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### Front cover:

“Portrait of a princess”, *Muraqqaʾ* X 3 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Fabergé collection, fol. 31a, 9.5 × 16.5 cm. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.

### Back cover:

Decorative composition from elements of the double frontispiece of a Qurʾānic manuscript, the same album, fol. 29a, dimensions within the outer border 18.0 × 21.0 cm. Presumably Tebriz, 1540s—1560s. Mounted in India, mid-18th century.

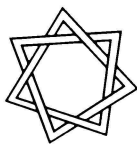
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## ON THE LITERARY FATE OF WORKS BY SULTAN VELED

Shaykh Mehmed Bahaeddin Sultan Veled (1226—1312), the son of the famous Süfi and poet, Jelaleddin Rumi [1], was the author of works in Persian, Anatolian Turkic, and Greek, and one of the first Asia Minor poets who wrote his verses in Turkic. Thanks to the latter, he is considered the “patriarch of Turkish literature” [2]. The first European Orientalist to research Sultan Veled's literary legacy was J. von Hammer (1774—1856), whose verdict was that there was no demand for works by this poet and, consequently, they lacked popularity. Hammer wrote that “the *Mathnawī* of Sultan Veled, by virtue of its poetic insignificance, remained as unknown in the lands of the East as the *Mathnawī* of Jelaleddin Rumi was famed” [3]. The basis for this comment was the small number of copies of Sultan Veled's works known to Hammer at the time and their rarity in European repositories, which lead to the Austrian Orientalist's final judgment: “The rarity of manuscripts by Sultan Veled must be explained by a lack of demand for them” [4]. Both of these conclusions — that Sultan Veled's works were unpopular and that they lack aesthetic or artistic value — were applied by Hammer to both the Persian and Turkic works of the poet from Konya.

Since Hammer's time the question of whether there was demand for works by Sultan Veled, in other words, the question of how popular his Persian and Turkic poetry was in medieval Turkey, has not been treated by Orientalists. In effect, Hammer's opinion was not refuted and — in essence — accepted. The bulk of researchers joined Hammer in his negative evaluation of the literary worth of Sultan Veled's works and his Turkish verses in particular. Among Western scholars, M. Wickerhauser stressed that these “verses are of philological, but not poetic, value” [5]; among Russian scholars, A. E. Krymsky held that Sultan Veled “only had enough ability for a bit more than 150 distichs” [6], while among Turkish scholars Ahmed Kabaklı called the poet a “limited didact” [7] and M. Mansuroğlu stated that Sultan Veled's Turkic verses “lack artistic value” [8].

Among these conclusions E. Gibb's seems to be more objective and accurate. In his “History of Ottoman Poetry”, he wrote that in Turkic verses by Veled there is “no attempt at literary grace of any kind. They are written in correct enough meter in the Turkish fashion, and the lines rhyme with sufficient accuracy, and that is all” [9]. More recent W. Björkman's view is more constructive: “Although the Turkic verses of Sultan Veled are not highly poetic, they are perfect”. “His art created a school”, he adds [10].

Thus, Hammer's evaluation has not been shaken to this day. Obscurity, insufficient demand, and a lack of popularity must indicate that this literary work did not play any sort of noticeable role in the literary process, which stems from the above-mentioned assertions and the description of his legacy as “poetically void”. But a closer glance at the poet's legacy in the Persian and Turkic languages shows that such judgments should be reconsidered.

The present article attempts to reconstruct in general terms the literary fate of Sultan Veled's works and the particular features of their reception by readers in medieval Turkey. Our aim is to determine how popular and widely distributed Sultan Veled's poetry was in the Muslim East and to examine the attitude of medieval readers toward his work. This task also led us to consider certain methodological questions.

Readers' attitudes toward a literary work in the medieval Muslim East are revealed in a number of factors. Taken together, they provide fairly objective criteria for evaluating the popularity of a work — how intensively it functioned at the time in the given social and literary setting to which it was addressed. The most important of these factors is the distribution of copies of the work. As the great expert in Muslim manuscripts remarks: “The extent of a work's distribution and its interaction with readers are related phenomena: the number of copies depends directly on how readers assessed the work's significance and virtues” [11]. But when interpreting this factor, two instances need to be distinguished. The first is when an indisputably significant number of copies (dozens or more) is attested within broad chronological borders, which is sufficient to make a firm conclusion. But if one finds isolated copies, additional information and more cautious conclusions are needed. For example, the poem *Kutadğu bilig* (“Beneficial Knowledge”) by Yusuf Balasağuni (11th century) has come down to us in only three copies. Nonetheless, we have every reason to believe that this masterpiece of Turkic poetry, which “reflected in a clear and highly artistic form those universal ideas, ideals, and thoughts that have concerned all peoples at all times” [12], was very popular in its time. Evidence of this is both the existence of these three copies in three different places in the Muslim world (Herat, Cairo, Namangan) and the continuation of the traditions of “Beneficial Knowledge” by subsequent Turkic authors [13].

Further, one must take into account that the popularity and broad distribution reflected by a large number of copies

and true value and literary significance are not the same thing. We know of works of time-tested value that exist only in a few copies. This includes the above-mentioned "Beneficial Knowledge", the *Dīwān lūghat al-tūrki* ("Dictionary of Turkic Languages" [14]) by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (11th century), which has come down to us in a single copy, and "The Lay of Igor's Host", an outstanding text of ancient Russian literature also known in a single copy that later vanished.

The rarity of medieval manuscripts cannot serve as proof that the works contained in them were little known and unpopular, or that they were of little artistic worth or "poetically void". For this reason, the conclusions reached by Hammer, who possessed virtually the only copy of Sultan Veled's works and based his observations on this fact, are methodologically inaccurate. They are also factually inaccurate, as an analysis of all written sources on the life and work of Sultan Veled clearly shows. These sources, if properly interpreted, give reason to correct earlier views and allow us to clarify the role of Sultan Veled's Turkic-language verses in the development of Turkish literature.

To begin with, a strikingly great number of manuscripts containing Sultan Veled's works has survived. We were able to identify 105 copies of works by the poet. Of this number, 82 copies form individual manuscripts, 23 copies are collections of works by various authors. The number of copies of individual works by Sultan Veled breaks down as follows: *Dīwān* — 21, *Ibtidā'-nāma* — 26, *Rubāb-*

*nāma* — 30, *Intihā'-nāma* — 14, *Ma'ārif* — 23, *Ishq-nāma* — 9. Turkic verses by Sultan Veled have been reliably [15] attested in 48 manuscripts, but if one takes into account extant full copies of his *Dīwān* and *Mathnawī*, as well as certain sections of the latter, this number can be doubled. The number of copies with reliably attested fragments in Turkic in various works breaks down as follows: *Dīwān* — 9, *Ibtidā'-nāma* — 18, *Rubāb-nāma* — 24.

To determine whether this is a lot or a little, we turn to the same indicators for the work of other medieval Muslim poets. Let us examine Persian poets of the eleventh — fourteenth centuries whose fame and popularity is beyond doubt and whose mastery and significance were recognized both by contemporaries and later generations. We find valuable information on the distribution of manuscripts with works by the afore-mentioned poets in a study by the Iranian philologist and paleographer, A. Munzawī, "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts", a concise compendium of facts about catalogued Persian manuscripts. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that Munzawī's information on manuscripts is unfortunately incomplete. For example, in contrast to our data about the copies of Sultan Veled's *Ibtidā'-nāma*, Munzawī lists only three manuscripts [16], for the *Intihā'-nāma*, one manuscript [17], and for *Ma'ārif* seven manuscripts [18]. We give below a table that enables us to make a comparative analysis of the number of some surviving copies of popular poetry as provided in Munzawī's catalogue.

Table

Nos.	Name and dates of poet	Number of extant copies		
		<i>Kulliyāt</i>	<i>Mathnawī</i> , prose	<i>Dīwān</i>
1	Abū-l-Qāsim Firdawsī (ca. 934 — ca. 1020)	—	<i>Shāhnāma</i> , 525 [19]	—
2	Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 1192)	—	—	[20]
3	Ẓahīr al-Dīn Fāryābī (ca. 1156 — ca. 1202)	—	—	[21]
4	'Aṭṭār Nīshāpūrī (ca. 1142—1229)	36 [22]	—	—
5	Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl (ca. 1173—1237)	—	—	[23]
6	Jelaleddin Rumi (Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī)	—	<i>Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī</i> , 373 [24]	[25]
7	Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (1213—1289)	1 [26]	—	[7]
8	Sa'dī Shīrāzī (ca. 1213—1292)	144 [28]	<i>Būstān</i> , 138 [29] <i>Gulistān</i> , 323 [30]	[31]
9	Awḥadī Marāghā'i (ca. 1271—1324)	3 [32]	—	[33]
10	Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī (1253—1324)	5 [34]	—	—
11	Ḥāfiẓ (ca. 1320 — ca. 1389)	—	—	387 [35]

The numerical data in the *Table* can provide a relative criterion expressed in the extreme numbers for copies of works by Firdawsī, Jelaledin Rumi, Sa'dī, and Ḥāfiz, all poets of matchless mastery and truly universal significance. The indicators for less outstanding poets such as, for example, Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq or Awḥadī Marāghā'i approximate those for Sultan Veled. One should note that the works of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq were lauded by his younger contemporaries, and the literary scholars Muḥammad 'Awfi and Shams-i Qays [36]. As for Awḥadī, some compared him to Ḥāfiz in the *ghuzal* genre [37]. The *Table* also shows that for some poets, even significant poets, the number of copies (total or by genre) is only a few dozen or simply a few. Hence, the number of copies of works by Sultan Veled mentioned above can be considered large enough to describe his works as well-known and widely distributed within a certain cultural setting.

An important factor for determining the subsequent fate of a book in time and across generations is the breadth of its geographical and chronological distribution, which reflects its dynamic interaction with readers and the level of interest shown by society [38]. The examination of manuscripts of works by Sultan Veled demonstrates that they were copied and preserved throughout the Muslim world, in Turkey (Bursa, Konya, Istanbul), Syria (Aleppo), Egypt (Cairo), India (Calcutta), the Iranian cities of Tebriz and Tehran, Saudi Arabia (Medina). One should stress that these manuscripts contain only works by Sultan Veled, which testifies to special interest to his poetry of those who owned or ordered the manuscripts. In contrast to the outdated assertion of Hammer, later supported by other scholars, the repositories of many European cities such as Berlin, Budapest, Vienna, Gotha, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), London, Munich, Oxford, and Paris keep works by Sultan Veled.

Chronologically, the copies in question encompass the period from 1294—1894. But what is more important, each century is represented by at least several manuscripts, which breaks down as follows [39]: 13th — 5 manuscripts; 14th — 35; 15th — 9; 16th — 16; 17th — 14; 18th — 5; 19th — 10 (with 11 undated copies). This allows us to speak of a fairly active literary existence for works by Sultan Veled over time and indicates that for centuries there was continuing interest within society in the poet's works, including those in Turkic (for more detail, see below). This is of fundamental significance for an objective evaluation of his work.

Reliable, if indirect, information about how readers assessed the significance and virtues of literary works can be obtained by analyzing manuscript collections of poetry, anthologies, which were drawn up in the Muslim East primarily in strict accordance with the accepted traditions for creating manuscript books. These traditions go back to the medieval Arabic manuscript book [40]. Books were usually made to order, created from beginning to end in a single workshop, and emerged as fully formed examples of the book-maker's art, marvelous reflections of their creators' world-outlook and embodiments of their need for beauty. That manuscript books were deeply venerated by their creators and readers is well known [41]. Moreover, special significance was accorded to the correspondence and compatibility of authors within a hierarchy as seen by readers. Authors' names and their works had to harmonize with each other, being of approximately the same signifi-

cance and popularity in the eyes of the compiler. Judging by the names of surrounding authors in anthologies, Sultan Veled was highly esteemed by readers, as his poetry was considered worthy of accompanying the most outstanding and widely known Persian poets. One example is a manuscript-collection held in Istanbul at the Süleymaniye Umumi library under the call number "Halet, Ilave, 238" [42]. The manuscript was copied in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, soon after Sultan Veled's death (1312), and reflects the evaluation of the poet by his contemporaries. The following is the list of the names of the authors represented in the collection together with brief evaluation of their work. The names are given in the order in which they appear:

1) Thanā'i (11th—12th centuries), a "significant" and "famed" poet whose mastery was described in glowing tones by other poets [43];

2) Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (12th—13th centuries), a "great poet and thinker of the Şūfīs, an incomparably better storyteller than Thanā'i" [44];

3) Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (13th century), a well-known representative of the current within Şūfism that includes such names as Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī [45];

4) Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (13th century), a "great medieval poet whose work was extremely popular" [46];

5) Sultan Veled (Sultān Walad; 13th—14th centuries), a description is omitted, since he is, mathematically speaking, the unknown quantity;

6) Sa'dī Shirāzī (13th century), is "among the most original and attractive figures of Iranian culture", his grave in Shiraz became a place of pilgrimage [47];

7) Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (13th century), the author of the "luxurious" 'Ushshāq-nāma ("Book of Lovers") [48];

8) Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī (13th—14th centuries), "artfully imitated Sa'dī in the *ghuzal* genre" [49];

9) Abū Ḥanīfa b. Abū Bakr (8th century), the first of the four rightly guided *imāms*, founder of a well-known school of law, influenced early Arab poetry [50];

10) Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'il (12th—13th centuries), an outstanding master of the classical Persian *qasīda*, his grave is venerated as a holy place [51];

11) Awḥad al-Dīn Anwarī (12th century), "both a scholar and a poet, and brilliant in both cases". Jāmī speaks of his *qasīda* as "almost a miracle" [52];

12) Maḥsātī Dabīra (11th century), "a beautiful and witty poetess from Ganja", known for her free lifestyle, master of popular quatrains [53].

The appearance of Sultan Veled in this company of authors could not have been accidental; undoubtedly, it reflects his fame and readers' appreciation of his poetry.

The same picture emerges from an examination of two other manuscripts, the first from the Bodleian library [54] and the second from Gotha [55]. We provide here a list of authors included in these two collections: (1) Maḥmūd Shabistārī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, 'Alīshīr Nawā'i, 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī, Sultan Veled, Ni'matallāh Walī, Jelaledin Rumi, Jāmī, Salmān Sāwajī, Ḥāfiz; (2) 'Aṭṭār, Sultan Veled, Sa'dī, Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Maḥmūd Shabistārī, Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī, Thanā'i, Rawshanī, Jāmī, Ḥāfiz, 'Abdallāh Anṣārī.

Another important fact testifies to a popularity enjoyed by Sultan Veled: unique collections of the *dīvāns* of Jelaleddin Rumi and his son, Sultan Veled, began to appear at an early date in Anatolia. They consisted of verses either in order or intermingled. Moreover, as is demonstrated by a manuscript copied in the fourteenth century and held in the Asari Atika Müzesi library in Konya [56], such collections also included the Turkic verses of Sultan Veled, which is especially important for us. Consequently, our conclusion about the fame of Sultan Veled's Persian poetry can be also extended to his Turkic verses. Further confirmation of this is the newly discovered St. Petersburg copy containing the poet's verses. Manuscript B 1810 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [57] contains five Turkic *ghazals* by the poet (fols. 211a and 330b) [58]. In the manuscript, dated to 1006/1597, Persian and Turkic verses by Sultan Veled stand among works by such outstanding poets as Jāmī, Jelaleddin Rumi (Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī), 'Aṭṭār, Nasīmī, Fuḍūlī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Anṣārī. This row of poets indicates that for the reader or the owner of the manuscript, all of these verses belonged to a single group in terms of significance and popularity. It is also important that in the manuscript Turkic verses by Sultan Veled stand absolutely alone, so to speak, being surrounded by Persian verses, which means that they were not written down at random, together with the Persian verses of Sultan Veled. It is evident that they were specially selected. This leads us to conclude that Sultan Veled's Turkic verses were known and liked by the reader. "Unofficial", "family" character of the collection represented by this St. Petersburg manuscript, which contains, as other collections of this sort, only poetry that corresponded to the tastes and aesthetic preferences of the owner, confirms the conclusion.

An examination of another group of sources, works by medieval Eastern authors, buttresses the observation concerning popularity of Sultan Veled. One can name 7 basic works that provide information on the life and work of Sultan Veled. While all of them include a large amount of biographical information, unfortunately, they contain no direct descriptions or assessments of Sultan Veled's poetry. To understand readers' attitude to his works, only indirect evidence can be drawn on. For several centuries, the authors of *tadhkira* and other works — Farīdūn Sipahsālār, Aḥmed Aflākī, 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, Dārā Shukōh, Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā Sakīb Dede — included the name of Sultan Veled in their works, indicating his renown in the Muslim East.

As 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns* ("Breaths of Friendship") shows, 160 years after the death of Sultan Veled, he remained an especially respected Ṣūfī figure even outside of Asia Minor. This is proved by a simple juxtaposition: usually Jāmī allots a few lines to those included in his *Nafahāt al-uns*, allowing more than ten only for a few, and a small number of figures he considered exceptional are treated over several pages. Jāmī includes Sultan Veled in the latter category [59]. *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* ("Anthology of Poets") by Dawlatshāh gives reason to assert that as time passed, the traditionally high esteem for Sultan Veled's role in spreading Ṣūfī teaching did not change. Dawlatshāh stresses that the Mevlevi (Mawlawī) order flourished thanks to the efforts of Sultan Veled [60]. The order's heyday should be linked with its attracting the Turkic population of Anatolia, which made religious texts created by

Sultan Veled in Turkic especially popular, leading to their active circulation.

The numerous histories of the Mevlevi order, written in various centuries to glorify and popularise the order rather than to be scholarly studies [61], indicate that a stable interest in Ṣūfī ideas and the Mevlevi order in particular existed in Turkey for centuries. This contributed to the spread of Turkic works by Sultan Veled, who was in fact the founder and main commentator on his father's Ṣūfī teaching, Jelaleddin Rumi. Surely, even taking into account Sultan Veled's high status in the Ṣūfī movement, his fame as the Mevlevi *shaykh* and the founder of a renowned order, as well as his direct relation to the outstanding personage of Jelaleddin Rumi, one should not overestimate the influence of these factors on the literary fate of works by Sultan Veled. Nor should one consider them to be the basis for the distribution and relative popularity of his Turkic verses. As many researches show, medieval Muslim people paid little attention to the personality of the author, and it had little effect on the actual circulation over time of his compositions. The author's name was traditionally given in the work [62], and there was, of course, a connection between the person of the author and the reader's perception of his work — the case of Sultan Veled proves it. The broad circulation (judging by the number of copies) of his work in the fourteenth century shows that Sultan Veled was best known among his contemporaries and their nearest descendants, who were aware of the *shaykh's* prominence as the founder of the famed and popular Mevlevi order. But the influence of an author's person on the fate of his literary work in medieval Muslim literature was limited, as readers evaluated a work mostly on the basis of its virtues or shortcomings. The fame or neglect of a work depended primarily on its quality, not the person of its author [63]. Hence, the wide circulation of works by Sultan Veled should not in any way be seen as a result of his Ṣūfī fame and reputation, although this was of some significance, but an indication that his both Persian and Turkic verses were recognized by readers and corresponded to their tastes.

We must, then, adjust earlier views. Written sources give us all reason to believe that the Turkic poetry of Sultan Veled was well-known and fairly popular in a specific socio-cultural milieu in medieval Anatolia. The role of his Turkic verses in the further emergence and development of Turkish poetry cannot be denied.

The positive evaluation and recognition of Sultan Veled's works, his Turkic verses in particular, as a literary phenomenon in a fairly broad socio-cultural milieu, their integration into the tastes and aesthetic expectations of the medieval reader, contradict the judgment of "poetically worthless" and "lacking artistic value" expressed by Hammer, Wickerhauser, Mansuroğlu, and others. It should be noted that somewhat arbitrary evaluations of Sultan Veled's Turkic poetry can be attributed to methodological errors. As concerns one of them, it would be appropriate to cite here the remark of the expert in Persian literature, E. E. Berthels, who said that it was necessary to take into account the differences between the literary canons of East and West [64]. Another factor, also often ignored, is the difference between the aesthetic and artistic conceptions of the Middle Ages and those of our time. In evaluating a medieval literary work, one must avoid "modernizing" aesthetic notions dominant in Muslim East. The great authority on medieval literature, D. S. Likhachev, stresses

that one of the tasks of literary analysis is to gain insight into all the aesthetic systems of past, "to seek aesthetic value in the form in which it was esteemed by contemporaries" [65].

In sum, an objective artistic evaluation of the artistic merits of literary works which came down to us from the

medieval East remains a difficult problem [66]. A great amount of information drawn from extant written sources and new approaches are needed to be employed to solve it. Our aim was much more easier, that is to show merely in what degree Sultan Veled's poetry was appreciated by the reader.

### Notes

1. In conveying Turkish proper names, we follow here the practice of contemporary Turkological editions, which corresponds to the Turkish spelling and pronunciation of the names. Other Muslim names are given in accordance with traditional transcription.

2. A. E. Krymskii, *Istoriia Turtsii i ee literatury. T. 1: Ot vozniknoveniia do nachala rastsvetva* (The History of Turkey and Its Literature. Vol. 1: Emergence to Flourishing) (Moscow, 1916), p. 262; J. H. Kramers, "Sultan Walad", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leyde—Paris, 1934), iv, p. 572.

3. J. Hammer, "Auskunft aus ein (...) merkwürdiges persisches (...) Manuskript", *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 46 (1829), p. 2.

4. *Ibid.*

5. M. Wickerhauser, "Seldschukische Verse", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 20 (1886), p. 575.

6. Krymskii, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

7. A. Kabaklı, *Türk edebiyatı* (İstanbul, 1966), ii, p. 120.

8. M. Mansuroğlu, *Sultan Veled'in Türkçe manzumeleri* (İstanbul, 1958), p. 1.

9. E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), i, p. 153.

10. W. Björkman, "Die altosmanische Literatur", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (Wiesbaden, 1964), ii, p. 407.

11. T. I. Sultanov, "Rukopisnaia istoricheskaia kniga i ee chitateli v stranakh srednevekovogo musul'manskogo Vostoka" ("The historical book in manuscripts and its readers in the medieval Muslim East"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 2 (1984), pp. 72—3.

12. "Poëma Iusufa Balasagunskogo 'Blagodatnoe znanie'" ("Yüsuf Balasaghuni's poem 'Beneficial Knowledge'"), introduction by A. N. Kononov to *Iusuf Balasagunskii. Blagodatnoe znanie*, ed. by S. N. Ivanov (Moscow, 1983), pp. 496, 510, 517.

13. V. V. Bartol'd, "Dvenadtsat' lektsii po istorii turetskikh narodov Srednei Azii'" ("Twelve lectures on the history of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia"), in *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1968), v, p. 115; A. A. Valitova, *Iusuf Balasagunskii i ego Kutadgu-bilik* (Yüsuf Balasaghuni and His *Kutadgu-bilig*), abstract from PhD dissertation (Moscow, 1951), p. 12.

14. This traditional translation of the title best describes the essence of Maḥmūd's work, but the translation proposed by A. B. Khalidov is more accurate: "Compendium of Turkic Words". See A. B. Khalidov, "Slovari Iskhaka al-Farabi i Makhmuda al-Kashgari (iz istorii leksikografii v Srednei Azii X—XI vv.)" ("The dictionaries of Ishāq al-Fārābī and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī: on the history of lexicography in Central Asia, 10th—11th centuries"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, fasc. 21, pt. 4 (Moscow, 1987), p. 18.

15. That is, attested in the appropriate scholarly editions. We note that a significant number of manuscripts by the poet have not yet received study in this area.

16. A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭ-i fārsī* (Tehran, 1348—1354/1969—1975), ii, pt. 1, Nos. 9335—9337.

17. *Ibid.*, No. 9652.

18. *Ibid.*, Nos. 13326—13332.

19. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 2935—56.

20. Z. N. Vorozheikina, *Ishfahanskaia shkola poetov i literaturnaia zhizn' Irana v predmongol'skoe vremia. XII — nachalo XIII v.* (The Isfahan School of Poets and Literary Life in Iran before the Mongols: 12th— early 13th Centuries) (Moscow, 1984), p. 25, n. 5.

21. Munzawī, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 2421—25.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 1883—6.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 2494—501.

24. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 3144—64.

25. *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 2551—5.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 1847.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 2242.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 1861—70.

29. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 2663—8.

30. *Ibid.*, v, pp. 3602—16.

31. *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 2349—54.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 1847.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 2242.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 1856.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 2276—91; the number of copies indicated by Munzawī (333) should be augmented by 54 copies he failed to consider from the collection of the SPIOS. See O. F. Akimushkin, et al., *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the USSR AS Institute of the Peoples of Asia. Brief Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. 1 (Moscow, 1964), index.

36. Vorozheikina, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

37. [Ia. Ripka], *Istoriia persidskoĭ i tadzhikskoĭ literatury* (The History of Persian and Tajik Literature), Russian translation from the Czech (Moscow, 1970), p. 245.

38. Sultanov, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

39. When dating manuscripts approximately (within two centuries), the lower date boundary was selected for assigning a manuscript to a particular century.

40. For more on types of Arabic poetic anthologies, see A. B. Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura" (Book Culture), in *Ocherki istorii arabskoĭ kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 227—8.

41. O. V. Vasil'eva, "Spiski sochineniĭ Alishera Navoi XV—XVI vv. v ORiRK GPB" ("Copies of works by 'Alīshir Nawā'i from the 15th—16th centuries in the Manuscript and Rare Books Department of the National Library of Russia"), *Issledovaniia pamiatnikov pis'mennoi kul'tury v sobraniakh i arkhivakh Otdela rukopiseĭ i redkikh knig* (Leningrad, 1985), p. 25; G. I. Kostygova, "Iz istorii sredneaziatskoĭ i iranskoĭ rukopisnoi knigi XIV—XVI vv." ("On the history of the Central Asian and Iranian manuscript book in the 14th — 16th centuries"), *Knigi. Arkhivy. Avtografi (Obzory, soobshcheniia, publikatsii)* (Moscow, 1973), p. 193; Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura", pp. 252—3.
42. H. Ritter, "Philologika 11. Maulana Ġalaladdin Rumi und sein Kreis", *Der Islam*, Bd. 26, H. 3 (1942), p. 243.
43. E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriia persidsko-tadzhikskoi literatury* (The History of Persian-Tajik Literature), *Izbrannye trudy* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 402, 415.
44. [Ripka], *op. cit.*, p. 230.
45. H. Ritter, "Philologika 7. Arabische und persische Schriften über die profane und die mystische Liebe", *Der Islam*, Bd. 21, H. 1 (1933), p. 90; *idem*, "Philologika 9. Die vier Suhrawardi", *Der Islam*, Bd. 25, H. 1 (1938), p. 60.
46. E. D. Dzhavelidze, *U istokov turetskoĭ literatury. I. Dzhelal'-eddin Rumi (voprosy mirovozzreniia)* (Sources of Turkish Literature. I. Jelaeddin Rumi (questions of his world-view)) (Tbilisi, 1979), p. 5.
47. [Ripka], *op. cit.*, p. 240.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 138; Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura", p. 238.
51. Vorozheĭkina, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 31.
52. [Ripka], *op. cit.*, pp. 195—6.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 196—7.
54. Ed. Sachau, H. Ethc, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustan and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1889), i, p. 750, No. 1237.
55. W. Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Wien, 1859), p. 10, No. 5, p. 2.
56. Ritter, "Philologika 11", pp. 154—5, No. 2156.
57. Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, p. 382, No. 2934.
58. I am grateful to Professor O. F. Akimushkin for referring me to this manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
59. Mawlana Noor al-din Abd al-Rahman Jami, *The Nafahot al-Ons min Hadharat al-qods, or the Lives of the Soofis*, ed. by Abd al-Hamid and Kabir al-din Ahmad (Calcutta, 1859), No. 494.
60. Dawlatshah bin 'Ala'u d-Dawla Bakhtishah al-Ghazi of Samarqand. The Tadhkiratu 'sh-Shu'ara ("Memoirs of the Poets"), ed. by E. G. Browne (London—Leide, 1901), p. 200.
61. Ritter, "Philologika 11", pp. 127—40.
62. Sultanov, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
64. E. E. Bertel's, *Šufizm i Šufiiskaia literatura* (Selected Works. Šūfism and Šūfī Literature), *Izbrannye trudy* (Moscow, 1965), p. 377.
65. D. S. Likhachev, *Poĕtika drevnerusskoĭ literatury* (The Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature) (Leningrad, 1967), p. 142.
66. By way of comparison, we note that the great work of Turkic poetry, worthy of inclusion among the highest achievements of world medieval literature, Yūsuf Balasaghuni's poem *Kutadgu bilig*, a work of universally accepted artistic merit, as S. N. Ivanov puts it in his introduction to the Russian translation of the work (see pp. 526, 530 of the Ivanov edition), was not so long ago described by the most outstanding scholars as a text "of extremely dull and repetitious content" (see S. E. Malov, *Pamiatniki drevneturkskoĭ pis'mennosti. Teksty i issledovaniia* (Texts of Ancient Turkic Literature. Texts and Research), Moscow—Leningrad, 1951, p. 240), or only "dry edification" and the presentation of characters who are "merely lifeless allegorical figures" (see Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 115).