: such is thy beauty hidden in thy locks" (31r), and further "the treasure is one, why are the dragons two" (78v). "Thy mole is a midge on thy lip of honey" (41v), or an "Abyssinian traveller in Greece" (65r). "O listen to my words, for pearls suit the ears of a beauty" (35r, also 46v). "At night I wake and weep bitterly: (what you see) in the sky are my (open) eyes" (28v, cf. 41r, 51r, 58v). "(O God) every night you put to sleep every eye, and keep awake the eyes of the stars" (1v).

A Turkish proverb is appositely quoted in the verse: "The rival intrigues worry me not, for I have heard that he who digs a well falls himself into it" (79r). Another popular saying² must have inspired the hyperbole: "Were the sea all ink," it would be impossible to state the virtues of 'Alī (5v).

¹ Except in the final mathnavi (81r-83v).

² Cf. *Qor'ān*, xxxi, 26.

V. TURKISH TEXT

Bib. Nat. supp. turc 1307

No. 7 (f. 7)

۱. او سلطان کرم صاحب هنر دور
ولايت دور يقين نور بصر دور
قوشانسه غازيلر سيف و سلاحی
منافق جاننه خوف و خطر دور
- يزيدونك لشکري يوز مينك او فرسه
ولايت لشکرنده بير يتر دور
- اوكنده كبر و مروان در بدر دور
اشارت قيلد و فچون بير نظر شاه
۵. نشافی شول قصر طلعتلو شاهونك
باشنه تاج و بيلينده كمر دور
- ولايت سرینه يول بول ميانلر
کوزى اعى و احمق بىخېر دور
- جوانه غازيلر ميلانه كيرسه
خوارجلر اياغده پا و سر دور
- على بحر حقيقىت دور يقين بيل
حيات جاودان محتبر دور
- قيزيل علم قيزيل بيرق قيزيل تاج
كينسه غازيلر اولكۈن حذر دور
۱۰. معاوي لشکري بير غازى كورسە
قويون كيم قورت تو خوراند بىر دور
نفس كوهر دور اخي بير بيل لر
سوزى بير سوپلىن لر كىچىك ار دور
۱۲. خطائى شاه يولىنده جان خدا دور
چە جاي ملک و مال و زىم وزر دور

هر نظر ... v. 4 بو شاه پر كرم صاحب نظر در v. 1 - TZ No. 24 Variants -
 قزل v. 9 v. 7 جوانكىر v. 6 بيلين لر v. 5 كوش طلعتلو v. 5 شمر مروان
 The Ms. adds 3 verses:
 (a) اولر كە چەل تىدر سرقىدرت
 (b) اونى عارف بىلور اينجه خبر در

(۱) بورجت یغموری ایردی زمینه
 که هر بیر قازیننک (ا) یورلیوز نام و در
 باشندن کیتمیں تیغ و تبر در

No 15 (f.13v.)

۱. آدوم شاه اس محل حقونک سریم بوجمله فازیلرونک سروریم
 انام دور فاطمه اتام علی دور اوں ایکی امامونک من داخ پیریم
 اتامونک قانینی الدویم یزیددن یقین بیلکل که نقد حیدریم
 خضر زنده ایله عیسی میریم زمانه اهلیونک اسکندریم
 ۵. یزید و مشرک و ملحوظی کورکیم منافق قبله سند من بتریم
 نبوت منده دور سر ولایت محمد مصطفی افونک پی رویم
 جهانی تیغ ایله قیلدوم مسخر علی مرتضیانونک قنبریم
 اولو بابا صفحی اتام حیدر شجاعت اهلیونک حق جعفریم
 ۹. حسینی یم یزیده لختوم وار خطای ام شاهونک بیر چاکریم

Variants - P², f.34a, TZ, No 133, both closely related:
 بو اوون ایکی... من بیریم v.2 منم شاه... حقنک سریم که موئجه فازیلرنک...
 قیلایی مسخر... پیریم v.5 کورکیم TZ یزید ملحوظی مشرکی طعن ایت
 ... بوكون میدان ایچنده... علی ننگ چاکریم v.6 اولی بام TZ الربابام
 v.8 P²

Another similar poem is TZ, No 132 (cf. P² f. 33B):

علی ننک چاکری ننک چاکریم آدم اس محل ابن حیدریم
 مولائی اولاننک من رهبریم حسینی مذهبیم من دین ایچنده
 کونظر ایونک اولادنک پیریم مهمن عازیلرومه حرمت ایلنک
 ولیکی اونلارنک من سروریم منی اولاردن آیرو صانحنکز سر
 خطای یم شاهنک بر کمتریم منم هم پیروهم سلطان عالم
 صانیپورسز TZ. In * As in P².

Nº 18 (f. 15v)

۱. اللہ اللہ حینک غازیلر عازیلر دین شاھ منم
 قارشو کلوونک سجدہ قیلونک غازیلر دین شاھ منم
 اوچماғاء طوطى قوشىم اغىر لشکر ار باشىم
 من صوفى لار يولداشىم
 نه يerde اگرس بىترم خاندە چاقىرسن يترم
 صوقىلىر اليى دو ترم
 منصور ايله دارده ايدىم خليل لىلە نارده ايدىم
 موسى ايله طورده ايدىم
 ۵. ايسراادن^{*} بىرى کلوونک نوروز ايدىنک شاھىتىونك
 هي غازیلر سجدہ قیلونک
 قىزى ناجلو بوز اتلۇ اغىر لشکرى نسبتلىو
 يوسف پىيغىر صفتلىو
 خطائى ام آل آتلۇيم سوزى شىكردىن داتلۇيم
 مەرقىسى على ذاتلۇيم غازیلر دین شاھ منم

Marginal variant - v. 5. * read: isra'adan

Nº 22 (f. 17)

۱. يقىن بىل كىم خدائى دور خطائى محمد مصطفىئى دور خطائى
 صفى نسلى جنىد حيدر اوغلى على مرتضائى دور خطائى
 حسپ عشقىينه مىدانە كىروپىتۈر حسپى كىلائى دور خطائى
 على زين العجاد باقر وجعفر كاظم موسى رضاى دور خطائى
 ۵. محمد تقى دور على نقى هم حسن عسڪر لقاى دور خطائى
 محمد مەھىئى صاحب زمانونك قاپوسنە كدائى دور خطائى
 منوچ آدوم ولى شاھ اسحىيل دور خطائى دور خطائى

امام زین العباد ۴^و یقین بیانک v. ۱ TZ, No 189 Variants - P^۲, f. 47b

ولیکن آدیله شاه... تخلصی خطای ۷^و ایشکله کردائی ۶^و عسکر لوابی ۵^و

Nº 30 (f. 19)

۱. صانه کیم سن کیتندونک ای آئی یوزلو جان قالدی منکا
جان سنونه کیتندی جسم ناقوان قالدی منکا
تاکه سن کیتندونک یانو مدن ای دلارا منم منوم
حالیا وصلونک کونکلهه پاسیان قالدی منکا
کرچه کلزار جمالونک کیتندی قاشو مدن منوم
دلده مهر قامتونک سرو روان قالدی منکا
کر زیان اولدی کوزو مدن اوی پری پیکر صنم
کوکه مه اونونک یوززند برشان قالدی منکا
۵. تاکه سند آپرو دوشدی بو خطا خسته دل
بوی موینونک مشکت ایله عنبر فشان قالدی منکا

(کتندک TZ) آه کیم سن کتند P^۲, f. 26, TZ No 7: v. ۱ Variants - P^۲, f. 26, TZ No 7: v. ۱
بوی موینونک ۵^و اونونک ۴^و دلارا منم ۲^و

Nº 92 (f. 36)

۱. حقوقونک نسخه لرنده بیر بیان وار مقرر بیل که انکا قانه قان وار
باشوم قریان یولینده مرشد حق نیچه یوز من تکی جانه قیان وار
الونک وار بخشی قردونک سن بزیدی جهاندار اوله سن تاکیم جهان وار
نهفهز شاه حیدر فونک قافی درو ویر بزیده بر داخی کلی قران وار
۵. یقین اخلاص کرک عشقونک یولینده بیری منکر لحسین سند کمان وار
منکا منکر دریم کور منس انى کونشد اهل حق (قاتن) عیان وار
طهارت سیز بویوله کیتمک ایلی نیچه انثار ایدرسن سوزه قان وار

منوم حالوم شاهه عرض ایتمک ایجون
بری باجِ صبا سب هرزمان وار
و خطائی دور بری سب بسر قیل! که شهر اردبیل ده خاندان وار

Variants - TZ, No 78, L, both closely related (and possibly P²):

النک وریس (وارس) v.3 سنهای مرشد حق v.2 مقرر بیلونگز کم قانه
اهل حق فاتح (قاتنه L) v.6 ... حف بولنه کست ای ... v.5 فانی قالبدار
شها عرض هر لحظه سب وار v.8 بو بوله وار منع او لجز رهنما ستر نیجه انکار او لاس v.7
اوکوش خوف ایین عشقنک بولنه رفیق قازی (ا) لودن (غازی لاردن) کاروان وار
مودن کجه کونلوز چافر (ح) امام کلدی نخازه دور وان (اویان) وار

No 101 (f. 39)

1. ازلد شاه بیزم سلطان میز دور پیر میز مرشد میز جانو میز دور
شاه آدین دیوبن کز دوک بو بوله حسینی او ز بو کون دورانو میز دور
بیز امام قول لاری او ز صادقانه شیدلوق غازی لوق نشانو میز دور
بو لیز اینجه دور اینجه در اینجه بو بوله باش ویر که ارکانو میز دور
5. خطائی ام ازلد سر حیدر صونی حق بیسمیں بیکانه میز دور

Variants - P², f. 19, TZ No 79:

کرو از شاهدی میدان ایچن v.2
موالی در خطائی v.5 باش ویر TZ باش ویر که P² v.4 کذروز (ا) شاه دیوب
Both MSS. omit v.3 but add two verses.

شها تخفه کتوردک بیز وجانی شاهنک کفتی بیزم ایمان میز دور
دو رویه (پورکله) بوق دیروز بالاجیه مرك که کیر حکک (کر حکک لر TZ) صحبتی برها نه ز دور

No 102 (f. 39)

1. عشق میدانده هر کم جان ایلی باش اوینا دور
یار اوکنده غزه و کیر بوك ایله قاش اوینا دور

شاه مردانوک یولینه چوخ کیشی وار درر ولی
 افرین اول باشه کیم میناک باشه بیر باش اوینادور
 شاه قاتنه محرم او لسوون باش و جاندار کچر
 صانه کیل کیم یار اوکنده دکمه فراش اوینادور
 چوخ کیشی سواش گوننه جان و باشند کچر
 انى باشند کیرو دورانه قولباش اوینادور
 ۵. اى خطائی غم بمه چون دشمنونک اولدی اوکوش
 مدغی دائم ایراقدن کیرپچ و داش اوینادور

Nº 103 (f. 39v)

۱. بخداش قوروب او تورسه نظاروم فخان قوپار
 دورسه او تورسه قتنه اخر زمان قوپار
 شروان خلایقی خامو تبریزه داشینه
 ملک عهم سور که قیامت خاچان قوپار
 پند و کجه توکنور عربونک کوهی (کوئی؟) مسکنی
 بخادر ایچنده هرنیچه کیم ترکمان قوپار
 چیقسه سرای دن بوجهان واری سین دوتتر
 هر مرشد طریقت پیر و جوان قوپار
 ۵. کورمیشدی تا خطانی ازلدی یقین مونی
 نوحونک علاستی کلور آندن طوفان قوپار

Nº 123 (f. 45)

۱. اود یانر سینه سی پادی دورلو پیکان او خلارونک
 سورینه سوندی کلدی فراوان او خلارونک
 یاورو قوشلر دور صانه سین کیم او جر فرید ایلن
 چخسه یايدت بس قیلور هر لحظه افغان او خلارونک
 سینهونک میدانیدا صف چلدی قوشون با غلادی
 پادشاه هوم سین بوبور دونک کیم و بیور سان او خلارونک
 او لورم بودد ایلن کیم کونطموم آهندن گکول
 بوجانو مله قالصی جسمومده پران او خلارونک
 ۵. بوخطائی سینه سین قیلسنک مشبک نه عجب
 جبهه و جوشن سوکر پولاد [و] قالخان او خلارونک

Nо 168 (f.57)

۱. منم که بوزمانه شیخی کلروم روان اولدوم روانه شیخی کلروم
عاشق مسست و حیران شاهه چون من محبت خاندانه شیخی کلروم
شکر کیم آستانه شیخی کلروم شاهه مشتاق ایدیم قایتنه بالله
چرافه یانه یانه شیخی کلروم یزید و مشرکون کوکین کسرم
ساخینه کیل جهانه شیخی کلروم ۵. ازلد کلیشم شاه امری ایلن
ولیکن بودکانه شیخی کلروم صبیم اون ایکی شاهه ازلد
عالمه نوح طوفانه شیخی کلروم سلیمان خاتمی موسی عصاسی
الحمد لله دور نشانه شیخی کلروم محمد مجزی شاه ذرفقاری
خطائی ام برانه(؟) شیخی کلروم ۶. خوارج اصلینی قویمن جهانه

برانه شیخی کلروم ۷. قانی توکرم چرافم

Nо 194 (f.64)

۱. ای منوم چوخ سیودوکوم عالمه سلطان دور بوكون
یار آکر قبول ایدر جانومی قربان دور بوكون
ای آدم سن عاقل ایستاک دنیایه ویرمه کونکول
دنیایا ویرن کونکول بوبولو نادان دور بوكون
علینی حق بیامین لر کافر مطلق اولور
دینی یوخ ایمانی یوخ اول نامسماhan دور بوكون
بیر کونکول آولار ایستاک بورنکا وارمیش کمی دور
بیر کونکول بیخر ایستاک یوز مله ویران دور بوكون
۵. ای خطائی جان غنیمت دور او زینی تافی کور
دانکله کون او لاجف اوز جان تنده مردان دور بوكون

Nº 195 (f. 64)

1. بوکون کلدومن جهانه سروم من یقین بیلونک که این حیدرم من
فریدون خسرو و جشید و ضحاک که این زال هم اسلدرم من
انا الحق سری اوش کونکلومده کیزلو که حق مطلق حق سویلم من
موالی مذهبم شاهونک بولنده "مساهمانم" دیانه رهبرم من
5. نشانوم دور منوم تاج سعادت سليمان الینه انکشترم من
محمد نوردن دور علی سردن حقیقت بحر ایند کوهرم من
7. خطائی ام شاهه آلسکلو قولم قاپونکه بر کمینه کتم من
- محمد نورنک علی سردن ۵۵ بار ماغنده ۵۵ حقم ۲۳ بیان ۱:۷ - Variants

Nº 204 (f. 66v)

1. عین اللرم عین اللرم عین الله کل ایمی حقی کور ای کور کمراه
منوم حکمومه دور خرشید الیمه ما هم اول فاعل مطلق که دیرلار وجودوم سنگا دور شام و سکوه
وجودوم بیت الله دور یقین بیل یروکوک جله حق دور او لمه کمراه
یقین بیل اهل اقرارونک یاندہ
5. ولایت باقینونک بیر میوه سی دور خاچان اوژه او فی هر دست کوتاه
دیلسن حقی حقه وصل ایتمک ایریشدی فی مقام میم الله
علوی پاک اوژه سیران ایدورکه خطائی او فردی بیر کنجه ناکاه

No.211 (f.68v)

۱. کل افاجدی بیندی کلدی شاهه بولداش او لمخه
سر شاه ایدی از لدن کاری سرداش او لمخه
- *پورکی داغ او لمینجه با فری فانلو لصل نک [بوزونکی Ms.]
- هنج کیمسنک حتی بیوخ دور کیم قبریل باش او لمخه
کنث کنزو نک سری دور زنده محمد نوری دور
- قرمزی تاج ایله کلدی عالمه فاش او لمخه
۴. اسمی اسمحیل دور اورا هم ذات امیر المؤمنین
بوزینی کورک خوارج راضی دور داش او لمخه

No.237 (f.75)

۱. من اول مسست لقايم کلدیم ایدی همیشه با خدایم کلدیم ایدی
منی زنبار سن بیر غیر بیامه همان اول دل رایم کلدیم ایدی
- چنان ایچنلا بیر عاقل منی بیل هم اول صدق و صفاتیم کلدیم ایدی
- منافق جانه با ضرب شمشیر بوکون حقدن بلایم کلدیم ایدی
۵. محبونک حقینه ای اهل دین لار بوکون سر جان فدایم کلدیم ایدی
- زغیر حق منی بیکانه * بیلکل بیلکل همیشه باصل حق
- منی بیلکل همیشه باصل حق زغیر حق جدایم کلدیم ایدی
- مخاب اهلی چون اوج فلکدن معنی چون همانم کلدیم ایدی
۶. بوکوش جانلار ایچون جان او لمکام خطای حان خدایم کلدیم ایدی

Variants - TZ, No.182, L, f.71 : v.2 v.3 بیلکل TZ
ای غافل منی بیل v.4 مقرب حقنه TZ پیامبر P.6 ای اهل دل لر v.5 خوارج حقنه L
مختار همیشیم کلدیم ایدی then both TZ and L : مقتضی سن حقنه L

(f. 78v) №249

۱. تعالی اللہ کل اے کورکیم ینہ نور خدا کلدی
جیمع انبیا ختمی محمد مصلطفی کلدی
سوندھ جان عاشقلر اجلدی بخت صادقلر
اویاندھ روح مؤمنلر صفا کلدی صفا کلدی
زمیندھ زمانلردھ صلاح الخیر مقدم دور
فلکلردن ملکلردن هزاران مرجبان کلدی
ایرشدھ مرشد کامل خامو خلقہ ایمان اولدی
سوندھ فازیلر جلمہ کہ ختم انبیا کلدی
۵. حقہ مظہر دورو ر آدم سجدو ایت اویما شیطانہ
کہ آدم دونینہ کیوش خدا کلدی خدا کلدی
فرشته ایندھ کوکلدرن بشارت اهل عرفانہ
خوارجہ اجل ایندھ بزید لارہ بلا کلدی
ضلالت ایچھہ ظالمدن ایتو میش دوناک چرا گونکی
کوزوناک آج چیخ بو ظالمدن کہ دین بذر چجا کلدی
خلیل اللہ دونین کیمیش حیریا میش آدی اسمحیل
انکا قربان اولوناک جانلر کہ اللہ دن ندا کلدی
کوزل شاہوم قصر ماہوم مراد کاہوم کونکوں خواہوم
جمالی مظہر الارووم کریں اولیا کلدی
۱0. غزاریل ادلو شیطانوناک تیر تقلیدینہ اویما
این دوت حق یولین کورست امام رہنما کلدی
جنانی سحر ایلیں فرعون اوزینہ تابع ایتمشی
اولادی یو تمضہ موسی عصاسی اڑدھا کلدی
بہادر فازیلر قویا دی باشندہ تاج دولت وار
اولور مہلی زمان دوری جوان نور بقا کلدی
کوزی صاد و دلی طاها ینطا فی قاف والقران
قاشی نور و ساجی واللیل یوزی شہنس الضحا کلدی
امام شاہ حیدر او غلینہ دل و جاندھ رضا ویرکیل
اما موم جمحف صادق علی موسی رضا کلدی
خطائی خستہ شول شاہوناک جمالیں وصلیتی ایستر
روان ویر جان صاتون آکلیل کہ عالم جان برا کلدی
۱5.

۴. امام اولدی ... تعالی شانہ کورکیم ...
Marginal variants:

۱. نلر کلدى کلاسی دور مدد هى	جهان اهلى اولاىسى دور مدد هى
کلور حکم آرى اسرافىله	اولو صورى اولاىسى دور مدد هى
گنه کار لار کناھى صورىخ اچچون	اولو ديوان دور اسى دور مدد هى
قورو لوئى عدل اچچون نيران ترازو	عمل لار تازار تالسى دور مدد هى
۵. پىميرلر قاچر امىت لرنىزد	كە نفسان نفس اولاىسى دور مدد هى
صورى صوره ايلتلر صراطه	نيچە لر سيرلاسى دور مدد هى
۷. خطائى در دينه درمان بولنەز	يا رب حالى نولاسى دور مدد هى

MATHNAVİ Nо.3 (f.81)

كيم اول دور توانا بذات قدیم
قيامت ييل ايلى ايده داشى موم
كىمین گل قىلوبىن كىمین ايده خار
كىمنى يارىم پوله محتاج ايده
كىمنى، قاچر قاچضى نزكىبى
جىمعوناك ايشندى اول آتاه دور
كە هەركسلو بىلە يولىن وارماقى
خاچچار عالم ايشى مىشى اولە
برابر ايھىز آسمان وزمىن
الدىن كلور ايشى قىلماخ كرك
برابر اوئىنە ايتوروز يولى
مختىث دیوارپىنه دايانتا كىل
قولىنە يامان كوتىدە حىخوار اولان
آچىر بىر بىك اىكىست بولىنى تام
عنىمىچى باسى لار لىشكەمىدۇر ؟
چۈرۈدە بىك اولو بىر ارسورى

۱. بنام خداوند حى كريم
3. قىلىنى صوصىرى هىچىياد سىموم
7. كىمین عالم اچچە ايده شەرىار
8. كىمین اهل تخت و كىمین تاج ايده
12. كىمینى دوشىر سىستانلىرىبى
قاچونى بىرادان بىر الله دور
ياراتىداي تىتكى الدە بش بارماقى
15. اكر جىله عالم بىراير اولە
جواردى اره فرق ولار دور يقىن
كىشى اوفر كمالىنى بىامع كرك
يابانىدە سىچان دىر كە شەرم ولى
بولارنى سىناما دين ايانماكىل
20. كە حق دور جەنادە مەدەكار اولىن
قاموروم وچىن وخراسان وشام
اره لىشكەرىلىرىن واران ارمىدور ؟
ارن لار باسلار سواشىدە ارى

نبردی به بیر و پلنک ایلم
 باشینه اوروب کرزی دنک ایلم
 سافینه که باخوب درک ایلم
 چه پروای توب و تفنگ ایلم
 پس اند هوای فرنک ایلم
 انونکن اوروشماقه ننک ایلم
 دونوب قاچه هاو ایله بولداشوئکا
 کوریدع او زیندن او بیکرک اری
 نه تختین قوایدوم نه ملک و دیار
 بولو خدوم مختله نا مردله
 یل صفت شکن شیر نر قیمتی
 حکومت قیلور اولدی پیز منکا
 چیخیدوم عنیم ایله من باشه باش
 دویه هر کیشی ار دمند خبر
 دیمشد و بوسوزی ارنلر یکی
 هر ایک بیر اژدر فونک اغزنه دور
 اول ایکنی افزنند آلوب کوتور
 که کسsoon او لوهدن کلی دشمنوم
 قاچر سرم او زون عمر و می آز قیل
 بوز و مه توکورمه لشمه توکورت
 که رستم تک اوله انونک هر بیری
 اول رطسه یالخوز انکا جنک ایلم
 نه آهنک بیله نه خود حمله سین
 یاما میش دوتایم کمیک پر (بیر) جوال
 اولوم بیک بالانجیه غیرت سینه
 که عورت دن السوک در و مرد ایلم
 داغیدوم او کوهدن صفت و مینه
 که ضربو مه دور مز هزیر و پلنک
 که کر رستم اول سه قیام تارومار
 قاپونکده نیاز و مناجاتومی
 بحق علی امام تمام
 بو بولده فدا قیلیدلار او زلرین
 قیلیج له ایدلر زیون دشمنی

من اولم زننک ایله جنک ایلم
 من اولم کیم او غرسه افراسیاب
 من اولم فنیمه واروب قورخوسيز
 یشم قلعه خیری مشت ایلم
 آلوب روم و شاهی مسخر قیلوب
 منو مل عنیم اول سه افراسیاب
 30. سواش اکر کلسه ایش باشونکا
 دریضا کر اول سیدی رسم و بیری
 32. دریضا بودم اول سه اسفندیار
 37. دریضا که بند اول دوم عورت لره
 دریضا که قالهدی ار قیمتی
 عنیم رستم اولمز و بیچ منکا
 40. نولا بدی اول بدی بیر او لو سواش
 بیله لار که دو غمیش انا در بیرار
 ایکیت ار لیک ایلم بیر ایکی
 بیک ایکنی رایکان خانده دور
 بیری اژدهای (!) ارادت کوتور
 45. الی قیلیجوم ایتی قیل منوم
 جدمی الومدن سرافراز قیل
 جدمی الومده حسوده بیکورت
 عنیم ایله منکا او تویز منک اری
 چو میدان هواسنه آهنه کایدم
 50. کیچورم قیلچردن انونک جمله سین
 ارنلر چکر می او لوهدن ملال؟
 دیتر کیمیسه "ار دور" حمیت سینه
 منی قیلمه بولداش نامرد ایلم
 قیلیج اوزاتکنل یتم دشمنه
 55. هم اسفندیاره قیام بیری تنک
 منکا یاری و بیکیل سی ای شهریار
 الی قبول ایله حاجاتومی
 بحق رسولی که ایة کلام (ب)
 آباخو این چویز مدیلر بوزلرین
 60. و نک صفت و قوای کیل منی

VI. ENGLISH TRANSLATION

No. 7

That Sultan of generosity is the Master of Reason ; he is Sanctity and the light of the eyes.

Should the ghāzīs put on their swords and arms, fear of danger will invade the soul of hypocrites.

Let Yazid's host be one hundred thousand, one man from the host of Sanctity is enough (to defeat them).

Should the Shāh with a glance make a sign, before it all the giaours and Marvāns will be scattered.

5. The moon-faced Shāh can be recognized by the *tāj* on his head and the precious belt round his waist.

The one who does not find the way to the Mystery of Sanctity is a blind man and an ignorant fool.

When the ghāzīs enter the arena, the "outsiders"¹ will be utterly (lit. head and foot) under their feet.

Know for certain : 'Ali is the Sea of Truth (*haqīqat*), he is the eternal life of honour.

The day the ghāzīs (preceded by) the red pennons and banners, don their red *tāj*, will be the day of warning.

10. Mo‘āwiya's host on seeing one ghāzī will grow worse than that sheep at which a wolf clutches (?).

The akhis who recognize the Pīr are true (?) pearls ; those whose word is but one are true men.

In the path of the Shāh, Khatā'i sacrifices his soul, to say nothing of the kingdom, property, gold, and silver.

No. 15

My name is Shāh Ismā'il. I am God's mystery. I am the leader of all these ghāzīs.

My mother is Fātima, my father is 'Ali ; and eke I am the Pīr of the Twelve Imāms.

I have recovered my father's blood from Yazid. Be sure that I am of Haydarian² essence.

I am the living Khidr and Jesus, son of Mary. I am the Alexander of (my) contemporaries.

5. Look you, Yazid, polytheist and the adept of the Accursed one, I am free from the Ka'ba of hypocrites.

In me is Prophethood (and) the mystery of Holiness. I follow the path of Muhammad Muṣṭafā.

I have conquered the world at the point of (my) sword. I am the Qanbar of Murtadā 'Ali.

My sire is Ṣafī, my father Haydar. Truly I am the Ja'far of the audacious.

¹ Not "the Khārijites" in the technical sense.

² Referring both to his father Haydar and to the Imām 'Ali (Haydar).

9. I am a Ḥusaynid and have curses for Yazid. I am Khatā'ī, a servant of the Shāh's.

No. 18

O, fighters in the path of God, say : “*Allāh, Allāh!* I am the faith of the Shāh (i.e. ‘Ali).

Come to meet (me), prostrate yourselves (*sijda*).¹ I am the faith of the Shāh.

In flying ² I am a parakeet, I am the leader of a mighty army, a companion of Sufis.

Wherever you sow me, I will grow ; whenever you call me, I will come up. I shall catch the Sufis by the hand.

5. I was on the gibbet with Mansūr ; with Abraham in the fire, and with Moses on Sinai.

Come from the eve, celebrate the New Year, join the King.

With discernment come to know the King. O ghāzīs, prostrate yourselves.

I wear a red crown, my charger is grey, I (lead a) mighty army. I have the virtues of the Prophet Joseph (i.e. am beautiful).

9. I am Khatā'ī, my charger is sorrel ; my words are sweeter than sugar, I have the essence of Murtadā ‘Ali. I am the faith of the Shāh.

No. 22

Know for certain that Khatā'ī is of divine nature, that he is related to Muhammad Muṣṭafā ;

He is issued from Ṣafi, he is the scion of Junayd [and] Ḥaydar, he is related to ‘Ali Murtadā.

For the love of Hasan he has entered the arena, (for) he is related to Husayn of Kerbela.

[He possesses the qualities of the other Imāms.]

He is like a beggar at the gate of Mahdi, Master of the Time.

7. My name is Valī Shāh Isma‘il ; my surname is Khaṭā'ī.

No. 30

Do not think, o moon-faced one, that my soul remains to me after thou hast gone.

My soul has gone after you and (only) the impotent body remains to me.

Since thou hast quitted my side, o peace of my heart, only the (dream) of my joining you keeps watch over my heart.

Although the flower-garden of thy beauty has gone from my eyes, in my heart grows the stately poplar of thy sunny forms.

¹ Cf. Nos. 204, v. 3 and 249, v. 5.

² *Učmaqda* might also mean “in Paradise”.

5. Let that Peri-like idol be hidden from my looks, the moon in the sky is for me a symbol of (her) face.

From the moment this sick-hearted Khaṭā'i became separated from thee, the musk of thy fragrant tresses has remained with me as a perfume-spreader.

No. 92

There is a commandment in God's books : know for certain that it decrees blood for blood.

May my head be a sacrifice on the path of the Guide of Truth : there are many hundreds like me (ready to) destroy their lives. (O Khaṭā'i) thou hast a hand : (how) thoroughly hast thou defeated Yazīd ; mayst thou be ruler of the world as long as the world exists.

The blood of Shāh Haydar is still (unavenged) ; Yazīd still awaits a crushing defeat.

5. Truly, in the path of love sincerity is wanted.

Go away, thou accursed denier, there is a doubt in thee !

I call thee denier : thou dost not see that the Companions of Truth (*Ahl-i Haqq*) possess evidence clearer than the Sun.

Treading this path in the state of impurity, how canst thou deny the word : there is some blood unavenged.

Go, o zephyr, it is high time¹ (for you) to represent to the Shāh in what state I am.

10. Rise and march, o Khaṭā'i, make a journey ; for (thy) paternal home is in the town of Ardabil.

No. 101

From Pre-Eternity the Shāh is our Sultan, our pīr and murshid, our soul.

Having pronounced the name of the Shāh we have walked along this path. We are Husaynī, to-day is our period.

We are slaves of the Imāms, in all sincerity. Our token is to be martyrs and ghāzis.

Our path is narrow, narrower than anything. This time our fundamental rule is to give our heads away.

5. I am Khaṭā'i. From Pre-Eternity I am the Mystery of Haydar. He who does not recognize him (Haydar ?) as Truth (*Haqq*) is a stranger to us.

No. 102

In the arena of love, he who risks (lit. plays) his head and life, sports wantonly with his eyes, eye-lashes, and eye-brows before the Beloved.

¹ Or : "go every moment."

- On the path of the King of Men there are many people, but praise
to the head which alone opposes a thousand heads !
Let him be an intimate friend of the Shāh, who is ready to part
with his head and life.
Do not think that a common farrāsh would (be allowed) to flirt
in the presence of the Beloved.
5. On the day of battle many give up their heads and lives ; but
should someone self-willed (*bashinda*) stay behind, the *qulbāsh*
(corporal ?) will make him play !
O Khaṭā’ī, do not grieve if all have become your enemies. A
challenger always flings bricks and stones from afar (?).

No. 103

The meaning of this poem is dark. The author considers three eventualities : the Beauty (Shāh Ismā‘il himself ?) either sits quietly, or rises for a moment, or comes out of the palace. The corresponding results grow more and more terrific. Verses 2 and 3 refer to Ismā‘il’s enemies. Should the people of Shirvān, responsible for the death of Ismā‘il’s grandfather and father, attack Tabriz, the Last Judgment is reserved for them. In Baghdad the Aq-qoyunlu hordes may be numerous, but Ismā‘il will destroy this home of the Arabs. Shāh Ismā‘il killed the Shirvānshāh Farrukh-yasār in 915/1509. After the expulsion of the Aq-qoyunlus ‘Irāq was occupied in 913/1508. Consequently the unsettled situation which is reflected in the poem is earlier than 1508, and the poem must have been written by Ismā‘il (born in 892/1487) when he was twenty years old, or even younger.

“Should my beauty sit (with crossed legs), groans will be roused
(in the world) ; should he rise and sit down, the ordeal of the
end of the world will burst out.

Let all the people of Shirvān rush to Tabriz, the Persian (*Ajam*)
kingdom will (but) ask : when is the Last Day to come ?

As he arrives, the streets and homes of the Arabs will cease to
exist, however many Turcomans may turn out from Baghdad.

If (my Beauty) comes out of the palace, the tomb (*sīn*) will engulf
the stock of the world ¹ and a ² Guide to the *tariqat*, old and
young (at the same time), will suddenly appear.

5. Since in Pre-Eternity Khaṭā’ī had contemplated the certainty
of this issue, the signs of Noah have appeared in him and the
Flood is to burst out.

¹ Or “ he will seize whatever there is (*var-i-sī*) in the world ”.

² Reading : *bir*.

No. 123

Thy numerous arrows have pierced my breast, which is burning with fire.

They came in multitudes, thy arrows, they did not pour water (*sunmādī*) where water was needed (?)¹

You would think that fledgelings are flying with screams. Every moment, as thy arrows leave the bow, they make me groan.

On the square of my breast they have formed an army in fighting array. Thou art my king over the land (*yurt*) where thy arrows are arrayed in review.

5. I am dying of that pain, and the groans of my suffering have annihilated (?) my heart; thy flying arrows have not even left my soul in my body.²

No wonder you make a lattice of Khaṭā'i's breast, for thy arrows pierce armour, coats of mail, and shields of steel.

No. 168

1. It is I who have come now for this epoch (var. "to this world"). I have set myself in motion and have entered a soul (manifested myself in a soul?).
2. I am intoxicated with love for the Shāh and dazzled by him. As a lover I have come to (my) family (home).
3. By God, I was sorely longing for the Shāh! Thanks to God, I have now come to the sanctuary.
4. I shall uproot Yazid and the heretics, a-burning I have come to the source of light.
5. By the Shāh's command I had come in Pre-Eternity. Do not be troubled, (for) now I have come (again).
6. From Pre-Eternity I am in love with the "Twelve Shāhs" (Imāms) but now I have come to this shop (i.e. this mundane world).
7. (Like ?) Solomon's ring and the staff of Moses I have come to the world, as Noah (during) the Flood.
8. Muhammad's miracles, the Shāh's (sword) Dhul-Fiqār are signs in my hand. Here I have come.
9. I shall exterminate outsiders from the world. I am Khaṭā'i, I have come to serve as a proof (of Truth).

No. 194

1. Lo, my truly Beloved is now Sultan in the world. If my friend accept my soul, to-day it is his sacrifice.

¹ Or "they did not become extinguished (*sönmädi*) at the place of water" (i.e. in my blood?).

² It is possible that under the influence of Persian *māndan*, which means both "to remain" and "to leave", *qalmadī* is also used here in the sense "has not left". A parallel use of the verb *galmaq* is found in an Ahl-i Ḥaqq hymn, see Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 170.

2. O man, if thou hast brains, give not thy heart to the world ; he who does so, shows his ignorance on (of ?) the path.
3. Those who do not recognize 'Ali as Truth (or "God") are absolute unbelievers. They have no creed, no faith, and are not Muslims.
4. If you capture *one* heart, for you it will amount to a hundred. If you destroy one heart, one hundred Mekkas will lie in ruins.
5. O Khatā'i, life is a boon (to profit by) : know thyself. To-morrow we shall die,¹ but to-day life is still a guest in your body.

No. 195

1. To-day I have come to the world as a Master. Know truly that I am Haydar's son.
2. I am Faridūn, Khosrau, Jamshid, and Zohāk (!). I am Zāl's son (Rustam) and Alexander.
3. The mystery of *Anā'l-Haqq* is hidden in this my heart. I am the Absolute Truth (or "God") and what I say is Truth.
4. I belong to the religion of the "Adherents of the Vali (i.e. 'Ali)" and on the Shāh's path I am a guide to every one who says : "I am a Muslim."
5. My sign is the "Crown of Happiness".² I am the signet-ring on Solomon's finger.
6. Muhammad is made of light, 'Ali of Mystery. I am a pearl in the sea of Absolute Reality.
7. I am Khatā'i, the Shāh's slave full of shortcomings. At thy gate I am the smallest and the last (servant).

No. 204

1. I am God's eye (or "God Himself")! ; come now, o blind man gone astray, to behold Truth (God).
2. I am that Absolute Doer of whom they speak. Sun and Moon are in my power.
3. My being is God's House, know it for certain. Prostration before me is incumbent on thee,³ in the morn and even.
4. Know for certain, that with the People of Recognition (*ahl-i iqqrār*) Heaven and Earth are all Truth. Do not stray !
5. The garden of Sanctity has produced a (or *one*) fruit. How can it be plucked by a short-handed one ?
6. If you wish to join Truth to Truth, (here is) God who has reached the stage of Mīm.⁴
7. The one of pure connections considers his own person. Suddenly⁵ Khatā'i has come by a treasure.

¹ Read : *ölä-jaq-uz*, without vocalic harmony. *Alif* is only a *mater lectionis*.

² Apparently the head-gear (*tāj-i Haydari*) which Ismā'il's father introduced for his adherents (the *Qizil-bash* "Red heads").

³ This is the only possible interpretation of : "my *sujūd* is for thee," cf. No. 18, v. 2.

⁴ i.e. "if you wish to connect this manifestation of God with its origin",.... I do not know what *maqām-i mīm* means. Perhaps "the letter *m* of *bism(illāh)*".

⁵ i.e. by means of *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν*.

No. 211

A flower has blossomed on the tree, and is now come to be a companion to the Shāh.

In Pre-Eternity it was the Mystery of the Shāh, and now it has come to be a companion of his Mystery.

No one can become a Qizil-bash, until his heart (**yüragi* instead of *yüzüm*) is a-burning and his breast a-bleeding like a ruby.

In the time of the mystery of *kuntu kanzan*¹ he (was) the Light of Muḥammad, and now he has manifested himself to the world crowned with a red crown.

5. His name is Ismā‘il, he is homoousian with the Prince of the Faithful ('Ali); on seeing him the outsiders would prefer to turn to stone.

No. 237

1. I am the one intoxicated with beauty who has come to-day.
I am always with God, (but) to-day I have come (here).

2. Beware, do not take me for a stranger. I am that very Ravisher of hearts (whom you know).

3. In (this) world, recognize me, o Ignoramus, (for) I am that Veracity and Purity (of which you have heard).

4. To-day I am the God-sent calamity to smite with a sword the soul of the hypocrite.

5. O people of (the true) religion, on behalf of the lover I sacrifice my soul.

6. The outsider considered me as non-Truth, but I am acquainted with the King.

7. Know that I am constantly joined to Truth and separate from non-Truth.

8. From the highest point of the sky I have come as (lit. "with the meaning of") a *humāy*² for the Mystics.³

9. I have come to suffer death in my soul on behalf of all souls.
I am Khaṭā'i who offers his soul as a sacrifice.

No. 249

1. By the Lord! Come and behold: God's light has reappeared; Muḥammad Muṣṭafa, the Seal of the Prophets has come!

2. The hearts of the lovers are gladdened, the luck of the faithful is revealed, the spirit of the believers is awake, Purity has come!

¹ i.e. in Pre-Eternity when God said: *Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan wa-abbatu an u'rafa*.

² He upon whose head falls the shadow of the wings of a *humāy* is bound to become a king.

³ Reading: *ma'ārif* instead of *magħārib* ("the Wests" ?); cf. No. 249, v. 6.

3. For (every) land and (every) period, this is the blessed Weal of the Advent. From the heavens, from the angels thousands of welcomes reach (the ear).
4. The Perfect Guide has arrived. Faith has been (brought) to all. All the Ghāzīs are full of joy at the coming of the Seal of the Prophets.
5. A man (has become) a manifestation of Truth. Prostrate thyself! Pander not to Satan! Adam has put on new clothes, God has come.
6. An angel has descended from the skies. Good tidings to the men of mystic knowledge! Death has descended upon the outsiders, calamity has befallen the Yazīds.
7. Darkness was the cause that, amidst errings, thou hadst lost the lamp. Open thy eyes, come out of Darkness, for Faith has appeared like a full moon in the dark night.
8. God's Friend (Abraham) has put on a (new) garment and come to life. His name is Ismā‘il. Let souls be his sacrifice, for an appeal has come from God.
9. Oh my beautiful Shāh, my Moon, the Fulfilment of my desires, the Beloved of my heart, o Thou, in whose beauty God manifests himself, the Elect of the Saints has come.
10. Do not succumb to the arrow of hypocrisy of the Demon called ‘Azāzil. The Guiding Imām has come! Seize his hand, show him the way.
11. The Pharaoh had subjugated the world by magic; but the staff of Moses has become a dragon to swallow up.
12. The heroic ghāzīs have come forth with “crowns of happiness”¹ on their heads. The Mahdi's period has begun. The light of eternal life has dawned (upon) the world.
13. His eye is the letter *sād*, his tongue is *Tā-hā*, his cheeks are *Qāf* and *al-Qor’ān*, his eye-brows are the letter *nūn*, his hair reminds one of *al-Layl*, his face is “the Sun in its splendour”.²
14. With all your heart, accept the scion of Imām Shāh Haydar. My Imāms Ja‘far-i Sādiq and ‘Ali Mūsa Riḍā have come!
15. The (heart)-worn Khata‘ī longs for the beauty of that Shāh and for the union with him. Surrender thy (old) soul and (thereby) acquire a new one, for a science has appeared which is worth the soul.

No. 251

1. Whatever happened (was) bound to happen, oh for assistance! The people of this world are bound to die, oh for aid!
2. God's command comes to Isrāfil, and his great trumpet shall sound.
3. A great tribunal shall sit to examine the sins of the sinners.

¹ V.S., p. 1027a.

² The references are to the *sūras* of the *Qor’ān*.

4. For Justice's sake Fire¹ and Scales shall be set up and actions weighed.
5. The Prophets will flee from their communities, for the souls shall be tried one by one.
6. While being interrogated, they shall be pushed towards the (bridge of) Ṣirāt, and oh how many will slip!
7. All these unfortunate sons of Adam shall fill the Seven Hells.
8. No remedy can be found to Khaṭā'i's pain, o Lord ; what shall be his state (on that day) ?

Mathnavi No. 3 (*mutaqārib*)

The Mathnavi No. 3 holds a special place by itself among Khaṭā'i's poems. Its poetical merits are nil ; but the leisurely epic metre and the unconventional flow of oratory gave the poet much more freedom than the shorter poems on religious and love subjects. Both in vocabulary and grammar it is original.

The Mathnavi opens with a praise to God in which stress is laid on the diversity of God's creatures (vv. 1-12). Inequality is the law of the world ; but claims to superiority must be examined (vv. 13-19). God is the Helper and will assist the brave prince (*bäg-igit*), leading his " lads " (*ärän*) to conquests. Ismā'il challenges the heroes of the *Shāh-nāma* and complains of the absence of a worthy opponent (vv. 20-41). No success is to be achieved without struggle (vv. 42-4). God's assistance is invoked in a coming strife (vv. 45-50). Brave men are not afraid of death (vv. 51-5). The Mathnavi ends with a final appeal to God (vv. 56-60).²

1. In the name of God, Living and Bountiful, for His is might and His nature is old.
2. It is He who exalts the " Nine Heavens "³ and purifies the face of the earth.
3. He produces the storm like unto Simoom ; by the wind of the Day of Resurrection he softens stones to wax.
4. He makes some superior to others, some is suspense (?) and some lowly ;
5. Some like Solomon, and some like ants, some vilified and some strong.
6. He makes some superior to the whole world, and some a refuge to men.

¹ *Nirān*, perhaps **mizān* " a balance ".

² It is curious to compare this Mathnavi with Sultan Selim's poems Nos. 189 and 204 in which he gloats over his victories in Persia and Egypt, doing this in a matter of fact way without any tinge of mysticism.

³ Read : *āsmānī* instead of *asāmī*.

7. He makes some lords of the world, and while He treats some as flowers, he creates others as thorns.
8. He makes some (sit on) the throne and (wear) a crown ; he makes others needy of half-a-farthing.
9. He makes some awful like Rustam, and others less than a small hair (*mūchak*?) ;
10. Some endowed with courage (lit. *liver*), others without courage and carrion-like.
11. To some He gives swords and good horses, while He checkmates others on their carpet.
12. He creates some (as if) to stand (lit. *fall*) as Alexander's wall, and some as if to flee like deserters (or "like swift stallions" ?).
13. God is the Creator of all, He is cognizant of everybody's affairs.
14. Has He not created five fingers to a narrow hand so that each of them (?) should know its way ?
15. Were all the world equal, how would the affairs of the world be successful ?
16. Surely there is a difference between slave-girls and a man ; Heaven and Earth are not equal.
17. A man must know his perfection and do what work he can do.
18. A mouse in the desert says : "I am wicked," but when it is confronted (with an enemy) it loses its way.
19. Do not believe such (pretensions) before you have scanned them, do not lean on the wall of an unmanly person.
20. God (*Haqq*) is the Helper in this world ; in bad days he shares the sorrow of his slaves.
21. A brave beg (*bäg-igit*) will conquer all lands : all Asia Minor (*Rüm*), China, Khorasan, and Syria.
22. Is he a man, he who marches with an army against a (single) man ? Is an army (necessary) to crush an enemy ?
23. In a fight, lads (*ärän*) would crush one single man, but in an army the beg becomes the leader of men (*är-särväri*).
24. I am he¹ who will fight a crocodile, and wage war with the tiger and the panther.
25. I am such that should I meet Afrāsiyāb, I will smite his head with my mace and stun him.
26. I am he who will march without fear against the foe ; do not be afraid that on looking (at him) I shall show hesitancy.
27. I shall smash the fortress of Khaybar with my fist ; shall I (ever) fear cannon and guns ?
28. I shall conquer Asia Minor and Syria, and then think of the Franks.
29. Should Afrāsiyāb be my foe, I shall take it for a dishonour to come to blows with him.
30. Should something happen to you in a fight, turn not your back, run not with shouts towards your companion.

¹ Hardly : *män ölüm* "may I die, by my death".

31. A pity ! Would that there were a suitable occasion, that (the foe) should see a man better than himself !
32. A pity ! Would that Isfandiyār existed now, that I might spare neither his throne, nor his kingdom, nor his country.
33. A pity ! Would that Afrāsiyāb were there, that I might answer (his challenge) with my sword.
34. A pity ! Would that Gīv lived nowadays, that I might appear to him like a male *dīv*.
35. A pity ! Would that Zāl were alive now, that he might see what a struggle is like.
36. A pity ! Would that the hero Sohrāb were now in existence ! He would not be striking with his sword in his hand.
37. A pity that (on the battlefield) I am tied to females, that I encounter but effeminate and cowards.
38. A pity, that there is no longer a price for a man, for a hero breaking through the enemy line, for a male lion.
39. Neither Rustam nor Bijan are my opponents, a female wanted (?) to command me.
40. I wish there were a great fight that I might encounter the foe face to face.
41. They would know that a *Man* has been born of a mother ; every one would hear news of his talents (*ärдäm*).¹
42. “A hero eats (his) bread in a manly way.” This word was said by the best of the braves (or “by one of the braves”).
43. How can one eat bread without labour ; every piece of bread is in a dragon’s mouth.
44. Go and annihilate the dragon, snatch that bread from his mouth.
45. O God, sharpen my sword that it should smite the foe seeking my life.
46. Exalt my sire² through my hand, let my sire² run at the envious (enemy). Let not the foe spit into my face, but rather at my dead body.
48. Let thirty thousand men be my enemies, and each one of them be Rustam-like.
49. When I make up my mind to take the field, let them come and let me fight them alone.
50. Let me smite them all with the sword so that they should forget their designs and their attack.
51. Are the braves annoyed by death ? Shall I keep (this) bag of ungnawed bones ?
52. Nobody says to the one devoid of energy : “This is a *Man*” ; better is death for a liar lacking ardour.
53. Do not associate me with cowards, who, in the eyes of a *Man*, are less than females.

¹ Instead of *är-dämindän* “from the mouth of a man”, it is tempting to read : *ärдäm-indän*.

² Reading : *jadd*. Otherwise *jidd* would mean “my endeavour”.

54. Lengthen my sword that I reach the enemy and scatter before me his array and his right flank.
 55. Even for an *Isfandiyār* I shall make the field too narrow ; no lion or panther will stand my blows.
 56. O Lord, show me Thy friendliness and, though the foe be a *Rustam*, I will smash him.
 57. O God, accept my prayer for my needs, my supplication at Thy gate, and my appeal to Thee,
 58. Through the merits of my Prophet who is the Miracle of Speech, (?) and of ‘Ali, who is the Perfect *Imām*.
 59. (They ?) did not turn away their faces, but on this path made sacrifice of their beings.
 60. Pray, let me work havoc in (the) ranks (of the foe), for only by the sword can the foe be abashed.
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I dedicate this article to Seyyid Hasan Taqizadeh in recollection of the sunny days of Tabriz.

CAMBRIDGE,
Sept., 1941.

ADDITION

ad p. 1007a. The question of the language used by Shāh Ismā‘il is not identical with that of his “race” or “nationality”. His ancestry was mixed : one of his grandmothers was a Greek princess of Trebizond. Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 74, comes to the conclusion that the blood in his veins was chiefly non-Turkish. Already his son Shāh Tahmāsp began to get rid of his Turcoman praetorians.