Jan Schmidt

How to write Turkish? The Vagaries of the Arabo-Persian Script in Ottoman-Turkish Texts

Abstract: The chapter discusses the development of the orthography of Turkish texts in, what the Turks usually call 'the old script', i.e. the Arabo-Persian alphabet in its various forms as it appears in texts handwritten, printed and engraved, which were produced in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey before 1928.

1 Turkish (Turkic) texts before the Ottomans

Turkish has been written since the 8th century, perhaps even earlier, although no texts have survived from this earlier period. The first surviving texts were written in a 'runic' alphabet found on inscriptions in stone and on paper in Central Asia. It was based on the Aramaic alphabet in its Iranian form, possibly together with some letters adapted from the Greek (Hephtalite) alphabet, as Sir Gerard Clauson has suggested (Clauson 1970). This alphabet was in use for two centuries and was mainly employed for monumental inscriptions by local rulers who were part of the Göktürk ('Celestial Turkish') confederation.

With the rise of the Uighur Khanate (principality) from 742, a second alphabet, or rather a group of alphabets, came into existence. This used a cursive script that had its origin in the cursive Sogdian script,[1] which, in turn, was based on the Aramaic script. The script was mostly used for Christian, Manichaean and Buddhist texts. In 763, Manichaeism, spread by Sogdian preachers, was declared to be the state religion by the Uighur Khan, Bögü Kagan; after the fall of the Uighur Empire in the 840s, the Uighur Turks moved to the oases of eastern Turkestan. Some of them converted to Buddhism (and later to Islam). In the 13th century, Uighur Turks still played an important role as clerks, teachers and even ministers in the Mongol Empire, where the Uighur script also began to be used for Mongol

---

---

1 The Sogdians were an Iranian people from Central Asia, best known from their role as merchants on the Silk Road.

texts. Unlike the runic script, the Uighur script was not forgotten after the political power of the people who used the script had waned, but kept its prestige, even once also after most Turks had converted to Islam.

Surviving copies of an important Turkish text of the early Islamic period entitled *Kutadgu Bilig* ('Fortune-bringing Knowledge'), a work in the 'mirror of princes' genre from the 11th century written by Yusuf Khass Hacib of Balasagun for the Karakhanid prince of Kashgar, were not only written in Arabic, but also in the Uighur script. Later the script was still occasionally used in the chancelleries of the Timurids and Ottomans. The latest text in the script was perhaps the 'proclamation' meant as a political statement to other rulers of Turkish and Jingizid descent, in which the people of the *vilayet-i Rum* (Anatolia) were notified of the defeat of the Akkoyunlu prince Uzun Hasan at the hands of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1473 at the battle of Tercan (Otlukbeli). The text is preserved in the archives of Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

With the adoption of Islam, the Arabic alphabet began to be used for texts in the Turkic languages of Central Asia. This was particularly stimulated by the voluntary conversion to Islam of the aforementioned Karakhanid dynasty in 960 (the dynasty ruled from 840 to 1212 in Turkestan). During their rule, Mahmud al-Kashgari, possibly a member of the ruling dynasty, wrote a work on the Turkish language in Arabic for the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad, which was entitled *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* ('Compendium of Turkish Dialects'). This was in the 1070s.

In the period between the 11th and 13th century, Turkish (Turkic) hardly appeared at all as a written language in the Islamic domain. This changed in the 13th century, albeit hesitantly at first, when Turkish (Turkic) began to be written again in Anatolia, where the Ottoman state had its cradle during the later years of the Rum-Seljuk sultanate. The Seljuks, despite their Turkic background, had used Persian as their official language ever since it had begun to dominate the area in the 11th century. The power of the sultanate slowly crumbled and a number of small principalities arose, including the Ottoman realm, which ultimately took its place. Its rulers began to use Turkish – or, to be more specific, 'West Oghuz Turkic', the language spoken by the Turks who had migrated south-westwards into the area over the previous centuries – as their language of administration. 'There was then', in the words of Celia Kerslake (Kerslake 1998, 179), 'a concomitant upsurge of Turkish literary activity, much of it religious-didactic in character and often consisting of translation or adaption from Persian'. In the early period, before about 1300, this literature still showed evidence of linguistic influence from the older Karakhanid literary tradition, but that impact disappeared soon afterwards. What these early texts shared was a tendency to use – in the Uighur way – a spelling which employed very few vowels, whereas later Ottoman texts, appearing after approximately 1500, were written in a more explicit spelling.

2 Turkish texts in the Ottoman Empire

With the transformation of the Ottoman principality, which was founded around 1300, into a regional empire 'the Ottoman court and ruling class acquired a consciousness of imperial power [and] certain stylistic registers emerged – in which [written Turkish] was all but submerged beneath a heavy overlay of Arabic and Persian elements. These reflected the dominance of Arabic and Persian in the Islamic high culture and learning which the Ottoman elite sought to emulate and advance' (Kerslake 1998,179–180). These Arabic and Persian elements were not restricted to lexical features but included grammatical and syntactic ones as well. This went so far, in fact, that some works penned in this elevated literary style in the 17th century, when the development reached its peak, look like Persian texts with a Turkish conjunction or verb here and there. The spelling of these Arabic and Persian elements remained unchanged, but in some popular texts written by less well-educated people (and which often had their origins in oral literature), one sometimes finds orthographic adaptations based on the pronunciation of such foreign elements by Turks (see below for an example).

As for the orthography of the Turkish elements, no consensus was reached among writers and copyists about the right form, so it remained inconsistent. Only during the period of reform in the 19th century when manuscripts were replaced by printed texts were the first attempts made 'to define and regularize the language', in particular for didactic purposes. Reform also meant reform of public education, and Turkish became part of the curriculum in elementary and secondary schools for the very first time. The language was now specifically called 'Ottoman Turkish' (Kerslake 1998, 180) and developed into something resembling standard Turkish.

So, unlike Arabic, literary Turkish was not pressed into a 'classic' or 'standard' Turkish at an early stage. The spelling of the Turkish elements in the language in the older period was influenced by various complicating (and little-studied) factors, such as regional differences in the spoken language. The expansion of the Ottoman state and the migration of Turkish-speaking subjects within its expanding borders, which came to include North Africa, the Near East and southeastern Europe, meant that the kind of Turkish spoken in Niksar in 1500 must have been different from Turkish spoken in Sarajevo the same year. Another factor was the 'natural' development of Ottoman Turkish: Turkish spoken in Niksar in 1500 certainly was different from Turkish spoken in the same town in 1820. Change in the language, such as the gradual change in the system of vowel harmony, did not always lead to a change of spelling (a phenomenon also known in English and other languages), hence the orthography of late Ottoman Turkish contained a number of archaisms (see below).

To a small extent, spelling was also influenced by the non-Ottoman Turkic language Chagatai (literary eastern Turkic), represented for example by the works of the Timurid scholar and poet Ali Shir Nawa'i (15th century), and literary Azeri Turkish also had an impact, represented first and foremost by the poet Fuzuli (16th century). These poets were admired by Ottoman literati and their work was even considered to be part of the Ottoman literary canon by some of them. A number of odd particularities in the spelling of certain Ottoman Turkish suffixes have been attributed to this influence.

These elements complicated the standardisation of Ottoman orthography, but that is not to say that chaos ruled. By approximately 1500, when old Ottoman Turkish had developed into early modern ('middle') Ottoman Turkish, a preferred way of writing the language adhered to by most authors and scribes emerged. In the 16th century, the court in Istanbul (established in 1453) became the dominant centre of literary culture (Hazai 2012). Perusing Ottoman manuscript texts written or copied between, say, the late 15th and early 20th centuries makes it abundantly clear that, with a few exceptions, the spelling of the Turkish lexical elements is quite consistent and variation is only marginal. The exceptions here, again, are mostly the few surviving manuscripts produced by less well-educated authors/scribes. As Mehmet Yastı has shown, in such literature, there could be a wide range of orthographic inconsistencies even within one manuscript. In a copy of a work entitled *Esrarü l-Arifin*, a didactic piece on mysticism in simple Turkish by a certain Seyfüllah Kasım el-Bağdadi, preserved in a copy made in 1498 and kept in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, the word *uçmak* ('to fly') was spelt in four different ways and the word *zira* ('because') in as many as five. The letters *cim* (ج) and *çim* (چ) were mixed up – one finds both *gece* and *geçe* ('night'), for instance. Emphatic and non-emphatic consonants could be alternated: the word *su* ('water') appeared either with a *sin* (س) or a *sad* (ص), defective *benüm* (بنم) is found alongside *plene benūm* (بنوم), etc. (Yastı 2010). Perhaps the need for consistent spelling was felt less by the author, because he vocalised the text completely and therefore reading problems hardly existed. An interesting later example is provided by the Leiden manuscript Or. 1551, the memoirs of a mercenary soldier composed in 1834, which survives in a unique but incomplete copy in a codex format that is different from 'normal' Ottoman texts (see Fig. 1). There are strong clues in the text indicating that the author, who may have been illiterate, dictated it to a scribe.

Fig. 1: Title page of the Leiden MS Or. 1551. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

The spelling of the Turkish words and the Arabic and Persian loanwords is highly erratic. Here are some examples (the column on the right gives the modern spelling in Latin script):

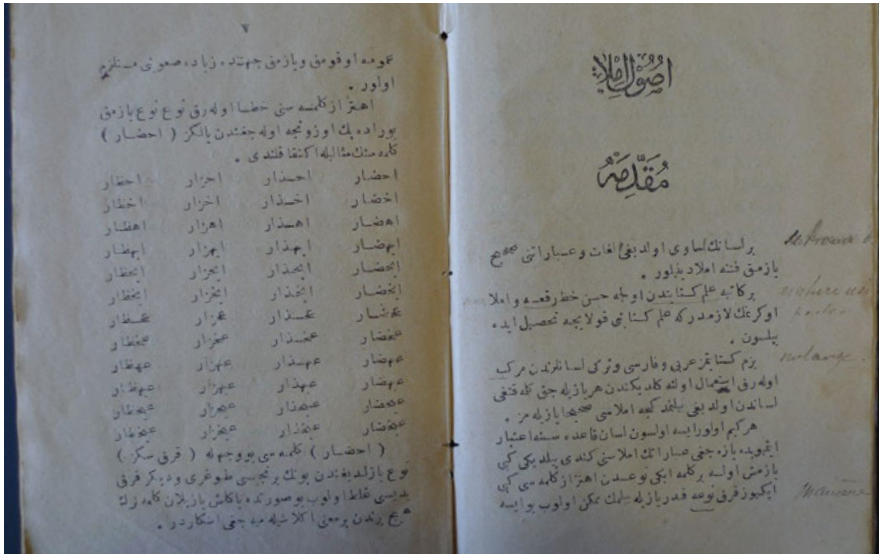| MS Or. 1551		Normal spelling		Modern Turkish spelling	
بك	<bk>	بيك	<byk>	*bin*	'thousand'
طفروج	<ṭfrwj>	تفرج (Ar.)	<tfrj>	*teferrüc*	'inspection'
ویلایتی	<wylʾyty>	ولایتی (Ar.+T.)	<wlʾyty>	*vilayeti*	'province'
تألف	<tʾʔlf>	تألیف (Ar.)	<tʾʔlyf>	*te'lif*	'author'

Fig. 2: Opening pages of *Usul-ı imla*. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

During the period of reform, especially after 1908 when the Young Turks came to power, attempts were made to formalise the existing tendency to standardisation by publishing spelling manuals.[2] At least one of these was issued by the Ministry of Education on behalf of the Grammar and Orthography Committee (in 1917–19).[3] An earlier example, probably the first of its genre and intended for use by professional clerks, was Mehmed Raşid's *Usul-ı imla* ('Principles of Orthography') from 1886 (Fig. 2).[4] In the introduction, the author expresses his hope that the book will help the reader to avoid using idiosyncratic spellings of Turkish words and making spelling mistakes in Arabic and Persian loanwords; these would harm their professional reputation and even put them to shame ('*muharririnin fazl u kemaletine elbette nakise tiraş eder... belki hacaletini mucib olur*', pp. 3–4). To illustrate a particularly dramatic example of the way in which Arabic loanwords used to be misspelt, he presents a list of 48 orthographic variants of the word *ihzar* ('preparation') in the Preface, only one of which was correct (p. 7).

---

2 See under 'İmlâ' and 'Usul-ı imlâ' in Özege 1971–79.

3 Analysed in Gümüş 2008.

4 The year is mentioned in the Leiden University Library catalogue; Özege's bibliography does not mention a year of publication, nor is one found in the book itself. The author, as he explains in the introduction, was a teacher of calligraphy and orthography at the Naval Academy (Mekteb-

3 The orthography of Ottoman Turkish

So far, we have looked at some of the major tendencies in the development of Ottoman Turkish orthography. But how did the Turks adapt the Arabo-Persian alphabet to spell their own language? One problem here was that the Arabic script, like the Aramaic-based Uighur script, contains, to put it simply, too many consonants and too few vowels to do the job well. Basically (and ignoring historical, regional and other nuances for a moment), Ottoman Turkish contains twenty consonants and eight vowels, whereas the Arabo-Persian script has 31 consonantal graphemes and three vowel graphemes (the latter also functioning as consonants). Aesthetic value aside, in the words of Geoffrey Lewis (Lewis 2010, 27), 'there is nothing to be said in favour of the Arabo-Persian alphabet as a medium for writing Turkish'. There were various ways of dealing with the lack of vowels: (1) not to write any at all, (2) to use the three main (long) vowels in Arabic, *alif*, *wāw* and *yāʾ*, to indicate a/e, o/ö/u/ü and i/ay/ey respectively, or (3) to use superfluous 'emphatic' (velar) consonants for indicating unwritten 'back vowels' (a, o, u and ı) and non-emphatic consonants for indicating 'front vowels' (e, ö, ü, i). The matter was complicated further by the letter *kāf*, which could represent g, k, n, v or y (g and n in more *plene* texts could be specified by an extra slanting dash گ or three dots respectively). As a result, and in conjunction with the occurrence of a plethora of Arabic and Persian loanwords in most texts, many equivocal readings were possible: اولو may be read as Turkish *ulu* 'great', *ulu* (Arabic: 'possessors') or ölü 'dead', *evli* 'married', *avlu* 'courtyard' or *avlı* 'stocked with game'. دول can be *döl* 'progeny', *dul* 'widowed' or *düvel* (Arabic: 'states'). کل can be *gel* 'come', *gül* 'smile', *kel* 'scabby', *kel* (Arabic: 'lassitude'), *kül* 'ashes', *küll* (Arabic: 'all'), *gil* (Persian: 'clay') or *gül* (Persian: 'rose'. More reading problems arose because scribes and printers were not always careful about word divisions: بوسنه could stand for *bu sene* 'this year' or *Bosna* 'Bosnia', for instance.[5] Retention of archaic spellings or adoption of Chagatai usage caused words like ايو to be read as *iyi* 'good' long after ceasing to be pronounced '*eyü*' (the word *evli* just mentioned belonged in the same category, being spelt <evlw>) and کوپری (*köpri*, 'bridge') was to be read as *köprü*.

In order to fix some of the existing drawbacks, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, ideas were launched for modifying the alphabet and/or changing the orthography of certain words, particularly by writing more *plene*, that is, using more letters per syllable, and more phonetically, e.g. by replacing *eyü* by *iyi* (ایی) and *köpri* by *köprü* (کوپرو).

---

i Bahriye) in Istanbul and had composed the treatise for his students. He claimed that it was the first publication of its kind.

5 These examples are taken from Lewis 2010, 27–28.
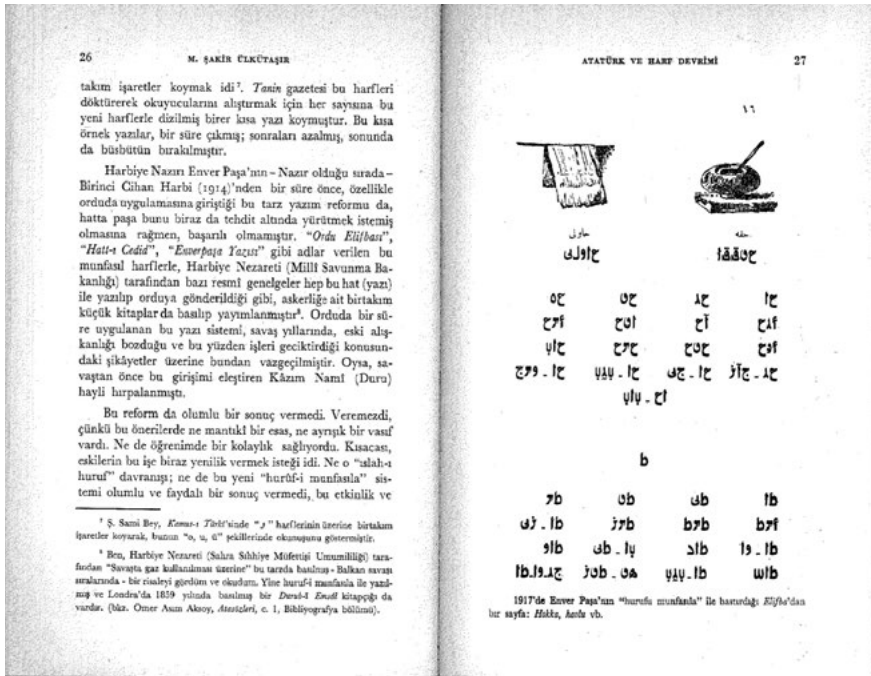
Fig. 3: 'Simplified' spelling initiated by Enver Pasha, early 20th century. The two illustrated words on the top right-hand page are *havlu* 'towel' and *hokka* 'inkpot'. (From M. Şakir Ülkütaşır', *Atatürk ve harf devrimi*, Ankara 1974).

In order to overcome the shortcomings of the script, the statesman and intellectual Münif Pasha suggested in 1862 that diacritics – both existing and newly invented ones – should be used to compensate for the deficiencies in existing spelling or that the letters should be written separately, which would avoid the need for more than one form of a letter. A year later, the Azerbaijani scholar Feth-Ali Ahundzade held a public lecture in Istanbul in which he proposed to invent new letters to indicate vowels. None of these plans came to much, however, although in at least one major publication, Şemsüddin Sami's famous encyclopaedia, *Kamus*, from 1901, three diacritics were used to distinguish between o, ü and ö (normally all indicated by a و). During this late period, the notion of writing the letters separately resurfaced. A serious attempt to implement the idea was made by Enver Pasha, the politician and member of the ruling triumvirate, between 1913 and 1917; he especially intended to simplify the work of military telegraphists, and various texts produced by the Ministry of

War were consequently published in the new script (see Fig. 3).[6] None of these steps proved to be adequate or even acceptable, though, and the Arabo-Persian script was eventually given up altogether (in 1928).

As regards the various styles of scripts, in what follows, I will only discuss the types most commonly found and not indulge in calligraphic finesses and the nuances of sub-types, which are often difficult for the non-specialist to distinguish.[7]

4 Ottoman scripts: variation in the outward appearance of letters and their use

Along with the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures, the Ottomans inherited a manuscript culture from their predecessors, the Turkish principalities (emirates) in Anatolia, which in part were inheritors of the Seljuks. As far as I can tell, the Ottomans adopted the culture almost wholesale and, apart from making modifications to some of the inherited types of script and an additional language, Turkish, did not alter it or add to it much.

The most widely used type was, doubtless, *naskhī* (or *nesih* in Turkish) (see Fig. 4). This was chosen for works of prose, which also encompassed religious and scholarly texts including the Qur'an, and for histories, collections of stories and other such accounts. Legend has it that the script was invented by Ibn Muqla (d. 940). It was the most readable script of all at the time and was meant to furnish easy access to texts. Used in conjunction with diacritical marks, mostly employed in religious writings meant for a broader readership, it gave little room for error or misinterpretation. Its forms hardly changed over the centuries. It was also predominantly used in printed books, journals and newspapers from the mid-18th century onwards.

A larger and more artistic variant of *nesih* was called *thuluth* (*sülüs*). It was sometimes used for book or chapter titles or religious formulae, like the *bismillah* in Ottoman manuscripts, but is rarely encountered in archival documents (where *nesih*, *divani* and *rik'a* predominate; see below). The script was mostly used for large inscriptions in and on public buildings like mosques and endowment libraries and is often found in calligraphic albums as well.

---

6 Ibid., 28–29.

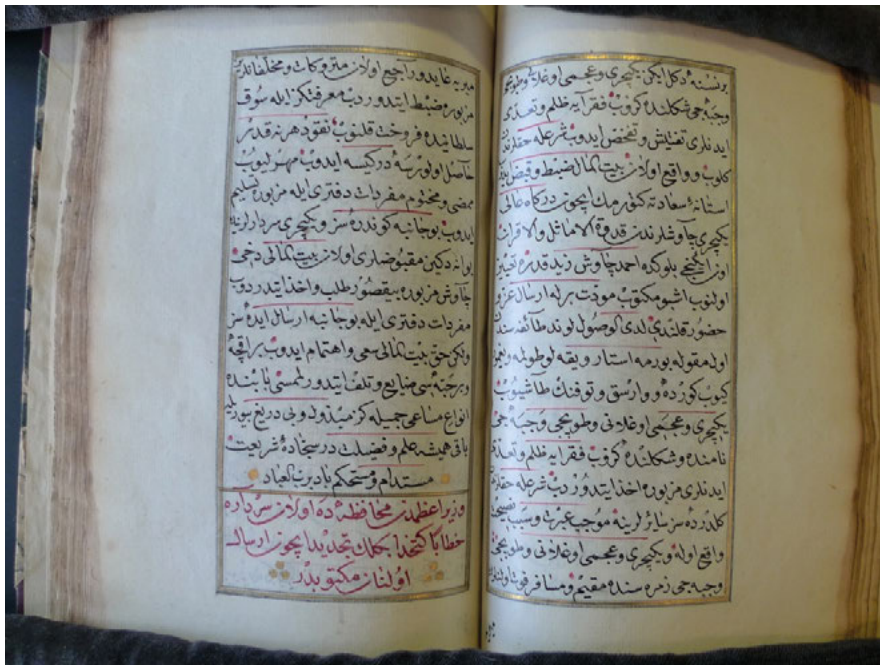**7** In what follows, I rely mostly on Aktan 1995, 31–72.

Fig. 4: Two pages from a multiple-text manuscript with text in ornamental *nesih*, 17th century. Leiden University Library, MS Or. 12.411. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

A script of Persian origin – tradition has it that it was introduced into the Ottoman Empire by Persian calligraphers during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror – also used what was known as *taʿlīq* (literally meaning 'suspension' in Arabic and called *nastaʿlīq* in Persian) (see Fig. 5). This became widely used in Ottoman manuscripts containing collections of poetry and other texts in the genre of *belles lettres*. It was also chosen for documents produced by the religious administration, such as charters of pious endowments and court registers. In its calligraphic (*celi*) variant, it is found on signboards and inscriptions on monuments and buildings which were part of pious endowments, such as mosques, religious schools (*medrese*s), libraries and fountains; these texts are often in the artistic form of poems. The opposite of calligraphic *taʿlīq* is called *şikeste* (*shikastah* in Persian, literary meaning 'broken' and a 'sloppy', irregular version of the script), which was used for informal letters and notes by private individuals who did not want or need to spend time writing particularly neatly. It was not used much in the Ottoman Empire where more casual, idiosyncratic versions of *rikʿa*, to which I will return later, were preferred.
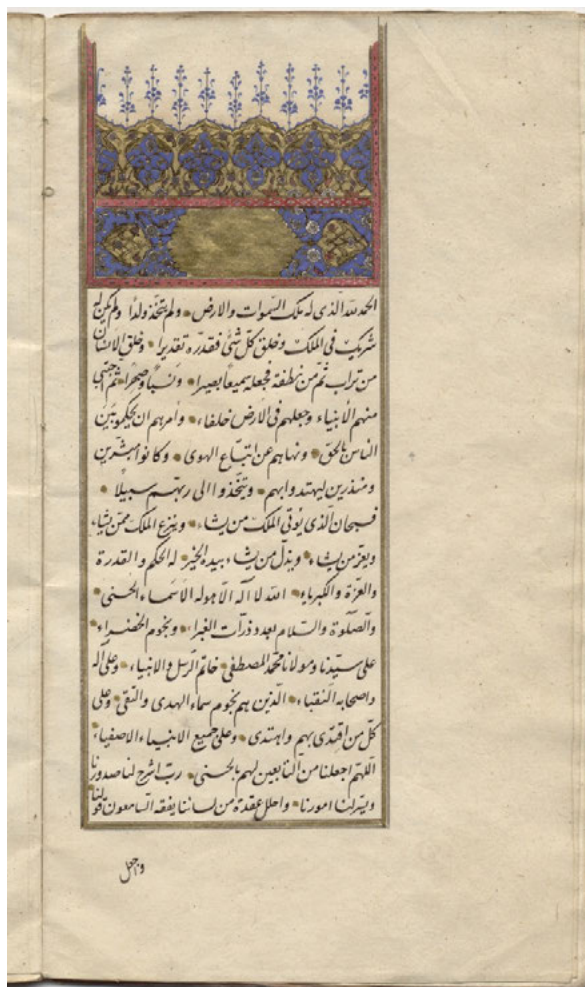
Fig. 5: Opening page of an Ottoman 'mirror for princes' with text in *taʿlīq*, 17th century. Leiden University Library, MS Or. 625. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

There were two scripts which were almost exclusively used in the Ottoman bureaucracy. They shared the feature of irregular ligatures, meaning that in principle all the letters could be connected. Firstly, there was *siyakat* (*siyāqah* in Arabic), a defective script (dots are generally left out) expressing a specialised, encoded Arabo-Persian terminology used in the financial administration and inherited from the Seljuks (see Fig. 6).
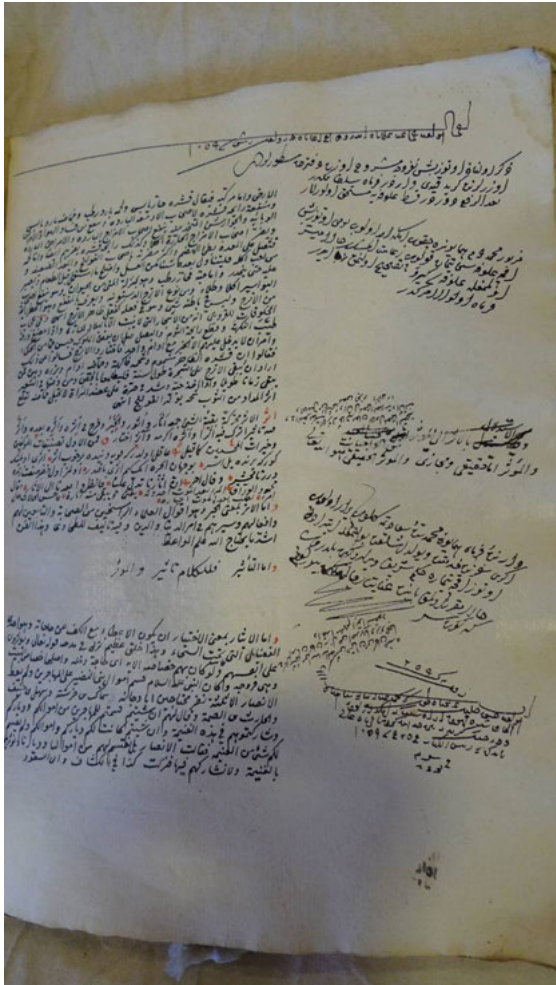
Fig. 6: A composite manuscript, 16th century, with marginal notes, partly in *siyakat* script. Leiden University Library, MS Or. 644, fol. 43b. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

This was used for financial documents produced by various state institutions, including land registers, cadastral entries, parts of deeds of pious endowments and military records. To complicate matters (and increasing its illegibility for the uninitiated), the script changed greatly over time (which was hardly the case with the other Ottoman scripts – why this was so is unknown). The script also used special numbers consisting of Arabic letters meant to avoid falsification. *Siyakat* was abandoned during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Secondly, there was *divani* ('pertaining to the Council of State', also known as *dīwānī*), a calligraphic script used in official documents such as sultans' edicts (*fermans*), state letters and ministerial registers. This was invented by the Ottomans, although its origin is obscure (according to the polyhistor Mustafa Âli (d. 1600), it was developed from a *taʿlik*-like Persian script); it first appears in the 15th century in official documents and reached its full (classic) development in the 18th century. Like *siyakat*, the script was rarely printed. This may have had something to do with its illegibility for the lay reader. (Occasionally, *divani* was used for other genres as well (see Fig. 7); because the Dutch pastor and Orientalist Johannes Heyman (d. 1737) had texts copied by the Dutch consular secretary at Izmir, who normally used *divani*, some manuscripts in his library – now kept by the Leiden University Library – contain texts written in *divani*, a number of which are literary pieces.)

Finally, there was a widely used script called *rikʿa* (or *ruqʿa*, originally an Arabic term meaning a piece of paper or a brief message, among other things) (see Fig. 8). It was basically a simplified and more easily legible *divani* which had the practical advantage that it could be written quickly because of the large number of ligatures it contained. It was an Ottoman invention, appearing for the first time in 16th-century records, and eventually developed into a separate script in the 17th century. *Rikʿa* came to full fruition in the 19th century and was later adopted by Arabs and Persians alike. It was adopted widely in the Ottoman bureaucracy and became the predominant script for personal use in the late 18th century, when it also began to be used in manuscripts with texts in various genres. It was sometimes, albeit rarely, printed or used for inscriptions on seal rings or medallions, for instance. It is perhaps the only Ottoman script still used in Turkey today – by very old people who received their elementary education before 1928, which was when the Arabo-Persian scripts were abandoned by the government (suppressed, in fact) and the Latin alphabet was made compulsory for public use.
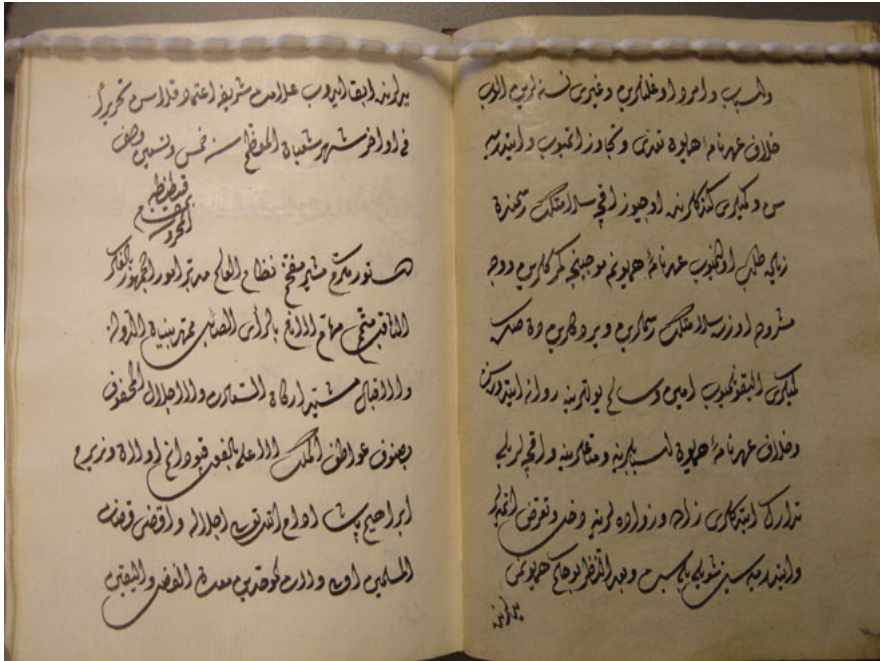
Fig. 7: Two pages from a multiple-text manuscript compiled by Johannes Heyman with texts in *divani* script, late 17th century. Leiden University Library, MS Ac. 87. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

5 Conclusion

So far, a few remarks have been made on the spelling of Turkish and the most common types of script found in Ottoman manuscripts, including archival documents. Little research has been done on aspects of Ottoman Turkish orthography as yet and we are far from having a comprehensive study on its history at our disposal. This is no surprise in view of the fact that our knowledge of the historical development of the Ottoman Turkish language is still rudimentary (not least, paradoxically, because linguists are mostly dependent on texts in a defective script produced by and for an urban elite). In this paper, I have largely based my findings on my own limited experience as a reader of Ottoman manuscripts and printed texts.
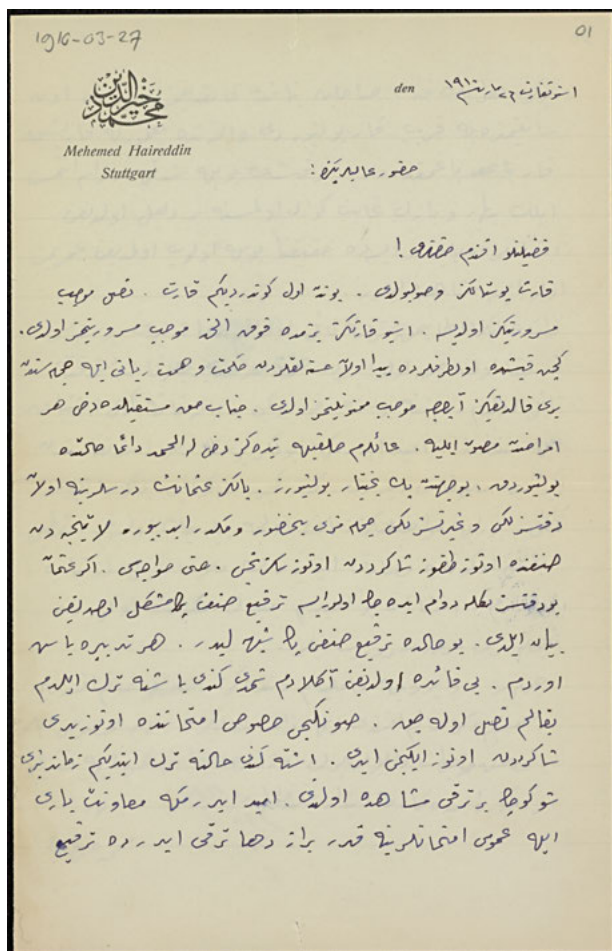
Fig. 8: A letter from Mehmed Hayrüddin in Stuttgart to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden, *rik'a* script, 1910. Leiden University Library, Or. 8952. © Courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

As for the central theme of this collective volume, standardisation, I would say that a tendency towards standardisation is visible in Ottoman texts written between 1300 and 1928, with the exception of texts produced outside the main-stream genres, but it was never actually formalised. Once the Ottoman Empire was securely established around the dynastic court in Istanbul in 1453 and early modern Turkish had replaced old Turkish around 1500, the spelling of texts – at least those serving the literary elite – began to become relatively stable. As far as I am aware, there were no religious or – before 1908 – political incentives, let alone

a state policy, that contributed to this development. Manuscript production was diffuse, that is, it was not concentrated in one or a few workshops, at least outside the palace and the state bureaucracy. As far as we can tell from colophons in manuscripts, the copying of texts was a thoroughly decentralised and individual activity. Publishing as a commercial activity only came with printing in the 19ᵗʰ century and will inevitably have contributed to standardisation even further. The formats used for manuscripts did not influence spelling, it seems.

For most Ottomans, formats and the aesthetic aspect of the script in its various styles seem to have been more important than the way in which words were spelt, and they continued to develop the shape of the letters and their ligatures in the footsteps of the Seljuks before them, in particular. Calligraphy was considered to be one of the highest forms of art, if not an esoteric science, compared to which mere orthography was insignificant.

References

Aktan, Ali (1995), *Osmanlı paleografyası ve siyasî yazışmaları*, Istanbul: Osmanlılar İlim ve İrfan Vakfı.

Clauson, Sir Gerard (1970), 'The origin of the Turkish "runic" alphabet', in *Acta Orientalia*, XXXII: 51–76.

Gümüş, Zehra (2008), 'Sarf ve Imlâ Encümeni'nin "Usûl-ı imlâ" isimli eseri ve imlâ meselerimiz', in *Turkish Studies*, 3/6: 289–305.

Hazai, György (2012), 'La place du XIVe siècle dans l'évolution de la langue turque', in Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Simone-Christiane Rachmann et al. (eds), *Monumenta et Studia Turcologica: Ausgewählte Schriften von György Hazai*. Berlin: Klaus Schwartz, 250–266.

Kerslake, Celia (1998), 'Ottoman Turkish', in Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds), *The Turkish Languages*. London, New York: Routledge, 179–202.

Lewis, Geoffrey (2010) (reprint), *The Turkish Language Reform. A Catastrophic Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Özege, M. Seyfettin (1971–1979), '*Eski harflerle basılmış Türkçe eserler kataloğu*', 5 vols, Istanbul.

Sâmî, Şemseddin (1317 [1901]), *Kamus-u türkı; kâffe-i lûgāt-i türkiye ile lisan-ı türkı'de müstamel kelimat ve ııstııla-hat-ı arabiye ve farisiye ve ecnebiyeyi cami olarak lisanımızın mükemmel lûgat kitabıdır*. Deri-Saadet, İkdam Matbaası.

Yastı, Mehmet (2010), 'Esrârü 'l-'Arifîn ve İmla Özellikleri Üzerine Bir Değlendirme', in *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 28: 69–107.