with the virtues and properties of the letters of the alphabet; and he adds that it is so written in the book called Menaqib-ul-Wasim or 'The Acts of the Attainers.' There can, however, be no manner of doubt that Nesi'mi was really a Hurufi and a disciple of Fazl-ullah. Even if his own poems, which abound in Hurufi catch-words, were insufficient evidence, we have the statement of his pupil Refî who tells us that it was by Nesi'mi that he was initiated into the doctrines of Fazl-ullah. The Hurufi books again frequently mention him either as Nesi'mi or as Seyyid ِ Imad, and speak of him as being one of the most brilliant lights of their school; Ghiyas-ud-Din indeed in the Istitwa-Name places him among the seven 'most learned, most perfect, most excellent, most eminent dervishes of the age.' The utmost that can be allowed is that Nesi'mi's enthusiasm for Hurufism may possibly have somewhat waned towards the close of his life under the stress of his fervour for the ways of Mansur.

Nesi'mi's literary work consists of two Diwans, one Turkish, the other Persian, besides a number of poems in Arabic. The Turkish Diwan, with which alone we are concerned, is much the larger and more important. It contains one piece of about fifty lines in mesnevi form, the same from which the author sent a verse or two in answer to his brother's appeal, somewhere between 250 and 300 ghazels — several of which are of inordinate length, — and over 150 rubâ'is or quatrains.

Two elements, the Sufi and the Hurufi, meet and blend in Nesi'mi's poetry, with the result that his Diwan stands by itself in Turkish literature. The Sufi element he shares in common with hundreds of his fellow-poets; all that differentiates him here is the quite unusual frequency of his references to Mansur, and the persistence with which he

1 I have been unable to find any trace of a book so named. The 'Attainers' of the title are doubtless the saints who have attained to mystic union with God.
asserts his own pretension to the Divine Ipseity. This last point no doubt underlies almost all Sufi poetry, but it is rarely proclaimed so audaciously and undisguisedly.

It is therefore the Hurufi element in his work that really gives Nesimi his unique position. Being a true poet, he selected and presents almost exclusively that aspect of Hurufism which alone is capable of poetic treatment. Except for a stray line or two, chiefly in the quatrains, where the mystic import of the numbers 28 and 32 is suggested, the cabalistic side of the doctrine is completely ignored. What took captive Nesimi's imagination, and what he lovingly dwells on in every poem in his book, is the conception embodied in the third of the four articles of Hurufi faith mentioned a little while ago. The root of this conception, the self-revelation of God in humanity, is a perfectly familiar Sufistic idea; but to the Sufi the fair human form is only a mirror in which is reflected the Divine Beauty, and so the love which such mirror inspires is merely the 'Typal Love' which is but the 'Bridge' to the 'Real Love,' that is, to the love of the Reality shadowed therein. 1 To the Hurufi, on the other hand, the fair human form is not simply a reflection, it is an incarnation of the Deity; and the love which it inspires is not a mere 'Bridge' to something else, but is itself the goal.

Here we have the key-note of Nesimi's poetry. He sees the Revealer present indwelling in the Revelation; and so in his eyes the fair object of his love is not merely the mirror of God, but is God.

1 Who saith then unto thee, "Nay, thou art not God."?
2 Who knows thee not for God, from God is sundered! 2

See pp. 20-1.

1 See pp. 20-1.

2 سكما كيم حقو دقلاسي
سنى حقو يلمين حقدن جدا در
he cries; and the cry rings from end to end through his Divran.

It follows that the love inspired by the beloved thus conceived must be itself the end and goal, as there is nothing higher to which it can lead. Moreover, the Beloved, being God, is properly the object not only of the poet’s love, but of his adoration. And not of his adoration alone, but of that of all men; and he who refuses to bow down and worship the Beloved is a devil; for was it not the Devil, and the Devil only, who refused to obey the command of God and fall down in adoration before the man Adam?

This brings us to another peculiarity of Nesimi’s poetry; that is the extreme frequency with which he quotes passages, sometimes mere expressions, from the Koran and Traditions, and the ingenious subtlety with which he contrives to make these appear to confirm and bear out his own conclusions. Thus the incident just referred to, the refusal of Iblis to worship Adam at God’s bidding, which occurs in the Koranic story of the creation, is continually presented as a Divine confirmation of the Hurufi doctrine that the human form is a fitting object of adoration and that whoso refuses to acknowledge this is a rebel even as Satan himself. Again, there is a Koranic text which runs, ‘Everything doth perish except His face,’ referring of course to the face of God; this Nesimi and the other Hurufis represent as referring to the human face (to which, as we have seen, they attribute extraordinary significance) and then deduce therefrom the eternity, and consequently, the divinity of humanity.

That arguments such as these, which to us seem so puerile and so little convincing, should have been seriously set forth

1 See p. 119, n. 5.
2 Koran, xxviii, 88.
and fervently believed by men of more than average intelligence may appear scarcely credible. But the East is not as the West; and, as the scholar whom I have so often quoted in this chapter ¹ most truly says, while for the Western the essentials of religion are Faith and Righteousness, for the Eastern they are Knowledge and Mystery. The more subtle therefore and intricate a religious system is, and the more it professes to explain, the stronger is its appeal to the more highly strung type of Eastern mind. Of the sincerity of Nesimí's belief in the ideas he took up there can be no question. The story of his life and death is warrant enough for that. But even if we knew nothing of this story, and had only his Diwán in our hands, we could no more doubt the absolute sincerity than we could the passionate ardour of the man who wrote those pages.

It is this utter single-mindedness combined with this white-heat of passion that has made Nesimí the first true poet of the Western Turks, the only true poet of this far-off Period. They are no vain words in which Ḥādi says that it is Nesimí who first gave lustre to Turkish poetry. In his verse, more than in that of any of the poets we have yet considered, we can hear the note of inspiration. Those have striven with varying success to reproduce in their own language something they have studied in another; Nesimí sings because he must, because he himself has a message that demands deliverance. And Love lends eloquence to his tongue; his expression is more graceful, his language more perfect, than that of any predecessor or contemporary. And so when we read his impassioned lyrics, a-thrill with ecstasy and rapture and clothed in gracious melody, we almost forget the fantastic features of Hurufí doctrine, and feel that

¹ Mr. Browne.
this old poet too has indeed, after his own fashion, looked upon the Face of God.

In Nesimi's poems there is of course no formal exposition of any Hurufi doctrine; these are taken as established, and a knowledge of them on the part of the reader is presupposed. Without such knowledge the poems are in great part unintelligible, and this is my excuse for having dwelt upon these doctrines at so much greater length than their importance may appear to warrant. Nesimi nowhere applies the term Hurufi either to himself or to his fellow-sectaries; they are simply Lovers, like any other mystics. He frequently refers, however, to the founder of his sect; but he generally translates the name Fazl-ullah, which in Arabic means 'Grace of God,' into some such Persian equivalent as Fazl-i Yezdan or Fazl-i Khuda. His object in doing so was probably twofold: in the first place, as these Persian terms are less proper names than phrases signifying 'the grace of God,' the poet, by using them in lieu of his teacher's name, is able to produce a series of equivoques such as the Eastern loves; and in the second place, they would provide him with a ready retort should any orthodox critic object to the laudation of Fazl-ullah the teacher, by enabling him to ask whether the objector disapproved of the celebration of the grace of God. If this last proceeding should appear to the reader to partake of the nature of an evasion, it must be borne in mind that to the medieval Oriental, and above all to the Hurufi, there was in words a vast deal more than the mere superficial signification; and so it might quite honestly be averred that when speaking of the grace of God, the conception of the individual so named and through whom this was revealed, was swallowed up and lost sight of in the far greater conception of the revelation itself.
In point of literary execution Nesimi's lyrics are ahead of all other poems of the same class that have hitherto been produced. His prosody is Persian throughout; and if at times he departs from the Persian usage, he is at least consistent in his departures. Some of his work must have been written prior to the Tartar invasion, as we have seen that Fazl-ulláh, who was one of Timur's innumerable victims, discussed verses by him with Ghiyás-ud-Din; but no doubt much also was composed during the score or so of years that elapsed between his master's execution and his own. There is, however, no visible inequality in the workmanship of his ghazels; and it would be quite impossible to throw these into any kind of chronological order. The equal excellence of his earlier with his later work may perhaps be due to the circumstance that Nesími was a great traveller and frequented the society of the saintly, who in those days were also the learned. In this way he would acquire, it may be almost unconsciously, a knowledge of form in poetry before such became general among the Turkish peoples.

The fame of Nesími has long outlived that of the sect whose brightest ornament he was. For many a year, even to the present day, the poet has been looked upon as a saint and a martyr by thousands of his countrymen who have never so much as heard the name Hurúfí. Testimony to his reputation during the intervening centuries comes from an unexpected quarter. The old European travellers, Nicholay and Rycau, in the curious and interesting, though naturally confused and inaccurate, accounts which they give of the religious sects in Turkey, both speak of the esteem in which the dervishes of their time held Nesími. Nicholay, who visited Constantinople in 1551 in the suite of the French ambassador, tells us that there are among the Turks four religious sects. It is with the second of these, which he calls
the Qalenders,¹ and the members of which he describes as glorying in chastity and abstinence and as living in little ‘churches’ called Tekyes, that he associates Nesimi. Of those sectaries he says, speaking through his contemporary English translator:² 'These also goe reading of certain songs and common rymes compounded by one of their order called Nerzimi (Nesimi), whom they repute and take amongst them to have bin the first saint of their Religion, who for having spoken certaine words against the law of Mahomet, was in Azamia, which is Assyria,³ flaiide quicke, and by these means the first martyr of their Religion.'

In the entertaining volume entitled 'The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire,' which was written by Sir Paul Rycaut on his return to England after a five years' residence in Turkey, whither he had accompanied the mission sent by Charles II to Mehemed IV in 1661, we get a long description of 'the Sects and Heresies in the Turkish Religion.' In the course of this the author speaks about the Bektashi dervish-order, of which he gives a very

¹ The order of the Qalenderis was founded by Qalender Yusuf-i Endelusi, a Spanish Muslim who was contemporary with Hajji Bektash. In addition to purity of heart, spirituality of soul and exemption from all worldly defilement, he required of his proselytes that they should perpetually travel through the Muslim world and live wholly upon alms. They were further required to practise the severest acts of austerity in order to attain to the Heavenly favour, more especially the state of ecstasy and illumination. Hence the name Qalender came later to be applied to any dervish of any order who was distinguished above his fellows for works of supererogation, for Divine revelations, or for any special favour of Heaven. Later still the name fell into ill repute, and the Qalender was regarded as a dissolute antinomian who roamed the world doing whatsoever seemed good to him under the mask of a superior sanctity.


³ In the Italian version of Nicholay's Travels, Azamia becomes Amazia (for Amasiya?), and the words 'which is Assyria' are omitted.
unfavourable account.1 According to his information, this order was instituted in the time of Suleyman the Magnificent (Suleymán I),2 and he informs us that its members, besides being the most strict and superstitious of Muhammadans, hold it unlawful to adjoin any Attributes to God, by saying that God is great, or God is merciful, by reason that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehensible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of man's understanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his nature. Of this sect was a famous Poet amongst the Turks called Nemisi (Nesimi), that was dead alive, for saying, when the Emaum (Imám) called the people to Prayers at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the usual word Allah Ekber (Alláhu Ekber), God is one (really, 'God is Most Great'), that he lied, upon the supposition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Essence.

These statements are of course incorrect in detail, the old traveller was doubtless misinformed by the 'Polonian' convert

1 Rycart says the Bektashís were reputed to practise incest, whence they were called by some zerati (perhaps for zirá'ti husbandman' in allusion to the metaphor wherewith, according to the information of the English writer, they were wont to defend their use), and by the vulgar mumconduren (for mum sugundiren, 'putters out of the candle'). The reason of this last by-name may be understood from the proverb موم سوماچک در ایله عورت سچیدم 'when the candle goes out the daughter cannot be distinguished from the woman.' a saying which, in its ordinary application, is equivalent to our proverb all cats are grey in the dark.

2 Suleymán I reigned from 926 (1520) to 974 (1566). Hajji Bektash, the patron of the Bektashí order, died not later than 792 (1390); see p. 179, n. 1. It is true, however, that during the reign of Suleymán many abuses crept into the order; as Tash-kopri-zade, who was a contemporary, says, 'in our time an unshorn crew of innovators, the roar of the drum of whose errors and the clangour of the naker of whose effrontery hath ascended to the apogee of the sphere, giving themselves out to be disciples of that Elder of the Path (Hajji Bektash), have made show of discipleship at the shrine of Love (the saint's tomb), and have laid claim to connection with that threshold of miracles; a claim which the writer vigorously controverts.
to Islam to whom he was indebted for most of his particulars concerning religious matters. Disinclination to predicate anything of the Divine Essence was not a peculiarly Bektashi characteristic; it was, as we have learned, the usual attitude of the philosophers and higher mystics in presence of the One, an attitude learned from the Neo-Platonists. We know, moreover, that the offence for which Nesimi suffered was quite other than that reported by Rycaut.

Setting aside whatever might be inferred as to the widespread reputation of Nesimi from the circumstance that he alone of the Turkish poets is mentioned by both these foreign writers, it is notable that neither of them seems ever to have heard of the Hurufi sect, while each represents Nesimi as being claimed by a different dervish-order. From this we may gather, firstly, that the Hurufis had ceased to be of importance by the middle of the sixteenth century, and secondly, that the fact of Nesimi's connection with that school had by then faded from the popular memory. This last point may perhaps tend to strengthen the conjecture already made that towards the close of his life Nesimi's zeal for Hurufiism was swallowed up in his enthusiasm for that advanced form of Sufism which is associated with the name of Mansir the Wool-carder.

We shall now let Nesimi speak for himself, so far as this is possible through the medium of translation.\(^1\)

Ghazel. [53]

Yea, every dulcet speech o' thine is e'en a pearl of lustrous ray;\(^2\)
Both sun and moon are moths that round thy Face's taper flit and play.

\(^1\) The Diwan of Nesimi was printed in Constantinople, in 1268 (1881), at the printing-office of the newspaper Akhter. There is in my collection a MS. of the Diwan which differs in many places from the printed edition.

\(^2\) Beautiful and wise words are often compared to pearls.
Thy Face is yonder shining orb from whose effulgent radiance 'tis
The flambeaux of the sun and moon do flare with blazing light alway.

O censor, cast thy rosary and prayer-rug afar from thee,
And gaze on yonder curl and mole, and see what snare and grain are they.

The Lovers’ Loved One is The Truth, so to The Truth give thou thy life;
For why? — That frame which loveless is shall likewise ever lifeless stay.

Come, hearken to the tale of Love, nor cheated be by fables still;
For every preacher's words who sells the Koran are but fables aye.

Through all eternity no ache or ill from wine of Unity
Will reach that toper of The Truth whose skinker is yon narcisse gay.

The measure of the Wine of Unity is e'en the dearling’s lip;
O zealot, make thee drunk from yonder measure, sweet the measure, yea!

Bow down before yon Image of the Merciful, for ne’er repelled
Is man of God who doth yon Image of the Lord adore in fay.

The sage is he who sees his Lord; come, see thy Lord, and sage become;
The alien 'tis, who 'fore The Truth is shamed, that 's Satan-like to-day.

Nesimi in thy musky tresses’ chain is bound, O Idol fair;
The madman he who all unfettered by those chains pursues his way.

1 The ‘censor,’ like the ‘zealot’ and the ‘legist,’ is a type of aggressive conventionality.
2 The comparison of a beauty’s locks to a snare and of her mole to the grain set as bait therein, is common.
3 The ‘narcisse’ is of course the beloved’s eye; the idea here is that the beauty of the loved one’s eye intoxicates the lover, but with a spiritual intoxication that brings no ill.
4 The measure, i.e. the cup or beaker.
5 This couplet, in which Nesimi calls upon the reader to adore the Form of his beloved, made in the image of God, is pure Hurufiism.
6 Referring to the oft-quoted aphorism: ‘Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.’ Nesimi here perverts the true meaning; he bids the reader look on his beloved, there recognise his Lord, and so become a sage.
7 The ‘alien’ (to The Truth) is as the ‘censor,’ the ‘zealot’ and so on.
8 In the East, madmen are often chained.
Ghazel. [54]

Lo, thy beauty is the feast-tide, yea, the soul is victim there; ¹
Lo, thy liplet is Life's Fountain, whose drinks it lives for e'er.

Yea, my heart laid low in ruins is the home of love for thee:
Whence is this that every ruin should a boundless treasure bear?²

Thou whose Eyebrow is the faithful's prayer-niche, ³ and whose Face their shrine!
Lo, the Lovers' holy temple is the Lord God's Image fair.⁴

How should zealot or should legislist know the mysteries of thy Form? —
'Say thou, God sufficeth!' ⁵ Whence should every brute the secret share?

Thou whose Eyebrows, Hair and Lashes make the Mother of the Book. ⁶
Guide and imam of the faithful is the Koran everywhere.⁷

Art thou spirit, art thou child of Adam. O thou Fairy-Face? —
For that all who view the fashion of thy Form distracted stare.

Yea, thy beauty is the Maker's grace (exalted be His glory!): —
Grace is aye his wonted custom who hath might and power plenare.

¹ Referring to the animals sacrificed at the Qurban Bayrami or 'Festival of the Sacrifices,' which begins on the 10th of Zil-Hijja.
² Buried or hidden treasures are generally spoken of as being concealed amid ancient ruins; because such treasures were frequently found among the ruins of old cities. Here Nesimi pictures his heart as a city laid waste by Love; yet hiding beneath its ruins Love's boundless treasure.
³ The comparison of the eyebrow, because of its curved shape, to the arched mihrab or prayer-niche in a mosque (see p. 224, n. 1,) is a favourite conceit.
⁴ Here the form of the beloved is conceived as the temple of the lover, her face representing the shrine (qibla) and her eyebrow the mihrab.
⁵ In the Koran, viii. 43, and elsewhere, it is written: 'Say, God sufficeth (as witness between me and you). In the present verse this is thrown in parenthetically.
⁶ See p. 339.
⁷ As thy eyebrows etc. are the Fatiha, thy person is the Koran, and therefore the guide of the faithful.
O my Lord! yon Gem of purest ray in human Form y-clad;
What the world from whence it cometh? why our mortal shape doth wear?

Though my heart should home midmost thy tangled tresses,—where amiss?
Rizwān's Garth is aye the dwelling whereunto the just repair.¹

Since in all things manifested shines thy Form, O radiant Sun,²
Who hath said, 'The fays are hidden and the houris seen no where.'

Thou who say'st, 'Uneath 'tis union with the Well-Beloved to win,'
Quit thy 'thou-ness,' cast it from thee; eath thine uneath then and there!

Say what manner flower the rose that I should name it with thy cheek?
Where the garden boasts a smiling rose may with thy Face compare?

Every wight who knows himself and who hath found The Truth is grown
Knower of the Lord, a Sultan he though name of slave he bear.³

'Every thing doth perish' save thy Face;⁴ there is no doubt thereof;
See this Face, and how it pointeth to that Face's face be ware.⁵

Passion-smitten, the heart is fallen dazed within thy tresses' springe;
Wildered and head-giddy reels who falls not in that ambered snare.

'Twas the cursed fiend denied the Image of the Merciful;⁶
Satan he who doth not bow him fore 'the Best of Forms'⁷ most fair.

O Nesimi, Kevser's water floweth in thy speech belike,
For that all who drink that vintage drunken bide thenceforth for e'er.

¹ The beloved's rosy face encircled by her tangled tresses is Rizwān's Garth, i.e. Paradise.
² It is the beloved who is thus addressed.
³ Another allusion to the aphorism mentioned p. 360, n. 6.
⁴ This is the Koranic text quoted on page 353.
⁵ i.e. look on the beloved's Face and see how this points to (reveals) the face (aspect) of the Face (Essence) of God.
⁶ This couplet refers of course to the legend of Satan's refusal to worship Adam.
⁷ This phrase is taken from the Koranic text quoted p. 338, n. 2.
Ghazel. [55]

Thou whose Face is Aid from God! 2 Thou whose Hair is Victory near! 1
Thou the Merciful in human Form! 2 thou angel-vision dear!

Wildered I before thy beauty, thou whose locks the basil rile;
Veil, the Paradisal basil is thy jacinth's perfume sheer.

Curl and cheek of thine stand there, the Lord ascended on the Throne; 3
Thou whose eyebrow is the Ka'ba-niche, whose eye the preacher here.

Bare the Secret of thine ambergris-diffusing locks is laid;
Come is God's own Spirit, abrogate are cross and monkish gear. 4

Gabriel 5 hath revealed the Scripture on the tablet of thy Form.
Thou whose beauty is the Word of God; 'a wondrous thing is here!' 6

'Tis the sage who knows The Truth who doth the Lover's Secrets know;
How should he who ne'er hath known himself know aught amiss his fere? 7

Whosoever is sick a-yearning for those azure eyes of thine, —
Lo, his leech thy Jesus-speech, 8 his draught thy dulcet liplet dear.

Zealot, seek not thou to stay me from the love of beauties bright;
For The Truth made Love my portion in the Fore-eternal Year. 9

1 Koran, Ixi, 15. 'Ail from God and victory near!' The connection between the beloved's hair and 'victory near' is not apparent.
2 Here Nesimi says in so many words that the beloved is God incarnate.
3 This is the favourite Hurufi text mentioned p. 337. n. 3. Why it should be quoted in connection with the beloved's curl and cheek is not apparent, unless these be taken to represent the face.
4 Formal religions are abrogated now that the Spirit has made manifest the truth, just as Christianity was superseded when Gabriel revealed the Koran.
5 Gabriel, the angel of revelation, brought down the Koran to Mohammed.
6 This last phrase is an Arabic quotation, but not from the Koran.
7 Yet another allusion to the aphorism, 'Whoso knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.'
8 Jesus, who healed the sick and raised the dead, is the type of the perfect physician.
9 'The Fore-eternal Year' (literally, 'the Fore-eternal Day') is here synonymous with 'the Day of Llest, ' the Day of the Primal Compact' (see p. 22), the meaning being that before time was, God destined me to love beauties, and therefore it is vain to seek to stop me.
Prate not, schoolman, 1 of thy schoolmanship to them of Unity;
Hold thy peace! for why? — the schoolman weets not of Love's lore or cheer.

Yea, thy Face is Eden's flowery garden, doubt thereof is none,
Thou within whose garth are Rizwán and God's Spirit bulbuls clean. 2

O Nesimi, since thy rival is thy love, to wit is God,
One are wrath and grace, and one likewise thy rival and thy dear. 3

Ghazel. [56]

Since from yonder lunar Visage now the veil is cast aside,
Lo! the glorious sun is risen and of gloom is past the tide.

Yea, inebriate 4 are all things from the wine-cup of thy lip;
Bravo! O pure-hearted skinker, be thy potion sanctified!

Thou for longing for whose cheek in Heaven's heart there burns a flame!
Thou for sherbet of whose lip in Kevser's eye 5 doth water bide!

Thou for whose bright cheek's red rose the tulip's cup with wine is filled!
Thou the wine of yearning for whose eye with sleep the narcisse plied! 6

1 The 'schoolman,' another of the 'zealot' family.
2 Rizwán, who is the warden of Paradise, and the Spirit of God sing as
nightingales in that garden which is thy fair face.
3 This line cannot be satisfactorily translated as the point lies in the double
sense of the word raqib, which means (1) 'a guardian,' 'one who watches
over another,' and is so applied to God in the Koran; (2) 'the rival of a
lover,' such being held to be ever on the watch concerning the movements
of the beloved and her other lovers. Here Nesimi says that since God is at
once his raqib 7 'guardian' and his beloved, wrath (the attribute of the rival)
and grace (the attribute of the guardian and beloved) are identical.
4 The 'inebriation' or 'drunkenness' so frequently spoken of in these and
similar poems is of course the inebriation of mystic ecstasy, just as the
'drunkards' or 'topers' are the mystic ecstatics.
5 The word here rendered 'eye' means also 'fount,' and so gives an un-
translatable ibám or amphibology. The cheek of the beloved, being red, sug-
gests the flame; her lip, being what is 'drunk' or 'sipped' (i.e. kissed), sug-
gests the water.
6 The narcissus, drooping on its stalk, is often spoken of as languishing
or sleepful.
That thy Form, — it is the comment on the Word of God Most High: 
Thou whose Face is "We have opened," yea, a door by God oped wide.  

True, thine Eyebrows, Hair and Lashes are the Book of God: to him 
Who doth know that Book — with him is knowledge of the Book's applied. 

Whoso knoweth not the characters writ upon that Form o' thine, 
Knoweth not the tale of prayer or fast or of the Reckoning-tide. 

That thy lip is e'en Life's Fountain, that thy breath the Holy Spright, 
That thy Visage is God's Image; and God knoweth best beside. 

Sure, thy lip unto the Lover Granter of all Needs must be, 
Seeing to whate'er he prayeth, "I will answer," is replied. 

On the road to reach the Loved One is duality the veil: 
Ne'er till 'I-ness' is uprooted is the curtain drawn aside. 

* Nesimi, bow thee down before yon Moon: for God to thee 
  'Worship those my signs, adore, and draw thee nigh!' aloud hath cried.

Ghazel. [57]

'I am The Truth!' I ceaseless cry, for Mansur-like Truth-helped I be! 
A bulwark to this city I, who then were fain to gibbet me!

I am the Shrine of all the True, the Loved One of the Lover-crew, 
The Mansur of the worthy few, the Heavenly Ka'ba, verily!

1 Koran, xlviii, 1. "Verily, We have opened for thee an obvious opening," 
(meaning. We have given thee an obvious victory). The connection here is 
not very apparent: perhaps it is got at through the meaning of Fatiha (lit. 
"Opener"), by which term, as we know, the Hurufis often designate the face.
2 See p. 339. 
3 This phrase occurs in the Koran, xiii, 43. 
4 i.e. he does not understand the truths symbolized by prayer, fasting, the 
Judgment-Day, etc. See p. 339. 
5 The Arabic phrase quoted p. 298, n. 1. 
6 Qazi-ul-Hajat, 'the Satisfier of (all) Needs,' a title of God. 
7 The phrase "I will answer" is from this passage of the Koran, xl, 62, 
'And your Lord said: Call upon me, I will answer you.' 
8 From Koran, xcvi, 19. 'Nay, obey him not, but adore and draw nigh.' 
9 i.e. the 'Frequented House,' which is visited by the angels. See p. 37.
I'm Moses, for with God alway I parley and hold converse sweet;
My heart 's Epiphany's Sinai, so I'm Sinai in verity.¹

I've won th' Ascension² of yon Eyebrows twain which 'two bow-
lengths' tells;³

Behold me upon Union's night, from head to foot a radiancy.⁴

I quaffed the Wine of Unity long since at the Primeval Feast,⁵
And drunken with that draught grew I thenceforth to all eternity.

O Sun, thy Face is 'By the light!' and thy black Hair is 'By the night!'⁶
Thy lip hath healed my sickened spright,—and that the dolour that I dree!

What way soo'er I turn my face, I see the Loved One in that place;
That I have grieved of grief for thee is all of my felicity.

That Beauty Unbeheld am I, for I am One with all that is;
That Word of the Divine am I, for in the heart they hymn to me.

In that my being is the glass where show the eighteen thousand worlds,⁷
I am the Image of the Lord, veiled 'fore the base plebeity.⁸

¹ God's revelation of Himself to Moses, and Mount Sinai, the scene of
that revelation, are constantly referred to by the mystic poets.
² The word here used, Mi'rāj, is that specially applied to the famous 'Asc-
ension' or 'Night-Journey' of the Prophet.
³ In the Koran, liii, 19, we have, Then he drew near and hovered o'er!
until he was two bow-lengths off or higher still!' These words refer to the
nearness of the Archangel Gabriel's approach to Muhammad when he was
bringing him the revelation. They are however often quoted as though they
referred to the Prophet's near approach to God on the night of the Ascension.
Nesimi's idea seems to be that he has learned the mystery symbolized by
the beloved's eyebrows which has brought him as close to God as was the
Prophet on the Ascension-Night. It is further inferred that the Koranic phrase
'two bow-lengths' really indicates the two eyebrows of the beloved, which
are of course shaped like bows.
⁴ As the Prophet was clothed in splendour on the Ascension-Night when
he was brought into close communion with God.
⁵ See pp. 22-3.
⁶ In the Koran, xciii, 1-2, God swears 'By the Morning Light! And by
the Night when it darkeneth!' Here Nesimi would make out that the Divine
oath is really by the bright face and dark hair of the beloved. The 'Sun'
adressed is of course the beloved.
⁷ i.e. the whole universe which, according to the tradition, consists of
I am that Hidden Treasure's mystery made manifest to all;
I am that Essence now revealed like to the sun for all to see.

As I Nesmi am the Essence, 1 to you my hoards disclose;
A ruin treasure-fraught am I, 2 behold my fair prosperity!

Almost all Nesmi's quatrains are rhymed in what is called the musarra' manner, that is, the third line rhymes with the others. 3

Rubâ‘î. [58]

Thou for love of whose fair Face doth reel the Sphere,
Yonder Face o' thine the angel-hosts revere.
Doubtless this, thou hast in beauty ne'er a peer:
'Tis the touchstone proves the coin of every fere.

Rubâ‘î. [59]

Thou who lookest everywhere The Truth to see,
In thyself abides The Truth, yea, e'en in thee.
Ne'er the faithless shall the Prophets' Secret see:
Such sweet-savoured wine is not the demon's fee.

Rubâ‘î. [60]

From The Truth I'm come; 'I am The Truth!' I cry.
Truth am I, The Truth is in me, Truth I cry.
Look ye how these mysteries unsouth I cry.
Sooth am I, and all the words are sooth I cry.

1,000 worlds. See p. 54. Man is the microcosm reflecting and summing up in himself all the Divine Attributes, i.e. all that is.
8 The meaning seems to be that I, being man, am the microcosm, the epitome of the macrocosm of external nature, and the sum of the Divine Attributes, and am therefore the Image of God, though the vulgar cannot perceive this.
1 The 'Hidden Treasure' so often referred to. See pp. 16-7.
2 See p. 361. n. 2.
3 See p. 88. n. 2.
Rubá'í. [61]

Plunged have I amid the Sea that shore hath none;
Fall'n am I upon the Pain that cure hath none;
    Seen have I the Moon which hath nor fleck nor flaw;
Found have I the Treasure-board that store hath none.

Rubá'í. [62]

Tired and weary of the worldly folk my heart:
Up from sleep of heedlessness awoke my heart;
Shamed of having hurt The Truth, is broke my heart;
Now unto The Truth alone doth look my heart.

Rubá'í. [63]

Come and plunge thee deep beneath Love's ocean-tide,
Mid the Secret of the Unity abide.
Be not Satan, fall not into guile and pride;
Bow to Adam, cast thy haughty thoughts aside.

Rubá'í. [64]

Verily, The Truth in every thing I see;
Lose not thou The Truth unless no thing thou be.
Whoso knoweth not The Truth, a rebel he.
Come, for lo, the flood hath swept thy barque from thee.

Rubá'í. [65]

God Most High as very son of man is seen.
Thirty-two the Words are of God's Speech, I ween.¹
    Know that all the universe is God's own Self.
Man is yonder Soul whose Face the sun is e'en.

¹ The 'Thirty-two Words' of God are probably the thirty-two letters of the Perso-Arabic alphabet. See p. 340.
Of Refi'î, the disciple of Nesmi, absolutely nothing is known beyond what may be gathered from his own poem. The Ottoman biographers and historians, so far as I have been able to see, ignore him completely. It may be that when the later Hurufi writings, such as the Istiwa-Name, come to be examined in detail, some allusion to him may be found, though up till now these have contributed nothing to the very little we know concerning him. We are therefore compelled, for the present at any rate, to fall back on Refi'î's own work, though little indeed regarding the author is to be learned there.

Towards the end of his poem, which, as we have already seen, is entitled Besharet-Name or 'The Book of Glad Tidings,' Refi'î tells us that before Nesmi became his guide and director, he had been wandering as one whose head reels, unable to determine what to believe or what to think, and every day taking up with some new doctrine. His 'I-ness' had been a veil before him; and although he was versed

1 On the margins of the British Museum MS. of the Besharet-Name are numerous glosses citing the passage from the Koran, the Hadis or the Sufi aphorism alluded to in the text, or at least illustrated by it. Thus, against these lines about the author's master we have the following Arabic sentences, the first of which is a current saying of the Sufis, while the second is a proverb:—


"Had He not been gracious unto me, I had not known my Lord." Whoso hath taught me a letter hath made me his slave." This second, which is intended to show the great value of learning, is specially appropriate in the mouth of a Hurufi, as it figures learning by a 'letter.'
in various sciences, these had not enabled him to judge between false and true. Now he would be a Sunni (orthodox Muslim), now a philosopher; sometimes it was metempsychysis, sometimes materialism, that won his favour; then again he would speak as the Sufi sheyks and treat with contempt all mundane things. Thus unable to find satisfaction in any system, he travelled along every road; and whenever he heard of a learned man, he knew no rest until he had sought him out and 'searched his soul from end to end;' but for all that he could do, he still remained unsatisfied. At length, he was taught what means the 'grace of God,' and taught by that Zephyr of mercy from the 'Grace of God,' by him who seeth man alike with the bodily and the spiritual eye, by that Martyr of the love of the 'Grace' of the All-Glorious, who, though he hath lain for months and years in bonds, hath never complained of his sufferings or concealed the Mysteries that ought to be declared. When this Nesimi declared unto him the meaning of the Grace of God, the veil was rent, and his darkness was turned into light; for this teacher was to him as Khizr proffering the Water of

1 A marginal gloss to this passage cites Koran, xxviii, 56: 'Verily thou canst not guide whom thou dost like; but God guideth whom He pleaseth; for He best knoweth who are to be guided.'

2 The marginal gloss here is from Koran, xiv, 31: 'And the likeness of an evil word is as an evil tree, which is felled from above the earth, and hath no staying-place.'

3 The word Nesim means 'Zephyr;' so the name Nesimi might mean 'He of the Zephyr.'

4 We have here two glosses. One is from the Koran, iii, 25: 'Thou honourest whom Thou pleasest, and Thou abasest whom Thou pleasest; in Thy hand is good. Verily, Thou art mighty over all.' The other is this Hadis-i Qudsi, or Tradition in which God is the speaker: 'Whoso loveth me, him I love; and whom I love, him I slay; and whom I slay, verily I am his Blood-wit.' Mr. Browne says this Tradition is constantly cited in the Mahabbet-NAME.
Life, which he took and drank, and lo, all his difficulties passed away and the enigmas of the Koran became clear. Then Nesim bade him go and teach the truth to the people of Rum, expounding unto them those Mysteries. It was thus needful for him to speak in Turkish; so he laboured for some days and produced this Besharet-Name, which was finished on the first Friday of the Fast (i.e. of Ramazan) of the year 811 (18th. Jany. 1409).

Thus all we know of Refi is that he was an earnest seeker after God, that he was persuaded of the truth of the doctrines of the ‘Grace of God’ (i.e. Fazl-ullah) by Nesim, and that at the bidding of that teacher he wrote on these same doctrines a Turkish poem, entitled Besharet-Name which was finished early in 811 (1409).

The Besharet-Name is a comparatively short work, and is in mesnevi verse. The metre is that of Ashiq’s Gharib-Name and other old mesnevis, and the prosody is by no means always accurate. The style is prosaic in the extreme, and it is rare indeed that any flash of poetry lights up the dull and obscure pages. The work is merely a versified treatise on the Hurufi doctrines; and most probably was written in verse simply for the reasons mentioned in an earlier chapter, namely, that it was then the custom to clothe religious and philosophic thought in verse, and that in Turkish it was easier to write in verse than in prose, which as yet was hardly formed.

The Besharet-Name is marked by the same complete absence of method or system of arrangement which characterises almost all the writings of those Eastern transcendentalists. The author begins by discoursing on the virtues of the ‘Names,’ which, however, are themselves composed of the Letters;

1 As there is a gap between the folios numbered 19 and 20 in the British Museum Ms., I am unable to state the precise length of the poem.
so the 'Thirty-Two Letters' are the elements of all the Names, and consequently of all existent things; a saying which, he adds, comes from the Prophets, so there can be no mistake about it. The Letters then are the roots of Speech, which is really uttered Thought, and therefore eternal and undying as God Himself. The Word (i.e. Thought) of God is not distinct from God Himself, as speech is not other than the speaker. The Word of God is the source of all things, uncreated and eternal, first and last, hidden and manifest. So if we take this Word away from things, there remains no trace of any thing. This Word is then the essence of being, therefore we must try to understand it.

Now in Man are made manifest all the Names, so in Man we shall find the Prophets and the Truth, for in him are all things hidden and manifest. He is at once the centre of the universe and the builder thereof, its cynosure and its monarch. All things in existence are his, as is the kingdom alike of the highest and the lowest. Whoever then can find the Way to that Word which is made manifest in Man shall be delivered from the anguish of 'Thou shalt not see Me;' and whoso knoweth the truth concerning Man can like Jesus raise the dead to life. The greatest of all things is the Throne (Arsh) of God, that Throne whereupon He ascended when He

1 Throughout the MS., wherever the sacred words 'thirty-two' would occur, they are replaced by a symbol something like $\alpha\beta\gamma$. The signification of this symbol is given in a marginal note on folio 3 b.

2 See p. 62. The gloss here is Koran, ii, 29: 'And He taught Adam the names, all of them.'

3 The gloss here is Koran, vii, 139, where God, in answer to the request of Moses that He would show Himself to him, says: 'Thou shalt not see Me; but look upon the mountain, and if it remain steady in its place, thou shalt see Me;' but when his Lord appeared unto the mountain He made it dust, and Moses fell down aswoon.' Compare Exodus, xxxiii, 18-23.

All the saints yearn for the sight of God; Refi'i would say that His Word, i.e. Thought, i.e. Essence, is made manifest in Man, and that therefore whoso has eyes to see Man as he really is, has attained to the bliss of beholding God.
had finished the work of creation, and the Prophet hath said that the Heart of the Believer is the Throne of God, and again that the Heart of the Believer is the House of God; but there is naught in the Heart except the Word. So Man is the Throne and God is the Word; this is the creed of all the Prophets. The wise and holy have said that the Heart is the place whereinto descend the Mysteries of God; so if thou would seek God, O beloved, seek Him in the crumbling tomb of the broken Heart.

A little farther on Refi dilates on the virtues and mysteries of the human Face. In the Face of Man, he says, are made clear the meaning of the pilgrimage and of prayer: whoever hath seen and understood that Face hath looked upon and read the Being of God. 'Ope thine eye,' he cries, 'look into the Face of Man, that thou be not far from the Glorious Truth.' Man, formed of dust, is the life of the world, and the knowledge of him the medicine for heart’s ills. Whoso looketh on the Visage of Man perceiveth the secrets of the Eighteen Thousand Worlds. He hath four rows of eye-

1 On the margin are quoted the Hadîses. ‘The heart of the believer is the house of God,’ and ‘The heart of the believer is the throne of God,’ and ‘My earth containeth Me not, neither doth My heaven; but the heart of My believing servant containeth Me.’

2 This Tradition, in which God is the speaker, is quoted on the margin: ‘Seek Me in the broken hearts and by the crumbling tombs.’

3 The margin bears this Hadîs: ‘Ve shall see your Lord even as ye see the moon on the
lashes, two eyebrows, and one mass of hair, seven in all, and these are called the Mother of the Book. The cheeks and the nose (i.e. each nostril, or each side of the nose) yield four lines, which, with three more for the lips (perhaps the two lips and the line between them) give other seven; that is fourteen lines altogether in the human face. Double this, and there is twenty-eight (the number of the letters in the Arabic alphabet); but know that no demon can understand these mysteries! To these fourteen lines answer another fourteen, namely the Fourteen Letters of the Koran, which Letters are the Attributes of God, and are undying like His Essence. Like Him, they are immanent in all things; for His uncreated Word holds the Kingdom of things.

Refi'î next proceeds to interpret in Hurufi fashion the Koranic text, 'And the moon is split asunder.' The hair, he says, is not to be reckoned (in this case) as one, but as two, for Abraham parted it, and Muhammed's own tresses bear witness to this. Now if the hair be parted, a straight night when it is full, on the Resurrection-Day.' And equally clearly can ye see your Lord in the human face. — is the Hurufi inference.

1 i.e. the detached letters which stand at the beginning of certain chapters of the Koran. There are fourteen of these letters, and they occur in fourteen different combinations.

2 Of course the 'uncreated Word of God' really means the Logos, i.e. the Divine Thought and Word regarded as two aspects of one entity; but ignorant people took the phrase literally and understood by it the Koran, whence the notion held by some that that book is uncreated and eternal.

3 Koran, liv, 1. There are two explanations of this passage. The one is that the unbelievers having asked for a sign, the Prophet pointed his finger at the moon which straightway appeared split asunder, — a legend which, though not generally believed, is often referred to by the poets. The second and more usual explanation is that it refers to one of the signs which are to herald the Last Day.

4 Abraham is credited with the establishment of various practices, such as paring the nails, using a toothpick, and parting the hair, which Muhammed is said to have followed, declaring them to have been the customs of that patriarch.
line is seen, this is the Way of God, what is called 'the Right Way,' 1 the which unless one travel, he shall never behold the vision of delight. Again, there is a line between the lips, part these like the hair; thus (in two ways) the meaning of the 'splitting of the moon' becometh clear.

Farther on in his work, Refīr has a panegyric on Fazlullah the founder of his sect. Whatsoever existeth, he says, is but the Divine Names; but the Most Great Name is he, he who showed to us the true path. All that existeth is the Word, but the Sultan of the Word is he, to wit, Fazlullah, the Grace of God, the Lord of the Worlds, he to whose Jāvidan-Name the poet refers the reader for proofs of what he has just advanced.

Farther on still, and near the end of the book, occurs the passage in which Refīr speaks of himself and tells how he had gone on seeking for truth now in one belief, now in another, till he met Nesi'mī who by expounding to him the Hurufī mysteries had set his doubts at rest, and then bidden him place the truth within the reach of the people of Rum by writing in the Turkish language a book explaining the tenets of their sect. The result of this injunction is the Besharet-Name, concerning which its author says that though in outward appearance but a small compendium, in reality it is worthy of the highest esteem: for 'hast thou, O beloved, understood what glad news (besharet) it giveth? In it the Essence of the Creator is become known, the promise of the Prophets is fulfilled, the 'Grace' of the Unsleeping One is made manifest, the Hidden Secret is spoken openly, the riddle of the Four Books 2 is solved.' A few lines farther on

1 The Koran, xli. 50, is quoted on the margin: 'There is no beast but He taketh it by its forelock; verily, my Lord is on the right way.' To the Hurufī the 'forelock' suggests the hair; the 'right way,' the parting.

2 'The Four Books,' i. e. the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel and the Koran.
Refi/i mentions his sources; he says, 'There are here from the words of the 'Arsh-Nâme; I have translated these that they may remain a souvenir, I have written in Turkish many couplets therefrom; think not I have strayed from the path Most of it (the Beshâret-Nâme) is the word of the Jávidán-Nâme; whoso understandeth it will become the greatest of the world. I have also taken sayings from the Mahabbet-Nâme. It hath been accomplished from the Three Books of The Truth.'

The work closes with a supplication to God whom Refi/i prays for the sake of Muhammed and Jesus and Noah and Abraham and Moses, and for that of the Koran, the Gospel, the Pentateuch, the Psalms and the Jávidán-Nâme to make him of His true lovers and faithful servants, to admit him to all the mysteries, and if there be any errors in his book, to pardon them of His mercy; and further, for the sake of the Prophets, to forgive his sins and shortcomings, seeing how he seeketh neither wealth nor power nor any earthly good, but only to be reckoned among His servants. And last of all he prays God to manifest His Grace (Fazl).

In the printed edition of Nesîmi's Dîwân is inserted a Turkish mesnevi poem of 144 couplets over which is the title: Genj-Nâme li-Mevlânâ Refi/i or 'The Book of the Treasure by Our Lord Refi/i.' The metre of this poem is a graceful variety of the hezej which, though destined to brilliant service in the future, had not up till this time been used in Western Turkish. From a literary point of view the Genj-Nâme is much superior to the Beshâret-Nâme, the versification is smoother, the phraseology more polished. The poem is less of a Hurúfî text-book; in many places it reads like an ordinary Sûfî effusion, though the author's peculiar

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1 pp. 9-14.

2
tenets, which underlie the whole, often crop up through the surface.

The poem opens with a glowing apostrophe to Man conceived under a double aspect, namely, in Huri fi fashion as incarnate Divinity, and in the manner of the philosophers as the goal to which all nature tends. The reader is then called on to learn of Fazl (-ullah) and Ahmed (the Prophet Muhammad); for whoever taketh these two as guides, unto him will the mysteries of the Four Books be revealed. He who knoweth himself knoweth God; he entereth into Paradise, and wherever he turn his eyes, he seeth the Beloved; he findeth the totality of things in himself, and he is Sultan in this world and that. Such an one is a ‘living Khizr;’ for he hath penetrated to the Most Great Blackness,¹ and there hath drunk of the Water of Life. He can therefore walk the waters and fly through the air, and can traverse all time and space in the twinkling of an eye; he holdeth converse with all things, and by his breath can wake the dead to life. Whomsoever such a ‘living Khizr’ toucheth he maketh like unto himself, unfolding to him all mysteries and laying bare the meanings of rites and ceremonies. The reader is bidden seek out such a Khizr that his eyes be opened and he see the Beatific Vision. Thanks to the aid of Fazl (-ullah), those Khizrs are now to be found in every corner; but it is only the noble and the free who will seek them, the base-souled desire not such things.

If the Lover be not of ill-repute among men, he is held by the initiates to be but immature.² He must turn his

¹ Sewid-i Azam, ‘the Most Great Blackness;’ the annihilation of selfhood: the ‘dazzling darkness;’ that effulgence of the Godhead which veils It from sight.
² As said Juneyd of Baghdad, a great Sufi saint who died in 568 (910-1):

لا يَبْلِعْ أهْدَ أَخْرِجَةٍ أَنْحَمَيْقَةٍ حَنُقٍ يَشْتَهِدُ فِيهِ أَفْلَامُ مُتْحَلَّقٍ بِأَنْثُ}
back upon the world; if he seek the Paradise of Light, he must pass from this dark earth and spread his pinions for Heavenward flight, he must wing his way to the Spirit World, leaving all mean desire behind him here.

None the less (and here the Hurufi speaks) he who is blind in this world will be unable to see in the Other; if one cannot perceive the Beloved here, he will not behold Him in the Hereafter. What appeareth manifest There is to be seen by glimpses here. Paradise, the houris, the angels, the Bridge, the Balance, all are here; so one must enter into Paradise here that he may find his way to it There. If one hath not been distraught by the beloved here, how shall he be comforted by the Beloved There? This is the field, and what one soweth now he shall reap hereafter.

The reader is then called on to study the pictures presented by the phenomenal world and learn how the Painter and His pictures are both eternal. Then he may plant his banner above the heavens; for in that realm first and last, hidden and manifest, all are one. There in that Spirit World he may drink with Rizván from the Paradisal fountains and walk with houris hand in hand. There is the palace of all delight, and there are myriad gardens glorious with every loveliest flower and vocal with the sweetest notes of nightingale and dove. And whoso would attain to this felicity, let him cast aside all pride, bow down to Man, and so be merged and whelmed in God.

All the Prophets tell us that every perfection is (latent) within the soul, so we must be heedful that we be not slaves of the flesh. If we have knowledge of the things of this world, these will tell us of the Unseen World. Now

`\nNo one attaineth to the degree of Truth until a thousand righteous men bear witness that he is an atheist.'
Man is Sultan in Either World, and the cure of the soul's ill: we are bidden look in his face and see the Image of God; and whosoever knoweth this knoweth everything that is; so whoso boweth not down before Man is rejected, while the angels and the spheres are the slaves of him who doth.

Whatever is within the veil of Thought is circumscribed within the Letters. The Two-and-Seventy Sects are whelmed within the ocean of the Letters; but not one of them all understandeth, not one hath found the road to this city. If the gnostic find the way to those Letters, he will comprehend himself and God. It is they who are become the familiars of this Mystery who have learned the Most Great Name, and through that Name they know all Names, and win to the heart's desire; and to every one to whom they give to drink, they proffer the Water of Life.

Then Refi, repeating what he says in the Besharet-Name, declares that when those enlightened ones cured his ill the

1 The Two-and-Seventy Sects is a current phrase for the sects of Islam. It arose from the following saying traditionally attributed to the Prophet:

"My people shall be divided into three-and-seventy sects, and all of them shall be in the Fire save one sect." On being asked which that one sect would be, the Prophet answered: That to which belong I and my Companions. Naturally, every sect in Islam identifies itself with this one, which is called the Firqa-i Naiye: the sect that will be saved. In contradistinction to the Firqa-i Hallike: the sect that will perish. This properly means only the heretical sects of Islam, though it is frequently employed as embracing all heretical and orthodox alike. The Prophet is likewise said to have foretold that the Jews would be split up into seventy-one sects, and the Christians into seventy-two.

2 Ism-i Azam, the Most Great Name (of God), the mightiest Power in existence. It was graven on the Seal of Solomon, who by virtue thereof controlled all creatures and all the forces of nature. It is described as that Name which sums up and includes all the other Names, and by some is said to be Allāh, i.e. 'The God.'
hidden secrets were unveiled before him. We had been, he says, as it were, dead, and we found life; we had been in prison and we found deliverance. When we found that Zephyr (Nesimî) of the Bounteous One, that was the mercy of the Merciful to us; we drained one draught of his wine, and we forgot what sorrow was; we learned what are the secrets of this City, we understood what are the mysteries of the universe. The poet finally bids the reader come and learn of him, for he is now the pearl in the ocean of existent things, the centre of the universe of the Divine Attributes. The advantages of following this course are set forth, but the would-be pilgrim is warned against setting out on the endless road without a trusty guide. 'If, however,' adds the poet, 'Refrî be thy guide, thou shall attain thy heart's desire.'
Hurufism produced no other poets of any note; but the sect lived on till at least the middle of the seventeenth century. I have found only two notices concerning it in the Turkish chronicles, and both of these point to the hatred and persecution which was apparently the usual lot of its adherents.

The first of these notices is in the Crimson Peony where Tash-köprü-zâde in his account of Mevlâna Fakhr-ud-Din-i ʿAjemi, the Persian doctor who in 834 (1430-1) succeeded Mevlâna Fənârî ¹ as Muftî of the capital, relates as creditable to the pious zeal of that legal guardian of orthodoxy the following instance of ferocious fanaticism. ² There were at the court of Sultan Mehmed II at Adrianople certain Hurufis who had contrived to ingratiate themselves with the monarch and to induce him to listen attentively to their expositions of their doctrine. Mehmed, who was interested in philosophical and literary matters, treated these sectaries with great courtesy and consideration, even going so far as to appoint special apartments in his palace for their use. Such marks of the imperial favour roused the suspicions, if not the jealousy of the Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha, who

¹ See p. 261, n. 1. Fənârî was the first, Fakhr-ud-Din the second Muftî of the capital; the latter, who was a pupil of the famous Seyyid Sherif-i Jurjâni died in 865 (1456-1), and is buried at Adrianople.

² The story is repeated by ʿAlî and by Rifât Efendi in his history of the Sheykhs of Islam, entitled Devhâ-ul-Mesâîkh or 'The Tree of the Sheykhs.'
cast about for some means whereby he might remove the obnoxious favourites. He bethought him to call in the aid of Fakhr-ul-Din, the official head of the Law, to whom he represented the danger of allowing the Sultan's mind to be poisoned by the pernicious notions of such pestilent heretics. But before deciding, the Mufti wished to hear for himself what the Hurufis had to say; so it was arranged that the Vezir should invite the sectaries to a banquet and inquire of them concerning their doctrine, while the Mufti, hidden behind a curtain, would be able to hear all, without the heretics guessing his presence. This plan was carried out; and the Hurufis, being led to imagine that Mahmud was favourably inclined towards them, spoke freely, one point leading on to another, till the subject of the Theophany in man was reached. This was too much for the Mufti; as Tash-kopri-zade says, 'the pot of his wrath boiled over with the fire of zeal,' he dashed from his hiding-place and began to curse and revile the astonished speaker. The latter, terrified at the furious apparition, fled from the Vezir's house and made for the palace. Thither the Mufti followed him, seizing him in the very presence of the Sultan, (who apparently had not the courage to protect his client), whence he dragged him to the Mosque of the Three Galleries. He thereupon bade the muezzins summon the people to the mosque,

1 In the original, Hulul, i.e. 'the immanence of God in creation,' a general Sufi idea but strained by the Hurufis and the sect called Hululiyeh to mean more especially the immediate Theophany presented through the fair, whence they deduced the lawfulness of contemplating such (while according to the canon, women should be veiled in public), to which the Hurufis at any rate, added the obligation to worship such as being incarnations of the Divinity.

2 The Uch Shurfeli Jami' or 'Mosque of the Three Galleries' (the 'gardens' here meant are the external galleries on a minaret whence the muezzin gives the call to worship) is one of the oldest mosques in Adrianople, having been built by Murad II. It has four minarets, which are reputed to be the highest in the world.
and on their assembling, he mounted the pulpit and denounced the Hurufis and their blasphemies, declaring that it was needful they should die, and that whoever lent his aid in accomplishing their death would in Heaven be rewarded with a great reward. So the luckless Hurufis were taken from the mosque to the Oratory and there burned. It is related that the Mufti, who in his frantic zeal was blowing the fatal fire, approached so close to this that the flames caught the long beard for which he was famous.

The second glimpse that we get of the Hurufis is in the pages of Latifi. Among the poets whom this writer has entered in his Tezkire is an obscure versifier called Temennayi; and it is noteworthy how the biographer who is so courteous to Nesimi has none but hard words for this accursed heretic, — a fact which may perhaps strengthen the idea that Latifi and the other writers who speak so fondly of that poet did not regard him as at heart a follower of Fazl-ullah. Concerning this Temennayi, Latifi says but little; we are told that he came from the neighbourhood of Qaysariya, that he was a qalender or wandering mendicant dervish, and that he was one of those blasphemers who say that man groweth as the grass and dieth as the grass. He made a collection of books about the Hurufi doctrine and about metempsychosis, and gathered around him a band of materialists and heretics 'upon each and all of whom be the curse of God!' These reprobates used to declare that man is the Macrocosm and the theatre wherein God displayeth Himself, and so whenever they saw a beauty they used to bow down in adoration, saying: —

1 The name Musalla or 'Oratory' is given to a large open enclosed space outside a town, where worship is performed on occasions when the congregation would be too large to be accommodated in any of the mosques.
2 See p. 357, n. 1.
'O thou Idol, theatre of God art thou!
'Perfect compend of the Word of God art thou!' 1

And so they walked in the ways of Satan, and held all forbidden and questionable things for lawful. And by an unreasonable interpretation of their own they found everything that is in the scriptures in the human form; moreover, they reckoned it martyrdom to die for their blasphemies, and took as their watchword this quatrain of their master Fazl-ullah: —

1 In the kitchen of Love except the fair they slay not.
2 Those lean-souls, — the loathly spirits there they slay not.
3 So thou be Lover true, from slaughter fly not.
4 Unclean in sooth is whoso'ER they slay not.3

In the time of Sultan Báyczíd, adds Latifi, some of those schismatics were destroyed by the sword and some were burned. 4 The biographer gives the three following couplets (the first and second of which are Turkish, the third Persian) as examples of Temennáyí’s ‘blasphemous nonsense: — 5

ئی صنم سن مشیر الله سن نستخچ جمله كلام الله سن

2 The ‘lean-souls’ i.e. the orthodox persecutors of the Hurufis. The meaning of the quatrain is that as the beautiful-sooled, and they only, are martyred in the cause of Love, the true Lover will not shun martyrdom.

3 در مطبخ عشقا جبر نکو نکشند
لاغر صفخشان زشت خنرا نکشند
کسر عاشق صدفی ز کشتن مکبر
سردار بود عمر آنکه ارا نکشند

This Persian quatrain, attributed to Fazl-ullah in the printed edition of Latifi, is given (more correctly) on page 8 of the printed Diwán of Nesini under the heading: 'of the words of the glorious Seyyid, he who is known as Khudávendgár, i.e. as ‘The Master.’ I cannot say whether this was a title of Fazl-ullah.

4 Latifi probably refers to the endeavour to exterminate the qalenders which Said-ud-Dín says was made in 897 (1492) in consequence of the attempted assassination of Báyczíd II by one of their number.

5 'Ali has transferred Latifi’s account of Temennáyí to his History; but
As I have failed to discover any record of later movements on the part of the Hurufis, I am inclined to think that the activity of the sect did not extend much beyond the close of the fifteenth century. Such organisation as the body may have possessed was probably destroyed in the persecutions to which, according to Latifi, it was subjected in the reign of Bayezid II. But that it still dragged on for quite a century and a half a more or less precarious existence is evidenced by the facts that one of the Hurufi MSS. in Paris was transcribed in 970 (1562-3) — for none save a

Hasan Chelebi and Riyāzi make no mention of him. I cannot answer for Ashiq, as the leaf is lost from my MS. of his Tezkire on which the notice of Temennayi would have occurred.

1 صوفي فلندر أول كل قارن صلحي صقالي سكا دير نورافادر كيدر بو قيل و قلالي
The qalenders used often to pluck out the hair of the head and face. This 'little-tattle,' i.e. this trivial world. 'A snare,' the beard etc. on which men like Fakhr-ud-Din are wont to pride themselves. The comparison of hair to a snare (because of the threads of the latter) is common.

2 بندر أول صوفي و نارمه نقد عمري نستعم

3 Habbet-ul-khazri, 'grain of green,' probably some seed with hashish-like properties which those qalenders used for its intoxicating effects.

4 حبة الخضر نه بر كف عارفان جا كده اند

believer would endanger his life by transcribing or possessing a textbook of a proscribed sect — and that Kātib Chelebi, writing about a century later, says of the Jávidán-Náme, which he correctly calls Jávidán-i Kebîr, ‘this is a book in Persian prose by Fazl-ullâh the Hurûfi who wrote it concerning his doctrine; and it is well-known and circulates among the Hurûfi sect,’ — from which words it is quite clear that Hurûfîism existed as a distinct form of belief in the middle of the seventeenth century. When it passed away is unrecorded; but all recollection of it seems to have disappeared from modern Turkey.

The Turks are not a fanatical people; they have never persecuted any sect merely on account of its religious opinions. The massacres that have from time to time desolated different parts of their dominions have in reality been provoked by political or social causes, not by religious animosity. If the victims have generally been members of a particular sect or community, this arises from the facts that religion and race are in the East almost convertible terms, and that the former is turned into a political tool, and used as a potent lever by the incendiary and revolutionist. Men of this class invariably play upon the religious feelings alike of the people whom they wish to incite and of those whom they seek to exasperate, — a course which in modern times has the additional advantage of enabling them to misrepresent the result of their machinations as an outburst of barbarous fanaticism. So long as a community is content to live quietly and obey the law, it may hold whatever religion it likes without molestation from the authorities. This has been the rule from the very foundation of the Ottoman Empire. If

was transcribed in 895 (1489-90). The Cambridge MS. of the Jávidán-Náme-i Kebîr is undated, but Mr. Browne believes it to have been copied in the fifteenth century.
the fate of Nesimi seem to contradict this statement, it will be enough to recall the fact that the poet was put to death in a city then outside the limits of the Turkish state, and by men not of Turkish but of Arab race. It may also have been observed that the Mufti who brought about the murder of the Hurufis at Adrianople was a Persian, not a Turk.

It is then fair to assume that there must have been something over and above their religious tenets which led to the persecutions to which the Hurufis were undoubtedly subjected. It is not very hard to surmise what this something was; indeed it is pretty clearly suggested in some of the verses of Refi and Temennayi. The leaders of the Hurufis, like many advanced Sufis, were antinomians. When a man believes himself to be identical with God, he is hardly likely to consider himself bound by the conventional moral law; so far as concerns him, there is no difference between good and evil, all things are merged in the one fact of his own existence. Such beliefs may lead to no practical evils so long as they are confined to saints and sages; but when they are proclaimed openly to all classes of society, and when in addition the promised Paradise is declared to be here in this present world, and the houri-brides to be none other than the beauties of earth, the flood-gates of moral and social anarchy have been flung open. Here we have the real explanation of the relentless hostility shown towards the Hurufis. Of the single-mindedness of such men as Nesimi there can be no question, but no more can there be of their utter heedlessness as to the inevitable outcome of their teaching. Dazzled, intoxicated, by what they held to be the vision of the Truth, they proclaimed from every house-top the mysteries revealed to them, neither thinking nor caring what such conduct must lead to. A creed so easy and so accommodating would at once be seized upon by the self-
indulgent and the dissolute; and we shall in all probability be guilty of little injustice if we take it that the band of sectaries who gathered round Temennáyi consisted for the most part of desperate and lawless fanatics who made religion the cloak under which to perpetrate every species of abominable outrage. Between such and the guardians of the law there could be no peace.
CHAPTER VIII.

The Scribe and his Sons.

Salah-ud-Din Yaziji-oghli Mehemmed.

While Bâyezid the Thunderbolt was winning and losing kingdoms and while his sons were rending the Turkish lands with civil war, a quiet student known as Katib Salah-ud-Din or 'Salah-ud-Din the Scribe' was busy, most probably in the city of Angora, compiling a book the like of which had not yet been written in the Turkish tongue. This book, a full analysis of which is given by Von Hammer, was called by its author the Shemsiye or 'Solar (Poem),' and is a versified treatise on the prognostics to be drawn from meteorological phenomena such as eclipses, halos, rainbows and shooting-stars, according to the month of the solar year in which they appear. The information it contains is said to have descended from the ancient prophets and sages Noah, Daniel, ¹ Plato and Loqmân. ² The book, which is dedicated to a

¹ Daniel is looked upon as the patron and greatest master of the occult sciences. The creation of geomancy or divination by dots on sand (ilm-i reml) and of the science of the interpretation of dreams (ilm-i tabir) is attributed to him.

² There would appear to have been two (Sir R. Burton thinks three) distinct persons who bore the name of Loqmân; but they are generally confounded in the popular mind. The first, the Loqmân mentioned in the chapter of the Koran (xxxii) called after him, was surnamed the Sage (Hakim), and
certain Qassáb 'Ali, or 'Ali the Butcher, though the author mentions Hajji Pasha (presumably the well-known physician)\(^1\) as his patron, was finished in 811 (1408-9), and contains five thousand couplets. The style, according to Von Hammer, who has a high opinion of the value of the contents of the work, is quite without literary merit.\(^2\)

The Ottoman historians have very little to tell us concerning this versifier or his book. Not one of the Tezkire-writers says a word about him; a brief notice in 'Ali, a doubtful line or two in the Crimson Peony, a short entry in Kátib Chelebi, and a few words in a later redaction of the poet's own work, are our only sources of information. 'Ali says that the Scribe Saláh-ud-Dín was the father of the writers Yaziji-oghli Mehemed and Yaziji-oghli Ahmed-i Bíján, that he was well versed in the science of the stars, and compiled a great book on the prognostics deducible from terrestrial and celestial phenomena, and that he was most probably born in Angora or some other town of Rúm. This Scribe Saláh-ud-Dín of 'Ali is probably identical with the Sheykh Saláh-ud-Dín whom Tash-köpri-záde connects with the town of Boli and makes a friend and disciple of the great mystic Hajji Beyrám whom we have already met as the teacher of Sheykhi.\(^3\) Katib Chelebi enters the Scribe's book, not under his own title of Shemsiye, but under that of Mulhime, and says concerning this, that it was first ver-

\(^1\) See p. 260, n. 1.

\(^2\) I have never seen this work, of which, so far as I know, there is no copy in England.

\(^3\) See p. 299, n. 1.
sified by Salah-ud-Din, and afterwards altered and improved by a poet of his (Katib Chelebi's) own time called Jevri. There is a MS. of Jevri's version in the British Museum, 1 in the preface to which that poet says that in former times a maker of verses named Salah-ud-Din had translated this Mulhime from Persian into Turkish, but that as that version is inadequate and the language obscure, he has remodelled it at the request of a friend.

And this is all we know of Salah-ud-Din the Scribe.

Our information concerning the two brothers Mehemmed and Ahmed, if not quite so vague, is scarcely less meagre. We have seen that 'Ali makes these writers sons of Salah-ud-Din the Scribe; and it is not unlikely that he is correct, 2 as the patronymic Yaziji-oghli, which is given to them, certainly indicates that they were descended from someone who was emphatically known as the Scribe. 3 We are further told that they flourished during the first half of the fifteenth century, and that they studied under Hajji Beyram at Angora.

Sheykh Mehemmed, the elder of the two, is the last notable poet of the First Period. His life seems to have been uneventful; on completing his studies at Angora, he settled at Gallipoli where he built himself a little oratory looking out upon the sea. His brother either accompanied him to Gallipoli or joined him there; and in that town the two spent their lives, dividing their time between devotional exercises and the composition of their literary works.

These few facts are all that we can glean from Latifi, Tash-kopri-zade and 'Ali, who alone among the earlier writers

1 Or. 1170.
2 Katib Chelebi describes the elder as Mehemmed the son of Salih.
3 Yaziji-oghli (pronounced Yaziji-olu) is the Turkish: Ibn-Katib, the Arabic form of 'the son of the Scribe.'
mention Yaziji-oghli Mehemed. It is not easy to say why he is omitted by 'Ashiq and Hasan. These two biographers seem to have deliberately ignored most of the old religious poets; 'Ashiq Pasha is not so much as mentioned by either, while Süleyman, the author of the Birthsong, is referred to only by 'Ashiq Chelebi, and that in the most perfunctory manner.

In a brief anonymous notice of the author's life prefixed to the edition of his great poem which was lithographed in Constantinople in 1280 (1863), a few further particulars are given; but as no authority is mentioned, we are left without guarantee for their authenticity. It is there said that Mehemed was born at Qadi-Köy, that after studying under Hajji Beyeram and before settling at Gallipoli, he journeyed into Persia and Transoxiana in order to perfect his knowledge by conversing with the learned men of those lands, and that he was intimate with the Sheykh's Zeyn-ul-'Arab and Hayderi Khâfi. So strict was the poet's asceticism, according to this writer, that during seven years of the time he passed at Gallipoli he never ate anything that had been cooked, living wholly upon fruits and such like.

The year 855 (1451) is generally given as that of Sheykh Mehemed's death; but the writer of the notice just referred to says the poet died four years after the completion of his work, and as he himself tells us that his poem was finished in 853 (1449), this would place his death in 857 (1453). The date of Ahmed's death seems to be quite unrecorded; but it cannot have been earlier than 857 (1453), as there is extant an abridged translation of Qazwini's 'Aja'ib-

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1 Ismail Haqqi, in his commentary on the Muhammediye, says that the poet was born at Malghara.

2 This statement is borne out by a passage in Mehemed's poem where he mentions Zeyn-ul-'Arab and Hayderi Khâfi as teachers of his.
ul-Makhluqat or 'Marvels of Creation' made by him in that year. 1

The brothers, and especially Mehemmed, whose famous poem is still popular in Turkey, enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity. Legends have grown up round Mehemmed's name. 2 Ali tells us how in his day it was believed that when the poet was engaged on his great work the mysterious prophet Khizr 3 used to come from the Unseen World and provide him with the solutions of the difficulties he encountered, a story which may perhaps account for the name Khizr u Ilyás Maqami or the 'Place of Khizr and Ilyás,' given to the little mosque he built. 4

The same historian further informs us that such was the fervour of the poet's love and yearning for God that once when he was writing the word 'sigh' in his book he sighed so ardently that a hole was burned in the margin of the page on which he was writing, 5 which hole 6 Ali declares he has himself seen in the autograph manuscript of Mehemmed's work. This autograph manuscript is still preserved in

1 See the British Museum Catalogue of Turkish MSS. The Ajal-ul-Makhluqat is a well-known cosmographical work written in Arabic by the famous old geographer Qazwini who died in 682 (1283-4).
2 See p. 172, n. 1.
3 Tash-kopri-zade says that Mehemmed himself gave this name to his mosque and quotes the following quatrain which he attributes to the poet:

4 See p. 172, n. 1.

This is the Place of Khizr and Ilyás;
'Pray here and offer salutation.
'Therefore he built this lofty place.'

Khizr and Ilyás (Elias) are often confounded with one another and with St. George.

5 It must be remembered that sighs are always represented by the Eastern writers as the fumes arising from a heart that is on fire with love or anguish.
the poet’s mausoleum at Gallipoli, and is mentioned by the late Habib Efendi in his interesting book on celebrated Eastern calligraphists and miniaturists. According to this author, the manuscript in question, which is written in an exceptionally beautiful ta’liq hand, was at one time in some place in Constantinople which was burned down; after the conflagration the manuscript was recovered, when it was found that though the margins of the pages were singed, the text had escaped uninjured. Perhaps in this story we have a more historical explanation of the marks of burning which ‘Ali accounts for in so highly imaginative a way.

‘Ali has yet another story which he brings forward as an instance of the piety and trust in providence which distinguished Sheykh Mehemed. This holy man was very poor, and he and his family were often hard put to for a meal. On one such occasion his wife went out to the bath with their young children after telling her husband to watch the pot in which all the food they possessed was being cooked. While she was out, a beggar happened to pass by the house, and seeing through the open door the pot boiling, prayed the saint to give him somewhat for the love of God. Mehemed not liking to send him empty away, gave him the pot and all it contained. When his wife returned and looked for the pot, the sheykh told her what had happened, whereupon she flew into a rage and began to revile him, saying, ‘Shame on thee, thou cruel man! what are these little children to eat to-night? even suppose we be content to go without, how should they be so?’ Assailed by the abuse of wife and children, Mehemed withdrew into his oratory and there

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1 Khatt u Khattätän or ‘Calligraphy and Calligraphists,’ published by Ebu-z-Ziya Tevfíc Bey in 1306 (1888-9).

2 The ta’liq is a beautiful variety of handwriting formerly much used for copying books of poetry.
prayed God to provide his family with food. While he was still praying, some one knocked at the door of the house, and when his wife came to tell him of this, he said, 'What is come is the gracious provision of God which thou desirest and which thou hast made me shame myself by asking.' And indeed when they went out they saw that a messenger from the cadi was there bringing them ten different sorts of delicate foods. For it had so happened that that night a pursuivant from the Sultan had come with some message to the cadi of the town, which pursuivant being a pious man and having heard of the fame of Sheykh Mehemed, had asked the cadi concerning him. But the cadi, who was a worldling, had spoken slightingly of the holy man, saying to his guest, 'Heaven forefend thou should praise hypocrites such as he!' Whereupon the pursuivant, being vexed, had declared that he would eat nothing of the delicacies provided for him unless the sheykh partook of them likewise. So the cadi, knowing it would be useless to invite Mehemed to his house, had sent him a portion of all that was prepared. And thus, adds "Ali, was exemplified what is said in the Koran, 'Whoso bringeth a good work shall receive ten like unto it.'

With regard to the younger brother Ahmed, the Crimson Peony tells us that he owed his surname of Bi'jan or 'the Lifeless' to the fact that the fire of asceticism had so wasted his frame that he became frail and fragile as one who is scarce living.

1 Koran, vi, 161.
2 Ali mentions a report that Ahmed had spent his youth in dissipation; but one day, having realised the wickedness of the life he was leading, he had gone to his brother and told him of his repentance, and had expressed his regret that while he (his brother) had composed so many books that would ensure for him the blessings of posterity, he himself had nothing to show; whereupon Mehemed wrote the Enwârsul-Ashiqin in his brother's name. It
The most important literary works of the two brothers are an Arabic religious treatise entitled Maghārib-uz-Zemán or ‘The Setting-points' of Time,’ by Mehemmed; a Turkish prose translation of the same, which is called Enwār-ul-‘Ashiqin or ‘Lights for Lovers,’ by Ahmed; and a Turkish metrical version, known as the Muhammediye, by Mehemed himself.

The history of how these three books came to be written is told by Ahmed both at the beginning and end of the Enwār-ul-‘Ashiqin in almost identical words. He says: ‘I had a brother, Mehemmed by name, who was a man of learning, a gnostic, perfect and excellent, the friend of God, and the chief of the attainers, and who was moreover the familiar of the Pole of the World Hajji Beyrám, and the sterling coin of the saints, and the perfect heir of the Prophet — may God Most High keep him safe in the here and the Hereafter, and apportion him and his in the Paradise of Eden! And I, poor Ahmed the Lifeless, did ever say to him, ‘O brother, the world hath no permanency and fortune no constancy; let it be that thou draw up a remem-

is impossible to accept this story in face of the positive statements of both Mehemed and Ahmed concerning the composition of the book in question.

1 Maghārib is the plural of Maghrib which means the setting place or time of a heavenly body.

2 The Enwār-ul-‘Ashiqin has been printed several times: in Constantinople in 1261 (1485), in Kazan in 1861, and twice at Bulaq, the second edition being dated 1300 (1882-3); it was also lithographed in Constantinople in 1291 (1874-5).

3 i.e. those who attain to God, who pierce through phenomena and reach the Goal.

4 This expression is probably an echo of the Hadīs: ‘The learned are the heirs of the Prophets.’ In another similar Hadīs the Prophet says, ‘The learned of my people are as the Prophets of the children of Israel.'
brance that shall be read in the world.' And he, in compliance with my words, drew up the book named Magharib-uz-Zeman; and whatsoever there be in the world of Koranic commentaries and elucidations and ensamples, alike exoteric and esoteric, he culled from many books and from the mouths of many perfect gnostics and learned traditionists; and from the books of the Sheykhs (mystics) comments on the Koran and on the Traditions Divine and Apostolic. In short, he gathered the pith of the twelve sciences into one place. Thereafter he said to me, 'Ahmed the Lifeless, lo, in compliance with thy word, have I gathered the subtleties, the laws, the verities of existing things together into one place; now come thou and turn this book, the which is the Maghārib-uz-Zeman, into the Turkish tongue, that these our countrymen likewise may gain advantage from learning and from the light of knowledge.' So in compliance with his blessed words, poor I completed this book, which I have named Enwār-ul-'Ashiqin, ‘Lights for Lovers,’ in the fairest of towns, the seat of the holy war, Gallipoli. Now this my Enwār-ul-'Ashiqin and my brother’s poem the Muhammediye both have issued forth from the Maghārib. That book (the Muhammediye) is in verse, this book (the Enwar) is in prose. Thus it hath so fallen that they have written this matter after two fashions; on the one hand they have versified it that it may be sweet, on the other they have written it in prose that it may be easy to be under-

1 As we have seen more than once, a Tradition (Hadi) is said to be Divine when God is the speaker, to be Apostolic or Blessed when the Prophet is.

2 As Constantinople was still in the hands of the enemy, Gallipoli was at this time one of the outposts of Islam; so Ahmed calls it dar-ul-jihād or the seat of the holy war.' Alī says that it was because Gallipoli was thus an outpost of the Champions of the Faith that Mehmed chose it for his home.

3 Nowadays an author would write ‘we have written’ for Ahmed’s ‘they have written.'
stood. And both fashions are good, and esteemed of those who are worthy of them. Thou wouldst deem the Encircling Ocean had risen and overflowed on either side and had exposed whatsoever of pearls there be. If thou seek the 'hidden pearl,' read the Enwär-ul-Flashiqin; if thou seek 'the hire ungrudged,' read the Muhammediye. Praise be to God that we two brethren have compiled these two books; and we have borne these many toils upon this road that the folk may say, Mercy be upon the sons of the Scribe!

From this statement, which, as has been said, occurs twice in almost identical terms in the Enwär, and which, as we shall see, is also found in substance in the epilogue to the Muhammediye, we gather that the Maghárib, which Mehemed compiled at his brother's suggestion, and which forms the source of the two Turkish books, is a collection of commentaries and other explanations, exoteric and esoteric, on certain Koranic verses and Traditions Divine and Apostolic. And such is in fact the substance of the Muhammediye and the Enwär-ul-Flashiqin.

To confine our attention to the former which alone directly

1 See p. 38. Here the Encircling Ocean is intended to suggest the Maghárib.

2 The two expressions, durr-i meknün 'hidden pearls' and ejr-i ghayr-i meknün 'hire ungrudged,' are Koranic. The first is used in ili, 24, where speaking of the youths of Paradise, it is said, 'And round them shall go boys of theirs, as though they were hidden pearls;' and again in ivi, 22, where speaking of the houris, it is said, 'And bright and large-eyed maids like hidden pearls.' But in both these passages the word used for 'pearl' is lu'lu', while that employed by Ahmed is durr. The second expression occurs three times, in xli, 7; lxxxiv, 25; and xcv, 6, where speaking of 'those who believe and act aright,' it is said that 'for them is a hire ungrudged.'

3 The Muhammediye was edited by Kázim Beg and printed at Qazan in 1848. It has been three times lithographed in Constantinople, in 1258 (1842-3), 1270 (1853-4) and 1280 (1863-4). The 1258 edition of Haqqi's commentary thereon contains the complete text of the poem. There is a complete MS. of the poem in the British Museum (Or. 1040), also an imperfect copy (Add. 6536).
concerns us, we find that this poem consists of a series of explanations by different authorities on certain passages in the Koran and the Traditions that refer to certain subjects. In plan the book falls into three great divisions which deal respectively with the Creation, the Mission of Muhammed, and the End of the World. The scriptural texts concerning these subjects are arranged according to the order of the events, each being followed by the Turkish metrical paraphrase of the expositions offered by the several commentators and traditionists. The subjects themselves are treated in considerable detail. Thus in the first division, that dealing with the creation of the universe, the poet commences by giving the mystic-philosophic account of the beginning of all things by the passage of phenomena from potential to actual existence; after which he takes up the legend of the Light of Muhammed, and tells how all subsequent beings were created therefrom. Then we get the traditions as to the creation of the 'Arsh and the Kurśi, the Eight Paradises, the Seven Heavens, the Seven Earths, the Seven Hells, and so on; after which comes the story of Adam and Eve, in whose appearance creation culminates. A rapid enumeration of the Prophets who succeeded Adam and kept alive the Faith brings us to the second division of the poem, that which treats of the life and work of Muhammed. Here, as in Suleyman's Birthsong, the historical and the legendary elements in the story are blended together and presented to the reader as of equal value. The section is extended to cover a short account of the first four Khalifas and the Prophet's grandsons Hasan and Huseyn. The last section, which has for subject the end of the world, opens with a description of the signs, such as the appearance of Anti-christ, and the irruption of Gog and Magog, that are to

1 As described on pp. 34-9.
herald that event; after which it gives a detailed account of the order of procedure which will be observed at the Last Judgment, and finishes with a description of the life of the blessed in Paradise. The section is followed by a few mystic cantos, after which comes the epilogue.

In the canto ‘Touching the Reason of the Writing of the Book,’ which, as usual, occurs at the beginning of this poem, Yaziji-oghli Mehemmed tells how one day when he was seated in his cell at Gallipoli engaged in devout meditation, the ‘Lovers’ of the town came into his presence and asked him why he did not publish to the world the glories of the Prophet, to which he replied that there were already many books thereon. His friends then proposed that he should write a work dealing with the commentaries, and this he consented to do, so God should help him. One night he saw in a vision Muhammed seated, the centre of a radiant circle formed of his Companions. But all of them were veiled so that their faces were invisible, and before them were set china cups filled with water. The poet asked someone who was there what this meant, and was answered in these words, ‘For whom should their veils be withdrawn? and who they who should be distraught by their beauty? or to whom should their wine be given? who they who should be the inebriates of this feast?’ When the poet heard this he wept bitterly and rent his garments; for ‘how could any heart bear this estrangement? could even the hard flint endure such woe?’ But when the Prophet saw his anguish, he laid the balm upon his wound, saying, ‘Raise the veil from before thine own heart and seek the radiance of my beauty in thine own soul.’ The Apostle then bade him give his people the wine of wisdom to drink, and publish his words abroad to all the folk, so that all nations may know the wonders

1 Perhaps this is a poetical version of Ahmed’s suggestion.