

Literary Citations In The *Sharaf-nāma*

Di *Şerefnameyê* de Iqtibasên Edebî

Mustafa DEHQAN*

PUXTE:

Di nav metnê *Şerefnameyê* ku xulaseyek giştî ji dîroka kurdan tê hesabê de îqtibasên mîna derbulmesel û gotinên pêşiyar ciyekî fireh digire. Di *Şerefnameyê* de bi giştî meriv dikare behsa du cure îqtibasên bike. Her çiqas meriv nikaribe di nav van temayên ku di metnê derbas dibin de cudahiyeke berbiçav bibîne jî, bingeha van ji helbestên ku naveroka wan ji tawsiyeyên mefadar û pexşanên ku bi naveroka xwe dînî ne pêk tên.

Bi gelemperî eger ku bê gotin, her îqtibasek ku di metna *Şerefnameyê* de derbas dibe çavkaniyek xwe heye. Lê tiştê ku îqtibasên *Şerefnameyê* ji îqtibasên berhemên din cuda dike, bi şeklekî sistematîk bahsnekirina çavkaniyên van îqtibasên e. Di vê kontekstê de karê editor an jî wergêrê *Şerefnameyê*, ne tespîtkirina nêrînên balkêş ên weke neteweperweriya kurdî ye, berovajî vê, tespîtkirina referansên edebî ye. Ev yek ne tenê ji bo faraziyan û semantîka têgehên bi kar tê; herweha di hengama kifşkirina wateya rasteqîn ya van xalan, jinûvesazkirin an sererastkirina hin pasajên di nav metnê, nemaze derbarê pirsyarên têkildarî ziman, wate û xwendinan de bi kar tê.

* Independent
Scholar, Iran

Lêkolînerê Serbixwe,
Îran
e-mail:
mustafadehqan@
yahoo.com

Meqaleya li ber destê we lîsteyek teqez ên îqtibasên ku di metnê de hatine dayin pêşkêş dike. Di vê berhemê de ji helbestên serkeftî û zarîf bigire, heta gotinên pêşiyar, ayet, hedîs, munacat, dua, hicv û falên astrolojîk wek îqtibasê cih digirin. Herweha hin perçe-helbestên ku hin nehatine pênasekirin jî tê de cih digirin. Weke beşek ji qesîdeyek dirêj ku nehatibe keşîf kirin.

Kêmasî her dê hebe. Lêbelê hêvîdar im ev lîsteya kontrolê wek berdêla vê xebata pêşeng ji bona xebatên ku di paşerojê de li ser Şerefnameyê bi nêrînek metin-navendî bêne kirin re, fêdeyek mutewazî pêk werîne. Bi taybetî, di demên bextewar de ji bona zanyar û lêkolînerên edebiyatê bibe gavek pêş. Îdiayek weke bêqusûrbûnê ya vê xebatê ne gengaz e.

Peyvên Sereke: Şerefname, îqtibasên edebî, di Şerefnameyê de îqtibasên edebî, gotinên pêşyan, dîroka kurdan.

ABSTRACT:

The Sharaf-nāma, that huge compendium of Kurdish history, constitutes a large collection of gnomic sayings which has survived in the text. It is possible, in general, to distinguish between two types of gnomic literature in the Sharaf-nāma. A distinction can be made between verse compositions containing mainly pragmatic advice and those prose aphorisms which have primarily religious character. Although one cannot expect absolute separation of themes as there is very little that is completely secular in the text.

Loosely speaking, every citation has itself a source. What distinguishes the citations of the Sharaf-nāma from others is the unsystematic way in which they are expressed, showing almost always no mention of the sources used. In this context, the job of the editor or translator is not merely to make interesting remarks about, for example, the Kurdish nationalism in the Sharaf-nāma but to identify literary references. They are very useful not only for the supposition and the semantics of terms but also for clarifying the exact meaning of a number of points of this text, as well as for correcting or reconstructing some passages of the text especially when the questions of meaning, language, and particularly variant readings are concerned.

The present article provides a complete checklist of literary citations given in the text. Literary here can apply to anything eloquence, including elegant and subtle poetry, to proverbs, ḥadīths, to āyas, invocations to God for assistance, satires, and on occasion even to the divinatory art of astrology etc. There are certain fragments where a poetical citation has not been identified, where a hemistich of long qaşidas remains undiscovered. Lacunae always do exist but I hope that the present checklist, as a slight recompense for its priority, may constitute a modest contribution to further research on this textual aspect of the Sharaf-nāma; especially as a stepping-stone to other scholars in happier times. My work makes no pretension to completeness.

Keywords: Sharaf-nāme, literary citations, literary citations in Sharaf-nāme, gnomic sayings, Kurdish history.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sharaf Khān wrote at time when Persian and Arabic linguistic and literary influences were having an increasing impact on the Kurdish cultural world. It was therefore inevitable that the Kurds should follow their Persian, Arab and even Turkish mentors and officials and enthusiastically support those poems. The features which particularly concern us here are poems which Sharaf Khān classifies under the headings of *naẓm*, *bayt*, *mathnawī*, *rubāʿī*, and *qitʿa* but there are some other related and significant structures in the text; such as greater prolixity (*iṭnāb*); use of Arabic morphological elements and broken plurals; and especially rhymed prose (*sajʿ*). It seems that Sharaf Khān, besides writing Kurdish history, was fond of pointing to poetry, especially Persian poetry, which he sometimes memorized (I think), and he was perhaps said to learn the principles of its composition and details of its metrics. According to his autobiography, Sharaf Khān had a taste for the sciences (*ʿulūm*), though the ‘science of rhyme’ is not stated (Scheref, 1860, i, 447-48).

A notable feature of the Sharaf-nāma is the incorporation of poetry in many sections devoted to the structures or landscape features of Kurdistan. Clearly Sharaf Khān found poetry a significant addition to the Sharaf-nāma, as it is not only incidentally included, but purposefully collected and organized. If we approach the Sharaf-nāma as a social text, then the poetry gains a unique interest for us. Much of the poetry is embedded in historical contexts that allow us to see how it interacted with the social spaces of Kurdistan. On a simple numerical count of the separate occasions when poems and single verses are cited, there is a heavy preponderance of Persian citations over Arabic and Turkish ones.

Only on one occasion do we have Arabic poems cited. There are 7 verses rhyming in *yā* and *rā* and making up a poetic *munāẓara* between Malik Afḍal b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, the eldest son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was born in 565/1169-70 and died at Shumayshāt in 622/1225, and the Caliph Nāṣir, the thirty-fourth ʿAbbāsīd caliph ruled from 575/1180 to 622/1225. When Malik Afḍal’s brother Malik ʿAzīz, known as ʿUthmān, and his uncle Malik ʿĀdil, known as Abū Bakr, took the province of Damascus from him, the Ayyūbid Malik Afḍal, who was a prodigious author, compared the following four lines in verse and sent them to the Caliph Nāṣir, in Baghdad:

Mawlāya inna Abā Bakr wa ṣāḥibahu
ʿUthmāna qad ghaṣībā bi-l-sayf ḥaqqā ʿAlī
Wa huwa alladhī qad wallāhu wāliduhu
ʿAlayhimā fastaqāma al-amru ḥīna walī

*Fakhālafāhu wa khalā ‘aqdun biy‘atihi
 Wa al-amru baynahumā wa al-naşşun fīhi jalī
 Fanzur ilā khaţti hādhā al-ism kiyya laqī
 Min al-awākhir mā lāqā min al-awwalī.*

The poem was no mere glossary of literary words and their meanings. Malik Afḍal dealt with the dominant dispute between the Sunnis and Shiites in which the poet uses his own name and those of his brother and uncle instead of the first Muslim caliph, Abū Bakr, the third caliph, ‘Uthmān, and the fourth one, ‘Alī. What Caliph Nāşir wrote back to him.

*(Wāfā kitābuka yabna Yūsuf mu‘linan
 Bi-l-wuddi yukhbiru anna aşlaka tāhiru
 Ghaşabū ‘Alīyyan haqqahu idh lam yakun
 Ba‘da Nabīyyi lahu bi-Yathriba nāşirun
 Fabshir fainna ghadan ‘alayhi hisābahum
 Waşbir fanāşiruka al-imāmu al-Nāşiru)*

has also doubled Caliph as both poet and author of a religious tract. For original version of the poetries by Malik Afḍal and Caliph Nāşir, the variantal differences between the original and what cited by Sharaf Khān, and further references to their munāzara one may mention Tamām al-Mutūn fī Sharḥ Risāla ibn Zaydūn and Thamarāt al-Awrāq, respectively (Şafadī, 1971, 249; Ḥamawī, 1971, 23).

The Turkish poetry, on the other hand, includes just one very short verse composed after the defeat of poet’s lord at Bitlīs (Şaha ol Bidlis’in Kürdi muti olmaz Süleyman’a). The poet, Maḥmūd Ughlī, dealt with the Kurds of Bitlīs when his lord, the Āq-Quyūnlū grand vizier and general Sulaymān b. Bīzhan, laid siege to its castle and was not able to destroy Kurdish resistance against the Āq-Quyūnlū’s repeated attacks by 877/1473 (Qazwīnī, 2000, 91-93).

Persian poems and poets who were known to Sharaf Khān personally should figure prominently in the text and include several long, complete poems and sections of poems. Many of these single or so verses had become almost proverbial, and in many cases, the names of the original poet had been neglected by Sharaf Khān. The verses quoted by poets who were our author’s contemporaries are numerous: they include some by the great Persian Sunni Naqshbandī poet ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Nūr al-Dīn b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Daştī Jāmī (d.897/1492), who wrote a prolific amount of poetry and prose in both Persian and Arabic, and the Persian poet and nephew of Jāmī, ‘Abd Allāh Hātifī Kharjirdī (d. 927/1521), who was

known above all for his *khamasa*, which became famous even in the Ottoman Empire and India. For the second whose *dīwān* is quite unknown and there is only a doubtful manuscript copy in Cairo, Sharaf Khān reproduced here a short valuable *mathnawī* that more possibly did not occur elsewhere. Judging by the number of Jāmī's poetries which have explored, Sharaf Khān was very greatly under the influence of his works including *Dīwān* and *Haft Urang*, especially its *Khīrad-nāma-yi Iskandarī* and *Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā*.

Mention should also be made of classical Persian poets. After the enumeration of his sources, as will appear from the footnotes, most of classical *dīwāns*, were directly accessible to Sharaf Khān, and possibly available at his personal library. He borrowed different poems used by famous classical poets, some of which from Firdawsī (d. 411/1020), others from Nizāmī (d. between 575-613/1180-1217), others from Sa'dī (d. 27 Dhu al-Hijja 691/9 December 1292) or Ḥāfīz (d. 792/1390 or 791/1389). The quotations given of these sources, especially the extensive use of Nizāmī, himself a Kurd on his mother side, though for the most part brief and dry, show some changes and alterations which find their way into the text. That they were also weak in poetical talent, normally inserted by alterations, as the entertainings but inaccurate quotations, cannot be disputed. But Sharaf Khān's severe selection, though necessary, was not easy, because of his enormous focus on ethical parameters which is in strong contrast with the great classical rules of metrics and rhyming. It has, therefore, many unnecessary changes and the accuracy of the poems leaves a good deal to be desired.

Apart from the famous poems from both the significant unknown and well-known *dīwāns*, one notable feature here is the importance of Persian verse citations in *Sharaf-nāma* for recovery of the ambiguities of some Persian poetry. It is important as being the sole source for certain verses, or as providing valuable variant readings for poems attested elsewhere. Not even regarding poets like Hātīfī, but this is even the case in regard to the citations from poets like Jāmī whose *dīwān* is several times republished. The strong interest of Sharaf Khān, especially as advisor of his son, in the *andarz* form of Jāmī, in which religion, ethics, and science came together, indirectly at least reflected several variants of a long *mathnawī* composed in *Khīrad-nāma*.

Another remarkably part of the Persian poetry of the *Sharaf-nāma* was certainly obtained from previous historical works considering during the writing of *Sharaf-nāma*, either directly or indirectly. This especially can be modeled on an earlier great poem, the *rubā'ī* of Sulaymān-Shāh b. Barjam al-Īwā'ī (killed by Hülegü, in 656/1258), the powerful chief of the Turcoman tribe of Ivā, who was ruled in Kurdish territories, especially from his capital of Bahār, near Hamadān, that his

name was almost always mispronounced and unidentified by Sharaf-nāma scholars, regarding his victory over Ḥusām al-Dīn Khalīl of Lesser Lur in 643/1246 (not 640/1243 as given by Sharaf Khān, probably after Qāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī). The Turcoman Sulaymān Shāh, who wrote the poem cited by Sharaf Khān, as well as poetry on a variety of other themes, was fond and even active in both astronomy and Persian literature. The poetry cited in Sharaf-nāma and another Persian rubā'ī by the same author, rhyming in mīm, and addressed to Zangī, son of Atābag Sa'd, a ruler of the atābags of Fārs or Salghurids, have been mentioned in Tarīkh-i Jahān-gushā (Juwaynī, 1937, iii, 459ff.).

Sharaf Khān also reproduced a panegyric rubā'ī in honor of Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who was Persian statesman and Finance Minister under the early Īl-khāns. After the deposition of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, when he was put to death by Arghūn on 28 Rajab 683/16 October 1284, Majd al-Dīn Hamgar Fārisī (d.c.678/1279), the Īl-khānid poet, wrote the present lament for his killing. In this section the rubā'ī, which Sharaf Khān used, differs only in minor details from the archetype mentioned in the Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā' (Samarqandī, 1901, 106).

In Sharaf Khān's use of Persian poetry, he inserts rarely a chronogram jummal system to illustrate specific historical events, or to heighten their impact on the reader. Two verses by an anonymous author, for example, show that Temūr captured the fortress of Vān in the course of his Kurdistan campaign of 789 AH, according to the chronogram.

*(Shāhī ki bi tīgh mulk-i Īrān bigirift
Māh-i 'alamash sarhaddi kaywān bigirift
Tārīkh-i girftan-i ḥiṣār-i Vān rā
Pursandat agar bigū ki kiy-Vān bigirift: 789).*

The poetry, as its context suggests, came to prominence after Timūrid conquest of Vān in 789/1387, and according to Mīr Khwānd, it is recited by an unidentified erudite man. Sharaf Khān's knowledge of Rawḍat al-Ṣafā almost certainly helped bring the poetry to the favor of Sharaf-nāma readers (Mīr Khwānd, 2001, vi, 4717). The talented Kurdish translation of Hejar is, to my knowledge, the only translation of the text which tallies with the chronogram in jummal: be ladizî û gizî Van-î girt: 789 (Hejar, 2005, 145).

Our author's observation on a poetry by Mawlānā Idrīs, the exalted Kurdish statesman and historian, is also of some interest. In the fourth chapter of Sharaf-nāma, Sharaf Khān gives a poetry by Idrīs, showing Shiite respects, in which he is full of praise for Ismā'īl I, the Safavid shah. But most interesting of all is Sharaf

Khān's account of the rise of Ismā'īl I and Shiite Safavids. The context of Idrīs's discussion of the event is a Persian jummal phrase, madhhab-i nāhaqq: 906 'false religion', addressed to the Safavid rise (906/1500), in which we are told about untruthful claims of Ismā'īl I and his followers. When Ismā'īl I asked Idrīs about the poetry, according to the Sharaf-nāma, Idrīs denied the Persian phrase and claimed the phrase as an Arabic one (madhhabunā ḥaqq: 906 'our true religion') with the same jummal value. Then Sharaf Khān placed a poetry in which Idrīs made his excuse for such confusion and offered a slightly feeling of admiration for Shiites. It is evident that much of this detail on Idrīs, the key figure of Ottoman attempts to ally Sunni Kurds against the Safavids, has been published and adopted by Shiite followers. There are several possible reasons for the *Sharaf-nāma*'s failure to attribute a Shiite episode to Idrīs. The authors writing in the Persian lands, such as Qāḍī Musāfir (Naṣrābādī, 1918, 472) and Mawlānā Mashhadī (Samarqandī, MS, fols.87r.-v.), used the same chronogram and story. Moreover, Mawlānā Shahīd Bayg Mujtahid enlarged an expanded verse version of the same Safavid rise:

*Mulk-i Khurāsān girift pādishah-i dīn panāh
Tā hama mulk-i jahān dartaha (sic) rawnaq buwad
'Aql-i muwarrakh ṣifāt, guft bi bāng-i buland
Jāmi '-i tārikh-i ū: 'madhhabunā ḥaqq' buwad*

(Nakhjiwānī, 1964, 33-34; Qumī, 1980, i, 64). However, it should be noted that, while Sharaf Khān in what we said took some of his information from Safavid lore, still he does not seem to be in error for Idrīs's excuse poetry. Although Idrīs, as a Sunni Kurd, worked as an influential secretary for the Ottomans, but he was from Bitlīs where Baktāshī and pseudo-Shiite trends were somewhat alive (Bacqué-Grammont et Adle, 1986, 117). A story that suggests the friendship between Idrīs's father and Junayd is also reflected in the poem attributed to Idrīs, indicating possible Shiite trends of his own father. It is important to point out that while the companionship between their ancestors does not actually brand Idrīs as the follower of the Shiism, it does suggest that he did not degrade his mystical link with Ismā'īl I and his ancestors (Sönmez, 2006, 22).

There are also some verses probably by Sharaf Khān himself, but introduced by an anonymous formula like other situations. One trustworthy tract is the last poems cited in the chronicle (Scheref, 1860, i, 459) which certainly passed through the mind of Sharaf Khān, who besides writing a well-known chronicle, was an honorific poet. When Sharaf Khān is described (as he very rarely is) as essentially a poet, it must be borne in mind that his poems are descriptive poems (of his work)

and different from the ethical poems commonly professed in the text. Evidently, the polygraphic tastes of the Oriental elite had some part in shaping such poems.

It is certain, however, that many exciting discoveries remain to be made in the *terra incognita* of *Sharaf-nāma* poetry. In particular it is desirable that a wider range of sources should be looked at. The following tables and information provided by the present writer, copious though it is, is insufficient to present a full picture of the poetical citations in the text. It is of course so hard, if not impossible, to locate original sources in Persian for all unidentified poems of *Sharaf-nāma*.

Besides the poetical citations, *Sharaf-nāma* has also produced a wealth of literature concerning the Qur'ānic representations. Much of this is incorporated in its ethical commentaries on the events. Generalizing very broadly, Sharaf Khān's Qur'ānic citations are peppered with moralizing advice which sometimes has also a belles-lettres quality, as it is not so much chronicle of the Kurdish emirs' achievements as panegyrics to the qualities of a simple discussion. The key prefatory section of the text is such a case in point, in order to confer more prestige on both the prophetic verses and the goals and contents of the chronicle. Despite his suitable rhetorical usage of *Qur'ān*, of course, the quotations are not always repeated word for word as the original contexts of the *sūras*. A relevant mistake, for example, is *sūra* III, verse 17 where we read *yastaghfirūna bi-al-ashār* instead of *mustaghfirīn bi-al-ashār*.

Another predominant form of *Sharaf-nāma*'s Qur'ānic expressions is traditional. It purports to retail authoritative 'conclusions' which can be traced back to the God and Prophet. The chronicler Sharaf Khān here used his history as display book for example of judicial decisions and giving legitimacy to anyone he judged as 'true'. In doing so, he was perhaps following the earlier examples of Middle Eastern historians and especially *Hasht Bihisht*, the Persian chronicle of Ottoman sultans (Qazwīnī Hā'irī, 2010, 107-127). Such Qur'ānic motives for writing the *Sharaf-nāma* are sometimes straightforward to provide instruction concerning the manner of God's intervention in history, either to punish human beings for their wickedness or to reward them for their righteousness.

The Qur'ānic technique involved the use of *Qur'ān* as the most victorious and acceptable ideology. What Sharaf Khān wanted to affirm was that knowledge of the events was reserved to God and possibly His Muslim followers. In other words, he seems to be saying that those who are not adherents of Islam should not seek to gain any great victory in the events. One can, if one wishes, take these to refer loosely to Armenians, Jews and the Yezidis discussed in the text, but, of course, there are some Qur'ānic phrases and relevant *āyas* that were also incorporated after unconventional Muslim Kurds.

Sharaf-nāma gives also some non-Qur'ānic divine words, known as *ḥadīth* (traditions about the Prophet), which, despite the lack of *isnāds*, have enriched religious observations of Sharaf Khān. The *ḥadīth* reports normally confirm what the Qur'ānic evidences of the text suggest: that the Muslim concept of scripture was originally the most powerful Recitation of God's Word, what lies beyond or after the events is God and His Prophet etc. The one most important exception that has not been used by means of such using is an obsolete anti-Kurdish *ḥadīth* which Sharaf Khān reproduced on the basis of the well-known problems of the time and place. As quoted by Sharaf Khān, it reads: *al-Akrādu ṭā'ifaṭun min al-jinn kashafa Allāh 'anhum al-ghīṭā'* and he unawarely attributed it to the previous erudites. A more complete version of the same *ḥadīth* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), the sixth Shiite *imām*, including some other anti-Kurdish expressions, is recorded in Shī'a *ḥadīth* collections. Sharaf Khān labels this as Kurdish bravery, thus associating it with a series of miraculous stories about Kurds' background as a deviation of the genies, but indeed reflects Kurdish 'wild' and 'uneducated' manner, which are to be found in many Shiite classical books dealing with Kurds' definition in *fiqh* (Dehqan, 2006, 5-7).

There remains one other point to be noted: the proverbs. There is a very brief anthology of Arabic proverbs and folk samples. The classical proverbs carried simply an ethical message. However, the sole Turkish proverb (*şehir bizüm, helva bizüm*, p.312) seems to have been included for the comic pleasure it afforded.

2. THE CHECKLIST

As the text of *Sharaf-nāma* is readily available in Perso-Arabic characters, it has not seemed necessary to note in each case the spelling of individual words or to record entire verses, proverbs, *āyas* etc. Besides aiming at economy, the general purpose of the incipits and excipits signs have been to give a reference of what is written in original, showing its source wherever possible. For those who are interested in the complete form of the citations, it should be mentioned that page numbers refer to the best edition of the text (Zernof, St.-Petersbourg, 1860-62). References to the Notes to the Checklist are made to an enumeration between the brackets, which is not to be confused with the original pagination by Zernof. Transliteration of Persian and Arabic words has been made uniform for the purpose of this checklist in accordance with a modified form of *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. The tables which follow are intended as a textual guide to the usage of literary citations. They omit doubtful points and simplify many complications. Some of the readings included in these tables are debatable. A number of abbreviations have been employed in the tables. These include *Ā* for *āya*, *Ḥ* for *ḥadīth*, *h* for hemistich, and *Prv.* for proverb.

I. Poetical Citations

Text Page	Incipit	Excipit	Verses
3	<i>iy khāṣ...</i>	<i>...kh^wāhī</i>	2
4	<i>zi sayr...</i>	<i>... 'inānī[1]</i>	1
4	<i>rasūl...</i>	<i>...ū[2]</i>	5
5	<i>Khudāyā...</i>	<i>...dār[3]</i>	3
7	<i>aḥwāl...</i>	<i>...muj[4]</i>	3
8	<i>bipūsh...</i>	<i>...nabuwad</i>	2
12	<i>chu...</i>	<i>...būd[5]</i>	4
14	<i>dast...</i>	<i>...nīm[6]</i>	1
16	<i>mutivārī...</i>	<i>...bīdād[7]</i>	4
18	<i>āfarīnīsh...</i>	<i>...khaṭāst</i>	1
19	<i>maqbul...</i>	<i>...bād</i>	1h
29	<i>az...</i>	<i>...bidarīd[8]</i>	2
32	<i>dil...</i>	<i>...ast[9]</i>	1
40	<i>bīchāra...</i>	<i>...kushṭa[10]</i>	2
48	<i>du...</i>	<i>...mīraft</i>	1h
59	<i>bi har...</i>	<i>...kār[11]</i>	1
,	<i>chi...</i>	<i>...rā[12]</i>	1h
70	<i>mawlāy...</i>	<i>...al-awwalī</i>	8
,	<i>wāfī...</i>	<i>...al-Nāṣir</i>	3
89	<i>khūy...</i>	<i>...dast[13]</i>	1
90	<i>har kī...</i>	<i>...kard[14]</i>	1
90-91	<i>Shāhī...</i>	<i>...bigirift[15]</i>	2
94	<i>rūz...</i>	<i>...andākht[16]</i>	2
94-95 172	<i>kudām...</i>	<i>...nakand</i>	1
118	<i>bālā...</i>	<i>...bulandī[17]</i>	1
119	<i>bi 'adl...</i>	<i>...ast</i>	1h
123	<i>tā...</i>	<i>...nanishīnad[18]</i>	1
130	<i>mabīn...</i>	<i>...gudāz</i>	3
130-31	<i>ṣidā...</i>	<i>...farq[19]</i>	4
136	<i>bigardīd...</i>	<i>...dil</i>	2
140	<i>chunīn...</i>	<i>...nuḥagar[20]</i>	2
143	<i>buwad...</i>	<i>... 'ār</i>	1
,	<i>ṭarz...</i>	<i>...maṭar</i>	2
149	<i>bi har...</i>	<i>...kunad[21]</i>	2
151	<i>takāwurī...</i>	<i>...pargār</i>	6
155	<i>tukhm...</i>	<i>...Zaw[22]</i>	2
156	<i>āsmān...</i>	<i>...ḥudūr[23]</i>	3
159	<i>ān...</i>	<i>...paydāst</i>	1
,	<i>du...</i>	<i>...naburand[24]</i>	1
166	<i>bā...</i>	<i>...jazā</i>	1h
,	<i>khīrad...</i>	<i>...dahān</i>	1

167	<i>naṣīhat...</i>	<i>...marād</i>	1
,	<i>gunahkār...</i>	<i>...buwad</i>	1
168-257	<i>dawlat...</i>	<i>...khīzad[25]</i>	1
172	<i>buwad...</i>	<i>...bīrūn (sic)</i>	1
179	<i>chunīn...</i>	<i>...kishad[26]</i>	5
180	<i>dar...</i>	<i>...nishast</i>	1h
184	<i>har...</i>	<i>...rāst[27]</i>	1
185	<i>pasandīda...</i>	<i>...dur</i>	2
187	<i>bi har...</i>	<i>...qafā</i>	3
189	<i>falak...</i>	<i>...bas[28]</i>	1
189-90	<i>kār...</i>	<i>...buwad[29]</i>	3
196	<i>kujā...</i>	<i>...pāyandagī</i>	2
197	<i>ān...</i>	<i>...chang[30]</i>	1
198	<i>hazār...</i>	<i>...kīn</i>	1
202	<i>zi āsīb...</i>	<i>...pāsbān[31]</i>	1
206	<i>zar...</i>	<i>...ast[32]</i>	2
213	<i>yakī...</i>	<i>...bīnī[33]</i>	3
229	<i>kardīm...</i>	<i>...zamīn[34]</i>	1
,	<i>har ki...</i>	<i>...āyad</i>	2
233	<i>bi jāy...</i>	<i>...ast</i>	2
236	<i>barū...</i>	<i>...surūdī</i>	2
242-433	<i>dilā...</i>	<i>...nīst</i>	1
243	<i>tā...</i>	<i>...ābādān</i>	2
249	<i>bad...</i>	<i>...bih[35]</i>	1
253	<i>iy khushā...</i>	<i>...tust</i>	1
,	<i>chi...</i>	<i>...nīknāmīst</i>	2
254	<i>chunīn...</i>	<i>...nihāyat[36]</i>	1
256	<i>parī...</i>	<i>...ārad</i>	1
258	<i>dunyā...</i>	<i>...mībīnam[37]</i>	2
260	<i>chun...</i>	<i>...sukhanwarī</i>	1
,	<i>tā...</i>	<i>...bāqīst</i>	2
265	<i>kajak...</i>	<i>...kīn[38]</i>	2
276	<i>kasī...</i>	<i>...sākht[39]</i>	3
281	<i>giriftam...</i>	<i>...kār</i>	5
292	<i>hazār...</i>	<i>...shināwar</i>	3
295	<i>zi qabḍa...</i>	<i>...kh^wīsh</i>	4
311	<i>Kurdī...</i>	<i>...mīburd[40]</i>	5
317	<i>bi qinā'at...</i>	<i>...darwīshī</i>	2
318	<i>mabāsh...</i>	<i>...farāmūsh[41]</i>	1
319-20	<i>ingār...</i>	<i>...farqast</i>	2
331	<i>mard...</i>	<i>...barkhāst</i>	2
334-35	<i>bigū...</i>	<i>...tu'ī[42]</i>	5
336	<i>muṣaffā...</i>	<i>...idrāk</i>	7
336-67	<i>hawāyash...</i>	<i>...parīdī[43]</i>	6

342-43	<i>kisād...</i>	<i>...inkār</i> [44]	9
343-44	<i>marā...</i>	<i>...shud</i> [45]	4
344	<i>kashtī...</i>	<i>...shikast</i>	1
346	<i>wah...</i>	<i>...şafā</i> [46]	8
352-53	<i>jihān...</i>	<i>...ma 'mūr</i>	1
354	<i>bihishtī...</i>	<i>...kishtand</i> [47]	5
359	<i>bar ān...</i>	<i>...pay</i> [48]	2
367-68	<i>başūt...</i>	<i>...īmān</i> [49]	7
368	<i>ki buwad...</i>	<i>... 'Ummān</i> [50]	1
373	<i>takāwur...</i>	<i>...risīdī</i> [51]	5
374	<i>nakh^wāham...</i>	<i>...bidih</i> [52]	5
381	<i>bi laṭāfat...</i>	<i>...nāchār</i> [53]	1
381-82	<i>agar...</i>	<i>...īmār</i>	2
382	<i>wilāyat...</i>	<i>...shawad</i>	1
383	<i>gar...</i>	<i>...andak</i> [54]	1
386	<i>ma 'ādh...</i>	<i>...sāzam</i>	1h
389	<i>chu...</i>	<i>...nār</i>	6
♠	<i>Şaha...</i>	<i>...Süleyman'a</i> [55]	1
392	<i>waqt...</i>	<i>...tīz</i> [56]	1
393	<i>namānda...</i>	<i>...nagash</i>	1
♠	<i>bi...</i>	<i>...sarw</i>	2
395	<i>chu...</i>	<i>...kamand</i> [57]	1
♠	<i>chi...</i>	<i>...dastam</i>	1
395-96	<i>bīyā...</i>	<i>...rāh</i>	4
398 455	<i>shukr...</i>	<i>...shudam</i> [58]	1
398-99	<i>bar...</i>	<i>...sākhta</i>	3
400	<i>chu az...</i>	<i>...khihlān</i>	5
402	<i>qabā...</i>	<i>...palang</i>	5
404	<i>dar āmad...</i>	<i>...barkhāsta</i>	4
405	<i>tikya...</i>	<i>...kunī</i> [59]	1
♠	<i>khush...</i>	<i>...kh^wīsh</i>	1
♠	<i>mar...</i>	<i>...takht</i> [60]	2
407-08	<i>sarī...</i>	<i>...dāgh</i> [61]	4
409-10	<i>zi har...</i>	<i>...dirang</i>	5
413	<i>bi ḥamd...</i>	<i>...āmad</i>	2
415	<i>jihāngīrī...</i>	<i>...mukarram</i>	3
417	<i>bi iqbāl...</i>	<i>...barandākhtand</i>	2
427	<i>chi...</i>	<i>...pur</i>	10
428	<i>mā...</i>	<i>...āmada 'im</i> [62]	1
♠	<i>har...</i>	<i>...ū</i>	2
433	<i>zi har...</i>	<i>...rīz</i>	6
441	<i>buland...</i>	<i>...kard</i> [63]	1
446	<i>mujarradān...</i>	<i>...farāmūshand</i> [64]	1
♠	<i>ū...</i>	<i>...bādash</i> [65]	3

447-48	<i>manam...</i>	<i>...jawāl</i> [66]	23
449	<i>Jāmī...</i>	<i>...rasī</i> [67]	2
450	<i>har ki...</i>	<i>...khār</i>	3
451-52	<i>ṣāhib...</i>	<i>...bāshand</i>	2
456-58	<i>bīyā...</i>	<i>...kunīm</i> [68]	37
459	<i>minnat...</i>	<i>...wa al-salām</i> [69]	2

II. Qur'ānic āyat, proverbs and ḥadīths used in the text

Text Page	Incipit	Excipit	Type
2	<i>wa ja 'alnākum...</i>	<i>...al-arḍ</i> [70]	Ā.
3	<i>wa laqad...</i>	<i>...ādam</i> [71]	Ā.
"	<i>wa rafa 'nāhu...</i>	<i>... 'alīyan</i> [72]	Ā.
"	<i>wa faddalnā...</i>	<i>...khalaqnā</i> [73]	Ā.
"	<i>ja 'alnākum</i>	<i>shu 'ūbā</i> [74]	Ā.
"	<i>kuntu...</i>	<i>...al-tīn</i> [75]	Ḥ.
"	<i>wa mā...</i>	<i>...lil- 'ālamīn</i> [76]	Ā.
"	<i>subḥān...</i>	<i>...asrā</i> [77]	Ā.
4	<i>mā</i>	<i>Zāgha</i> [78]	Ā.
"	<i>lī...</i>	<i>...waqtun</i> [79]	Ḥ.
6	<i>laqad...</i>	<i>...al-albāb</i> [80]	Ā.
7	<i>rabbānā...</i>	<i>...lanā</i> [81]	Ā.
12	<i>wa huwa...</i>	<i>...qadīr</i> [82]	Ā.
13	<i>al-Akrād...</i>	<i>...al-ghīṭā'</i> [83]	Ḥ.
14	<i>man...</i>	<i>...yashja'</i>	Prv.
18, 82	<i>wa yaf'alu....</i>	<i>...yurīd</i> [84]	Ā.
94	<i>yastaghfirūn...</i>	<i>...ashār</i> (sic)[85]	Ā.
"	<i>fa 'tabirū...</i>	<i>...abṣ ār</i> [86]	Ā.
124	<i>kam...</i>	<i>...Allāh</i> [87]	Ā.
147	<i>man...</i>	<i>...rabiḥa</i> [88]	Prv.
158,170, 446	<i>yā...</i>	<i>...mardīyya</i> [89]	Ā.
159	<i>wa aḥsin...</i>	<i>...ilayka</i> [90]	Ā.
"	<i>ulu...</i>	<i>...ba 'dīn</i> [91]	Ā.
166, 397, 421	<i>wa shāwirhum...</i>	<i>...al-mar</i> [92]	Ā.
167	<i>fa 'idhā...</i>	<i>...Allāh</i> [93]	Ā.
198	<i>al-mustarīḥ...</i>	<i>...al-kabīr</i>	Prv.
200	<i>lā...</i>	<i>...Allāh</i> [94]	Ā.
"	<i>fawalli...</i>	<i>...al-ḥarām</i> [95]	Ā.
"	<i>wa man...</i>	<i>...āminan</i> [96]	Ā.
"	<i>wa Allāh...</i>	<i>...sabīlan</i> [97]	Ā.
"	<i>fa 'idhā...</i>	<i>...Allāh</i> [98]	Ā.
"	<i>kullu...</i>	<i>...rāji 'ūn</i> [99]	Ā.
"	<i>dhālīka...</i>	<i>...al-kabīr</i> [100]	Ā.
202	<i>al- 'awdu</i>	<i>aḥmadu</i>	Prv.

203, 305	<i>al-khā'in...</i>	<i>...al-khā'if</i>	Prv.
207	<i>al-ḍarūrāt...</i>	<i>...al-makhṭūrāt (sic)</i> [101]	Prv.
243	<i>al-ḥubb...</i>	<i>...yatawārathūn</i> [102]	Ḥ.
276	<i>idhā...</i>	<i>...al-baṣ ar</i> [103]	Prv.
278	<i>wa...</i>	<i>...junūduhū</i> [104]	Ā.
312	<i>mudhabdhabīn...</i>	<i>...dhālik</i> [105]	Ā.
333	<i>ka'annahum...</i>	<i>...qaswarat</i> [106]	Ā.
344	<i>kullu...</i>	<i>...wajhahu</i> [107]	Ā.
,	<i>lahu...</i>	<i>...turja'un</i> [108]	Ā.
389	<i>al-ṣulḥu...</i>	<i>...khayrun</i> [109]	Ā.
397	<i>idhā...</i>	<i>...hay'an(sic)</i> [110]	Ā.
399	<i>lā tay'asū...</i>	<i>...Allāh</i> [111]	Ā.
404	<i>al-lu'lu'...</i>	<i>...al-maknūn</i> [112]	Ā.
,	<i>yuṭāf...</i>	<i>...shāribīn</i> [113]	Ā.
405	<i>wa tu'ī...</i>	<i>...tashā'</i> [114]	Ā.
407	<i>wa Allāh...</i>	<i>...mustaqīm</i> [115]	Ā.
413	<i>wa abyaddat...</i>	<i>...al-ḥuzn</i> [116]	Ā.
415	<i>fā...</i>	<i>...ṣuwarakum</i> [117]	Ā.
424	<i>ākhir...</i>	<i>...al-kayy</i> [118]	Prv.
437	<i>khammarat...</i>	<i>...ṣabāḥan</i> [119]	Ḥ.
,	<i>wa mā...</i>	<i>...lil-'ālamīn</i> [120]	Ā.
,	<i>laysa...</i>	<i>...shay'un</i> [121]	Ā.
,	<i>fahuwa...</i>	<i>...'āliyatin</i> [122]	Ā.
454	<i>kullu...</i>	<i>...aṣ lih</i> [123]	Prv.

3. NOTES TO THE CHECKLIST

The annotations take note of all major citations of the text, as found in the Zernof edition. It should be noted that the main source of several citations are open to interpretation. A new critical study of the text and a simple comparison between what given below and those mentioned by Sharaf Khān will suggest that the text as a literary one contained some anachronisms and errors. The following references show that Sharaf Khān did not obtain all the citations from original sources, but normally copied them from his own contemporary sources:

[1] This poem was almost certainly quoted by the way of Samarqandī (1941, ii/i, 3) which was also a source of *Sharaf-nāma*; [2] Some version of this poem is given in the Qājārid inscription of *imāmzāda* Ibrāhīm, in Tabrīz, beginning: *ghulām-i rahash ham 'Arab ham 'Ajam*. I have not been able to identify the poet

and the original source; [3] There is no doubt that Sharaf Khān borrowed the present *bayts* from Sa‘dī, who composed them in praise of ‘Abū Bakr b. Sa‘d b. Zangī’, but they are not given in the *Būstān* edition I used; [4] On this poetry, see in particular the beginning section of Samarqandī, *Maṭla‘ Sa‘dayn*, and its variants, but again no record remains of the poet from whom it was recited; [5] These verses (which is said to have been greatly influenced by that of Firdawsī) are possibly taken from the later followers of Firdawsī. Compare the *Shāh-nāma* (Firdawsī, 1988, i, 7 and 55); [6] Cited originally in the *Kullīyāt; Gulistān, Bāb 3* (Sa‘dī, 2002, 103); [7] The text of this poem, of which only a portion is here given, will be found in the famous romance of *Laylī wa Majnūn* by Niẓāmī Ganjawī (2005, 65-67); [8] For this one may refer to the *Tadhkirat al-Shu‘arā* by Samarqandī (1901, 106); [9] This is taken from the *dīwān* of the prolific writer Khwājū of Kirmān who was born in Kirmān, in souther Iran, and died in Shīrāz about 753/1352 : (Wāla Dāghastānī, 2005, ii, 777); [10] See the *Jahān-gushā* (Juwaynī, 1937, iii, 459); [11] In his Turkish translation of the text, Şem‘î Efendi, *Tercüme-i Tevârih-i Şeref Han*, fol.15r., gave an interesting verse version of the *bayt*:

Niye ki hükm idesün bendeyüz vü fermanber

Niye ki emr idesün çakerüz vü hizmetkar; [12]

It is either by Sa‘dī or at least by someone with an imitated style. Compare *Būstān* (Sa‘dī, 2002, 630), where he says: *chi kunand agar taḥammul nakunand zīrdastān*; [13] A verse by Sa‘dī cited in *Gulistān, Bāb 2* (Sa‘dī, 2002, 88); [14] It is taken from Sa‘dī, *Gulistān, Bāb 1*, beginning:

Nāsazā‘ī rā ki bīnī bakht yār

‘Āqilān taslīm kardand ikhtiyār...etc.; [15]

For this, compare the unknown similar version given in the *Tārīkh Rawḍat al-Şafā* (Mīr Khwānd, 2001, vi, 4717); [16] These verses are entirely borrowed from *Haft Paykar* (Niẓāmī Ganjawī, 2001, 146-47), beginning:

Chunka Bahrām shud nashāt-parast

Dīda dar naqsh-i Haft Paykar bast

Rūz-i Shanba zi Dayr-i Shammāsī...etc.

The version provided by Sharaf Khān is a defective one; [17] Borrowed from *Gulistān, Bāb 1* (Sa‘dī, 2002, 38); [18] It is a poem by Sa‘dī, I think. The reference

here given is that found in the prose pamphlet *Gurba wa Mūsh* by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bahā' al-Dīn, known as Shaykh Bahā'ī (d.1030/1621) who cited the same *bayt*. For more information, see his *dīwān*, known as *Kullīyāt Ash'ār wa Āthār-i Fārsī-yi Shaykh Bahā'ī* (Nafīsī, 2004, 278); [19] It is almost certain that this is a poem by one of the followers of Firdawsī which later has been attributed to the poet himself; [20] It is probably taken from a later follower of Firdawsī. Compare the well-known verse of Firdawsī thus:

Chunīn ast rasm-i sarā-yi kuhun
Sarash hīch paydā nabīnī zi bun; [21]

Recited by Nizāmī, Sharaf Khān's popular poet, in the *Iqbāl-nāma* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2004, 10); [22] See *the Dīwān* of Ḥāfīz (1992, 364), which concludes the original ode to which reference is here; [23] This is no doubt by Jamāl al-Dīn Salmān b. Muḥammad Sāwajī, known as Salmān-i Sāwa or Salmān Sāwajī, but it is normally transmitted under Kh^wāja Tāj al-Dīn Salmān (Kh^wānd Mīr, 1954, iii, 98). He was born in Sāwa, a well-known province of 'Irāq-i 'Ajam. This Persian poet and panegyrist of the Jalāyirids died in Ṣafar 778/June 1376; [24] A certain *qit'a* by ibn Yamīn of Farīwmad (d.769/1367-68). He was born to the family of the scholar and poet Amīr Yamīn al-Dīn. He is thought to have been the court poet of the Sarbidār dynasty (mid-8th/14th century). Over 5, 000 of his poems, mainly aphorisms, have been preserved, including poetries of a philosophical and mystical nature. For the full version of his poetry given in the *Sharaf-nāma*, see the *Dīwān* (ibn Yamīn Farīwmadī, 1984, 382-83); [25] It is presumably borrowed from Sa'dī, but I could not acknowledge the guess on a very random try; [26] All of these *bayts* are entirely taken from Nizāmī's 'Story of Alexander', quoted in his *Sharaf-nāma* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2002, 81), but like so many other quotations, Sharaf Khān's actual divisions of these *bayts* do not correspond with the numbering of the archetype; [27] Apparently the poem is attributed to Nizāmī Ganjawī (probably his *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*) in the Persian dictionaries, but it is not to be found at all in the edition I considered; [28] Certainly borrowed from the *Ghazalīyyāt* by Ḥāfīz of Shīrāz (Ḥāfīz, 1992, 242); [29] Borrowed from sixteenth chapter of *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2004, 154); [30] Ibid., the fifth chapter (2004, 96); [31] Some Persian dictionaries such as *Farhang-i Dihkhudā* (vi, 8269), when they describes entry *chanbar*, tended to use the present verse and attributed it to Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl al-Warrāq, better known as Azraqī (d. before 465/1072-73). Azraqī not only composed a *dīwān*; he also composed Persian verse renderings of the *Sandbād-nāma* (Story of the Seven Viziers) and

the *Alfīyya wa Shalfīyya* (Samarqandī, 1901, 72); [32] Sharaf Khān mentioned this poem from a long *qaṣīda* by Jāmī's *dīwān* (2001, 30). Again-he has confused the numbering and situation of the *bayts*; [33] It is certainly a poem by Abū al-Majd Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā'ī who was connected with the court of Ghaznawid Bahrām-Shāh. He died on 11 Sha'bān 525/9 July 1131. Details in *dīwān*, where it reads: *bidīn zindān-i khāmūshān yikī az chashm-i dil bingar* (Sanā'ī, 2001, 703); [34] This is a poem by Muẓaffarid Abū al-Fawāris Shāh Shujā' (d.786/1384), ruler of southern Persia. The original version of the poetry is available in *Tadhkira-yi Rīyād al-Shu'arā'* (Wāla Dāghastānī, 2005, ii, 1062); [35] A different version of this poem will be found on Ebū-l-faẓl b. Īdrīs, *Zeyl-i Hešt Behišt*, fol. 11v., which runs as follows:

Rikhnagar-i mulk sar afkanda bih
Lashgar-i bad 'ahd parākanda bih; [36]

Borrowed from Nizāmī's romance of *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2004, 176); [37] This is a quatrain by the Āq-Quyūnlū Sulṭān Ya'qūb (d. 11 Šafar 896/24 December 1490). It is in the trustworthy collection, *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmī*, that the quatrain has been attributed to the sultan (Sām Mīrzā Šafawī, 2005, 25); [38] The poem, attributed to Hātifi, will be found in its typical form, under *kajak*, in *Ānindirāj* (Shād, 1984); [39] To my knowledge, it is attributed to Nizāmī, but I have not been able to find it in the edition I used. Compare especially *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2004, 397ff); [40] The complete version of the poetry mentioned here (*tamthīl*) will be found in *Laylī wa Majnūn* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2005, 53); [41] This *bayt* is taken from *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2004, 180); [42] Sharaf Khān borrowed these verses from *Sharaf-nāma* which discusses the birth of Alexander, his succession to the throne of Rūm (Greece), his wars against Africans who invaded Egypt, his conquest of Persia, his pilgrimage to Mecca etc. (Nizāmī Ganjawī, 2002, 257); [43] A portion of this poem is by Waḥshī of Bāfq (d.991/1583), from which Sharaf Khān borrowed a defective version (Wāla Dāghastānī, 2005, iv, 2399). Waḥshī was a Persian poet of the Šafawid period who was born at Bāfq, southeast of Yazd, in central Persia; [44] A certain *qaṣīda* by Īdrīs of Bitlīs who wrote it complaining of Sultan Selīm during the Egypt campaign. For his poetical talent one may refer to the *khātima* of *Hasht Bihisht* including 1343 verses (Īdrīs b. Husam al-Din, *Hatime*, fols.623v.-636r. The *qaṣīda* mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* is better known as 'The *Qaṣīda* of Miṣr'; [45] Sharaf Khān attributed these *bayts* to Īdrīs of Bitlīs, but it is somewhat hard to accept it absolutely. Some variants are in *Tercüme-i Tevârih-i Şeref Han*

(Şem‘î Efendi, fol.66v); [46] Of this rare and beautiful poetry by Mawlânâ ‘Abd al-Khallâq of Bitlîs, addressed to his birthplace, I was unfortunate to find any original source; [47] These poems are originally given in the *Sharaf-nâma* (Nizâmî Ganjawî, 2002, 276); [48] Sharaf Khân truly attributed the poetry to unidentified *dîwân* of Hâtîfî. These *bayts* could be extrapolated by the *Timûrnâma* frequently quoted by later authors, according to Michele Bernardini (private communication, June 2011); [49] For the full version of the *qaşîda* by Kamâl Ismâ‘îl Işfahânî (d.628/1230-31 or 639/1241-42), see his *dîwân* (Işfahânî, fols.194v.-195r.) which originally runs as follows: *basî‘i-rûy-i zamîn bâz gashî âbâdân...* etc. As it is also alluded by Sharaf Khân, Kamâl Ismâ‘îl, known for his mastery of the panegyric, has also been called Khallâq al-Ma‘ânî ‘creator of intricate meanings’; [50] It does not seem to be included in Işfahânî’s *Dîwân*, MS 39624, Majlis Library, mentioned previously; [51] It is taken from *Urang-i Panjum, Yûsuf wa Zulaykhâ* (Jâmî, n.d., 719); [52] Our text attributes these poems to Temür when certain dispatches passed between him and the Ottoman Sultan Bâyezîd. The complete discussion about the letters from Temür to Bâyezîd, requiring that no shelter shall be afforded to Qarâ-Quyûnlû Qarâ Yûsuf (d.7 Dhu al-Qa‘da 823/13 November 1420), is given in Browne (2002, iii, 203-06); [53] This *bayt* is originally given in *Gulistân, Bâb 3* (Sa‘dî, 2002, 100); [54] This *bayt* is borrowed from *Laylî wa Majnûn* (Nizâmî Ganjawî, 2005, 87); [55] Part of a Turkish *ghazal* by Maḥmûd Ughlî which I could not find in the Turkish collections; [56] Originally cited in *Gulistân, Bâb 1* (Sa‘dî, 2002, 33); [57] Also borrowed from *Bûstân, Bâb 5* (Sa‘dî, 2002, 314); [58] Cited from the *Ghazalîyyât* by Hâfîz (1992, 282); [59] A poem attributed to Hâfîz (Wâla Dâghastânî, 2005, i, 618); though I was unable to find any reference in the edition used here; [60] Borrowed from Sa‘dî’s introduction to his *Bûsân, bayts* 20 and 21; [61] These are taken from *Sharaf-nâma* (Nizâmî Ganjawî, 2002, 5); [62] Borrowed from *Ghazal-hâ-yi Hâfîz* (Hâfîz, 1992, 325); [63] This verse, as *Tadhkira-yi Rîyâd al-Shu‘arâ* (Wâla Dâghastânî, 2005, iii, 1651) mentions, is from *dîwân* of Qâḍî Aḥmad Faḡārî, a native of Isfarâ‘în, in northern Khurāsân, and a contemporary of the Şafawid Ṭahmâsp I; [64] This *bayt*, so far as I am aware, imitated the poem by little known poet Sûsanî, of Qarâ-Quyûnlû Turkish origin to whom *Tuḥfa-yi Sāmî* devotes an article containing the *bayt* cited in our chronicle (Sām Mîrzâ Şafawî, 2005, 359); [65] Given originally with very slight variations in *Laylî wa Majnûn* (Nizâmî Ganjawî, 2005, 264); [66] Sharaf Khân expresses his own education in this poem with an autobiography of Jâmî, entitled ‘rashaḡ bi sharḡ-i ḡâl’, of whom Sharaf Khân never spoke. It has many defects: the numeration of the verses differ from that of Jâmî, the dates indicating Jâmî’s own life are completely omitted etc. Details in *Dîwân* (Jâmî, 2001, 76-79); [67] It was impossible to find these lines

in the Tehran complete edition of Jāmī's poems; [68] It is taken from *Urang-i Haftum, Khirad-nāma-yi Iskandarī*, by Jāmī (n.d., 922-23), containing totally 39 *bayts*; [69] There is almsot no doubt that the present poem is by Sharaf Khān himself; [70] Alluding to *Qur'ān*, 10:14; [71] 17:70; [72] 19:57; [73] 17:70; [74] 49:13; [75] The *ḥadīth* used is *kuntu nabīyyan wa Ādamu bayn al-mā'i wa al-ṭīn*, but it is also mentioned as *kuntu nabīyyan wa Ādamu bayn al-rūḥi wa al-jasad* in traditional collections. Compare *Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr fī Aḥādīth al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr* (Suyūfī, 1899, ii, 97); [76] 21:10; [77] 17:1; [78] 53:17; [79] The reference here is to a very well-known *ḥadīth*, known as *ikhtisāṣ*, regarding Prophet's private encounters with God. Its complete version, which recurs throughout a large part of the Islamic literature, is as follows: *lī ma'a Allāh waqtun lā yasa'unī fīhi malakun muqarrabun wa lā nabīyyun mursalun*; [80] 12:111; [81] 2:286; [82] 5:120; [83] For the early original references to this *ḥadīth*, see *Bihār al-Anwār* (Majlisī, n.d., lxiii, 73 and ciii, 83-84); [84] A composition of two Qur'ānic verses: 5:1 and 14:27; [85] Sharaf Khān is in error in mentioning the present *āya*. For the correct form, see 3:17 and compare also 51:18; [86] 59:2; [87] 2:249; [88] This classical proverb is taken from a poetry which its complete form runs as follows:

Faqltu lilqalbi tasalli wastarih

Wa man najā bi-ra'sihi faqad rabiḥa

Details in *Majma' al-Amthāl* (Maydānī, 1889, 169); [89] 89:27-28; [90] 28:77; [91] 8:75; [92] 3:159; [93] 3:159; [94] 24:37; [95] Compare equally 2:144; 2:149; 2:150; [96] 3:97; [97] 3:97; [98] 2:200; [99] 21:93; [100] 35:32; [101] One should undoubtedly emend this proverb to read *al-ḍarūrātu tubīḥa al-mahḍūrāt*: (Ma'lūf, 1995, 997); [102] For a context and *ḥadīth* like ours it may be useful to compare Bitlīsī, *Hasht Bihisht*, fol.143v.; [103] A very popular saying which frequently mentioned in the Arabic collections (Maydānī, 1889, 40); [104] 27:17; [105] 4:143; [106] 74:50-51; [107] 28:88; [108] Compare 28:70 and also 28:88; [109] Compare 4:128. It was also used as a proverb (taken from *Qur'ān*) in Islamic folklore and literature; [110] Compare 36:82. It is not precisely the same used in *Qur'ān*; [111] 12:87; [112] 52:24; [113] 37:45-46; [114] 3:26; [115] 2:213; [116] 12:84; [117] 40:64; [118] An Arabic proverb originally mentioned as both *ākhiru al-dawā'i al-kayy* and *ākhiru al-dawā'i al-kuyy* (ibn Manzūr, 1986, xii, 197); [119] A complete version is given in *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Ghazālī, n.d., 294): *inna Allāha khammara ṭīnata ādama bi-yadihi arba'īna ṣabāḥan*; [120] 21:107; [121] 3:128; [122] 69:21-22; [123] An alternative version of this proverb is given in *Amthāl wa Ḥikam* (Dihkhudā, 2004, iv, 1942).

4. CONCLUSION

My conclusion is that we should understand *Sharaf-nāma* historically as consisting in fidelity to the principles of *adīb*. So understanding it, we have a relatively sharp critical tool for deciding which was and which was not a correct citation despite author's silence or even unawareness that where the original citation is mentioned. Unquestionably, the most important section in this regard is Persian citation. Due to its close association with the Persian literature and language, the *Sharaf-nāma* prevented Turkish poetry and citations. This theme is also highly scanty regarding the impact of Arabic literature on the text. The impact of Arabic upon Sharaf Khān's language ability is, in my opinion, very poor. It is Sharaf Khān's knowledge of classical Arabic which should be somewhat highlighted. Poor mentioning even among text's Qur'ānic citations may show that particularly the Arabic (non-Qur'ānic) citations are very possibly copied from other sources.

A further, obvious but important point may be added. Sharaf Khān's possible theses regarding the structure of the fragments cited from other sources-their identity and non-identity in reflection, remain merely paradoxical or metaphorical if not read as a short part of previous longer quotations of the earlier writers. If one would check the classical sources used in the *Sharaf-nāma* and the complete form of the citations, he sometimes encounter different semantics from what Sharaf Khān's had in mind. If this seems surprising, in view of Sharaf Khān's not seeming to share the basic aims of classical poets and authors, the answer is, I suggest, that although Sharaf Khān is sometimes generally interested in oppositions rather than unities, the status of his oppositions-their *internal* and *constitutive* character-puts them on historical par with the unities of Sharaf Khān personal (and sometimes Kurdish) idealism. Thus, a literary anthology of the citations in the text that excluded Sharaf Khān's priority of the citation is probably suspected.

On this reading of Sharaf Khān's literary project, Sharaf Khān was neither an analytic *adīb* nor a critic, but instead a pioneering Kurdish historian, intent upon elevating history from its harsh and stiff status and placing it upon the popular path of what has been called 'attractiveness of literature'. While Sharaf Khān remained committed to disturbing these citations for abbreviated use, within the chronicle they sometimes took the form of descriptive literary citations.

Finally, on the present reading we must be willing to admit that there are significant discontinuities between the citations given in the *Sharaf-nāma* and the original variants. However, these discontinuities are not always evidence of Sharaf

Khān's abandonment of mentioning the classical sources in the correct and entire form. Sometimes the problem is the defective manuscripts and untrustworthy variants that Sharaf Khān had access to them at the time. *And* what contemporary exponents of *Sharaf-nāma* studies should perhaps conclude from a study of the literature in the *Sharaf-nāma* is that, rather than standing in situation to edit, translate, and reproduce early editions again and again, one ought to be in the situation of the identification of what (both literary and historically) is mentioned.

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