

PERSIAN LITERATURE

A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

VOLUME V
POETRY OF THE PRE-MONGOL PERIOD

by
FRANÇOIS DE BLOIS

SECOND, REVISED EDITION



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The present fifth volume of the survey of Persian literature is devoted to poetry down to the Mongol invasion. Volume VI, which, it is hoped, will follow in due course, will continue the history of poetry from the time of Sa'dī and Rūmī onwards. The decision to devote at least two volumes to this, the most important genre of Persian writing, is a departure from the original plan; it was dictated by the great mass of material, but also by the insistent request of several readers for an index of what has been covered up till now. The change in programme has led to certain inconsistencies within the book, the most noticeable of which is doubtless the fact that the general bibliography (p. 3-18) contains a fair number of titles that are never actually cited, as they are relevant only for the later periods.

In preparing this volume I have been able to use a certain amount of material left behind by C.A. Storey, in particular his handwritten lists of the older editions and translations of most of the *dīwāns* and *math-nawāts* discussed in these pages, a small number of references to biographical sources and a card-index of the older catalogues of Persian manuscripts. However, because of the wealth of information contained in the old catalogues (especially those by Rieu, Ethé, Pertsch and Sprenger) I have chosen to re-index almost all of the catalogues consulted by Storey, as well as those published after his death, and have used the cards only to double-check the entries, for which purpose they have proved very valuable. For the biographies I must bear sole responsibility.

The selection of authors to be included has not been easy. Although Storey, in the previous volumes, in general discussed only works that are actually extant (following in this, as in much else, the excellent model of Brockelmann's history of Arabic literature), it seemed to me that, at least for the earliest period of Persian poetry, it would be useful to attempt a relatively comprehensive survey of all the poets of whose work anything remains, however slight this might be. This seemed all the more necessary as a distinction between authors of 'extant *dīwāns*' and poets 'without a *dīwān*' is a fairly artificial one, since many of the *dīwāns* of ancient poets are in fact fairly recent compilations; this question is discussed in some detail in Appendix IV. At the same time, limits have had to be set to the pretence of comprehensiveness, first of all by excluding all poets who are known only by name, but have not actually left us with any verses; this is bio-bibliography and not a

prosopography of Persian poetry. Second, the selection has been restricted to authors writing in what can roughly be called standard literary Persian; dialect poets, apart from the famous names of Bābā Ṭāhir and Bundar, have been excluded, though this was perhaps a mistake. Third, except in the very earliest period, so-called occasional poets have, in general, been excluded and the selection limited to more or less professional men (and women) of letters. For example, I have thought it of little use to list the various local notables who are enumerated, together with a meagre sample of their verses, in Ibn Funduq's *Tārīkh i Baihaq*, except in the very few cases where these people are mentioned also in some other source. To be sure, some doubtless equally obscure authors have been given entries, but it is impossible to be entirely consistent in this matter.

The entries follow a standard tripartite scheme: biography, codicology (where codices exist) and bibliography. The biographies are obviously the most important part and they differ, I think, from those in all previous histories of Persian literature in that they have been compiled on the basis of primary sources, and not on that of the unreliable, or indeed mendacious, 'biographical' compendia of the Timurid period and later. More on the value of the individual sources, and on the selection of the poets included, will be found in the notes at the beginning of chapters two and three.

The codicological sections are the least satisfactory ones. In the course of the work it became increasingly clear that the declared intention of publishing 'the most complete possible inventory of manuscripts, printed (or lithographed) editions, prose and verse translations (of entire works or of substantial extracts)', as rashly promised in *JRAS* 1990, p. 371, was neither feasible nor would such a 'complete' inventory have served any useful purpose. In the case, for example, of the *dīwāns* of the more popular poets, there is really no point in listing hundreds of manuscripts from the 18th and 19th centuries and it would have been better to have restricted the selection from the outset to a selection of the oldest copies. Unfortunately the futility of the original plan only became evident after a fairly large part of this volume had been written, and, although in the latter half of the volume the codicology is more selective, even there there is much that should have been left out. It is hoped that the sixth volume will be more successful in this respect.

Manuscripts are listed under the name of the town where they are at present located (or of their last known location), arranged in roughly

geographical order from West to East, beginning with Europe, and then, within each locality, by date. Much space and effort could have been saved by quoting only the *hijrī* dates, and not converting them into Christian dates as well, but in this I have emulated Storey's practice in the previous volumes. For the actual conversion I have tried to follow a scientific principle and only offered a precise Julian or Gregorian equivalent in cases where the day of the week is indicated in the source; for details the reader is referred to the article 'Ta'rīkh' in *EL*². Dates not actually mentioned in the manuscripts are evident as such; if, for example, a manuscript has been attributed to the 16th century not on the basis of a colophon or of some other clear indication, but merely of a (however well-founded) deduction by the editor of the relevant catalogue it will be cited as belonging to the '16th century?' - with a question mark - or else no date will be suggested. The names of scribes are quoted from chapter III onwards, and then mostly only for the older manuscripts; this limits the usefulness of the relevant entries in the index, but I think these will not be entirely without value to students of codicology.

For the older printed editions from Iran it has seemed more prudent to refer once and for all to Mushār's bibliography (see below, p. 12) rather than copying out references to books that I have not seen. The Indian lithographs are cited mainly from Storey's notes, mostly based on the collections in the (then) British Museum and the India Office in London. Modern editions have been listed where they have come to my knowledge, but I am painfully aware of the gaps on the shelves of the libraries in post-colonial London.

The bibliographical sections are arranged chronologically and begin with references to the primary and other mediaeval sources. A fairly comprehensive listing of modern monographs has been attempted. Articles in journals or collective volumes are listed more selectively; in particular, those devoted primarily to the aesthetic appreciation of works of poetry or elucidating only a small number of individual passages are not in general included. Similarly, references to standard histories of Persian literature, such as those by Ethé, Browne, Shiblī, Rypka, Nafīsī, etc., have mostly been dispensed with, but I have given references to Ṣafā's big history cum anthology.

For the sake of consistency, the system of transliteration (or rather of partial transliteration and partial transcription) employed in the previous volumes of this survey has been retained, with minor altera-

tions: for purely typographical reasons the subscript lines under *sh*, etc., have had to be omitted, and the letters *ṭ* and *ẓ* appear with one, rather than two, subscript dots. The Persian final silent *hā* is, as before, transliterated as *-h*, but the particles *ba*, *bi* and *na* appear always without *-h*. I have conformed - but only under protest - with the usual - but absurd - orientalist practice of ignoring the *kasrah i idāfah* when it occurs in personal names, except in cases where the *idāfah* construction represents filiation; thus we write 'Nāṣir i Khusrau' and 'Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān', but (for example) 'Sa'īd Nafīsī'. The particle is, however, transliterated in names occurring in book-titles. The so-called *majhūl* vowels (*ē* and *ō*) are distinguished in classical Persian, Afghan and Indo-Persian names, titles and quotations, but not in references to modern Western Persian sources. Thus the name of the poet Rōdakī, when it occurs in a modern Iranian book-title, will be rendered as 'Rūdakī', an annoying, but, I think, unavoidable inconsistency. A purely scientific transcription of early Neo-Persian (to which I have aspired in other publications) would also require, for example, the use of *-dh* (or *ḍ*), rather than *-d*, after vowels or of the preposition '*pa*', rather than '*ba*', but I have thought it best not to inflict this on the readers of the present book. Similarly, no attempt has been made to indicate the metrical lengthening of final short vowels in verse quotations.

Turkish names and words which occur in texts in Arabic script have been transliterated, as far as the consonants are concerned, according to the same system, but the Turkish values have been used for the vowels. Plene spelling of the vowels is, as a rule, indicated by a macron, but for typographical reasons this has had to be omitted in the case of *ö* and *ü*. Russian titles are cited in Cyrillic script, but want of the necessary special characters has meant that those in Tajik, Uzbek, Azeri, etc., have usually had to be transliterated.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This volume came out in three fascicles, published in 1992, 1994 and 1997 respectively, the last with fairly extensive addenda and corrigenda. For the present second, revised, edition the addenda have been inserted into the appropriate place in the text, errors have been corrected and a few of the articles (notably those on the spurious writings of Nāṣir

i Khusrau, on Shahīd Balkhī and on Rafī' Lunbānī) have been rewritten in the light of my subsequent researches. However, it has not been possible to work through the manuscript catalogues published since the early nineties and the codecollogical sections have consequently been reprinted virtually without change.

One or more of the three fascicles of *PL V* have been reviewed by the following authors: Īraj Afshār in *Āyandah* 18, 1993, p. 552, and in *Kilk* 68/70, 1374sh./1996, p. 70-1; Ch. Melville in *BSOAS* 56, 1993, p. 600-1; F. Vahman in *Acta Orientalia* 54, 1993, p. 192-4, and 56, 1995, p. 249-50; F. Richard in *Abstracta Iranica* 15/16, 1992-3, item 7; E. Yarshater in *JRAS* 1994 p. 104-6, *JRAS* 1996, p. 256-60, and *Īrān-shināsi* VI/1, 1994, p. 18-21; J. Bečka in *Archív orientální* 62, 1994, p. 90-1; A. Schimmel in *ZDMG* 144, 1994, p. 439; P. Orsatti in *RSO* 69, 1995, p. 252-4, *RSO* 72, 1998, p. 333-8; J.W. Clinton in *BSOAS* 59, 1996, p. 379-80, *BSOAS* 61, 1998, p. 353; C.-H. de Fouchécour in *Abstracta Iranica* 20/21, 1997-8, items 5-6. Additions and corrections suggested by these reviewers have been included, with gratitude, in the new edition. References to publications in Czech and Tajik (mostly not accessible to me) have been added from Bečka's review.

It is a pleasant duty to reiterate the thanks expressed at various places in the first edition to those scholars who have helped me with suggestions and criticism and sent me books or offprints. First of all to Professor A.D.H. Bivar who, first as a member of the Society's publications committee, and then as president of the R.A.S., has shown great interest in and concern for this project and has made many valuable suggestions concerning both the content and the physical preparation of this publication, and to the Society's former honorary treasurer, John Payne, for manifold support. Other colleagues who have helped me with their suggestions are A.L.F.A. Beelaert, C.E. Bosworth, J.T.P. de Bruijn, S. Digby, C.W. Ernst, 'Abdullāh Ghūchānī, M. Glünz, J.S. Meisami, C.P. Melville, B.W. Robinson, but in particular A.H. Morton, who has proposed a very large number of corrections and improvements, only a few of which are explicitly credited in the pages that follow. Naṣrullāh Pūr-jawādī generously sent me a large number of books and journals from Tehran. R. Zipoli has given me all the volumes of the *Lirica Persica* series. Maḥmūd Ja'farī has assisted me with some difficult Persian texts. Charlotte de Blois and Lydia Wright helped with the correction of the proofs of the first edition.

Important note: All cross-references (in the text and the index) are to the pages of the first edition. These are indicated in square brackets throughout the volume.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Note: Where several editions are listed, all references are, when not otherwise noted, to the one first mentioned (in most cases the oldest). It is a cause of constant dismay that editors of Persian texts (as opposed to the universal practice with regard, for example, to Greek and Latin books) almost always refuse to give any kind of page-concordance to previous editions of the same work. It is not possible to remedy the situation here. But future editors of these texts might wish to take the very slight trouble of indicating the page numbers of the editions first mentioned in this list in the margins of their publications, thus making it possible for readers to use their editions in conjunction with this book (and with many previous reference works). Where no page-numbers are indicated, the reader is referred to the index of the book in question.

‘Abd al-Nabī = ‘Abd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Qazwīnī, *Mai-khānah* (completed in 1028/1619), ed. M. Shafī‘, Lahore 1926; ed. A. Gulchīn i Ma‘ānī, Tehran 1340sh./1961; 3rd edition Tehran 1362sh./1983. Cf. *PL I* p. 813.

Abū Ṭālib = Abū Ṭālib Khān Iṣfahānī, *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (completed in 1207/1792-3). Cited according to the numbers assigned to the biographies in Ethé, Bodl. Catalogue, col. 302-15. Cf. *PL I* p. 878.

Ādhar = Luṭf-‘Alī-Beg Ādhar, *Ātash-kadah* (completed ca. 1193/1779), Bombay 1277/1860; ed. Ḥ. Sādāt i Nāṣirī, Tehran 1337-41sh./1958-62 (quoted according to the latter edition). Epitome in Ethé, Bodl. Catalogue, col. 262-93. Cf. *PL I* p. 871-2.

AION = *Istituto Universitario Orientale. Annali* (Naples). [4]

Arberry = A.J. Arberry, *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office. Vol. II. Part VI. Persian books*, London 1937.

‘Arūḍī = Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Niẓāmī al-‘Arūḍī al-Samarqandī, *Chahār maqālah* (completed in 552/1157), ed. M. Qazwīnī,

London/Leiden 1910; ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1331sh./1952-3, and reprints. See also the translation by E.G. Browne, London 1921.

'Aufī = Sadīd al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Aufī al-Bukhārī (died after 628/1230-1), *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. E.G. Browne and M. Qazwīnī, 2 volumes, London/Leyden 1903-6; ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335sh./1957. Cf. *PL I* p. 783-4.

'Aufī, *Jawāmi'* = *Jawāmi' al-hikāyāt wa lawāmi' al-riwāyāt*. Available partial editions: *Pānzdah bāb i J. al-Ḥ.* (facsimile of a Ms.), Tehran 1335sh./1956; *J. al-Ḥ. ... bakhsh i awwal*, ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1335sh./1956; *J. al-Ḥ. ... qism i siwum*, 2 vols. with continuous pagination, ed. Bānū Muṣaffā and Mazāhir Muṣaffā, Tehran 1352-3sh./1973-4 (quoted as *Jawāmi'* III). Reference is made also to the running numbers of the anecdotes in M. Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *Introduction to the J. al-Ḥ.*, London (printed Leyden) 1929.

Auḥādī = Taqī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Auḥādī al-Daqqāqī al-Balyānī al-Iṣfahānī, *'Arafāt al-'arīfīn wa 'arāṣāt al-'āshiqīn*, (completed in 1024/1615). Unpublished. Cf. *PL I* p. 808-11.

Āzād, *Khizānah* = Ghulām-'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizānah i 'āmīrah* (written in 1176/1762-3), Cawnpore 1871. Epitome in Ethé, *Bodl. Catalogue* col. 255-60. Cf. *PL I* p. 864-5.

Āzād, *Ma'āthir* = id., *Ma'āthir al-kirām* (written in 1166/1752-3), Hyderabad (printed Agra) 1910. Cf. *PL I* p. 863.

Āzād, *Sarw* = id., *Sarw i āzād* (completed in 1166/1752-3), Hyderabad (printed Lahore) 1913. Cf. *PL I* p. 864.

Bahār = M.T. Bahār, *Sabk-shināst*, 3 volumes, Tehran 1321sh./1942.

Baihaqī = Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain al-Baihaqī, *Tārīkh i Baihaqī* (alias: *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī*, completed - apart from some later additions - in 451/1059), ed. Ghanī and Faiyād, Tehran 1324sh./1945; ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1319-32sh./1940-53 and

reprints; ed. 'A.A. Faiyād, Mashhad, 1350sh./1971. Cf. *PL I* p. 253-4, 1271 and Lazard, *Langue* p. 76-8.

Bākharzī = Abū Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (died 467/1075), *Dumyat al-qasr wa 'usrat ahl [5] al-'asr*, ed. M.R. al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1349/1930; ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, n.p., n.d. (the preface to volume I - the only one available to me - is dated Cairo 1388/1968); ed. Sāmī Makkī al-'Ānī, 2 vols., Baghdad 1390-1/1970-1. (Quoted according to the running numbers, which are identical in the latter two editions.)

Bāqī = 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Nihāwandī (died probably in 1042/1632-3), *Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī*, ed. M. Hidayet Husain, Calcutta 1910-31. Cf. *PL I* p. 552-3.

Bausani = A. Pagliaro/A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960.

Bismil = 'Alī Akbar Shīrāzī, *Tadhkirah i dil-gushā* (begun in 1237/1821-2). Unpublished. Cf. *PL I* p. 888-9.

de Blois, *Burzōy* = F. de Blois, *Burzōy's voyage to India and the origin of the Book of Kalīlah wa Dimnah* (=Royal Asiatic Society, Prize Publication Fund, Vol. XXIII), London 1990.

Bosworth, *Saffarids* = C.E. Bosworth, *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz*, Costa Mesa and New York, 1994.

Brockelmann = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*. 2 volumes and 3 supplements. Weimar/Leiden 1898-1942; 2nd edition, Leiden 1943-9.

Browne, *History* = E.G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*. 4 volumes. London 1902-24.

BSO(A)S = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*, London.

But-khanah = The *tadhkirah* of this name compiled by Muḥammad Šūfī Māzandarānī and Ḥasan Beg Khākī in 1010/1601-2 and amplified by 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abbāsī in 1021/1612-3. Cited according to the numbers assigned to the biographies in Ethé, Bodl. Catalogue no. 366. Cf. *PL* I p. 807-8.

Buzurg = Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *al-Dharī'ah ilā taṣānīf al-shī'ah, al-qism al-auwal min al-juz' al-tāsi'*, Tehran n.d. [6]

CHI = *Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge 1968- (in progress).

Daulat-shāh = Daulat-shāh b. 'Alā' al-daulah al-Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'* (completed in 892/1487), ed. E.G. Browne, London/Leiden 1901. Cf. *PL* I p. 785-9.

DMBI = *Dā'irat i ma'ārif i buzurg i islāmī*, (English title-page: *The Great Islamic Encyclopaedia*), ed. Kāzīm Musawī Bujnūrdī, Tehran 1369sh./1990 - (the first four volumes are available to me).

Doerfer = G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 volumes, Wiesbaden 1963-75.

Edwards = E. Edwards, *A catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1922.

*EI*¹ = *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 volumes and Supplement, Leiden 1908-36 (also in German and French editions).

*EI*² = *id.*, New edition, Leiden 1960- (in progress; also in French).

EIr. = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, London 1982- (in progress).

Ethé, Bodl. Catalogue = see Manuscript Collections, **Oxford**.

Ethé, I.O. Catalogue = see Manuscript Collections, **London**.

Ethé, *Vorl.* = H. Ethé, 'Rûdagī's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der ältesten Denkmäler neupersischer Poesie', in *Morgenländische Forschungen. Festschrift Herrn Professor Dr. H.L. Fleischer... gewidmet*, Leipzig 1875, p. 33-68.

Fakhrī, *Jawāhir* = Sulṭān-Muḥammad Fakhrī al-Harawī (10th/16th century), *Jawāhir al-'ajā'ib*, Lucknow 1873; also in Rāshidī's edition of the same author's *Rauḍah*, p. 109-42. Summary in Sprenger p. 11. Cf. *PL* I p. 797.

Fakhrī, *Rauḍah* = *id.*, *Rauḍat al-salāṭīn*, ed. Saiyid Ḥusām al-dīn Rāshidī, Hyderabad (Sind) 1968. Cf. *PL* I p. 797. [7]

FIZ = *Farhang i Irān-zamīn*.

Fouchécour, *Moralia* = Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, *Moralia. Les notions morales dans la littérature persane du 3^e/9^e au 7^e/13^e siècle*, Paris 1986.

Fouchécour, *Nature* = *id.*, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XI^e siècle. Inventaire et analyse des thèmes*, Paris 1969.

Furūzānfar = Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Sukhan wa sukhan-warān*, Tehran 1308sh./1930 sqq. (volume II not dated), reprint 1350sh./1971. Cf. *PL* I p. 920.

GrPh = *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, 2 volumes, Strassburg 1896-1904.

Gulchīn i Ma'ānī = Aḥmad Gulchīn i Ma'ānī, *Tārīkh i tadhkirah-hā i fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1348-50sh./1969-71.

Hājī Khalīfah = Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh (died 1067/1657), *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa l-funūn*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1835-58; ed. Ş. Yaltkaya, K.R. Bilge, Istanbul 1941-3.

Ḥasanī = 'Abd al-Ḥaiy b. Fakhr al-dīn al-Ḥasanī (died 1923), *Nuz'hat al-khawāṭir wa bahjat al-masāmi' wa l-nawāzīr*, Hyderabad 1366-71/1947-51, 2nd edition 1962-.

Haz. Fird. = *Hazārah i Firdausī* (English title: *The Millennium of Firdawsī the great national Poet of Iran*), Tehran n.d. (Preface dated 1322sh./1944).

Ḥazīn = Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥazīn al-Lāhijī al-Jīlānī, *Tadhkirat al-mu'asirīn* (written in 1165/1752), Isfahan 1334sh./1956-7. Epitome in Sprenger p. 135-41. Cf. *PL* I p. 840-9.

Hidāyat, *Majma'* = Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Majma' al-fuṣaḥā* (completed in 1288/1871-2), two volumes, [8] Tehran 1295/1878; ed. M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1336-40sh./1957-61. Cf. *PL* I p. 911-2. (Only the first volume of the new edition is at present available to me.)

Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* = id., *Riyāḍ al-'arīfīn* (completed in 1260/1844), Tehran 1305/1887-8; 1316sh. /1937. Cf. *PL* I p. 911.

Horn, *Einl.* = Horn's introduction to his edition of *LF* (q.v.).

Ḥusainī = Mīr Ḥusain-Dōst Sanbhalī, *Tadhkirah i Ḥusainī* (completed in 1163/1749), Lucknow 1875. Cf. *PL* I p. 833.

Ibn Funduq = Ṣaḥīr al-dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zaid al-Baihaqī (died 565/1169-70), *Tārīkh i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahman-yār, Tehran 1317sh./1929. Cf. *PL* I p. 354, 1271.

Idārah-chī = A. Idārah-chī Gīlānī, *Shā'irān i ham-'aṣr i Rūdakī*, Tehran 1370sh./1991-2.

JA = *Journal asiatique*.

Jājarmī = Muḥammad b. Badr al-Jājarmī, *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (completed in 741/1341), ed. Ṣ. Ṭabībī, 2 volumes with

continuous pagination, Tehran 1337-50sh./1959-71. (The extra pages inserted between p. 144 and 145 of volume I, numbered there with Arabic letters, are quoted here as 'I p. 144+i' etc.)

Jāmī, *Bahāristān* = 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Bahāristān* (written in 892/1487), Cawnpore 1911; Tehran 1311sh./1932-3; ed. A. Afṣaḥ-zād (Afsahzod), Dushanbe 1972.

Jāmī, *Nafahāt* = id., *Nafahāt al-uns* (completed in 883/1478-9), Lucknow 1333/1914-5; ed. M. Tauḥīdī-pūr, Tehran 1336sh./1957. Cf. *PL* I p. 954-9.

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven.

JASB = *Journal (& Proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta. [9]

JBBRAS = *Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*.

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

Justi = F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895.

Juwainī = *Tārīkh i Jahān-gushāy* (completed - insofar as it is complete - in 658/1260), ed. M. Qazwīnī, London/Leiden 1912-37. Cf. *PL* I p. 261-4.

Kāmī = Mīr 'Alā' al-Daulah Kāmī al-Qazwīnī, *Nafā'is al-ma'āthir* (commenced in 973/1565-6) Unpublished. Summary in Sprenger p. 47-55. Cf. *PL* I p. 801-2.

Khayyām-pūr = 'Abd al-Rasūl Khayyām-pūr, *Farhang i suḥan-warān*, Tabriz 1340sh./1961.

Khalīl, *Khulāṣah* = 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl, *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (completed in 1198/1783-4). Epitome in Ethé, Bodl. Catalogue, coll.

295-302 and Bankipore Catalogue VIII p. 138-46. Cf. *PL I* p. 877.

Khalīl, *Ṣuḥuf* = id., *Ṣuḥuf i Ibrāhīm* (completed in 1205/1790-1), ed. A.R. Bedar, Patna 1978. Epitome in Pertsch p. 628-67. Cf. *PL I* p. 877.

Khwānd-mīr = Ghiyāth al-dīn b. Humām al-dīn Khwānd-(a)mīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād al-bashar* (completed 930/1524), Tehran 1333sh./1954; Bombay 1272/1855-6. Cf. *PL I* p. 104-9.

Khwush-gō = *Saftnah i Khwush-gō* (completed in 1147/1734-5), ed. Patna 1959 (non vidi). Epitome in Bodleian Catalogue, coll. 212-39 and Bankipore Catalogue VIII p. 84-115. Cf. *PL I* p. 826-8. [10]

Lazard, *Langue* = G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963.

Lazard, *Poètes* = id., *Les premiers poètes persans (IX^e-X^e siècles). Fragments rassemblés, édités et traduits*. Two volumes. Tehran/Paris 1964.

LF = *Asadī's neupersisches Wörterbuch Lughat-i Furs ... herausgegeben von Paul Horn (=Abhandlungen d. k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge Band I. Nro. 8)*, Berlin 1897 (A critical edition of the Vatican manuscript); *Kitāb i lughat i furs, ta'lif i Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī b. Aḥmad i Asadī i Ṭūsī ... ba taṣṭiḥ wa ihtimām i 'Abbās i Iqbāl*, Tehran 1319sh./1940-1 (Based on Horn's edition and three manuscripts in private collections, 'ain', 'sīn' and 'nūn'); ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1336sh./1957 (essentially a reprint of Horn and thus not quoted here); ed. F. Muṣṭabā'ī and 'A.A. Ṣādiqī, Tehran 1365sh./1986 (based on a manuscript in the Panjab University Library, quoted here as 'P', with many variants from other as yet unpublished manuscripts); Fereshte Robabe Salimi, *Farhang, the oldest extant lexicon of the Persian language, compiled by (...) Asadī Ṭūsī (...) with correction of the Persian text and translation*

into English, edited from the Vatican manuscript, and compared with (...) other manuscripts and editions. From section *alif* to *ṣīn*. (Unpublished dissertation, Cambridge, not dated in the available photocopy [ca. 1980]).

LN = *Lughat-nāmah*, founded by 'A.A. Dih-khudā, continued by M. Mu'īn et al., Tehran 1325-60sh./1946-81.

Majālis al-naḥḥīs = Two amplified Persian translations of the Eastern Turkish *Majālis al-naḥḥīs* by Mīr 'Alī-Shēr Nawā'ī (died 12 Jumādā II 906/1501), ed. 'A.A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1323sh./1945, one (p. 1-178 of the edition) by Fakhrī (see above), the other (p. 179-409) an anonymous translation completed in 929/1522-3.

Majālis al-'ushshāq = The work of this name (completed in 909/1503) attributed to Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr b. Bāyqarā, but in fact apparently written by his subject Mīr Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusain Kāzargāhī. Ed. Cawnpore 1314/1896-7. Cf. *PL I* p. 960-2.

Majda = T. Majda, *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich. Tom V. Część 2: Katalog rękopisów tureckich i perskich*, Warsaw 1967. [11]

Martin = Th. J. Martin, *North American collections of Islamic manuscripts*, Boston/New York 1977.

MDAM = *Majallah i dānish-kadah i adabtyāt* (wa 'ulūm i insānī i dānish-gāh) i Mashhad (or: Firdaust). (*Revue de la faculté des lettres de Meched*).

MDAT = *Majallah i dānish-kadah i adabtyāt* (wa 'ulūm i insānī) i Tihārān. (*Revue de la faculté des lettres*).

Meier, *Mahsaft* = F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsaft, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers. Band I*. Wiesbaden 1963.

MF = Muḥammad Qāsim b. Ḥājji Muḥammad Kāshānī, known as Surūrī (died after 1036/1626-7), *Majma' al-furs* (or: *Farhang i Surūrī*),

ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 3 vols., Tehran 1338-41sh./1960-3. Cf. *PL* III p. 23-5.

Mikrūftlm-hā = M.T. Dānīsh-pazhūh, *Fihrist i mikrūftlm-hā i kitāb-khānah i markazī i dānīsh-gāh i Tihārān*, 3 volumes, Tehran 1348-63sh./1969-84.

Minorsky, *Iranica* = V. Minorsky, *Iranica. Twenty articles*, Tehran 1964 (Title also in Persian: *Bist maqālah i Minorsky*).

Minorsky Volume = *Iran and Islam. In Memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971.

Mubtalā = Mardān 'Alī Khān Mubtalā, *Muntakhab al-ash'ār* (written in 1161/1748). Epitome in Ethé, Bodl. Catalogue, coll. 239-55. Cf. *PL* I p. 829.

Mudabbirī = Maḥmūd Mudabbirī, *Sharḥ i aḥwāl u ash'ār i shā'irān i bi-dtawān dar qarn-hā i 3/4/5 i hijrī i qamarī*, n.p., 1370sh./1991 (Contains the collected fragments, with brief biographies and bibliographies, of most of the 'minor' poets discussed in this volume. Unfortunately, this work did not become available until after the publication of the major part of my first edition. I have not added references to the individual entries but refer the reader in principle to this useful publication.)

Mudarris = Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris Tabrizī Khayābānī, *Raiḥānat al-adab ft tarājim al-ma'rūfīn bi l-kunyah au al-laqaḥ*, Tehran 1326sh/1947 to 1333sh./1955.

Mujmal = The anonymous *Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa l-qīṣaṣ* (written in 520/1126), ed. M.T. Bahār, Tehran 1318sh./1939. Cf. *PL* I p. 67-8, 1229. [12]

Munz. = A. Munzawī, *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khatṭ i fārsī*, 6 volumes in 7, Tehran 1348sh./1969 sqq. (last volume not dated. Quoted here by the running numbers. In general I refer to 'Munz.' only when

I have no other information about a given manuscript. See also the introductory remarks to 'Manuscript collections', below.)

Munz. Pak. = id., *Fihrist i mushtarik i nuskhah-hā i khatṭ i fārsī i Pākistān*, Lahore/Islamabad 1362sh./1983 - (in progress).

Mushār = Khān-Bābā Mushār (and others), *Fihrist i kitāb-hā i chāpī i fārsī*, 5 volumes, Tehran 1350sh./1961 to 2535sh.sh./1976.

Mustaufī = Ḥamd Allāh b. Abī Bakr Mustaufī Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh i guzldah* (completed in 730/1329-30), facsimile edition, London/Leyden 1910 (biographies of poets on p. 812-29); ed. 'A. al-Ḥ. Nawā'ī, Tehran 1339sh./1960; reprinted 1362sh./1983. (Quoted according to the new edition). Cf. *PL* I p. 82-5, 1233.

Nachrichten ... Göttingen = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*

Nadhīr Aḥmad = 'Notes on important Arabic and Persian MSS. found in various libraries in India', *JASB* N.S. XIII, 1917, p. lxxvii-cxxxix, XIV, 1918, p. cxcic-ccclvi. References are to the serial numbers in the Persian section of the latter part.

Naṣrābādī = Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkirah i Ṭāhir i Naṣrābādī* (begun in 1083/1672-3), ed. W. Dastgirdī, Tehran 1317sh./1928-9. Cf. *PL* I p. 820-1.

NDAT = *Nashrīyah* (intermittently: *Majallah*) *i dānīsh-kadah i adabīyāt* (wa 'ulūm i insānī) *i Tabriz* (*Revue de la faculté des lettres de Tabriz*). [13]

Nithārī = Bahā' al-dīn Ḥasan Nithārī Bukhārī, *Mudhakkir i aḥbāb* (written in 974/1566-7), ed. Saiyid Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh, Hyderabad 1969. Summary in Pertsch p. 605-9. Cf. *PL* I p. 802-3.

Nizām = Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī* (written in 1001/1592-3), ed. Lucknow 1870; Calcutta 1913-1931 (incomplete). Cf. *PL* I p. 433-5.

Nūrī = Nūr Allāh b. Sharīf Ḥusainī Mar'ashī Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-mu'minīn* (completed in 1010/1602), Tehran 1260/1844. Cf. *PL* I p. 1129.

Nuskah-hā = (*Nashrīyah i kitāb-khānah i markazī i dānish-gāh i Tihārān dar bārah i*) *Nuskah-hā i khaṭṭī*. Tehran 1340sh./1961 sqq. (in progress).

OCM = *Oriental College Magazine*.

OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.

Or.Suec. = *Orientalia Suecana*.

Pertsch = see Manuscript collections, **Berlin**.

Piemontese = *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d'Italia compilato da A.M.P. (=Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali. Indici e cataloghi. Nuova serie V)*, Rome 1989.

PL = the present *Persian Literature*. With *PL* I compare the much extended Russian translation by Yu. E. Bregel': Ч.А. Стори, Персидская Литература, био-библиографический обзор, 3 volumes, Moscow 1972.

Poonawala = I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu 1977.

Qawwās = Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-Shāh Qawwās, *Farhang i Qawwās* (end of 7th/13th or beginning of 8th/14th century), ed. Nadhīr Aḥmad, Tehran 1353sh./1974. Cf. *PL* III p. 5. [14]

Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsht-hā* = *Yād-dāsht-hā i* [Mirzā Muḥammad i] *Qazwīnī*, ed. Ī. Afshār, 8 volumes, Tehran 1337-45sh./1958-66.

Rādūyānī = Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rādūyānī, *Tarjumān al-balāghah* (preserved in a unique manuscript dated Ramaḍān 507/1114), ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949. Cf. Lazard, *Langue* p. 108.

Rastegar, *Problematic* = N. Rastegar, *Zur Problematik einiger handschriftlichen Quellen des neupersischen Namenbuches*, Vienna 1989.

Rāzī = Amīn b. Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm* (written in 1002/1593-4), ed. J. Fāḍil, 3 volumes, n.p., n.d. (Apparently Tehran in the 1960's. The edition has no table of contents and no index, which renders it extremely difficult to use.) Detailed epitome of the work in Ethé, I.O. Catalogue, col. 381-499. Cf. *PL* I p. 1169-71.

Rendiconti = *Rendiconti della (Reale) Accademia (nazionale) dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*.

Rieu; Rieu, Suppl. = see Manuscript collections, **London**.

Rivāyats (Unvala) = *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat* (in Persian), ed. Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala, 2 vols., Bombay 1922.

Rivāyats (Dhabhar) = Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz and others* (translated with many corrections and much new material), Bombay 1932.

Robinson, *Paintings* = see Manuscript collections, **Oxford**.

RSO = *Revisti degli studi orientali*.

Rypka = J. Rypka, and others, *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, Prague 1956; 2nd enlarged edition 1963; *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* [15] (revised translation from the Czech), Leipzig 1959; *History of Iranian Literature* (translated, with further additions, from the previous versions), Dordrecht 1968. (All references are to the English edition.)

- Saif Harawī = Saif b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, *Tārīkh-nāmah i Harāt* (ca. 721/1321; cf. *PL* I p. 354-5), ed. M.Z. al-Ṣiddīqī, Calcutta 1944 (contains a large number of quotations from poets of the pre-Mongol period. References have been given only to a few lesser known authors.)
- Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsah* = Dh. Ṣafā, *Ḥamāsah-sarā'ī dar Īrān az qadīm-tarīn 'ahd i tārīkhī tā qarn i chahār-dahum i hijrī*, n.p., 1324sh./1946; 4th edition, Tehran 1364sh./1975-6.
- Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* = id., *Tārīkh i adabīyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1332sh./1954 - (in progress). (The earlier volumes have been re-published in several more or less revised editions; the edition used is specified in each case.)
- Salimi = see *LF*
- Sām = Sām Mīrzā b. Shāh Ismā'īl (died 974/1566-7), *Tuḥfah i Sāmī*, ed. W. Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314sh./1936; ed. R. al-D. Humāyūn-Farrukh, n.p., n.d. Cf. *PL* I p. 798-800, 1335.
- Sam'ānī = Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī (died after 555/1160), *Kitāb al-ansāb*, facsimile edition, London 1912; ed. 'A. al-R. al-Yamānī, Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-76. (Only the first 6 volumes of the new edition are available in London.)
- Sandīlawī = Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Sandīlawī, *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* (completed in 1218/1803-4). Epitome in Ethé, *Bodl. Catalogue*, col. 317-96. Cf. *PL* I p. 881.
- Sar-khwush = Muḥammad Afḍal Sar-khwush, *Kalimāt al-shu'arā'* (completed ca. 1108/1696-7), ed. Lahore 1942. Cf. *PL* I p. 822.
- SB Berlin* = *Sitzungsberichte der (königlichen) preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SB München* = *Sitzungsberichte der (königlichen) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische Klasse*.

- Sezgin = Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967- (in progress). [16]
- sh. = *shamsī*.
- sh.sh. = *shāhanshāhī*.
- Shafī'ī-Kadkanī, *Ṣuwar* = M.R. Shafī'ī-Kadkanī, *Ṣuwar i khiyāl dar shi'r i pārsī*, Tehran 1350sh./1971; 2nd (much expanded) edition Tehran 1358sh./1979-80; 3rd edition Tehran 1366sh./1987. (Quoted according to the 2nd/3rd edition.)
- Shafīq = Lachmī Narāyan Shafīq Aurangābādī, *Gul i ra'nā* (completed in 1182/1768-9). Epitome in the Bankipore catalogue VIII p. 129-34. Cf. *PL* I p. 867.
- Shams = Shams al-dīn b. Qais al-Rāzī, *al-Mu'jam fī ma'āyir ash'ār al-'ajam* (written after 628/1230-1), ed. M.M. Qazwīnī, London 1909; ed. M.T. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran 1314sh./1935-6. See *PL* III p. 179.
- Shēr-Khān = Shēr-Khān b. 'Alī Lōdī, *Mir'āt al-khayāl* (completed in 1102/1690-1), ed. Bombay 1324/1906. Cf. *PL* I p. 823-5.
- Shihāh* = Muḥammad b. Hindū-shāh Nakhjawānī, *Shihāh al-furs* (8th/14th century), ed. 'Abd al-'Alī Ṭā'atī, Tehran 1341/1963. Cf. *PL* III p. 6-7.
- Sprenger = see Manuscript Collections, Lucknow.
- St. = Storey's handwritten notes.
- Taqī = Taqī al-dīn Muḥammad al-Kāshānī (died after 1016/1607-8), *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār wa zubdat al-afkār*. Unpublished. List of poets with dates in Sprenger p. 15-46. Cf. *PL* I p. 803-5.

Tārīkh i Sīstān = The anonymous *Tārīkh i Sīstān* (probably 5th/11th century, with later additions), ed. Malik al-shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran 1314sh./1935. Cf. *PL* I p. 364 and Lazard, *Langue* p. 74-5.

Tasbīhī = *Kitāb-khānah-hā i Pākistān ta'rif i Muḥammad Husain i Tasbīhī*, Islamabad 1397/1977 - (in progress). [17]

Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat* = Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Tha'ālibī (died 429/1038), *Tatimmat al-yatīmah*, 2 volumes, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1353sh./1934-5.

Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah* = id., *Yatīmat al-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-'aṣr*, Damascus 1304/1886-7; Cairo 1377/1957-8.

Unvala = J.M. Unvala, *Collection of colophons of manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some libraries of Europe*, Bombay 1940.

UZIV = Ученые Записки Института Востоковедения, Leningrad.

Wālih = 'Alī-Qulī-Khān Wālih, *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā'*, (completed 1162/1749). Unpublished. Epitome in Ivanow, Curzon collection catalogue (Calcutta) p. 28-63. Cf. *PL* I p. 830-3.

Waṭwāt = Rashīd al-dīn Waṭwāt (died 573/1177-8), *Kitāb ḥadā'iq al-sihr fī daqā'iq al-shi'r*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran n.d. [1308sh./1929-30]; reprinted (without Iqbāl's notes) in the appendix to Waṭwāt's *diwān*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1339sh./1960-1; reprinted again with a Russian translation by N. Yu. Chalisova, Moscow 1985. Cf. *PL* III p. 176-8.

World survey = *World survey of Islamic manuscripts*, general editor G. Roper, 4 volumes, London 1992-4.

WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

Yaghmā'ī = *Namūnah i nazm wa nathr i fārsī* (= the *jung* in Tehran University Library, no. 2449, undated, but apparently from the

7th/13th or 8th/14th century), ed. H. Yaghmā'ī, Tehran 1343sh./1964.

Yāqūt, *Buldān* = Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (died 626/1229), *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73; ed. Beyrouth 1955-7.

Yāqūt, *Irshād* = id., *Irshād al-arṭb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb* (alias: *Mu'jam al-udabā'*), ed. D.S. Margoliouth, Leyden/London 1907-26. [18]

Zahīrī = Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Zahīrī al-Samarqandī, *Sindbād-nāmah* (written not long after 556/1161), ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1948; reprinted Tehran 1362sh./1983.

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. [19]

Note: In the main part of this Survey manuscripts will be listed under the name of the place where they are located (or of their last known location). Within each entry these will be arranged in a roughly geographical order from West to East, beginning with the British Isles, and not, as in the present list, alphabetically. 'Late' manuscripts, i.e. those copied after 1250/1834-5, are recorded selectively (and usually omitted if they are listed in Munzawī).

Publications describing manuscripts in three or more locations can be found in the General Bibliography (above). This should therefore be consulted for all references to works not listed below.

Aberystwyth

The National Library of Wales. Catalogue of oriental manuscripts ... by H. Ethé. Aberystwyth 1916.

Adana

Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu 01, Adana, İl Halk Kütüphanesi ve Müzesi, 3 volumes, Ankara 1985-6.

Aligarh

Subh. = *Fihrist i nusakh i qalamī ('arabī, fārsī wa urdū) Subhān Allāh Ōriyental Lā'ibreri Muslim Yūniwarsiṭi 'Alī Garh murattabāh i Saiyid Kāmil Ḥusain...* Aligarh 1930.

Ann Arbor

Catalogue of Oriental manuscripts in the library of the University of Michigan. First report: An inventory of the "Abd al-Hamid Collection" ... June 1925 [by] W.H. Worrel.

Antalya

Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu 07, Antalya, 5 volumes, Istanbul 1982-4. [20]

Baku

Āhyazmaları Katalogu, by M.S. Sultanov, 2 volumes, Baku 1963-77.

Bankipore (Patna)

Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Prepared [so far as the Persian volumes are concerned] *by Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir*. Patna 1908- (in progress). From vol. XXVII (1961) the title has been changed to: *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library at Patna*.

Mahbūb al-albāb = *Mahbūb al-albāb ft ta'rīf al-kutub wa l-kuttāb*, by Khudā Bakhsh. [A catalogue of Kh. B.'s private library, now preserved in the Oriental Public Library founded by him at Bankipore.] Hyderabad 1314/1896-7.

Suppt. i,ii = *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Volume i (ii)*. By Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir. Patna 1932, 1933; reprinted 1977-80 as vol. XXXI-XXXII of the main catalogue.

Berlin

Heinz = *Persische Handschriften Teil I ... beschrieben von W.H.* (=Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XIV,1). Wiesbaden 1968. [Mss. in Berlin and Tübingen].

Pertsch = *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin von W. Pertsch*. Berlin 1888. (The manuscripts are at present still divided between the Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz and the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, both in Berlin.)

Stchoukine = *Illuminierte islamische Handschriften* [in the ex-Royal library, Berlin] *beschrieben von Ivan S., Barbara Flemming, Paul Luft, Hanna Sohrweide.* (=Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XVI). Wiesbaden 1971.

Bombay

B.B.R.A.S. = A.A.A. Fyzee 'A descriptive list of the Arabic Persian and Urdu manuscripts in the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society', *JBBRAS* N.S. III, 1928, p. 1-43. [21]

Brelvi = *Supplementary catalogue of Arabic, Hindustani, Persian and Turkish MSS. and descriptive catalogue of the Avesta, Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian MSS. in the Mulla Firoz Library. Compiled by S.A. Brelvi ... and Ervad B.N. Dhabhar.* [The Neo-Persian Mss. were catalogued by Brelvi]. Bombay 1917.

Cama = *The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute. A catalogue of the MSS. belonging to it by Ervad B.N. Dhabhar.* Bombay 1923.

Dhabhar = *Descriptive Catalogue of Some Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism and pertaining to the Different Collections in the Mulla Feroze Library. Prepared by Ervad Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar.* Bombay 1923.

Rehatsek = *Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the Mulla Firuz Library. Compiled by E.R.* Bombay 1873.

Univ. = *A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay. By Khān Bahādūr Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Kādir-e-Sarfarāz.* Bombay 1935.

Bratislava

Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava. Unter der Redaktion Jozef Blaškovičs bearbeitete ... die persischen Handschriften Rudolf Veselý. (Title also in Slovak). Bratislava 1961.

Cairo

Hilmī = *Fihrist al-kutub al-fāristiyah wa l-jāwīyah al-mahfūzah bi l-kutub-khānah al-khidīwīyah al-miṣrīyah ... jama'ahu wa rattabahu 'Alī Efendī Hilmī al-Dāghistānī.* Cairo 1306/1888-9.

Ṭirāzī = *Fihris al-makhtūṭāt al-fāristiyah allatī yaqtanīhā dār al-kutub ḥattā 1963 m.*, 2 volumes, apparently edited by Naṣr Allāh Mubashshir al-Ṭirāzī. Cairo 1966-7.

Calcutta

A.S.B. I = *List of Arabic and Persian MSS. acquired on behalf of the Government of India by [22] the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1903-07.* Calcutta 1908.

A.S.B II = *List of ... MSS. acquired ... during 1908-10.* Calcutta [1910?].

Būhār = *Catalogue raisonné of the Būhār Library [now in Calcutta]. Vol I. Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts ... Begun by Maulavī Qāsim Ḥaṣīr Raḍavī, revised and completed by Maulavi 'Abd-ul-Muqtadir.* Calcutta 1921.

Ḥaidarābād Coll. = *Author-Catalogue of the Ḥaidarābād Collection of manuscripts and printed books [presented by Nawwāb 'Azīz Jang Bahādūr of Ḥaidarābād to the Asiatic society of Bengal].* Calcutta 1913.

Ivanow = *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. By Wladimir I.* Calcutta 1924.

Ivanow 1st Suppt. = *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. First supplement. By W. Ivanow.* Calcutta 1927.

Ivanow 2nd Suppt. = *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Second supplement. By W. Ivanow.* Calcutta 1928.

Ivanow Curzon = *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal. By W.I.* Calcutta 1926.

Madrasah = *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Kamālu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad and 'Abdu 'l-Muqtadir*. Calcutta 1905.

Cambridge

Browne Cat. = *A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge by E.G.B.* Cambridge 1896.

Browne Coll. = *A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental MSS. belonging to the late E.G. Browne* [and at present deposited in the Cambridge University Library]. By E.G. Browne. Completed & edited ... [23] by R.A. Nicholson. Cambridge 1932.

Browne Hand-list = *A hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts ... in the Library of the University of Cambridge by E.G.B.* Cambridge 1900.

Browne Suppt. = *A supplementary hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts ... in the Libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge by E.G.B.* Cambridge 1922.

2nd Suppt. = *A second supplementary hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts in the university & colleges of Cambridge. By A.J. Arberry.* Cambridge 1952.

Fitzwilliam = *A descriptive catalogue of the additional illuminated manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum acquired between 1895 and 1979 (excluding the McClean Collection) by F. Wormald and P.M. Giles.* 2 volumes with continuous numeration. Cambridge (etc.) 1982.

Cambridge (Massachusetts)

Schroeder = *Persian miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art by E. S.* Cambridge (Mass.) 1942.

Copenhagen

Christensen-Østrup = *Description de quelques manuscrits orientaux appartenant à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Copenhague par A.C. et J.Ø. (=Oversigt over det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandling, 1915, no. 3-4, pp. 255-84.)*

Mehren = *Codices orientales Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis ... enumerati et descripti. Pars tertia. Codices persicos, turcicos, hindustanicos &c. continens.* [By A.F. Mehren.] Copenhagen 1857.

Dacca

Descriptive catalogue of the Persian, Urdu & Arabic manuscripts in the Dacca University Library... Vol. 1: Persian manuscripts by A.B.M. Habibullah. Dacca 1966.

Dresden

Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis. Scripsit ... H.O. [24] Fleischer... Accedit F.A. Eberti ... Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium bibliothecae ducalis Guelferbytanae. Leipzig 1831.

Dublin

Beatty 101-150 = *The Chester Beatty Library A Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures Volume I ... by A.J. Arberry, M. Minovi, and the late E. Blochet edited by the late J.V.S. Wilkinson.* Dublin 1959.

Beatty 151-220 = *The Chester Beatty Library A Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures Volume II ... by M. Minovi, B.W. Robinson, the late J.V.S. Wilkinson, and the late E. Blochet edited by A.J. Arberry.* Dublin 1960.

Beatty 221-398 = *The Chester Beatty Library A Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures Volume III ... by A.J. Arberry, B.W. Robinson, the late E. Blochet and the late J.V.S. Wilkinson edited by A.J. Arberry.* Dublin 1962.

T.C.D. = *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin ... by T.K. Abbott.* Dublin 1900.

Dushanbe (Stalinabad)

Acad. = Каталог восточных рукописей Академии Наук Таджикской ССР. (Title also in Tajik: *Fahristi* [from vol. II: *Fehristi*])

dastkhathoi sharqii Akademiyai Fanhoi RSS Tojikiston), edited by A.M. Mirzoev et al. Stalinabad (from vol. III: Dushanbe) 1960- (Apparently in progress.)

Bertel's/Bakoev = A. Бертельс и М. Бакоев: Алфавитный каталог рукописей, обнаруженных в Горно-Бадахшанской автономной области экспедицией 1959-1963 гг. Moscow 1967. (English title: *Alphabetic catalogue of manuscripts found by 1959-1963 expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region*. 'The manuscripts themselves were returned to their owners... The films and photostats are kept at the Department of Oriental Studies in Dushanbe').

Dodkhudoyeva = Каталог Художественно Оформленных Восточных Рукописей Академии Наук Таджикской ССР, by L.N. Dodkhudoyeva. Dushanbe 1986. [25]

Fird. Library = *Fehrasti dastnavishoi tojik-forsii kitobkhonai davlatii RSS Tojikiston ba nomi Abulqosim Firdavsi. Jildi I.* By A. Yunusov. Dushanbe 1971.

Edinburgh

New Coll. = *A handlist of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS. of New College, Edinburgh.* By R.B. Serjeant. London 1942.

Univ. = *A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library.* By Mohammed Ashraf Hukh ..., H. Ethé ..., and E. Robertson. Edinburgh 1925.

Eton

Catalogue of the oriental manuscripts in the Library of Eton College compiled by D.S. Margoliouth. Oxford 1904. (The MSS. are now mostly housed on loan in Cambridge University library).

Glasgow

University = 'Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Library of the University of Glasgow', by J. Robson, in *Presentation volume to William Barron Stevenson (Studia semitica et orientalia, II.* Glasgow 1945) p. 116-7.

Weir = 'The Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow', by T.H. Weir, *JRAS* 1906, pp. 595-609.

Gotha

Die persischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha. Verzeichnet von Dr. W. Pertsch. Vienna 1859.

Nachträge = 'Nachträge und Verbesserungen zu den Katalogen der persischen und türkischen Handschriften', in: *Die arabischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha... Verzeichnet von Dr. Wilhelm Pertsch.* V. Gotha 1892, p. 481-554.

Göttingen

Divshali/Luft = *Persische Handschriften ... Teil 2 beschrieben von S.D. und P.L.* (=Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XIV, 2). Wiesbaden 1980. [26]

Halle

D.M.G. = *Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Zweiter Band: Handschriften. Teil B: Persische und Hindustanische Handschriften bearbeitet von ... Mahommed Musharraf-ul-Hukh.* Leipzig 1911.

Hamadan

see Rasht

Hamburg

Brockelmann = *Katalog der orientalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg mit Ausschluss der hebräischen. Teil I. Die arabischen, persischen ... Handschriften beschrieben von C.B.* Hamburg 1908.

Heidelberg

Berenbach I, II, III = J. Berenbach, 'Verzeichnis der neuerworbenen orientalischen Handschriften der Universität Heidelberg' [I], *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* VI, 1928, p. 213-37; [II], *ibid.* X, 1935, p. 74-104; [III], *ZDMG* 91, 1937, p. 376-403.

Helsinki

Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsinki von Jussi Aro. Helsinki 1958.

Herat

See **Kabul**.

Hyderabad (Deccan)

Āṣafīyah = *Fihrist i kutub i 'arabī, fārsī wa urdū i makhzūnah i kutub-khānah i Āṣafīyah i Sarkār i 'Alī...* Hyderabad 1332/1913-4 to 1355/1936-7.

Fihrist i mashrūḥ = *Fihrist i mashrūḥ i ba'd i kutub i naftisah i qalamīyah i makhzūnah i kutub-khānah i Āṣafīyah i Sarkār i 'Alī*. By Mīr 'Uthmān 'Alī Khān Bahādur. 2 vols. Hyderabad 1357/1938-9.

Sālār Jung = *A concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Sālār Jung Museum and Library compiled by Muḥammad Ashraf.* Hyderabad 1965 - (apparently in progress). [27]

Isfahan

'Umūmī = *Fihrist i nuskah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i 'umūmī i Isfahān, nigārish i Jawād i Maqṣūd i Hamadānī, Jild i awwal*. Tehran 1349sh./1970.

Islamabad

Ganj-Bakhsh/Tasbīḥī = *Fihrist i nuskah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i ganj-bakhsh i markaz i taḥqīqāt i fārsī i Irān u Pākistān*. By M.Ḥ. Tasbīḥī. 3 volumes. Rawalpindi 1350-5sh./1971-6.

Ganj-Bakhsh/Munzawī = [Same title]. By A. Munzawī. 4 vols. 1979-82.

Istanbul (Constantinople)

Where no more recent publication is indicated, references are to the (notoriously unreliable) *defters*, or title-indexes, for the various collections, which were published in Constantinople at the end of the last

century. Storey's card-index includes material from the *defters* for the following collections: Aksaray (now: Valide Camii), Amuca Hüseyin Paşa, Aşir Efendi, Atıf Efendi, Ayasofya, Beşir Ağa, Beyazıt, Çelebi Abdullah Efendi, Esat Efendi, Fatih Camii, Feyzullah Efendi, Halet Efendi, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, Kara Mustafa Paşa, Kılıç Ali Paşa, Lâleli, Murat Molla, Selimiye (now: Pertev Paşa), Ummumi (now: Beyazıt Devlet Halk Kütüphanesi), Yahya Efendi, Yeni Cami.

Ateş = *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler I (Universite ve Nuruosmaniye Kütüphaneleri)* by Ahmet Ateş. Istanbul 1968.

Duda = 'Die persischen Dichterhandschriften der Sammlung Es'ad Efendi zu Istanbul' by H.W. Duda, *Der Islam* 39, 1964, p. 38-70.

Duda, *Ferhād* = 'Die Handschriften von Stambul und Umgebung zum Thema Ferhād und Šīrīn', in H.W. Duda, *Ferhād und Šīrīn* (= *Monografie Archivu Orientálního II*), Prague 1933, p. 180-213.

Edhem/Stchoukine = *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul. Par Fehmi Edhem et Ivan Stchoukine (Mémoires [28] de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul, I)*. Paris 1933.

Horn = P. Horn: 'Persische Handschriften in Constantinopel', *ZDMG* 54, 1900, p. 275-332 and 475-509.

Hüseyin = *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu 34/III, İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Amca Zade Hüseyin Paşa ve Hekimbaşı Musa Nazif Efendi Koleksiyonu*. Ankara 1989.

Karatay = *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* by Fehmi Edhem Karatay. Istanbul 1961.

Köprülü = *Fihrist makḥṣūṣāt maktabat Küprülü* (Title also in English: *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library*), by R. Şeşen, C. İzgi, C. Akpınar. 3 volumes. Istanbul 1406/1986.

Ritter-Reinert = 'Die persischen Dichterhandschriften der Fatih-Bibliothek in Istanbul, von Hellmut R. revidiert und herausgegeben von Benedikt R.', *Oriens* 29/30, 1986, p. 110-258.

Tarlan = *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu 34, İstanbul, Süleymaniye Yazmalar Merkezi, Ali Nihat Tarlan Dermesi*. Ankara 1982.

Kabul

Manuscripts d'Afghanistan par S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil. (Describes various collections in Kabul and Herat). Cairo 1965.

Karachi

Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i fārsī wa 'arabī i maujūd dar kitāb-khānah i anjuman i taraqqī i urdū dar Karāchi by 'Alī Rīdāwī. Karachi 1346sh./1967.

Kashan

Fihrist i kutub i khatī i kitāb-khānah i madrasah i sulṭānī i Kāshān. Kashan 1350sh./1971.

Kayseri

Karabulut = *Kayseri Râsîd Efendi Kütüphanesindeki Türkçe Farsça Arabça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. Hazırlayan Ali Rıza K. Kayseri 1982. [29]

Konya

Ateş = 'Konya kütüphanelerinde bulunan bazı mühim yazmalar', by A. Ateş, in *Belleten* XVI/4, 1952, p. 49-130.

Mevlânâ = *Mevlânâ Müzesi yazmalar kataloğu*. By A. Gölpınarlı. 3 volumes. Ankara 1967-72.

Lahore

Dayāl Singh = *Fihrist i makhtūṭāt (i 'arabī u fārsī) i markaz i taḥqīq i Dayāl Singh Trust Lā'ibrārī*. [Edited by M.S.M.M. Hāshimī and M.S.R. Şiddīqī] *Jild i awwal*, Lahore 1975. *Jild i duvvum*, Lahore n.d.

Public Libr. = *Tafşīlī fihrist i makhtūṭāt i fārsīyah i Panjāb Public Library* by Manzūr Aḥsan 'Abbās. 2 volumes. Lahore 1966.

Shērānī = *Fihrist i Makhtūṭāt i Shērānī* by M. B. Ḥusain. 3 volumes. Lahore 1968-73.

Univ. = *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian, Urdu and Arabic manuscripts in the Panjab University Library* by S.M. Abdulah. Vol. I/1 - I/2. Lahore 1942-8.

Leeds

The University of Leeds Department of Semitic Languages & Literatures. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts by A.H.M. Muhiuddin & John Macdonald. IX. *Persian MSS 1 - 50*. n.p., n.d.

Leipzig

Fleischer = *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur (Codices arabici persici turcici descripti ab H.O.F.)*. Grima 1838.

Vollers = *Katalog der islamischen ... Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig von K. V. Leipzig* 1906.

Leningrad (Sankt-Peterburg, Petrograd)

Acad. (Cat.) = Академия Наук СССР. Институт Востоковедения. Описание таджикских и персидских (from volume III: персидских и таджикских) рукописей [30] Института Востоковедения. Edited by N.D. Miklukho-Maklay (Vol. I-III), S.I. Baevskiy (Vol. IV-V), N.N. Tumanovich (Vol. VI), Kh. N. Niyazov (Vol. VIII). Moscow (Vol I: Moscow-Leningrad) 1955- (in progress).

Acad. (Index) = Академия Наук СССР. Институт Народнов Азии. Персидские и таджикские рукописи Института Народнов Азии АН СССР (краткий алфавитный каталог) под редакцией Н.Д. Миклухо-Маклая (indexed by various scholars). 2 volumes. Moscow 1964.

Chanykov = *Die Sammlung von morgenländischen Handschriften, welche die Kaiserliche Öffentliche Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg im Jahre*

1864 von Hrn. v. Chanykov erworben hat. Von B. Dorn. St. Petersburg 1865.

Dorn = *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg*. By B. Dorn. St. Petersburg 1852.

Kostygova = Персидские и таджикские рукописи «новой серии» Государственной Публичной Библиотеки им. М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. Алфавитный каталог. [Edited by G.I. Kostygova]. Leningrad 1973.

Romaskewicz = *Indices alphabetici codicum manu scriptorum Persicorum Turcicorum Arabicorum qui in Bibliotheca Literarum Universitatis Petropolitanae adservantur. Supplementum confecit A.R.* Leningrad 1925.

Rosen = *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des Langues Orientales (du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères)* [now in the Asiatic Museum] décrits par le Baron Victor R. St. Petersburg 1886.

Salemann-Rosen = *Indices alphabetici codicum manu scriptorum Persicorum Turcicorum Arabicorum qui in Bibliotheca Imperialis Literarum Universitatis Petropolitanae adservantur. Confecerunt C.S. et V.R.* St. Petersburg 1888.

Tagirdzhanov = Список таджикских, персидских и тюркских рукописей восточного отдела библиотеки ЛГУ (продолжение списков К.Г. Залемана и А.А. [31] Ромаскевича). By A.T. Tagirdzhanov (Tohirjonov). Moscow 1967.

Leyden

Cat. = *Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae* [by Dozy, de Jong, de Goeje and Houtsma]. Vol. 1-5. Leyden 1851-77.

de Jong = *Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum quem, a clar. Weijersio inchoatum, post hujus mortem absolvit et edidit Dr. P. de J.* Leyden 1862.

London

Ellis Coll. = [The Mss. belonging to the collection of A.G. Ellis described, mainly by A.J. Arberry, in] Luzac's *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XLV, 1945, p. 3-35, where they bear numbers from M1 to M446.

I.O. 1-3076 = *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Library of the India Office by H. Ethé*. (Two volumes with continuous numeration). Oxford 1903, 1937.

I.O. 3651-4453 = [Typewritten hand-list found in Storey's papers].

I.O. 4558-4633 = 'Hand-list of Islamic manuscripts acquired by the India Office Library, 1936-8', by A.J. Arberry, *JRAS* 1939, p. 353-96.

I.O. 4634-50 = 'Notes on Islamic manuscripts recently acquired by the India Office Library', by A.J. Arberry, *Islamic culture*, XIII, 1939, p. 440-58.

I.O. 4651-4804 = *Handlist of Islamic manuscripts acquired by the India Office Library 1938-85. Compiled by Ursula Sims-Williams*. London 1985.

[N.B.: 'I.O. 1-3076' are the running numbers in Ethé's catalogue, but 'I.O. 3651-4804' are the library's accession numbers. I regret this inconsistency. Visitors to the library wishing to call up one of the manuscripts in Ethé's catalogue need to write (for example) 'Ethé 3076' on their call-slip.]

I.O. Delhi = [Typewritten hand-list of the Persian manuscripts in the 'Delhi Collection' compiled by Saiyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī, with hand-written corrections by Storey. Cf. *PL* I p. xxvii-xxviii. I quote these according to running number in Bilgrāmī's hand-list.] [32]

Meredith-Owens = *Handlist of Persian manuscripts 1895-1966 by G.M. M.-O.* London 1968. [Persian translation in *Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 649-694].

R.A.S. = 'Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and Turkish MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society', by O. Codrington, *JRAS* 1892, p. 501-69.

Rieu = *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*. By C. R. 3 volumes with continuous pagination. London 1879-83.

Rieu Suppt. = *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum* by C.R. London 1895.

Robinson = *Persian paintings in the India Office Library A descriptive catalogue*. by B.W.R. London 1976.

Ross and Browne = *Catalogue of two collections of Persian and Arabic manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library* by E. Denison R. and E.G.B. London 1902.

S.O.A.S. = [Manuscripts in the School of Oriental and African Studies, cited according to the card catalogue.]

Wellcome = *A descriptive and analytical catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine* by Fateme Keshavarz. London 1986.

Lucknow

Sprenger = *A catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindústāny manuscripts, of the libraries of the King of Oudh, compiled ... by A.S. ... Vol. I containing Persian and Hindústāny poetry*. Calcutta 1854; reprinted Osnabrück 1979. [Most of these MSS. were destroyed or dispersed at the time of the 'Mutiny', but Sprenger's descriptions include manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his own private library (now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek) as well as a number of printed or lithographed books.] [33]

Lund

Codices orientales Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Lundensis recensuit C.J. Tornberg. Lund 1850.

Supplementa. Lund 1853.

Madras

Index = *Alphabetical Index of manuscripts in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*. Madras 1893.

Madras I,II = *A descriptive catalogue of the Islamic manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*. [Vol. I by P.P. Subrahmanya Sāstrī, Mīr Mushtāq Aḥmad and S. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī, vol. II by Y. Chandrasēk'haran.] Madras 1939, 1950.

Madras III = *A descriptive catalogue of the Islamic manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*. By T. Chandrasekharan ... Curator ... and the staff of the Library [i.e. Janab Muhammad Yousuf Kokan and Syed Durwaish Khadari]. *Volume III*. Madras 1954.

Manchester

Lindesiana = *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Hand-list of Oriental manuscripts. Arabic, Persian, Turkish*. [By M. Kerney. Now for the most part in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.] Aberdeen 1898.

Robinson = *Persian paintings in the John Rylands Library. A descriptive catalogue*. By B.W.R. London 1980.

Mashhad

Fāḍilīyah = *Fihrist i kutub i kitāb-khānah i madrasah i Fāḍilīyah*. 1309sh./1930.

Farhang = *Fihrist i kutub i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i 'umūmī i farhang u hunar i Mashhad*. Ed. Ramaḍān-'Alī Shākīrī. Mashhad 1348sh./1969.

Gauhar-shād = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i chahār kitāb-khānah i Mashhad* by Kāzīm Mudīr Shānah-chī, 'Abd Allāh Nūrānī and Taqī Bīnīsh. (Only the library of the Gauhar-shād mosque contains poetry.) Tehran 1351sh./1972.

Gauhar-Shād/Fāḍil = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i jāmi' i Gauhar-shād i Mashhad* by Maḥmūd Fāḍil. 3 volumes. Mashhad 1363-7sh./1985-9. [34]

Nawāb = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khatṭi i du kitāb-khānah i Mashhad (madrash i Nawāb, Āstān i quds)* by Kāzīm Mudīr Shānah-chī, 'Abd Allāh Nūrānī and Taqī Bīnīsh. Tehran 1351sh./1972.

Riḍawī = *Fihrist i kutub i kitāb-khānah (i mubārakah) i āstān i quds i Riḍawī*. Mashhad 1345/1926-7 - (in progress).

Univ. = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khatṭi i kitāb-khānah i dānish-kadah i adabīyāt u 'ulūm i insānī i dānish-gāh i Firdausī* by Maḥmūd Fāḍil. n.p. 1354sh./1976.

Moscow

Velyaminov-Zernov = Восточныя рукописи въ библиотекѣ покойнаго В.В. Вельяминова-Зернова. By A.A. Semenov. Извѣстія Россійской Академіи Наукъ, 1919, p. 855-72.

Munich

Aumer = *Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen beschrieben* von J.A. Munich 1866.

Bartholomae = *Die Zendhandschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. Beschrieben* von C.B. Munich 1915.

Navsari

Meherji Rana = *Descriptive catalogue of all manuscripts in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari. Prepared by Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar*. Bombay 1923.

New York

Jackson-Yohannan = *A catalogue of the collection of Persian manuscripts ... presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by A.S. Cochran. Prepared and edited by A.V.W. Jackson ... and A. Yohannan*. New York 1914.

Kraus = *Islamic paintings from the 11th to the 18th century in the collection of Hans P. Kraus, [35]* by E.J. Grube. New York n.d. [Collection now dispersed on the art market].

Oxford

Beeston = *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Part iii. Additional Persian manuscripts*. By A.F.L.B. Oxford 1954.

Coxe = *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur. Confecit H.O.C.* 2 volumes. Oxford 1852.

Ethé = *Catalogue of the Persian ... manuscripts in the Bodleian Library begun by ... Ed. Sachau ... completed ... by H.Ethé*. Oxford 1889.

Ethé II = *Catalogue... Part II ... additional Persian manuscripts, by the late H.E.* Oxford 1930.

Robinson = *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian paintings in the Bodleian library* by B.W.R. Oxford 1958.

Paris

Blochot = *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. 4 vols. Paris 1905-34.

Richard = *Bibliothèque Nationale Département des manuscrits Catalogue des manuscrits persans I Ancien fonds* par F.R. Paris 1989.

Peshawar

Islamiyah = *Lubāb al-ma'ārif al-'ilmiyah fi maktabat dār al-'ulūm al-islāmiyah*. By Mawlawī 'Abd al-Raḥīm. [The oriental section of the Library of the Islamiyah College, Peshawar.] Agrah 1918, 1939.

Philadelphia

Lewis Coll. = *Oriental manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia. A descriptive catalogue ... by Muhammed Ahmed Simsar*. Philadelphia 1937.

Princeton

1-206 = *Descriptive catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic manuscripts ... in the Princeton University Library*. By

Mahomed E. [36] *Moghadam [and] Yahya Armajani under the supervision of Philip K. Hitti*. Princeton 1939.

393-469 = *A catalogue of Turkish and Persian manuscripts belonging to Robert Garrett and deposited in the Princeton University Library*. By N.N. Martinovitch. Princeton 1926.

Qum

Āstānah = *Fihrist i kitābhā i khaṭṭī i āstānah i ma'sūmah i Qum*. By M.T. Dānīsh-pahzūh. Tehran 1350sh./1971.

Hujjatīyah = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i madrasah i hujjatīyah i Qum*. By R. Ustādī. Qum 1354sh./1975.

Mar'ashī = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i 'umūmī i ḥadrat i āyat allāh al-'uzmā Najafī i Mar'ashī*... By S.M. Mar'ashī and S.A. Husainī. Qum 1354sh./1975 - (Apparently in progress.)

Riḍawīyah = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i madrasah i riḍawīyah i Qum*. By M. Ṭabāṭabā'ī. Qum 1355sh./1976.

Rampore

Saulat = *Catalogue of Persian & Arabic Manuscripts of the Saulat Public Library Compiled by Abid Raza Bedar*. Rampore 1966.

Rasht

Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah-hā i Rasht u Hamadān. By M. Raushan, J. Maqṣūd, P. Adhkā'ī. Tehran 1353sh./1974.

Richmond

Keir = *The Keir collection: Islamic painting and the Arts of the book*, by B.W. Robinson (et al.), London 1976.

Keir Suppt. = *The Keir collection: Islamic art in the Keir collection*, by B.W. Robinson (et al.), London/Boston 1988. [37]

Rome

Horn = 'Aus italienischen Bibliotheken. I Die persischen und türkischen Handschriften des Vatikans' by P.H., *ZDMG* LI, 1897, p. 1-65.

Rossi = *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*. Ettore Rossi. Vatican City 1948 (*Studi e testi*, 136).

Sarajevo

Katalog perzijskih rukopisa orijentalnog instituta u Sarajevu. Obradio Salih Trako. Sarajevo 1986.

Sofia

Опис на персийските ръкописи в народната библиотека Кирил и Методий. By J. Sayyar. Sofia 1973.

Stockholm

Riedel = *Katalog över Kungl. Bibliotekets orientalska handskrifter av W.R.* Stockholm 1923.

Strasbourg (Strassburg)

Hoghughī = *Catalogue Critique des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*. Par Ascar H. Strasbourg 1964.

Landauer = *Katalog der hebräischen, arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*. Strassburg 1881.

Tabriz

Millī = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah i millī i Tabrīz, kitāb-hā i khaṭṭī i ihdā'ī i Ḥājj Muḥammad i Nakhjawānī*. By Mīr Wadūd Saiyid-Yūnusī. 3 vols. Tabriz 1348-54sh./1969-75.

Tarbiyat = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah i daulatī i tarbiyat i Tabrīz. Kutub i khaṭṭī*. By M. Nakhjawānī. Tabriz 1329sh./1950.

Tashkent

Acad. = Академия Наук Узбекской ССР. Институт Востоковедения. Собрание восточных рукописей Академии Наук Узбекской ССР. [Various editors]. Tashkent 1952 - (in progress). [38]

Kahl = Персидскія, Арабскія и Тюркскія рукописи Туркестанской Публичной Библиотеки. Составилъ Е. Каль. Tashkent 1889.

Univ. = Описание (таджикских,) персидских, арабских и ту/юркских рукописей Фундаментальной Библиотеки Среднеазиатского Государственного Университета (им. В. И. Ленина). By A.A. Semenov. 2 volumes. Tashkent 1935-56.

Tashqurghan

'Note sur les manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de Tāshqurqān (Afghanistan)', by M. Reut, *Studia Iranica* XI, 1982, p. 301-16.

Tehran

Adabīyāt I = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i dānish-kadah i adabīyāt i Tihrān*. By M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. Tehran 1339sh./1960.

Adabīyāt II = *Majmū'ah i waqfī i janāb āqā i 'Alī-Aṣghar i Hikmat*. By M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. Supplement to *MDAT* X, 1341sh./1962.

Adabīyāt III = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i dānish-kadah i adabīyāt: majmū'ah i imām jum'ah i kirmān...* By M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. Offprint from *MDAT* XVI/1, 1344sh./1965.

Āthār = *Fihrist i kitāb-hā i kitāb-khānah i anjuman i āthār i millī. Bakhsh i nukhust. Nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī*. By Fāṭimah Mihrān and Muḥammad Ghulām-Riḍā'ī. Tehran 1356sh./1977.

Gulistān/Ātābāy = *Fihrist i dīwān-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i salṭanatī. Jild i awwal (duwwum)*. By Badrī Ātābāy. Tehran 2535sh.sh./1976-7.

Gulistān/Bayānī = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah i salṭanatī*. By M. Bayānī. Tehran, n.d. [Not seen; quoted from Munz.]

Ḥuqūq = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i dānish-kadah i ḥuqūq u 'ulūm i siyāst u iqtisādī i dānish-gāh i Tihrān*. By M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. (Title also in Arabic and French). Tehran 1339sh./1961. [39]

Ilāhīyāt = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī (wa 'akst) i kitāb-khānah i dānish-kadah i ilāhīyāt u ma'ārif i islāmī i dānish-gāh i Tihrān*. 2 vols. By Saiyid Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥujjatī and (for the first volume only) M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. Tehran 1345-8sh./1966-9.

Ma'ārif = *Fihrist i kutub i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i 'umūmī i ma'ārif*. By 'Abd al-'Azīz Jawāhir i Kālām. (English title on back cover of vol. i: *Catalogue of Persian and Arabic manuscripts of the Public Library of the Ministry of Education*). 2 volumes. Tehran 1313-4sh./1934-5. (Mss. apparently now in the *Kitāb-khānah i Millī*.)

Majlis II = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah i majlis i shūrā i millī*. By Y. I'tisāmī. (*Mathbū'at i kitāb-khānah: Jild i duwwum*). (French title: *Catalogue des manuscrits persans et arabes de la Bibliothèque du Madjless. Par Y. Etesami*.) Tehran 1311sh./1933.

Majlis III = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah i majlis i shūrā i millī (Kutub i khaṭṭī: Fārṣī) ... Jild i siwwum az nashriyāt i kutub-khānah*. Tehran 1318-21sh./1939-42.

Majlis V-XXI = [Same title. Edited by various scholars.] Tehran 1345-50sh./1965-72.

Malik = *Fihrist i kitāb-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i millī i Malik*. Edited by Ī. Afshār, M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, M.B. Ḥujjat, A. Munzawī. 8 volumes. Tehran 1352-69sh./1973-90.

Millī = *Fihrist i nusakh i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i millī*. By Saiyid 'Abd Allāh Anwār. Vol. 1-6 (the last volume of the Persian series) Tehran 1343-54sh./1965-76.

Nūr-bakhsh = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i Nūr-bakhsh*. By Saiyid Ibrāhīm Dībājī. 2 vols. Tehran 1350-2sh./1972-3.

Shūrā i Islāmī = *Fihrist i kitāb-hā i khaṭṭī i kitāb-khānah i majlis i sinā*. [Title in vol. II: ... *majlis i shūrā i islāmī (sinā i sābiq)*]. By M.T. Dānish-pazhūh and Bahā' al-dīn 'Ilmī Anwārī. 2 vols. Tehran 1353-9sh./1974-80. [40]

Sipah-sālār = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah (i madrasah i 'Ālt) i Sipah-sālār*. Edited by Ibn i Yūsuf Shīrāzī (vols. I, II) and by M.T. Dānish-pazhūh and 'A. Munzawī (vol. III-V). Tehran 1315-56sh./1936-77.

Univ. I-VII = *Fihrist i kutub-khānah i ihdā'ī i āqā i Saiyid Muḥammad i Mishkāṭ ba kitāb-khānah i dānish-gāh i Tihhrān*. Edited by 'A.N. Munzawī and M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. Vols. I, II, III/1 [=Univ. III], III/2 [=Univ. IV], III/3 [=Univ. V], III/4 [=Univ. VI], III/5 [=Univ. VII]. Tehran 1330-8sh./1951-9.

Univ. VIII - = *Fihrist i kitāb-khānah i markazī i dānish-gāh i Tihhrān*. By M.T. Dānish-pazhūh. Tehran 1339sh./1960 - (in progress).

Tübingen

Ewald = *Verzeichniss der orientalischen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Tübingen*. Tübingen 1839.

Heinz = see **Berlin**.

Turin

Nallino = *I manoscritti arabi, persiani, siriaci e turchi della Biblioteca Nazionale e della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino illustrati da C.A.N. (Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Serie II, tom. L., Turin 1900.)* [Most of these manuscripts were destroyed by fire in 1904].

Uch

A descriptive catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts in the Durgah library Uch Sharif Gilani Bahawalpur State prepared by Dr. Ghulam Sarwar. Bahawalpur, n.d. [ca. 1959].

Uppsala

Tornberg = *Codices Arabici, Persici et Turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis. Disposuit et descripsit C.J.T.* Uppsala 1849.

Zetterstéen = 'Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala verzeichnet und beschrieben von

K.V.Z.', *Le monde oriental*, XXII, 1928, p. 1-498; also published separately, Uppsala 1930. [41]

Zetterstéen II = 'Die arabischen ... II', *Le monde oriental* XXIX, 1935, p. 1-180; published separately, Uppsala 1935.

Vienna

Duda = *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek... Dorothea D. Islamische Handschriften I Persische Handschriften Textband*. Vienna 1983.

Flügel = *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien ... beschrieben von Professor Dr. G.F.* 3 vols. Vienna 1865-7.

Krafft = *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der K.K. Orientalischen Akademie zu Wien, beschrieben von A.K.* Vienna 1842.

Wolfenbüttel

See: Dresden.

Wrocław (Breslau)

Brockelmann = *Verzeichnis der arabischen, persischen, türkischen und hebräischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau von C.B.* Breslau 1903.

Majda = See General Bibliography.

Richter = *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Breslau von G.R.* Leipzig 1933.

Yazd

Wazīrī = *Fihrist i nuskhah-hā i khatīf i kitāb-khānah i Wazīrī i Yazd...* by M. Shīrwīnī. 5 vols. Tehran 1350-8sh./1971-9. [42]

Persian poetry (*shi'r* or *nāzm*) is distinguished from prose (*nāthr*) by two indispensable formal components: end-rhyme (*qāfiyah*) and quantitative metre (*arūd* or *wāzn*), i.e. the regular succession of long and short syllables. Both of these features - together with others - are shared by Persian and Arabic poetry. Both, moreover, are conspicuously absent from all demonstrably pre-Islamic poetic works in Iranian languages. The conclusion, thus, virtually imposes itself that the Persian Muslims borrowed the principles of rhyme and of quantitative metre from Arabic.

Of course, the Iranians had poetry long before Islam. The oldest surviving works of Iranian verse are the Gāthās and Yashts of the Avesta. Although the language, the religious concepts and the poetic imagery of the Avesta are all close to those of the Vedas of ancient India, there is no trace in the Avesta of a quantitative metre of the sort which we find in the Vedas or in Greek poetry. The ancient Iranians evidently had a different system of versification from their Indian cousins. At present, the majority opinion among Iranologists¹ is that the poetic structure of the Gāthās is based exclusively on the number of syllables per line, though a minority view² (to which the [43] present author inclines) holds that the Gāthās conform to a system of accentual metre; more precisely, I think it most likely that the Ahunauuaitī Gāthā (= *Yasna* 28-34) and the Vahištōišti Gāthā (= *Yasna* 53) consist of verses

with a fixed number of stresses and a variable number of unstressed syllables, while the three other Gāthās (*Yasna* 43-46; 47-50; 51) have verses with a fixed number of syllables as well as a fixed number, and more-or-less fixed position of stresses. As for the Yashts, Geldner's view¹ that these are constructed of verses with a fixed number of syllables still has supporters,² though Henning³ maintained, with what seem to me very strong - if somewhat elliptically formulated - arguments, that the verses of the Yashts have a fixed number of stressed syllables only, while the number of unstressed syllables varies. The same accentual principle underlies, according to the penetrating analyses of Henning⁴ and Boyce,⁵ pre-Islamic [44] Middle-Persian and Parthian poetry, of which a good number of examples have come down to us both in Zoroastrian and in Manichaean script. The earlier suggestion by Benveniste⁶ that Middle-Persian poetry was based on mere syllable-counting required such a degree of tampering with the extant texts that it can effectively be disregarded, but also the occasionally expressed claim that it conformed with some kind of quantitative system has never been substantiated. Thus, Neo-Persian poetry, in basing itself on a system of a strictly regulated succession of long and short syllables, without any regard to the number or position of stresses, marks a clean break with Iranian pre-Islamic poetry.

With rhyme the situation is perhaps slightly more complicated. Although there is no hint of deliberate rhyme in the Avesta, the Manichaean Middle-Persian and Parthian hymns, or such manifestly pre-

¹See most recently the running metrical commentary on the Gāthās in J. Kellens/E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques* I, Wiesbaden 1988.

²See in particular Chr. Bartholomae, *Arische Forschungen* III, Halle 1887, p. 11-14; A. Meillet, 'La déclinaison et l'accent d'intensité en Perse', *JA* 9^{ème} série, tome XV, 1900, p. 254-77; J. Kurylowicz, *Metrik und Sprachgeschichte*, Wrocław (etc.) 1975 p. 102-38. Whereas Bartholomae thought that the Avestan accent followed the same general principles as that in Vedic (a position for which there are strong arguments; see, for example, G. Morgenstierne, 'Bemerkungen zum Wort-Akzent in den Gathas und im Paschto', *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 42, 1983, p. 167-75), Meillet thought that it was an accent of a Latin type and Kurylowicz maintained (with very dogmatic and basically untenable arguments) that it was fixed on the penultimate syllable.

¹K. Geldner, *Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen 1877.

²A bibliography (down to 1962) of studies on the metre of the Yashts can be found in G. Gropp, *Wiederholungsformen im Jung-Awesta* (Dissertation), Hamburg 1967, p. 188-90; see also Gropp's own remarks, p. 9-10. To these must be added in particular G. Lazard's rather inconclusive article 'La métrique de l'Avesta récent', *Acta Iranica* 23 (= *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata*), Leiden 1984, p. 283-300.

³W.B. Henning, 'The disintegration of Avestic Studies', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1942, p. 40-56 (also in his *Selected papers* II, Leiden 1977, p. 151-67).

⁴'Disintegration...', p. 52-6; 'A Pahlavi poem', *BSOAS* XIII, 1950, p. 641-8 (= *Selected papers* II p. 349-56).

⁵M. Boyce, *The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian*, London 1954, especially p. 45-59 ('Versification').

⁶É. Benveniste, 'Le Mémorial de Zarēr, poème pehlevi mazdéen', *JA* 220, 1932, p. 245-93.

Islamic Zoroastrian poems as the *Draxt ī Āsūrtg* and the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*,¹ there are a small number of early Persian poems that do rhyme, but have no regular system of quantitative metre. Two poems of this sort have been preserved in Zoroastrian script in the manuscripts of the *Pahlavi texts*,² a collection of miscellaneous religious and non-religious writings assembled, apparently, as a school-book for learners of the [45] Middle-Persian language. One of these,³ a poem rhyming consistently in *-ān*, bewails the Arab conquest of Iran and pines for deliverance; it thus clearly belongs to the Islamic period.⁴ Another text,⁵ also rhyming in *-ān*, laments the impermanence of the world. It has an internal rhyme in its first verse (as is canonic in Arabic and Neo-Persian *qasīdahs*), as well as a sort of refrain (every second verse ends with the words *andar gēhān*). Although a precise dating of the latter text is not possible, there is no patent reason why it too should not belong to the Islamic period. In Arabic script we have the text which the anonymous *Tārīkh ī Sīstān*⁶ says was inscribed on the fire-temple at Karkōy and which consists of eight periods rhyming in *-āsh* followed by one unrhymed line. The verses, if authentic, are presumably transcribed from an original in Zoroastrian script. Of course, it is well known that Zoroastrians continued to compose Middle-Persian documents of various sorts well into the Islamic period. It is thus in principle altogether possible that these few samples of rhymed poetry were all written during the Islamic period in conscious imitation of Arabic poetry. In this case one would, however, have to conclude that rhyme - the more immediately

¹B. Utas, 'On the composition of the Ayyātkār ī Zarērān', *Acta Iranica* 5 (= *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg II*), Leiden (etc.) 1975, p. 399-418, analyses as 'rhyme' the fact that a number of periods in this poem are concluded by verbs with the personal ending for the 3rd person singular *-ed/-ed* (in Utas's transcription *-et*), but this is at very best a rhetorical device and can hardly be regarded as a structural principle underlying the whole poem.

²*Pahlavi Texts*, ed. J.M. Jamasp-Asana, 2 volumes, Bombay 1897-1913.

³*Pahlavi Texts* II p. 160-1, translated and discussed by J.C. Tavadia, 'A rhymed ballad in Pahlavi', *JRAS* 1955 p. 29-36.

⁴A new edition, with detailed discussion, of this so-called 'rhymed ballad in Pahlavi', actually a Neo-Persian semi-quantitative poem in Pahlavi script, can be found in my article 'A Persian poem lamenting the Arab conquest', in *Studies in honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, II, Leiden (etc.) 2000, p. 82-95.

⁵*Pahlavi Texts* II p. 54, translated and discussed by Henning in 'A Pahlavi poem' (see above) p. 647-8.

⁶*Tārīkh ī Sīstān*, p. 37.

tangible of the two essential components of Arabic poetry - was introduced into Persian earlier than quantitative metre. Clearly post-Islamic examples of rhymed, but not quantitative poetry include the couplet attributed, most probably wrongly, to Abū Ḥafṣ [46] al-Sughdī, to which Lazard¹ has contributed an important study, and perhaps a few other small fragments, of which, however, one cannot be certain whether they are in fact poems and not merely rhyming jingles.² As for the so-called verse translation of the Qur'ān, a fragment of which was discovered in Qum,³ and which, according to its editor, represents 'a bridge between accentual and quantitative poetry', in the light of the unanimous insistence by Islamic tradition that the Qur'ān, despite its rhymed periods, and despite the fact that a good number of its *āyahs* can be scanned according to the rules of Arabic prosody, is not poetry (*shi'r*), one must seriously doubt whether this Persian paraphrase was intended to be anything more than an imitation of the rhymed prose of the Arabic original.

According to an anecdote in the *Tārīkh ī Sīstān*,⁴ the first person to compose a poem in (Neo-)Persian was Muḥammad b. Waṣīf,⁵ a secretary to the Saffarid ruler Ya'qūb b. Laith. When the latter declared that he was unable to understand the Arabic verses that were being recited in his [47] honour Muḥammad b. Waṣīf extemporised some laudatory verses in Persian. His example was then immediately followed by Bassām ī Kūrd and Muḥammad b. Mukhallad. And thus Persian poetry was born. The story is, of course, not necessarily true and indeed the question of who was the 'first Persian poet' is essentially a futile one.⁶

¹G. Lazard, 'Ahu-ye kuhi... Le chamois d'Abu Ḥafṣ de Sogdiane et les origines du Robā'i', *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London, 1970, p. 238-44. See also Lazard, *Poètes* I, p. 10-11; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū Ḥafṣ Sogdī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, with further literature, but overlooking Lazard's two contributions); *Idārah-chī* p. 18-19.

²Cf. Meier, *Mahsatt* p. 9-10. The whole first section of Meier's book (p. 1-13) is a sober and convincing refutation of the attempts by various scholars to derive Neo-Persian quantitative metres (and in particular that of the *rubā'i*) from alleged pre-Islamic Iranian prototypes.

³Edited by A. A. Rajā'i under the title *Pul-i miyān ī shi'r ī hijā'i wa 'arādi ī farst dar qur'ān ī awwal ī hijri, tarjamah ī dhangīn az du juzw ī qur'ān ī majīd*, Tehran 1352sh./1974.

⁴*Tārīkh ī Sīstān*, p. 209-12. See also the discussion by S.M. Stern, *Minorsky Volume*, p. 546-9.

⁵See below, no. 111.

⁶See the fanciful discussion of the question in 'Aufī I p. 19-22. The verses which 'Aufī (and later authors) claim were composed by one 'Abbās (or Abū l-'Abbās) Marwazī in 193/808-9 in honour of the future caliph al-Ma'mūn are, as many Iranian and European scholars have emphasised, clearly a forgery from a much later time. Cf.

But the anecdote does certainly do justice to the circumstances, and to the approximate time (middle of the 3rd/9th century), in which Neo-Persian poetry came into being. When the court poets, who were accustomed to eulogising their masters in an already highly stylised type of Arabic poetry, found that they were no longer understood by the Iranian soldier-kings who had seized power on the Eastern fringe of the *dār al-islām*, they were compelled to switch to Persian and to perpetuate in that language the same forms and poetic traditions with which they were accustomed from Arabic. Although now working in Persian, they continued to produce poems of a distinctly Arabic type, employing monorhyme, quantitative metre as well as a perhaps somewhat simplified version of the same stylised imagery.

But to say that the early Persian poets borrowed the principles of quantitative metre from Arabic does not necessarily mean that the metres that they used were the same as those already in use in Arabic poetry. Their procedure was not quite the same as that of the Roman poets, who not only adopted the general poetic canons of the Greeks, but even forced their language into the same metres which the Greek tradition held [48] appropriate for the several types of poetry: hexameter for heroic and didactic poems, the Lesbian metres for lyrics, iambs for tragic dialogue, etc. To be sure, some of the most common metres in Persian, such as *mutaqārib muthamman maḥdhūf* (or *sālim*):

U--U--U--U--(-),

hazaj musaddas maḥdhūf:

U---U---U--,

and *ramal musaddas maḥdhūf*:

-U---U---U-

occur also in basically the same form in Arabic, with the difference only that the Arabic *mutaqārib*,¹ *hazaj* and *ramal* all permit in certain places

Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 11-12, with further literature; now also *Idārah-chī* p. 23-32.

¹In Arabic *mutaqārib* is relatively rare, certainly not so common as in Persian, but there is no foundation for Elwell-Sutton's suggestion (p. 172) that this metre was copied 'from Persian to Arabic'. It is used in two poems in Nöldeke's *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum*, p. 79 and 80, by Ka'b and al-Najāshī, poets from the time of the Arab conquests of the 7th century. Quite apart from the fact that there is no evidence for quantitative metre (to say nothing of *mutaqārib*) in Persian at such an early date, it is most unlikely that these Arab tribal bards should have known anything of Persian poetry.

the use of either a long or a short syllable (*ancepites*); the *mutaqārib*, for example, scans U-XU-XU-XU-(-); while in the corresponding Persian metres the places in question are always occupied by long syllables. These Persian metres thus make the impression of having been modelled on the 'sound', school-book versions of the corresponding Arabic metres, in which the long *ancepites* are regarded as standard, the short *ancepites* as a permitted variation of the standard pattern. On the other hand, many Persian metres, particularly those commonly used in lyric poetry, do not correspond to any Arabic metre, this despite the fact that the traditional Persian prosodic theory has given them elaborate Arabic names and attempted to 'derive' them from the standard Arabic metres with which they share a name. It is thus clear that the pioneers of Persian poetry, besides borrowing, or rather adapting, some of the [49] Arabic metres, also developed a number of new, purely Persian metres of an Arabic (i.e. quantitative) type. To these the prosodists later assigned more or less artificial Arabic names.

In his important book *The Persian metres*¹ L.P. Elwell-Sutton has shown the inadequacy of the traditional Arabic-based analysis of Persian metres, refuted (I should think for good) the notion that the latter can be derived totally from Arabic models and laid the foundation for a new approach to the formal analysis of Persian poetry on the basis of the prosodic patterns actually occurring in Persian verse. However, Elwell-Sutton went a step further and claimed that the Persian system of quantitative metre has in fact nothing to do with Arabic, but continues the formal traditions of pre-Islamic Persian poetry. This claim is, however, totally unsubstantiated. Neither Elwell-Sutton nor anyone else has succeeded in analysing Old or Middle-Iranian poetry (of which a considerable amount has survived) along quantitative lines, and as long as such an analysis has not succeeded we cannot but assume that that poetry was not quantitative. In fact, as has already been mentioned, a very strong case for an accentual basis of Middle-Iranian poetry has been made by such experts as Henning and Boyce. It is most regrettable that Elwell-Sutton, by referring to antiquated studies by Iranicists like Benveniste, Nyberg, and Christensen, or non-Iranicists like Marr,² must inevi-

¹Cambridge 1976.

²p. 181.

tably induce non-specialist readers to think that the study of pre-Islamic Iranian poetry is a field where anything goes. In fact it is one where there is now a fairly large degree of consensus among competent judges.

The question of why the Persian poets of the Islamic period invented the particular non-Arabic [50] metres that they did is one about which one can only hazard a guess. It would seem, however, most probable that educated Persian Muslims of the first centuries after the hijrah, schooled as they were in Arabic poetry and, perhaps more importantly, in *tajwīd*, the science of Qur'ānic recitation, with its painfully exact measurement of the length of every syllable, must have become aware of the varying length of the syllables in their own language, as well as of the metrical patterns typical of it. When they began to compose poetry of an Arabic type in their own language they obviously felt it imperative to maintain a consistent pattern of long and short syllables in each verse. It was not necessary, however, to use the actual patterns occurring in Arabic poems. It was left to the metricians of later times to analyse these Persian patterns and to force them more or less violently into the scheme devised by the Arabic prosodists.

If we ignore stanzaic poetry, which in all periods of Persian literature has played only a marginal role,¹ we can divide Persian poems into those which have monorhyme (i.e. the same rhyme occurs at the conclusion of every verse from the beginning to the end of the poem), on the one hand, and *mathnawīs* (i.e. those consisting of rhymed couplets) on the other.² Poems with monorhyme, which we can conveniently designate as 'lyric' verse, range from two-line epigrams to odes of more than [51] a hundred verses, though really long odes are very much less common in Persian than in Arabic. In the early periods lyric poems are most

¹But see now the thought-provoking article by G. Schoeler, 'Älteste neupersische Strophendichtung: Rūdākīs *musammat*, sein arabisches Vorbild und seine persischen Nachfolger', *Asiatische Studien (Études Asiatiques)* 51, 1997, p. 601-25.

²In the present book the English word 'verse' will be used consistently to render Arabic/Persian *bait*. Each 'verse' consists, as a rule, of two 'half-verses' (*miṣrāʿ*). In monorhyme the rhyme occurs at the end of the 'verse', i.e. at the end of every second *miṣrāʿ* only, except in the first verse of a given poem, where, in general, both half-verses rhyme. In *mathnawīs* the two *miṣrāʿ*s of any given verse rhyme together. Thus a 'verse'/*bait* is here what in European poetic systems would be called a 'couplet'.

frequently panegyrics (poems flattering a king or some other patron), though we also find elegiac-didactic poems (often lamenting old age, or expressing pessimistic sentiments), erotic and bacchic poems, lampoons (generally directed against rival poets or tight-fisted ex-patrons) and assorted facetiae. Religious pieces are relatively rare before the time of Sanāʿī (first half of the 6th/12th century), though later they become the dominant type of lyric poetry. All of these genres are well-known in Arabic and the stylised structural and rhetorical devices of Arabic lyrics are imitated freely by the Persian authors.

Poems consisting of rhymed couplets are generally long to very long (the *Shāh-nāmāh* has about 60 000 verses) and of either narrative or didactic content. Indeed the distinction between narrative and didactic *mathnawīs* is not always clear-cut; Asadī's *Karshāsp-nāmāh*, for example, though fundamentally a story-poem, indulges in long paraenetic excursions, as do many later epics. Although long instructive and narrative poems in rhymed couplets are by no means unknown in Arabic, they are considerably less common there than in Persian and have certainly never enjoyed the same status as the Persian *mathnawī*. Moreover, in Arabic this sort of poetry is restricted to a single metre (*rajaz*), while writers of Persian *mathnawīs* have a greater choice of metres, though even they use only half a dozen metres with any frequency. The subject-matter of Persian narrative poems is in many cases taken from the legendary and semi-legendary traditions of pre-Islamic Iran. This is the case with Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmāh*, Asadī's *Karshāsp-nāmāh* and the other heroic poems belonging to the Persian [52] 'epic cycle',¹ but also such romantic epics as Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn* or Nizāmī's *Khusrau-Shīrīn*, as well as overtly Zoroastrian works like Kai-Kā'ōs's *Maulūd i Zartusht*. But there are also poems based on Arabic, Islamic and Islamicised Biblical traditions such as the various versions of *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, 'Aiyūqī's *Warqah u Gulshāh* or Nizāmī's *Lailē-Majnūn*. Others again can be traced to Hellenistic sources, e.g. 'Unṣurī's *Wāmiq u Adhrā* or the versions of the legend of Alexander by Nizāmī and others. Three of the

¹I.e. the two versions of the *Shahryār-nāmāh* attributed to Farrukhī (below, p. 111) and Mukhtarī (below, p. 432-5), the *Burzō-nāmāh* attributed (most probably wrongly) to one 'Aṭā'ī, the *Bahman-nāmāh* and *Kōsh-nāmāh* attributed to one Ērānshāh, the anonymous *Ādharbarzīn-nāmāh*, *Bānā-Gushasp-nāmāh* and the two versions of the *Farāmarz-nāmāh* (all discussed in Appendix I).

very earliest Persian *mathnawīs* of which we have any knowledge, namely Rōdākī's *Kallāh u Dimnah* and *Sindbād-nāmah*, and the anonymous, but roughly contemporary *Bilauhar u Būdhāsaf*,¹ all retell in Persian the same (ultimately Sasanian or Sasanianised Indian) stories which Abān al-Lāhīqī had put into Arabic rhymed couplets² more than a century earlier. All three of these Persian poems are in *ramal* metre, which, as can be seen from the table, is based on the same recurring pattern as *rajaz*, the canonical metre of Arabic couplets. And the same pattern underlies also the *hazaj* metre employed in the earliest poetical version of the *Shāh-nāmah*, that by Mas'ūdī al-Marwazī,³ and in other early *mathnawīs*, whether narrative (*Wis u Rāmīn*) or didactic (e.g. Maisarī's *Dānīsh-nāmah*) and well as in many long poems of later authors (e.g. Nizāmī's *Khusrau-Shīrīn* and its many imitations or Rūmī's *Mathnawī i ma'nawī*). [53] It is thus quite clear that the narrative and didactic poetry of the Persians, like their lyrical verse, had Arabic antecedents both for its content and for its general form.

rajaz: --U---U---U- etc.
 ramal: -U---U---U-- etc.
 hazaj: U---U---U--- etc.

One of the striking features of early Persian narrative poems is that their authors repeatedly and insistently tell us that their poems are based on an 'old book'. In other words, they are versifications of pre-existing written narratives. In at least one case the source used by the poet is actually extant (the Middle-Persian *Zand i Wahman-Yasht* used by Kai-Kā'ōs⁴) and in some others it can at least be identified (e.g. Abū Mu'ayyad's *Kitāb i Karshāsp* as the probable source of Asadī's epic). In general these sources can be assumed to have been in Persian prose and

¹For the latter see below, p. 567-8.

²For Abān's *Kallāh wa Dimnah* see de Blois, *Burzōy* p. 5, 96.

³See below, p. 191-2.

⁴See below, p. 174.

to have been translated either from an Arabic or a Middle-Persian original, though in a few cases (*Maulūd i Zartusht* and *Wis u Rāmīn*) the poet appears to have worked directly on the basis of a source in Middle Persian.¹

Despite the insistence by the authors of these narratives that they are merely retelling what they found in a 'book', attempts have occasionally been made to view early Persian poetry in the [54] light of the well-known theory of 'oral poetry',² a theory which has had a very strong influence particularly on the Anglo-Saxon school of Homeric studies, but which has also been applied with interesting results to such fields as pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. In the case of Persian, this theory would imply the existence of an uninterrupted tradition of poetry handed down from generation to generation from remote Iranian antiquity all the way to the professional *Shāh-nāmah*-reciters of the present. Support for this conception might be sought in the fact that in Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah*, alongside the many passages where the poet speaks of the 'old book' that he has put into verse, there are also a number of places where he states, or implies, that he has 'heard' the story he is about to tell from an 'old *dihqān*' or the like.³ But it is much more likely that in all the passages of this sort the poet is merely repeating, in verse, the statement by his written source that it has derived its information from the person in question. Thus, when at the beginning of the story of Burzōy⁴ the poet invites us to listen to the words of Shādān, the son of Burzīn, the casual reader could be forgiven for thinking that Firdausī actually heard Shādān tell this story. In fact, we know from the 'older preface' to the *Shāh-nāmah*⁵ that Shādān, son of Burzīn, was one of the 'four men' who collaborated in the compilation of the prose *Shāh-nāmah* that was written for Abū Manšūr b. 'Abd al-Razzāq in Muḥarram 346/957, one [55] of Firdausī's written sources.⁶ Firdausī's reference to Shādān is thus clearly

¹For the possibility that the source of the latter was a Middle-Persian poem see below, p. 162-3.

²See in particular O.M. Davidson, 'The crown-bestower in the Iranian Book of Kings', *Acta Iranica* 23 (= *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*), Leiden 1985, p. 61-148, especially p. 103-42 ('The authority and authenticity of Ferdowsi's Book of Kings').

³See the collection of passages in Davidson p. 113-5.

⁴Moscow edition VIII p. 247 (Nōshīn-ruwān v. 3337).

⁵*Haz. Fird.* p. 136.

⁶See below, p. 121-6.

lifted directly from his source. Further on in the text, at the beginning of the story of Hurmuzd,¹ the poet speaks quite vividly of a meeting which he had with Mākh, the margrave of Herat, a wise old man, whom Firdausī asks for information about the reign of king Hurmuzd and whose reply the poet then proceeds to quote. But this is manifestly a poetic fiction. Mākh the *marzbān* of Herat is clearly identical with another of the 'four men' whose name appears in the manuscripts of the 'older preface' as Shāj of Herat (شاه is either a misreading of شاه, or vice versa). The same is apparently also the case with the story of the invention of the game of chess which Firdausī tells on the authority of 'old Shāhōy',² evidently yet another of the 'four men', whose name occurs in the 'older preface' as Māhōy (this, like the previous example, must be seen in the light of the close similarity of initial m- and s/sh- in early Persian handwriting). It is, of course, not out of the question that the young Firdausī might actually have met one or the other of the 'four men', but it is rather unlikely that he should have known three of the four.

Further evidence for the dependence of the Persian epic tradition on written sources, rather than on a living oral tradition can be seen in the fact that a good number of the proper names that figure in that tradition appear in a form that can only be explained in terms of the misreading of written sources. Thus the name of Tahmūrath (or -rat) clearly results from the mispointing in [56] Arabic script of *Tahmūrab, for Middle-Persian t'hmwlp and Avestan Taxma- Urupi.³ Similarly the name given to Farēdūn's evil son Tūr⁴ is evidently a mispointing (again conceivable only in Arabic script) for Tūz,⁵ representing Middle-Persian twc.⁶ Or Isfandyār,⁷ a corruption in Arabic script for Isfandyād (or

¹ Moscow edition VIII p. 316 (Hurmuzd v. 15 sqq.)

² Moscow edition VIII p. 217 (Nōshīn-ruwān v. 2811-2).

³ Justi p. 320-1.

⁴ Or Tōr? Rhymes with *shōr* in the Moscow edition of the *Shāh-nāmah* IV p. 215 v. 104, in the Leningrad manuscript only.

⁵ Thus in Tha'ālibī. The Northwest-Iranian form Tūzh is represented by the spelling Tūj in Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Nadīm, Bairūnī etc.

⁶ Justi p. 328-9, with the untenable suggestion that Middle-Persian twc represents a misreading of Arabic Tūr.

⁷ Thus, rhyming with -dr, repeatedly in the *Shāh-nāmah*, including the section by Daqīqī.

Isp-)¹, for Middle-Persian spndy't or spndd't,² for Avestan Spəntōdāta-³ Or Nastūr, a mispointing of Bastūr, Middle-Persian bstwl, Avestan Bastauuairī-⁴ For G/Karshāsp, from Karsāsp, see below, p. 83, footnote no. 2. The question of whether all these spellings were in fact already used by Firdausī and are not merely the result of later scribal corruptions must, for the adherents of the theory of oral poetry, be irrelevant, since the prerequisite of this theory is precisely the assumption of an uninterrupted oral tradition from antiquity to the present day. Such a tradition ought not to be able to be led astray by scribal errors, whether before or after the time of [57] Firdausī, who is but one link in an unbroken chain of oral poets.

It is quite clear that a theory of oral poetry will only work if it is possible to posit a continuing formal tradition of versification. In the case of the Homeric epics, for example, it is assumed that the stories of the Trojan War and of the adventures of Odysseus were retold by generation after generation of bards, all using the same hexametre verse, the same (or much the same) somewhat artificial poetic language (which was not identical with any of the spoken Greek dialects), the same set similes and standard epithets, etc., until the time when one particular version of the poems was set down in writing. Of course, we cannot prove that this was actually the case, but it is not an implausible hypothesis. But Firdausī and his contemporaries did not have this kind of tradition behind them. They were pioneers. Persian poetry with rhyme and quantitative metre was, as we have seen, only a bit more than a century old. This innovation cut them off from the old poetic tradition. When they told the same stories as the pre-Islamic minstrels, as is evidently the case with Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*,⁵ their link with their predecessors was through books, not through a living tradition.

Our conclusion can thus only be that the *Shāh-nāmah*, as it was written by Firdausī, was not oral poetry, but book-literature. However,

¹ Thus in Nöldeke's *Delectus*, p. 67 l. 11.

² In Middle-Persian script y and d are identical. It is thus difficult to say whether -ydd is a misreading (in MP. script) of -ddd, or whether it represents a genuine South-Western dialect form corresponding to Avestan Spəntōdāta-.

³ Justi p. 308-9.

⁴ Justi p. 65.

⁵ Cf. M. Boyce, 'The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian minstrel tradition', *JRAS* 1957, p. 10-45.

almost as soon as it was written down, it most certainly did turn into oral poetry on the tongues of the rhapsodists, who developed and elaborated the epic orally and have continued to do so to the present. The tremendous degree of disagreement already between the oldest manuscripts of the poem cannot be explained purely in terms of the carelessness and [58] unscrupulousness of generations of scribes. It is quite clear that from a very early date the scribal and oral textual traditions have constantly influenced one another. But this is an oral tradition which does not (as is assumed to have been the case with the Homeric poems) culminate and end with a book. In Iran the book is the point of departure.

Addendum (December 2000): This chapter has been reprinted as it appeared in the first edition (1992), with correction of a few mistakes and some additions to the bibliography.

The origin of the Persian metrical system, and its relationship with the Arabic, have since been the subject of several articles (all without reference to our discussion) in the volume *Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry*, ed. L. Johanson and B. Utas (=Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions, Vol. 5), Uppsala 1994; see in particular: p. 35-43 (J.T.P. de Bruijn, 'The individuality of the Persian metre *khafif*'); p. 45-59 (G. Doerfer, 'Gedanken zur Entstehung des *rubāʿī*'); p. 81-90 (G. Lazard, 'Le mètre épique baloutchi et les origines du motaqāreb'); p. 129-41 (B. Utas, 'Arabic and Iranian elements in New Persian prosody').

O. Davidson's essay (mentioned above, p. 54, fn.) has been republished (with slight reworking) as the first half of her book *Poet and hero in the Persian Book of Kings*, Ithaca and London 1994, and a similar line of reasoning has now been pursued by D. Davis in his article 'The problem of Ferdowsi's sources', *JAOS* 116, 1996, p. 48-57, again both without reference to the arguments in the present book. Davidson's book has been criticised by (among others) M. Omidisalar in *JAOS* 116, 1996, p. 235-42, G. Herrmann in *Central Asiatic Journal* XLI, 1997, p. 127-8, and by me in *JRAS* 1998, p. 269-70.

In the addenda to the first edition (p. 612-4) I drew attention to the fact that a further sample of (apparently) pre-Islamic narrative poetry is the fragment quoted in the Vatican manuscript of Asadī's *LF* (ed. Horn p. 34; Salimi p. 274; omitted in Iqbāl's edition!) from 'the book of Pīrān i Wēsah in the Pahlawī language'.¹ The Ms. has:

آزدم کی دشهریار کت صیر و سناد یبذر اور و حید و لم ساجاد

Nöldeke (cited in Horn's footnote) recognised the words *tundur*, *aβrōčand* and *sāčād* in the second 'half-verse' and Henning (in the handwritten notes in his copy of Horn, kindly lent to me by N. Sims-Williams) emended the first four words as given below. Standing on the shoulders of these illustrious predecessors we might propose reading the whole thing as:

azd-am kard, šahryār, kū-t hīr wasnād

tundur aβrōčād u tum sājad

which could mean something like: 'I have made it known, oh king, that it is for your sake that the thunder was ignited² and the darkness brought forth'. Pīrān, son of Wēsah, figures in the *Shāh-nāmah* as a courtier of Afrāsyāb, but it is difficult to place the verses in the story. The language of the fragment is like that of *Draxt i Āsūrtg* and *Ayādgār i Zarērān* in that it is basically Parthian with an admixture of Persian,³ a Partho-Persian poetic koine, and thus comparable to the language of the Homeric poems (mainly Ionic, but with an admixture of other dialects). Both lines have nine syllables and (it seems) four stresses each, but whether or not the apparent 'rhyme' between *wasnād* and *sājad* is intentional can hardly be judged from a single pair of lines.

¹ *andar nāmāh i Pīrān i Wēsah guftand ba pahlawī zabān*, followed again by the word *fahlawī* in red (according to Salimi).

² The idea of thunder being 'ignited' seems strange, of course, but is perhaps not impossible in poetry. Alternatively, one could read *tanār* (thus Henning, tentatively) *aβrōčād u bazm (?) sājad*, '... the oven was lit and the banquet prepared'.

³ *šahryār* is Persian, though it could of course be 'emended' to Parthian *šahrōār*. For *hīr*, cf. Parthian *īr*, Middle-Persian *xīr*, Pāzand *hīr*, *xīr*, 'thing, wealth'. *wasnād* is a Parthian postposition, 'on account of' (also in *Draxt i Āsūrtg*); the *LF* is evidently wrong to define it as 'many' and to equate it with the identically written word in the verse from Rōdakī cited in the same lemma. The two verbs in the last line are semi-Persianised variants of Parthian *aβrōčād* and *sājad* (as against Persian *afrōz-* and *sāz-*); *sājad* is a Parthian second past participial in *-ād*.

The poets discussed in this chapter are essentially those quoted in Asadī's *Lughat i furs* and in Rādūyānī's *Tarjumān al-balāghah*, as well as a few others who can confidently be regarded as their contemporaries. Asadī's work cannot be dated precisely, but its author was still alive some years after 458/1066.¹ It appears that Asadī continued to revise the work up until the end of his life and indeed that he left it unfinished at his death.² The family represented by the Vatican and India Office manuscripts contains a few quotations from poets of the first half of the 6th/12th century, namely a number of verses by Mu'izzī and one by Khātūnī. These are missing in the other manuscripts and evidently represent very early interpolations. Apart from these, everyone quoted by Asadī can safely be assumed to have made his name as a poet by the end of the third quarter of the 11th century at the latest. (This is naturally not true of the poets quoted only in the marginal additions to manuscript *nān*, which have nothing to do with Asadī. These contain many samples of verse of the 6th/12th century). Rādūyānī's work was evidently written after 482/1089³ and in any event before Ramaḍān 507/1114, the date of the unique manuscript. Rādūyānī quotes on the whole the same poets as Asadī. To these two 11th-century sources we can add two from the 12th century, namely [60] 'Arūḍī's *Chahār Maqālah* (completed in 552/1157) and Waṭwāt's *Ḥadā'iq al-sihr* (very heavily dependent on Rādūyānī) and finally two from the 13th, 'Aufī's *Lubāb al-albāb* (the earliest Persian anthology) and Shams's *al-Mu'jam fi ma'āyir ash'ār al-'ajam*. These six books, apart from stray references in the early historians and, of course, from the surviving poems themselves, represent pretty much the sum total of what we know about the first two centuries of Persian poetry. It will become evident from the biographies that follow how very little this often is. Later sources are almost entirely dependent on 'Arūḍī and 'Aufī for the more-or-less authentic biographical information which they contain about the early poets, but this has been augmented by much that is uncontrollable and in

most cases evidently false. They do, however, often quote genuine poems not cited by earlier authorities; particularly valuable for our purposes is the 14th-century anthology *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* by Jājarmī. The only later *tadhkirahs* which have consistently been cited in the present chapter are those by Daulat-shāh (15th century) and Hidāyat (19th century) and the information contained in these has been sifted with great caution. Given the scarcity of genuine biographical information no attempt has been made to arrange the following entries in chronological order; the ordering is strictly alphabetical. Anonymous works of the pre-Mongol period (which are generally even more difficult to date) will be found in appendix I.

Not included here are poets known to us by name, but who have not left us any verses. We have also excluded the versifying amateurs cited (often at considerable length) in the first volume of 'Aufī's work, apart from those who are also quoted (and thus evidently recognised as more or less respectable poets) by Asadī or Rādūyānī. [61]

1. A long *qaṣīdah* by one 'Abharī in praise of the Seljuq Alp Arslān (455/1063 to 465/1072; the king's name is mentioned in the 3rd verse) is quoted by Jājarmī. Hidāyat, who quotes a dozen lines from the same poem, as well as some other verses, calls their author 'Abd al-Majīd 'Abharī Ghaznawī, evidently identifying him with the 'Abd al-Majīd 'Abharī whom 'Aufī had included near the end of his chapter devoted to what he rather inadequately calls the Seljuq poets of Ghanzīn and Lahore (and which in fact contains mainly the panegyrists of the later Ghaznavids). If the two are in fact identical it would seem that 'Aufī lacked reliable information about when this poet lived. But perhaps we have rather two different 'Abharīs.

'Aufī II p. 295; Jājarmī II p. 477-81; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 337; Khaiyām-pūr p. 383; *LN* s.v. 'Abharī' p. 93.

2. Abū l-'Abbās al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās al-Rabījanī¹ is the author of a poem, quoted in various anthologies, lamenting the death of the Samanid Naṣr (II) b. Aḥmad (which occurred on 1 Sha'bān 331/943) and greeting the succession of his son Nūḥ. It is likely that the numerous verses

¹See below, no. 37.

²This is suggested in the introduction in manuscript P.

³See Ateş's introduction, p. 29-34, and below, no. 28.

¹in the late anthologies: al-Bukhārā'ī; in fact Rabījan is located near Samarqand.

attributed in the *Lughat i furs* (and later dictionaries) to 'Abū l-'Abbās (i 'Abbāsī), or to 'Abbāsī belong to the same poet. The fragments of his work indicate that he was at one point exiled from his native country and took refuge in Farghānah.

Collection of fragments (79 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 26-7, 85-93, II p. 64-77.

Tha'libī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, Cairo 1326/1908, p. 147-8; *LF* (see indexes); Rādūyānī p. 25; 'Arūḍī [62] p. 28; 'Aufī II p. 9-10; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 381; Khaiyām-pūr p. 449; Idārah-chī p. 95-109.

3. A single verse by Abū 'Abīr 'Anbar¹ (or 'Abbās²) is quoted in Asadī's *LF*, s.v. *farkand*.

4. A handful of verses by Abū l-'Alā al-Shushtarī are quoted by Asadī and Rādūyānī; the latter authority mentions also a treatise of his on prosody. He must have lived well before the time of Manūchihirī, as the latter mentions him in a list of ancient poets.³

LF (see indexes); Rādūyānī p. 2, 49, 74, 85; Waṭwāt p. 46; Qazwīnī in his edition of 'Arūḍī p. 127 n. 1; S. Nafīsī, 'Abū l-'Alā' i Shustarī, *Sharq* I/5, 1310sh./1931, p. 265-8; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-'Alā' p. 634; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 438-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 20; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15 n. 2; Idārah-chī p. 53-4; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū l-'Alā' Šoštārī' (M. Zand).

5. Abū 'Alī Šāhibī is credited with one verse in manuscript *sīn* of *LF* (ed. Iqbāl p. 427; also in *Šihāḥ* p. 276).

Cf. *LN* s.v. 'Abū 'Alī' p. 674.

6. Abū 'Alī Sīmjūr was the governor of Khurāsān on behalf of the Samanids from 380/990-1 onwards, later rebelled against them and died in 387/997. One of his verses is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF*, s.v. *sān*.

Cf. Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Khaiyām-pūr p. 94.

¹Thus *LF*, Ms. 'ain.

²*LF*, Ms. *sīn*.

³*Dirwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī p. 113.

7. Two verses are attributed to one Abū 'Āšim in *LF* (see indexes). Cf. *LN* s.v. 'Abū 'Āšim' p. 568-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 19. [63]

8. Abū Dharr al-Būzjānī was a Šūfī saint. Jāmī tells us that Sebūktigin (reg. 366/977 to 387/997) visited him and presented to him his infant son Maḥmūd (born 361/971-2). The same authority adds that the saint died in 387/997. Apart from one Arabic and two Persian verses quoted by Jāmī we have a single verse attributed to (presumably the same) 'Bū Dharr' in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn* of *LF* s.v. *sangalah*.

LF (ed. Iqbāl) p. 501; Jāmī, *Nafahāt* p. 322; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 43; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 67; Buzurg I p. 40; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Dharr i Būzjānī' p. 454; Khaiyām-pūr p. 17; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Idārah-chī p. 238; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū Dharr Būzjānī' (M.N. Osmanov).

9. Abū l-Haitham Gurgānī is the author of a didactic *qaṣīdah* (inc. *yak-ē-st šūrat i har nau' u nēst z-īn-t gudhār * chī-rā kih hai'at i har šūrat-ē bawad bisyār*) which has been preserved for us thanks to the two commentaries written to answer the long series of philosophical-theological questions posed by it: one by an anonymous pupil of the author (who is perhaps identical with the Muḥammad b. Surkh al-Naisābūrī, whose commentary on the poem is mentioned by 'Alī b. Zaid al-Baihaqī), the other the *Kitāb jāmi' al-ḥikmatain* by Nāšir i Khusrau.¹ Both commentators were Ismā'īlīs, and both seem to imply that Abū l-Haitham belonged to the same sect, though the *qaṣīdah* itself is written from the standpoint of *taḡlīyah*. The first-mentioned commentary contains a somewhat mysterious passage (p. 43) where the author accuses Rōdakī, Shahīd al-Balkhī and Muṣ'abī of having distorted Abū l-Haitham's thought; this would seem to imply that the latter flourished in the first half of the 4th/10th century, if not [64] earlier. And the lines (19-21) in which the author laments the fact that the world is at present under evil auspices might indeed suggest that they were written before the spectacular political successes of the Ismā'īlī *da'wah* towards the end of the 3rd/9th century.

Edition of the *qaṣīdah*, French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 24-5, 78-84, II p. 52-63.

¹See below, no. 123.

Commentaries: *Commentaire de la qasida ismaélienne d'Abu'l-Haitham Jorjani attribué à Muhammad ibn Sorkh de Nishapour...* edited with a Persian and a very extensive French introduction by H. Corbin and M. Mu'in, Tehran/Paris 1955 (= *Bibliothèque iranienne* 6. Title also in Persian); *Nasir-e Khosrow Kitab-e Jami'al-Hikmatayn Le livre réunissant les deux sagesse... texte persan édité avec une double étude préliminaire en français et en persan par H. Corbin et M. Mo'in*, Tehran/Paris 1953 (= *Bibliothèque iranienne* 3).

Cf. 'Alī b. Zaid al-Baihaqī, *Tatimmat shiwan al-hikmah*, ed. M. Shafī, Lahore 1935, p. 132 (Arabic section), 91 (Persian section); *Elr* s.v. 'Abu'l-Haytam Gorgānī' (H. Corbin).

10. **Abū Ḥanīfah** Iskāfī¹ or Iskāf² is mentioned in three passages in the *Tārīkh i Baihaqī* in connection with events during the early part of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd of Ghaznah (451/1059 to 492/1099), where four long odes of his are quoted. His poetic career at the Ghaznavid court must, however, have begun a good deal earlier if we are to believe Sanā'ī's statement that 'Bū Ḥanīfah' wrote a poem for 'Unsurī (who appears to have died in the early part of Mas'ūd's reign³). 'Arūfī is in any case correct in listing [65] him among the Ghaznavid poets. 'Aufī, on the other hand, says that he flourished at the time of Sanjar, i.e. at the beginning of the 12th century, which would appear to be an error. Even greater confusion reigns with Hidāyat, who confused him with a scribe of the Samanid period, Abū l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī, and stated that he died in 386/996. Recently Bosworth has suggested that our poet might be identical with one Abū Ḥanīfah Panjdihī, of whom Bākhārī⁴ quotes some Arabic verses. One Persian verse by 'Abū Ḥanīfah i Iskāf' is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF*, s.v. *pashang*, another in the marginal additions in manuscript *nūn*, s.v. *āwang*.

Collection of fragments: M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, *Abū Ḥanīfah i Iskāfī*, Tehran 1334sh./1955.

Baihaqī p. 274-80, 380-4, 635-8; *LF* (references above); 'Arūfī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī's extensive comments, p. 136-40); Sanā'ī, *Diwān*,

¹Thus Baihaqī.

²*LF*, 'Arūfī, 'Aufī.

³See below, no. 149.

⁴No. 303.

ed. Mudarris i Ridāwī, Tehran 1341sh./1962, p. 639; 'Aufī II p. 175-6; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 83-5; *LN* s. vv. 'Abū Ḥanīfah i Iskāf i Ghaznawī' and 'Iskāf'; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II⁶ p. 398-403; Khaiyām-pūr p. 17 (with references to further *tadhkirahs*); C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, p. 75, 174; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry*, Leiden 1983, p. 117, 149, 261; *Elr* s.v. 'Eskāfī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn). [66]

11. **Abū l-Ḥārith**¹ Ḥarb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaqq-warī² al-Harawī is included by 'Aufī in his chapter on the Ghaznavid poets where we find a *ghazal* of six verses and a *rubā'ī*. Two further verses by 'Ḥaqq-warī' are quoted in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn* of *LF*.

LF (ed. Iqbāl) p. 17, 505; 'Aufī II p. 60-1; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 197; *LN* s.vv. 'Abū l-Ḥārth' p. 397 and 'Ḥaqq-warī i Harawī' p. 744-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 169.

12. **Abū l-Ḥurr** (Bū l-Ḥurr) is credited with one verse in *LF*, ed. Iqbāl, p. 455 (also in *Shihāh* p. 282). A poet of that name is mentioned also in a characteristically unflattering verse by Labībī (no. 37 of the collection by Rypka/Borecký, also from *LF*), where it rhymes with *ushtur*.

Cf. *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Ḥurr' p. 396.

13. **Abū l-Khaṭīr** Munajjim³ Gūzgānī⁴ (or: Gurgānī⁵) is quoted as the author of two verses in manuscript *sin* of Asadī's *Lughat i Furs*,⁶ to which Nakhjawānī's *Shihāh al-furs*⁷ adds one further verse.

Cf. *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Khaṭīr' p. 448.

¹In 'Aufī written without *alif* after the *ḥā'* (quasi: 'Abū l-Ḥārth').

²Thus vocalised (apparently by Mu'in) in the second *LN* article devoted to this poet, for the *ḥqwry* given in 'Aufī and in *LF* (at least according to Iqbāl); Hidāyat has *ḥfwry*.

³Thus only in *Shihāh*, p. 180.

⁴*LF*, ed. Iqbāl, p. 293.

⁵*Shihāh*, p. 180, in one manuscript.

⁶Ed. Iqbāl, p. 293, also in Qawwās, p. 138 ('Abū l-Khair') and *Shihāh*, p. 180.

⁷p. 228.

14. **Abū Laith** al-Ṭabarī, who was known already to Rādūyānī, is the author of a *ghazal* of seven verses quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the Ghaznavid poets. He is presumably identical with the author of the ode which Jāarmī ascribes to 'Bā Laith Gurgānī'. Rāzī adds a third poem, cited also by Hidāyat, who calls him 'Abā Laith Ṭabaristānī Gurgānī'.

Rādūyānī p. 39 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 66; Jāarmī II p. 467-9; Rāzī III p. 102 (no. 1157); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 81-2; Buzurg I p. 263; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Laith' p. 790-1; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 598-9; Khayyām-pūr p. 23.

15. **Abū l-Mathal** al-Bukhārī is included by 'Arūḍī and by 'Aufī, who quotes three of his [67] verses, among the poets of the Samanid period. There is a verse by Khusrawānī lamenting his death.¹

LF passim; Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 26; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 25; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 51-2; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Mathal' p. 793-4; Khayyām-pūr p. 23; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14-5; Idārah-chī p. 70-3; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū l-Maṭal Bokārī' (J.W. Clinton).

16. **Abū l-Mu'ayyad** al-Balkhī merits a brief entry in 'Aufī's chapter on the Samanid poets. His versification of the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikha is mentioned in one of the versions of the preface to the poem on the same subject formerly attributed to Firdausī (ed. Ethé, v. 170-1).² His main importance, however, was as an antiquarian and prose writer. A work with the title *Kitāb i 'ajā'ib i barr wa baḥr*, apparently written jointly by Abū l-Mu'ayyad and one Bishr Muqassim, is quoted in the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* (p. 13) and the other reports of 'marvels' which the same history gives on the authority of Abū l-Mu'ayyad come presumably from the same work. We possess in fact a geographical work entitled '*Ajā'ib al-dunyā* (or '*Ajā'ib al-ashyā'*)³ which, at least according to the preface in the Cambridge manuscript, was written by 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad Abū Muḥī' al-Balkhī' for the Samanid Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (365/975-6 to 387/997), but as that book clearly belongs to a much later period the connection between Abū l-Mu'ayyad and Nūḥ cannot be regarded as assured. His

¹See below, p. 228.

²See below, p. 579.

³See *PL* II p. 123-4 and *Elr* s.v. 'Ajā'eb al-Donyā' (L.P. Smirnova).

version of the *Shāh-nāmah* (apparently in prose) is mentioned in the *Tārīkh i Bal'ami*, by 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī and Ibn Isfandiyār. al-Bairūnī refers in one passage to a *Shāh-nāmah* by a certain Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī al-Shā'ir, [68] which he tells us was based on the *Kitāb siyar al-mulūk* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and other sources; it is possible that this 'Abū 'Alī' is identical with Abū Mu'ayyad, i.e. he was the father of a man with the given name (*ism*) 'Alī and the honorary title (*laqab*) al-Mu'ayyad. The *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, speaking of the various recensions of the Iranian national saga, mentions a number of works 'in prose' by 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad al-Balkhī'¹ such as the stories of Narīman, Sām, Kai-Qubād, Afrāsyāb etc.; it is not clear whether these were separate works or rather parts of his *Shāh-nāmah*. In the same category must be placed also his *Kitāb i Karshāsp*, mentioned in the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* (p. 35).

Collection of his poetic fragments: G. Lazard, 'Abu l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī', *Yādnāme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, p. 95-101 (With English translation, biography and bibliography).

Bairūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah* (ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878) p. 99-100; *LF* passim; Rādūyānī p. 26 (and Ateş ad loc.); *Tārīkh i Sīstān* p. 13-4, 16-7, 35-7 (and Bahār's notes, p. 1); *Mujmal* p. 2, 3; 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī, *Qābūs-nāmah* (ed. Yūsufī, Tehran 1345sh./1967) p. 4; Shah-mardān b. Abī l-Khair, *Nuz'hat-nāmah i 'Alā'*, ed. F. Jahānpūr, Tehran 1362sh./1983, p. 342; 'Aufī II p. 26; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān* (ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1324sh./1945) p. 60; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 81; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 54; Bahār II p. 8, 18-24; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 401-3; Khayyām-pūr p. 23; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad' p. 877-9; Idārah-chī p. 133-51; *Elr* s.vv. 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī', (G. Lazard) and 'Abū 'Alī Balkhī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, with further literature on the question of the identity of the two).

17. **Abū l-Mu'ayyad** al-Raunaqī al-Bukhārī is another of the Samanid poets quoted by 'Aufī; Wālih² claims to know more precisely

¹The name appears thus on p. 3 of the edition. On p. 2 the manuscript used by the editor has 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad' followed by a blank, but the old Berlin manuscript has 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad al-Balkhī' in both passages; see the facsimile edition published in Tehran 1379sh./2001, fol. 2a, lines 11 and 20.

²apud Ethé p. 54.

that he [69] lived during the time of the last Samanids and of the first Ghaznavids. It is perhaps possible that some of the fragments which the sources attribute to 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad' belong to him rather than to his namesake from Balkh.

'Aufi II p. 26-7; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 54-5; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Mu'ayyad' p. 879; Khaiyām-pūr p. 23; G. Lazard, *Yādnāme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, p. 97 n. 19; Idārah-chī p. 40.

18. **Abū l-Muẓaffar** 'Abd al-Jabbār b. al-Ḥasan al-Baihaqī al-Jumahlī,¹ the *ṣāhib al-barīd* at Naisābūr during the time of Mas'ūd, is frequently mentioned in Baihaqī's history of the period. His contemporaries Tha'ālibī and Bākhazī both quote a number of his Arabic verses, and Ibn Funduq, after referring to the two afore-mentioned literary historians and repeating a few of the Arabic verses that they had adduced, adds three more in Persian. It is likely that he is also the author of the verse which the Vatican manuscript of *LF*, s.v. *ābād*, attributes to 'Abū l-Muẓaffar j.kh.j'.

LF (ed. Horn) p. 34; Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat* II p. 90-1; Bākhazī no. 405; Baihaqī (see the index, s.v. 'Jumahlī'); Ibn Funduq p. 178-9; 'A. Iqbāl, 'Abū l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ḥusain (sic) i Jumahlī (az shu'arā i nīmah i awwal i qarn i panjum)', *Sharq* I, 1310sh./1922, p. 705-8; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* III p. 25-6; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Muẓaffar' p. 843; Khaiyām-pūr p. 23; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* III p. 25-6.

19. **Abū Naṣr** Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭāliqānī was one of the panegyrists of the Seljuq minister Nizām al-mulk (d. 485/1092). Bākhazī quotes three Arabic verses from an ode to this dignitary. 'Aufi repeats two of these and adds two pairs of Persian verses. One further verse is ascribed to 'Bū Naṣr i Ṭāliqān' in manuscript *nūn* of *LF*.² There are two [70] Ṭāliqāns, one in Dailam and the other near Marw i Rōd; if this poet was a native of the latter he might then be identical with the 'Abū Naṣr i Marghazī' to whom Asadī attributes one verse, s.v. *far-*

¹Thus vocalised in Sam'ānī, new edition, III p. 326 no. 936.

²ed. Iqbāl p. 471.

hast.¹ Two further verses² are ascribed by the same authority to an unspecified 'Bū Naṣr'.

Bākhazī no. 304; *LF* (references in the article); 'Aufi II p. 69; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Naṣr' p. 893 and 908; Khaiyām-pūr p. 24 (two entries).

20. One verse by **Abū l-Qāsim Mihrānī** is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF* (ed. Horn p. 83).

21. **Abū Sa'īd** Faḍl Allāh b. Abī l-Khair, the famous mystic, was born (according to the hagiographic sources) on 1 Muḥarram 357/967 and died on 4 Sha'bān 440/1049. The prose works attributed (probably wrongly) to him will be described in *PL* IV (Sufism); we are concerned for the moment only with his supposed *rubā'iyāt*. The two principal sources for his life, the *Ḥālāt u sukhunān i Shaikh Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair* by the saint's great-great-grandson Luṭf Allāh b. Sa'd b. As'ad b. Sa'īd b. Faḍl Allāh³ and the *Asrār al-tauḥīd fī maqāmāt al-shaikh Abī Sa'īd*, by a cousin of the preceding, Muḥammad b. Munawwar b. As'ad etc.,⁴ from the first and second half of the 6th/12th century respectively, both quote a number of quatrains that Abū Sa'īd is supposed to have [71] recited on various occasions, but both also deny explicitly that these are the work of Abū Sa'īd himself: the *Ḥālāt*⁵ quotes him as saying that the poetry that 'falls from my lips' is the composition of the 'azīzān, i.e. the earlier Sufis, and that most of it is by Abū Sa'īd's teacher, Abū l-Qāsim Bishr, while the *Asrār*⁶ states (on the authority of the author's grandfather, the saint's grandson) that although some people (*jamā'at* e) believe that the verses that the master recited were of his own composition, the fact is that he composed only one verse and one *rubā'ī* (both quoted) and that everything else was a repetition of what had been com-

¹*LF*, ed. Iqbāl, p. 35; ed. Mujtabā'i/Ṣādiqī p. 44; also in Qawwās p. 9 and *Ṣiḥāḥ* p. 36. This Abū Naṣr is treated as a separate poet by Idārah-chī p. 44.

²One in ed. Iqbāl p. 477; the other is quoted s.v. *sarshakh* (ed. Iqbāl p. 77; ed. Mujtabā'i/Ṣādiqī p. 69; also in *Ṣiḥāḥ*) and attributed by some of the manuscripts to Kisā'i.

³Ed. Zhukovskiy, St.-Petersburg 1899; ed. Afshār, Tehran 1331sh./1952 and reprints; see *PL* I p. 928-9.

⁴Edited by Zhukovskiy in the volume cited in the preceding note; ed. Ṣafā, Tehran 1332sh./1953 and reprints; cf. *PL* I p. 929-30.

⁵Old edition, p. 54.

⁶Old edition, p. 263.

posed by his *pt̄rs*. In the introduction to his edition of the poems, Saʿīd Nafīsī has attempted to refute the idea that Abū Saʿīd wrote no poetry (apart from the three verses quoted in the *Asrār*) by referring to the many passages in the *Asrār*, the *Ḥālāt* and other relatively early sources which refer to the recitation of verses by Abū Saʿīd, but this is really a *petitio principii*; the sources are unanimous in conceding that Abū Saʿīd recited poetry; they deny, however, that the verses were of his own composition. Ivanow¹ has quite rightly emphasised that 'it is improbable that the admiring biographer of his own holy ancestor should have missed an opportunity to add to the fame of the Shaykh by corroborating the general belief in the latter's poetical talents. If he has done otherwise there cannot be any doubt that this was due to the fact that memory was still fresh and the real state of things could not be misrepresented.' Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that at least some of the verses which the older [72] sources put into the mouth of Abū Saʿīd might indeed be of great antiquity and thus of real importance for the history of Persian poetry. At the same time it is clear that in the surviving collections any authentic kernel has been encompassed in a mass of late elaboration. The task of disentangling the two remains to be done.

Collections of *rubāʿīyāt*: Mss.: Oxford Whinfield 42 (Beeston 2546. An abridged modern copy of the Calcutta Ms.); London Add. 7822 no. 2 (Rieu p. 738. Dated Rabīʿ II 1063/1653); Or. 5348 (Meredith-Owens p. 50. 17-18th century?); Or. 8503 fol. 114a-115b (Meredith-Owens p. 94. 18th century?); Paris Supplément 1252 fol. 1v, 3v, 61v (Blochet 1992. 17th century?); Leningrad Acad. A67 fol. 108a-142b (Index 1711. Dated 1204/1789-90); C2424 (Index 1712. 45 quatrains with commentary); Tehran Malik 4076/10 (Munz. no. 29907 vidit); Univ. XIII 4436/5 (18th or 19th century?); Adabīyāt I p. 282; Majlis *majmūʿah* 2357 p. 114-124 (*Nuskah-hā* V p. 157. 19th century?); Millī II 966/3 (19th century?); Sipah-sālār V p. 2 [Munz.]; Kabul Museum 182 (Cat. p. 133. 'Assez récent'); Ministry of Information 53 (Cat. p. 244); Lahore Shērānī I p. 137 [Munz.]; Bankipore Suppt. i 1969 (Dated 21 Dhū l-qaʿdah 1139/1727); Calcutta Ivanow 426 (=Lucknow Sprenger 67). Cf. Munz. IV 29907-30.

¹Calcutta catalogue p. 189-90.

Commentary: *Risālah i ḥaurāʿīyah* by ʿUbaid Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Shāshī, published in Zhukovskiy's edition of Ibn al-Munawwar, p. 487-93. An anonymous commentary on one *rubāʿī* was contained in Lucknow Sprenger 67.

Editions: Munich 1875-8 (*Die Rubāʿīs des Abū Saʿīd bin Abul-khair*, SB München 1875, p. 145-168, 1878, p. 38-70. 92 quatrains edited and translated in German 'verse' by H. Ethé); Bombay 1294/1877; 1297/1880; 1308/1890-1 (96 p. Collection of quatrains ascribed to Khaiyām, Bābā Tāhir, Abū Saʿīd and Anṣārī, together with the latter's *Munājāt*); Cracow 1895 (*Abu Saʿīd Fadlullah ben Abulchajr i [73] tegoż czterowersze, przełożył z perskiego Damian Rolicz-Lieder*); Lahore 1934; 1935 (ed. Maulawī Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan Kānpūrī, with Urdu translation and commentary); Tehran 1334sh./1955 (*Sukhanān i manẓūm*, ed. S. Nafīsī. Edition of 720 *rubāʿīyāt*, and fragments in other metres, from the various ancient and modern sources listed on p. 177-200); See also Maulawī ʿAbdʿul Wafī, 'The Rubāʿīyāt of Abu Saʿīd ibn Abūʾl Khayr', *JASB* N.S. V, 1909, p. 421-56, VII, 1911, p. 637-67 (edition of 400 quatrains from the Calcutta and London Add. 7822 Mss., with some critical remarks), and H.D. Graves Law, 'Some more quatrains of Abū Saʿīd bin Abūʾl Khair', *JASB* N.S. XII, 1916, p. 185-237 (text and prose translation of 98 further quatrains from the Bombay edition of 1297 and a Ms. which the author found 'among the débris of an Oriental book-shop in Hyderabad City').

Translations (English, German and Urdu) see under editions; moreover: *The Rubaiyat of Abu Saʿīd bin Abʿil-Khair* (sic) done into English verse by D.C. Datta, Jaipur 1943; 2nd edition. Jaipur 1971.

Literature on the *rubāʿīyāt*: R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, p. 4; M.R. Shāfiʿī-Kadkanī, 'Dar bārah i Abū Saʿīd i Abū l-Khair', *Sukhan* XIX, 1348sh/1969, p. 681-98; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 603-6; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū Saʿīd' (G. Böwering).

22. Abū Salīk al-Jurjānī is mentioned in a verse by Manūchihīrī (*Diwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī p. 113) as one of the illustrious poets of Khurāsān. According to ʿAufī he flourished under ʿAmr b. Laith (died 287/900).

Collection of fragments (10 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 19, 61, II p. 21-22.

'Aufi II p. 2-3; Shams p. 255, 276; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 66; Khaiyām-pūr p. 18; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū Salīk' (M.N. Osmanov). [74]

23. **Abū Shakūr** al-Balkhī is the author of the *Āfrīn-nāmah*, completed, according to 'Aufi, in 336/947-8. A verse apparently belonging to this work (Lazard's fragment 186) seems to indicate that he began work on the poem in 333, and another (fragment 130) that he began 'this book' at the age of 33; it has thus been deduced that the poet was born in 300/912-3. The *Āfrīn-nāmah* was apparently a long *mathnawī* in *mutaqārib* metre, largely of moralising content. Besides the fragments explicitly assigned to Abū Shakūr, Sa'id Nafīsī (followed with a certain amount of hesitation by Lazard) has attributed to the *Āfrīn-nāmah* a number of further verses quoted anonymously in the *Tuhfat al-mulūk*. We also have a fair number of fragments of Abū Shakūr's lyrical poems.

Collection of fragments, French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 27-30, 94-126, 181-4, II p. 78-128.

LF passim (there are several new verses in the edition by Mujtabā'i/Šādiqī, including three evidently from the *Āfrīn-nāmah* on p. 22); Rādūyānī p. 26, 130; 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī, *Qābūs-nāmah*, (ed. Yūsufī, Tehran 1345sh./1967) p. 39, 71; Fakhr i Mudabbir,¹ *Ādāb al-harb wa l-shajā'ah*, ed. Suhailī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346sh./1967, p. 370 (with two new verses); 'Aufi II p. 21; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 65-6; Khaiyām-pūr p. 18-9; Fouchécour, *Moralia* p. 102-3; *Elr* s.vv. 'Abū Šakūr Balkī' (G. Lazard) and 'Āfarīn-nāma' (J. Matīnī); One verse is discussed by 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Imādī, *FIZ* 24/1-4, 1358sh./1979, separate pagination.

24. **Abū Shu'aib** Šālīh b. Muḥammad al-Harawī is included by 'Aufi among the poets of the Samanids. We have no more precise indication of his dates apart from the (highly questionable) statement by Hidāyat that he was born during the last years of Rōdakī's life, i.e. towards the middle of the 4th/10th century.

Collection of fragments (16 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 30-1, 127-8, II p. 129-31. [75]

LF passim; 'Aufi II p. 5; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 66; Khaiyām-pūr p. 18; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū Šo'ayb Heravī' (J.W. Clinton).

¹For whom see below, p. 419.

25. **Abū Zurā'ah** al-Mu'ammārī (or al-Ma'marī?) al-Jurjānī is mentioned in 'Aufi's chapter on the Samanid poets in connection with an unnamed *amīr* of Khurāsān, who asked Abū Zurā'ah whether he could compose poems as well as Rōdakī, whereupon he produced three verses affirming his superiority over that poet.

'Aufi II p. 10-11; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 82; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 52-4; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Dhurā'ah' (sic) p. 456; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 397; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; Khaiyām-pūr p. 17; Idārah-chī p. 42-3.

26. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ilyās al-Āghājī al-Bukhārī¹ is mentioned in 'Arūḍī's list of the [76] Samanid poets. 'Aufi includes him in his chapter on the 'great kings' who indulged in poetry, calls him an *amīr* and states that he was himself the subject of panegyrics, and on the basis of this Nafīsī (apparently encouraged by Hidāyat's uncontrollable statement that Āghājī served as a governor in Kirmān) has suggested that our poet was in fact the brother of the ruler of Kirmān, Muḥammad b. Ilyās (died 356/967 or 357/968). But this suggestion seems gratuitous, especially since Tha'ālībī (writing about two centuries before 'Aufi) says nothing of our poet being a prince. Moreover, the title *āghājī* is not that of a prince,

¹The name is given thus by 'Aufi. Beside the form A/Āghājī or -chī (Tha'ālībī, *LF*, Rādūyānī etc.) we find also 'A/Āgh()jī' ('Arūḍī, Shams). We have here a title, well attested during the Ghaznavid period and later, for a high-ranking court official, roughly a chamberlain (Arabic *hajib*). It has frequently been claimed that the word is Turkish (evidently only because of its similarity with the well-known Turko-Mongolian title *ağa*) but this has been doubted by Doerfer II p. 72, and Horn, *Einl.* p. 17, already drew attention to the unlikelihood that a Turkish title should have been in use as early as the time of the Samanids. However, his own suggestion that *āghājī* is 'wohl Nebenform von *āghāz* "Anfang"' is unsatisfactory both from a semantic and from a phonetic point of view (Persian *āghāz* is a loan-word from Sogdian and has -z, not -ch, in both languages). I wonder whether at least the shorter of the two forms given above might not be connected with Sogdian *āyuδ*, 'covering', with the suffix -*ēt*(k) (for Buddhist Sogdian **γ'wδ* and its cognates see D.N. MacKenzie, *The Buddhist Sogdian texts of the British Library*, Leiden 1976, II p. 73, and for the assimilation of *δ+č>č* see I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Oxford 1954, §288). **āyu*(*δ*)*ēt*, 'coverer', i.e. 'one who veils the king from the public', would be a close parallel to (and perhaps even a translation of) the corresponding Arabic title, *hajib*. The longer form (*āghājī*) is more difficult to account for, but one might venture to suggest that it is an Arabic broken plural of the Iranian word and that the title *al-āghājī* is merely an abbreviation for **āghujī al-āghājī*, 'chief chamberlain' (cf. *qādī l-quḍāt* and the like).

but of a court official. 'Aufi states further that Āghājī was a contemporary of Daqīqī and proceeds to quote a number of fragments of his, including a Persian rendering of a verse attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and two verses in which he brags of his proficiency in such courtly talents as horsemanship, archery, chess-playing and poetising. An Arabic translation of the last-mentioned verses by Abū l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad al-Shajārī, who lived at the time of the collapse of the Samanid kingdom, is quoted in Tha'ālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* (where *li l-a'ajim* is a misreading for *li l-āghājī*); the same verses are quoted again, together with two other Arabic verses, in the entry devoted to our poet in the same author's *Tatimmat al-yaṭīmah*, though here, strangely, Tha'ālibī attributes the translation to Āghājī himself.

Tha'ālibī *Yatīmah* IV p. 79-80; id., *Tatimmat* II p. 114; *LF* passim; Rādūyānī p. 35, 84, 95, 128 (and Ateş's notes, p. 123-4); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufī I p. 31-2 (and Qazwīnī's [77] and Nafīsī's notes ad loc.); Shams p. 213; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 11; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 62-3; Buzurg I p. 9; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 429-31; Khayyām-pūr p. 8 (with further references); *LN* s.v. 'Āghājī' p. 126; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; C.E. Bosworth, *Minorsky* Volume p. 119; Idārah-chī p. 152-61; *Elr* 'Āghājī Bokārī' ('A. Zaryāb); *DMBI* s.v. 'Āghājī' (J. Shi'ār).

27. A single verse by one Aḥmad Barmak (or Barmakī¹) is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF* s.v. *milk*.

28. Two verses by an otherwise unknown Aḥmad i Manšūr referring to the captivity of 'the Qarakhan', (i.e. evidently Aḥmad I b. Khidr, who was taken prisoner by Malik-Shāh in 482/1089) are quoted by Rādūyānī p. 23. They are important because they give the *terminus post quem* for Rādūyānī's book. The same verses are quoted anonymously by Waṭwāt p. 77.

29. Aḥmad Wātīkī (?), the author of a single verse quoted by Rādūyānī, p. 10, is also unknown.

30. 'Aiyūqī is the name by which the author of *Warqah u Gulshāh* refers to himself.² There seems to be no other mention of him in Persian

¹Thus *Šihāh* p. 187.

²P. 3 and 122.

literature apart from the two verses attributed to an author of the same name in the marginal additions to manuscript *nān* of Asadī's *Lughat i furs*.¹ The poem in question, which is preserved in a unique, but obviously very old manuscript, is a *mathnawī* of more than 2200 verses in *mutaqārib* metre and is dedicated to a patron whom the poet calls² *sulṭān Maḥmūd, Abū l-Qāsim, sulṭān i ghāzī* and *amīr* [78] (read: *amīn?*) *i milāl*; it would seem most likely that this is the well-known Yamīn al-daulah wa Amīn al-millāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin of Ghaznah (389/999 to 421/1030) though it cannot, perhaps, be ruled out entirely that a later monarch with the same *kunyah* and *ism* is intended.³ An interesting stylistic feature of the poem is the fact that nine times⁴ the poet interrupts the narrative to put short lyrical pieces into the mouths of various characters; these, too, are in *mutaqārib*, but use monorhyme.

The poem is based on the pre-Islamic Arabic story of the love of 'Urwah b. Ḥizām al-'Udhri and his cousin 'Afrā'; it is found in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī⁵ and was evidently the subject of a lost *Kitāb 'Urwah wa 'Afrā'* mentioned in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm.⁶ The author himself tells us⁷ that he has extracted his poem *zi akhbār i tāzī u kutb i 'arab*. Ateş has claimed an influence of the Arab-Persian story on the French romance of *Floire et Blancheflor*, but the evidence for this is fragile.⁸

Iranian critics have been rather dismissive of the literary merits of 'Aiyūqī's poem. None the [79] less, it is of considerable interest for the

¹Ed. Iqbāl p. 223, 305.

²P. 3.

³Other possibilities would be the Seljuq Mughīth al-dīn Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511/1118 to 525/1131) or the Khwārizm-shāh Sulṭān-Shāh Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿIl-Arslān (568/1172-3 to 589/1193). If the latter were indeed 'Aiyūqī's patron it might be possible to equate our poet with the Majd al-dīn 'Aiyūq whom 'Aufī (II p. 354-5) includes among the poets of Khurāsān after Sanjar. However, critics have suggested that the style of *Warqah u Gulshāh* points more towards the Ghaznavid than to the Seljuq school of poets.

⁴P. 13, 15, 17, 20, 27, 75, 108, 110, 112.

⁵Būlāq edition of 1868, vol. XX p. 152-8; also in Brünnow/Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie* p. 29-36 of the Arabic section.

⁶Ed. Flügel, p. 306.

⁷P. 5 and 122.

⁸See the discussion in Melikian-Chirvani p. 10-11.

history of Persian narrative poetry and is an important document of the early Neo-Persian language, all the more so given the antiquity of the unique manuscript.

The beginning of the poem is lost. In the manuscript the first 16 verses (inc. *ba nām i khudāwand i bālā u past * kih az hastī-ash hast shud har chih hast*) are written, as the editor has noted, in a much later hand. In fact, all these verses are lifted word for word from the *dībājah* of Khwājū Kirmānī's *Humāy-Humāyūn*, completed in 732/1331-2 (vs. 1-5 = *H.-H.* 1-5; vs. 6 = the last verse of the section headed *dar tauhid*; vs. 7-11 in *dar na't*; vs. 12-16 in *dar ḥasab*). The text contains other lacunae as well.

Ms.: **Istanbul** Topkapı, Hazine 841 (Karatay 386. 13th century? Pictures).

Edition: **Tehran** 1343sh./1964 (Ed. Dh. Şafā).

Translation (French prose) with reproduction and analysis of the miniatures: A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le roman de Varqah et Golshāh, essai sur les rapports de l'esthétique littéraire et de l'esthétique plastique dans l'Iran pré-mongol, suivi de la traduction du poème (Arts asiatiques, xxii [Numéro spécial])*, 1970.

Cf. A. Ateş, 'Yak mathnawī i gum-shudah az daurah i ghaz-nawīyān: Warqah wa Gulshāh i 'Aiyūqī', *MDAT* 1/4, 1333sh./1954, p. 1-13; id., 'Un vieux poème romanesque persan: récit de Warqah et Gulshāh', *Ars Orientalis* IV, 1961, p. 143-52 and plates; Ş. Kiyā, 'Āyā mathnawī i Warqah u Gulshāh i 'Aiyūqī ham-zamān i Shāh-nāmāh i Firdaust ast?', *MDAT* II/1, 1333sh./1954, p. 49-50; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 601-3; *LN* s.v. 'Aiyūqī' p. 490; Dh. Şafā, 'Comparaison des origines et des sources des deux contes persans: "Leylī et Madjnoun" de Nizāmī et "Varqah et Golchāh" de 'Ayouqī', *Colloquio sul [80] poeta persiano Nizāmī*, Rome 1977, p. 137-47 [non vidi]; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Şuwar* p. 471-4; *Elr* s.v. 'Ayyūqī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

There is also an anonymous, and evidently later *Warqah u Gulshāh* in *hazaj* metre (inc. in the Delhi editions: *shintdam k-andar aiyām i payambar * yak-ē khail-ē bud-ē bā jāh u bā farr*). The relationship (if

any) of this and of the various Turkish¹ and Kurdish versions of the story to 'Aiyūqī's poem remains to be examined.

Mss.: **Tehran** *Ilāhīyāt* I p. 250 (16th-17th century? Beginning missing); **Majlis** VIII p. 469 no. 2617 (18th century?); **Univ.** XII 3880 (recent); **Univ.** XIV 4775 (recent); **Shūrā i Islāmī** I 98 (recent).

Editions: **Persia** 1282/1865 (48 p.); **Delhi** n.d. (116 p.); 1306/1889 (in the margin of the *Chahār Parī* of Aḥmad Jāmī, 127 p.); 1899 (112 p.); **Lahore** 1896 (again in the margin of *Chahār Parī*, 128 p.); **Tehran** 1331/1913-4.

31. An otherwise unknown 'Alī b. Aḥmad wrote his *Ikhtiyārāt* (or *Intikhāb*) i *Shāh-nāmāh* in 474/1081-2. See below, p. 152.

32. Amīr 'Alī Pūr i Tigīn² (or: 'Alī-pūr Tigīn?) is credited with a total of twelve verses by Rādūyānī, half of them riddles, and a few of them [81] are repeated by Waṭwāt and (anonymously) by Shams. His identity has not been established, but he is clearly not the well-known Qarakhanid ruler Bōritigin, as the latter's Muslim name was not 'Alī, but Ibrāhīm.

Rādūyānī p. 18, 48, 100-1 (and Ateş's notes, p. 102-6); Waṭwāt 16-7; Shams p. 401; Khayyām-pūr p. 105.

33. 'Alī Qurt Andugānī is credited with a handful of verses in Asadī's *Lughat i furs*.

LF (see the indexes to the three editions); *LN* s.v. 'Alī i Qart' (? sic) i Andukānī' p. 242-3.

¹The 14th-century *Varqa ve Gulshāh* by Yūsuf-i Meddāh has been edited (with English translation) by G.M. Smith, Leiden 1976. In her introduction the editor makes a brief comparison of Yūsuf's poem with the two Persian versions (p. 12-15) and lists later Turkish recensions of the same story (p. 15-16).

²Ateş's reading of the name. The manuscript of the *Tarjuman* has pwr tkyn (three clear dots under the 'p' on fol. 275a, and a fairly distinct *ihmāl* sign over the 'r' on fol. 242a). The reading in Iqbāl's edition of Waṭwāt ('Alī Yūzī Tigīn) is thus probably wrong.

34. Abū Maṣṣūr 'Ammārah¹ b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī wrote an elegy on the last Samanid ruler, Ismā'īl (II) al-Mustansir (died 395/1005) as well as an ode to the Ghaznavid Maḥmūd (ruled from 388/998), both of which, along with a number of other fragments, are quoted by 'Aufī. According to the 12th-century biography of Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair (357/967 to 440/1049) by his great-great-grandson Muḥammad b. Munawwar, the saint was so impressed by one of 'Ammārah's verses that he and all his disciples made a pilgrimage to the poet's grave in Marw. The story is at least chronologically possible.² Hidāyat's statement that he died in 360/970-1 is, on the other hand, wrong. [82]

LF passim; Rādūyānī p. 28, 45 (and Ateş's notes, p. 118-20); Muḥammad b. Munawwar (see above, p. 70) ed. Zhukovskiy, p. 350; 'Aufī II p. 24-6 (and Nafīsī's notes, p. 654-6, with a quotation from the 14th-century *Majma' al-ansāb* of Shabānkārā'i); Hidāyat, *Majma' I* p. 350; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 63-8; 'A. Iqbāl, 'Umārah i Marwazī', *Sharq I*, 1309/1930-1, p. 8-15 (also in his *Majmū'ah i maqālāt* p. 196-201); LN s.v. 'Abū Maṣṣūr' p. 870-1; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 452-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 407; Lazard, *Poètes I* p. 15; M. Ishaque, 'Umarah of Merv', *Indo-Iranica* XXIX, 1976, p. 144-147; Idārah-chī p. 247-60; *Elr* s.v. 'Amārah Marvazī' (J. Matīnī).

35. For Abū Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, the celebrated Hanbalite mystic (396/1006 to 481/1089), see provisionally PL I p. 924-7, where the literature on the 20 *ghazals* ascribed to him can be found. His prose works will be discussed in PL IV. A few of his *rubā'iyāt* are quoted in the *Kashf al-asrār* of his pupil Maibudī.³ Other editions are:

¹The name is written thus, with *fathah* on the first letter and *shaddah* on the second, in both of its occurrences in Rādūyānī, as well as once in the Vatican manuscript of LF (see Horn, *Eint.* 24) and this reading must doubtless be accepted despite the rather ludicrous polemics by Bahār (*Yaghma* II, 1328sh./1949, p. 355, and *Dānish* II, 1329sh./1950, p. 121) against Ateş in favour of the reading 'Umārah. 'Ammārah, besides enjoying the support of the ancient manuscript of the *Tarjuman al-balaghah*, is definitely the *lectio difficilior*.

²The anecdote is repeated by Jāmī (both in his *Nafahāt* and his *Baharistan*) and by other late authors (for whom see Ethé).

³On the basis of this work five *rubā'iyāt* were edited and translated in S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, *Khawāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī*, Beyrouth n.d. (preface dated 1963) p. 308-9.

Bombay 1308/1890-1 (96 p. Collection of quatrains ascribed to Khaiyām, Bābā Tāhir, Abū Sa'īd and Anṣārī, together with the latter's *Munājāt*); Iran 1361sh./1982-3 (*Rubā'iyāt i mansūb ba Khwājah 'Abd Allāh i Anṣārī*, ed. M. Mudabbirī. Contains 217 quatrains; the sources for each are indicated in a rather cryptic fashion - there is no bibliography or identification of the editions used - in the notes. From the latter it becomes clear that a very large proportion of the poems have also been attributed to others, in particular Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair). [83]

A versified *Pand-nāmah* ascribed to Anṣārī is found in Bombay Rehatsek p. 233 no. 45.

36. 'Abd Allāh al-'Āridī (or 'Ārid) is known to us only from the two verses of his cited in LF (see indexes).

Cf. Khaiyām-pūr p. 366.

37. Abū Maṣṣūr¹ 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Asadī al-Ṭūsī is the author of the *Karshāsp-* (or *Garshāsp-*) *nāmah*,² of five *Munāzarāt*, and of the oldest surviving Neo-Persian dictionary and anthology of verse, the invaluable *Lughat i furs*. Besides these we are very fortunate to possess a copy in his own handwriting of the *Kitāb al-abniyah 'an ḥadā'iq al-adwiyah* of Abū Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq b. 'Alī al-Harawī, the oldest surviving dated Persian manuscript in Arabic script; in the colophon the scribe gives the date of completion as Shawwāl 447 (December 1055 or January 1056) and his name as 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Asadī al-Ṭūsī al-Shā'ir, from which we can conclude that he was at that time already active as a poet. His *magnum opus*, the *Karshāsp-nāmah*, was completed, as the poet tells [84] us,³ in 458/1066 and is dedicated to a ruler of

¹Thus in the introductions to manuscripts P, 'ain and nūn of his *Lughat i furs*. Hidāyat and others give his *kunya* as Abū Naṣr.

²The expected Neo-Persian representation of Avestan *Kərəsāspa-* would be *Karsāsp, and it is only the fact that this form is apparently not attested in Neo-Persian which prevents me from using it here. Since Asadī himself (in his copy of the *Kitāb al-abniyah*) hardly ever distinguishes between k and g, the vulgate spelling with G- has no particular authority, and it is indeed possible that the three dots of its -sh- result similarly merely from the mis-copying of the *ihmal* sign which Asadī and other early scribes customarily put over s, though a purely phonetic development of -rs- to -rsh- is perhaps not impossible (*pace* Justi, p. 162a). It is interesting that Khāliqī-Muṭṭāq, in his new edition of the *Shah-nāmah*, now also writes 'Karshāsb', rather than 'Garshāsp'.

³Ed. Yaghma'i, chap. 144, l. 2.

Nakhchiwān whom he calls 'Malik Bā Dulaf',¹ 'Jahāndār i Dairān'² and 'zi tukhm i Barāhm i paighambar'.³ This king does not seem to be mentioned in historical sources. We do know, however, of an Abū Dulaf al-Shaibānī who ruled in Nakhchiwān ca. 370/980; Asadī's patron must have been a descendant and namesake of his. Afterwards Asadī appears to have attached himself to the court of Shujā' al-daulah Manūchihr b. Shāwūr, who ruled in Ani (Armenia) as a vassal of the Seljuq Alp Arslān from some time after 456/1064;⁴ this prince's name (Manūchihr) and title (Shujā' al-daulah) are mentioned in Asadī's *Munāzarāh i rumḥ u qaus*. With this we lose track of him. Hidāyat's statement that he died in 465/1072-3 is not unlikely, but, as usual, unconfirmed.

The responsibility for the extraordinary degree of confusion which for a long time surrounded Asadī's biography rests firmly on the shoulders of that notorious liar, Daulat-shāh. According to this 'authority', Asadī, the author of the *Karshāsp-nāmah*, was an older contemporary of Firdausī and, indeed, the latter's teacher. He declined the invitation to write the *Shāh-nāmah* and entrusted this task to his 'pupil', but when Firdausī was forced to flee from Ghaznah he gave [85] his unfinished manuscript to Asadī, who composed, in less than a day, the last 4000 verses of the poem. Ethé, noticing the blatant contradiction between Daulat-shāh's statement that Asadī was Firdausī's elder and the author's own statement that he completed his epic in 458/1066 (more than a century after his 'pupil's' birth), attempted to reconcile the two by positing the existence of two Asadīs: Asadī *père*, Firdausī's contemporary, the author of the *Munāzarāt* (whose patron 'Manūchihr' Ethé identified with Maḥmūd), and Asadī *fils*, the author of the *Karshāsp-nāmah* and *Lughat i furs* and the copyist of Muwaffaq's handbook of pharmacology. This construction, which for many years was accepted

¹ Chap. 10, l. 4 = ed. Huart l. 201.

² Loc. cit. Cf. chap. 9, l. 32 = ed. Huart l. 195: '*shāh i Dairān*'. In both passages Yaghmā'i emends the '*Dairān*' of the manuscripts to '*Arrān*' (thus also Hidāyat l. p. 113), but it is doubtful whether there is any justification for this.

³ The following verse; the meaning of the statement that the king is 'from the seed of Abraham' is merely that he was - or claimed to be - of Arab extraction.

⁴ The date of the conquest of Ani by Alp Arslān. See V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history* (= Cambridge Oriental Series No. 6), London 1953, p. 58 and (for Manūchihr) p. 80-8.

virtually unanimously by Western scholars,¹ was refuted by Chaykin in an article published in 1934, in which the true identity of the poet's patron is established and other weighty arguments against the existence of an 'older' Asadī are adduced. Daulat-shāh's story is, in short, pure fantasy.

The *Karshāsp-nāmah* is a long epic in *mutaqārib* metre (inc.: *sipās az khudā, izarad i rah-numāy * kih az kāf u nūn kard gēti ba pāy*) consisting, as we are told in one of the versions of the concluding sections,² of some 9000 verses. The poem deals with the adventures of Karshāsp, the great-great-uncle of Rostam, which, as the poet explicitly tells us (chap. 11), Firdausī had not included in his *Shāh-nāmah*, despite the fact that it is 'a branch from the same tree', i.e. part of the same epic tradition. As for his source, the poet speaks of 'a book of the adventures of Karshāsp', possibly identical with the *Kitāb i Karshāsp* of [86] Abū Mu'ayyad al-Balkhī, mentioned in *Tārīkh i Sīstān*.³ In fact, it is clear that the story of Karshāsp is of great antiquity. The dragon-slayer Kərəsāspa is mentioned a number of times in the Avesta and figures (as Karsāsp) significantly in Middle-Persian religious writings,⁴ but the story that Asadī tells has few points of contact with what we know from older sources.

Mss.:⁵ Oxford Elliot 140 (Ethé 507. Pictures); Elliot 141 (Ethé 508. Incomplete); London Or. 2780 I (Rieu Suppt. no. 201. Dated Šafar 800/1397. End missing. Pictures); Or. 11586 (Meredith-Owens p. 73. 14th century? Fragments of a Ms. found in a binding); Or. 12985 (Meredith-Owens p. 76. Dated 981/1573-4. Pictures); I.O. 893 (Dated 1003/1594-5. Damaged and incomplete); Or. 2878 (Rieu Suppt. no. 202. 16th century? The prologue and epilogue omit any mention of the poet's patron. Pictures); Or. 11678 (Meredith-Owens p. 73. Dated

¹ Rieu, Suppt. p. 134, while accepting Ethé's two Asadīs, noted already the fragility of the construction which made one the son of the other.

² Ed. Yaghmā'i, p. 477, footnote 10, v. 4, from the Mashhad manuscript.

³ P. 35.

⁴ Cf. H.S. Nyberg, 'La légende de Keresāspa. Transcription des textes pehlevi, avec une traduction nouvelle et des notes philologiques', *Oriental studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, London 1933, p. 336-52, reprinted in *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg* (= *Acta Iranica* 7), Leiden (etc.) 1975 p. 379-95.

⁵ For the manuscripts see also M. Minuwī, '*Nuskhah-hā i qadīm i Garshāsp-nāmah*', *Āmāzish u Parwarish* XIV, 1323sh./1945, p. 569-74, and J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, *Iran-nāmah* I, 1362sh./1983, p. 395-6.

1045/1635-6); **Edinburgh** Univ. 271 (16th century?); **Paris** Supplément 496 (Blochet 1186. Dated 11 Rabī' II 1174/1760); Supplément 1376 (Blochet 1187. Dated 26 Ramaḍān 1262/1846); Supplément 1377 (Blochet 1188. Dated 4 Sha'bān 1294/1877); **Hanover** [acc. to Fyze, B.B.R.A.S. catalogue]; **Cairo** 96 *mīm adab fārist* (Tirāzī 1870. Dated 1037/1627-8); **Istanbul** Topkapı, Hazine 674 (Karatay 385. Dated 755/1354; the oldest copy. Pictures); Aya Sofya 3287 (*Mikrūfīm-hā* p. 171 no. 399. [87] Apparently dated 905/1499-1500); **Tehran** Sipah-sālār (Acc. to Yaghmā'i's edition p. xvi; apparently not in the published catalogue. Dated 10 Muḥarram 860/1455); Millī 119 (Acc. to Yaghmā'i. Dated 1237/1821-2); Millī III 1060/1 (Dated 1240/1824-5); Majlis III 1167 (Dated 1264/1848); Gulistān/Ātābāy 8 (Selections); **Mashhad** Riḍawī III p. 92, no. 56; **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 164 no. 129 (End missing. 'Seems to be almost a different work', Fyze p. 14); Brelvi p. xxxiii no. 24 (Dated, according to Dhabhar no. 119, 4 Farwardīn 900(?) Y./1530. Damaged); B.B.R.A.S. Persian 3 (Apparently completed on 7 Rajab 1025/1616, though in the colophon the year has been altered to 625/1228); **Navsari** Collection of Māhyār Naoroji Kutār (acc. to Fyze, B.B.R.A.S. catalogue p. 14); **Hyderabad** Nadhīr Aḥmad 225; Sālār Jung IV 1114/4 (17th century?). Yaghmā'i mentions three further Mss. in private collections in Iran. Cf. Munz. IV 33091-101.

Extracts: **Gotha** 40 fol. 11b sqq. (*Baḥr al-durar*).

Parts of the work are interpolated into various manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāmā*, or manuscripts containing extracts from that poem and from other epics such as:¹ **London** Or. 4906 fol. 10a-68b, 73a-101b; Or. 2926 fol. 15a-54; **Paris** Supplément 502 fol. 1r sqq.; **Florence** Laurenziana Or. 5; **Berlin** Ms. or. fol. 209; **Leningrad** Publ. Lib. Suppt. 90; Dorn 333; **Bankipore** Suppt. I 1792 fol. 523b-606a; and doubtless many others.

[The *Karshāsp-nāmā* included in the Parsee *riwāyat* entitled *Khulāṣah i dīn* (cf. **Paris** Suppl. 46 = Blochet 201/5) is not the same work.]

Editions: **Paris** 1926 (*Le livre de Gerchāsp poème persan d'Asadī junior de Toḥs publié et traduit par Clément Huart. Tome premier*. No more [88] published. A critical edition of the first half of the poem with

¹For details of these manuscripts see below, p. 127 sqq., ad *Shāh-nāmā*.

a prose translation); **Tehran** 1317sh./1938-9 (ed. Ḥ. Yaghmā'i. Critical edition of the whole poem); reprinted 1354sh./1975.

Partial edition in Macan's edition of the *Shāh-nāmā*, p. 2099-2133 and its various re-prints.

Translations: (Gujrati): Ms.: **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 139 no. 18 (3 volumes. Dated 21 Ādar 1189 Y./1820). An extract from a Gujrati version (the story of Karshāsp and the Brahmin) is found in **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 139 no. 17 (Two hands, dated 1178 Y./1808-9 and 1185 Y./1815-6 respectively). Brelvi, p. xxxiii, mentions a Gujrati version of the *Karshāsp-nāmā* 'made by Novroji Kavasji and printed in 1852 A.D. ... A later edition [of the same translation?] also exists in the Library.'

(French): for the first half of the poem see editions; the remainder is translated in: *Le livre de Gerchāsp poème persan d'Asadī de Toḥs traduit par Henri Massé. Tome second et dernier*. Paris 1951.

(German): A translation by H. Kanus-Credé has been published in instalments in *Iranistische Mitteilungen* XXVI, 1996, to XXVIII, 1998.

Asadī's other principal poetic work is the five *Munāzarāt*, or poetical contests, namely: (1) a debate between lance and bow (*munāzarāh i rumḥ u qaus*); (2) between heaven and earth (*munāzarāh i āsmān u zamīn*); (3) between Muslim and Zoroastrian (*munāzarāh i muslim u gabr*); (4) between Arab and Persian (*munāzarāh bā 'arab kunad ba faḍl i 'ajam*); (5) between day and night (*munāzarāh i shab u rōz*). The last-mentioned of these is quoted in extenso by Daulat-shāh and others. Ms.: **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 222a sqq. (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iḳ al-ash'ār*).

Editions: Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 107-10 (without no. 4); J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, '*Asadī i Tūs'*', *MDAM* XIV, 1357sh./1978, p. 68-130.

Cf.: H. Ethé, 'Über persische Tenzonen', *Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen [89] Orientalisten-Congresses*, Berlin 1882, II/1, p. 48-135 (Contains an edition and translation of no. 1, 2 and 5); Ye. E. Bertel's, Пятое муназара Асади Тусского; *UZIV* 19, 1958, p. 55-88 (=edition and translation of no. 4).

A *tasmīḥ* of 13 strophes is likewise found in **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 68a (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iḳ al-ash'ār*) as well as in some copies of the *dīwān* of Qaṭrān. Edition: J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, '*Asadī i Tūs'*', *MDAM* XIII, 1356sh./1978, p. 643-78.

Verses of his quoted in anthologies: **Paris** Supplément 826 after fol. 302v (Blochet 1975. Completed Dhū l-ḥijjah 947/1541); **Berlin** Sprenger 1378 fol. 428b sq. (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabī' II 1270/1854. Apparently copied from the Calcutta Ms.); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 24 (Modern).

LF (Two verses - one from the *Karshāsp-nāmah* and one from another poem - are quoted in the Vatican manuscript, ed. Horn p. 50, 72;¹ a large number of quotations are included in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn*); Waṭwāt p. 74 (quoting a *du-bait*); Mustaufī (ed. Nawā'ī) p. 719; Daulat-shāh p. 35-9; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 107-39 (with extensive extracts from the *Karshāsp-nāmah*); V. Rugarli, 'Il libro di Ger-shasp, poema di Asadi', *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* IX, 1895-6, p. 33-80; K.I. Chaykin, 'Асади старший и Асади младший', *Фердовси* 934-1934, Leningrad 1934, p. 119-60; M. Molé, 'Garšāsp et les Sagsār', *La nouvelle Clio* III, 1951, p. 128-33; *LN* s.v. 'Asadī'; Khaiyām-pūr p. 38-9 (with further references); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II⁶ p. 403-21; Shafī'ī-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 613-25; J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, 'Gardish-i dar Garshāsp-nāmah', *Īrān-nāmah* I, 1362sh./1983, p. 388-423, 513-559, II, 1362sh./1983, p. 94-147; M. Amīrī, 'Lughāt i 'arabī dar Garshāsp-nāmah', *Nām-wārah i Duktur Maḥmūd i Afshār* III, [90] Tehran 1366sh./1987 p. 1655-70; *Elr.* s.v. 'Asadī Tūsī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh); *Elr.* s.v. 'Garšāsp-nāma' (with a summary of the story).

38. Abū Naẓār 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maṣṣūr al-'Asjadī al-Marwazī eulogised the Ghaznavids Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd (I) and appears to have survived into the reign of Maudūd (432/1041 to 440/1048), if we are to believe Mu'izzī² when he reminds one of his patrons that the father of the latter had enjoyed the praise of 'Asjadī 'in the days of Chaghri and Maudūd'.

Mss.: A selection of his poems is found in **Tehran** Univ. IX 2487 (17th century?).

Collection of fragments: *Diwān i ... 'Asjadī*, ed. Ṭ. Shihāb, with an introduction by S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1334sh./1955 (list of sources: p. 37-8).

¹The two verses are quoted also, to illustrate the same lemmata, in *Shihāb* p. 147, 173.

²*Diwān*, ed. Iqbāl, Tehran 1318sh./1939 p. 135, v. 3067.

Baihaqī p. 280; 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī, *Qābūs-nāmah* (ed. Yūsufī, Tehran 1345sh./1967) p. 57, 224; *LF* passim; Rādūyānī p. 14, 24, 57 (and Ateş's notes p. 99-100); 'Arūḍī p. 28; 'Aufī II p. 50-3; Shams p. 315; Jājarmī I p. 144+iii to 144+vi; Daulat-shāh p. 47; Yaghmā'ī p. 148-50; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 340-2; S. Nafīsī's edition of the *Qābūs-nāmah* (Tehran 1312sh./1933) p. 237-46; M.A. Amīn, 'Athār i 'Asjadī i Marwazī', *Armaghān* XXIV, 1328sh./1949, p. 152-61, 309-15; Ṭ. Shihāb, 'Ustād 'Asjadī', ibidem p. 48-55; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 577-80; *LN* s.v. 'Asjadī' p. 242-3 (Dh. Šafā); Khaiyām-pūr p. 391 (with further references); Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 227-8; *Elr.* s.v. 'Asjadī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

39. Abū Bakr¹ (or: Abū l-Maḥāsīn²) al-Azraqī [91] al-Harawī has left us with a fairly slender *diwān* (2675 verses in Nafīsī's edition), consisting largely of odes dedicated to two Seljuq princes: Abū l-Fawāris Shams al-daulah Ṭughān-shāh b. Alp-Arslān Muḥammad b. Chaghri, who was the ruler of Herat during the reign of his father (Alp-Arslān, died 465/1072) and that of his brother (Malik-Shāh) at least until 476/1083-4 (from which year we possess a coin minted in his name), and Abū l-Muẓaffar Amīrān-shāh b. Qāwurd b. Chaghri, who was blinded by order of Malik-Shāh shortly after his succession. We also have one poem lauding - at least according to the superscription in Nafīsī's edition³ - the holy man 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī (396/1006 to 481/1089).⁴ All of this indicates that Azraqī must have flourished in the third quarter of

¹Thus twice in 'Arūḍī and in Hidāyat.

²Thus 'Aufī. It is, of course, possible that our poet had the *ism* Abū Bakr and the *kunyah* Abū l-Maḥāsīn. Qazwīnī (ad 'Arūḍī p. 174) proposed tentatively that his *ism* might have been Ja'far on the basis of the verse in his *diwān* (ed. Nafīsī no. 64, v. 2281) which reads *gar ba zarr i ja'fart dast-am na-girt, khusrāu-a * bē-nawā't-ha u sarmā-hā khwaram man ja'fart*. But the rhyme guarantees that the last word is indeed *ja'fart* (with *yā'* i *ma'rāf*) and that it is thus impossible to read *man ja'far-e*, 'I, a (man called) Ja'far'.

³No. 5. The poem does occur in the 13th-century London manuscript, Or. 3713, on fol. 23a, but with the superscription *wa lahu fthi*, implying (perhaps implausibly) that it was dedicated to the same patron as the previous poem in this collection, i.e. Ṭughān-shāh. Incidentally, there is often considerable discrepancy between this old manuscript and the edition with regard to the names mentioned in the superscriptions.

⁴Above, p. 82.

the 11th century; this is consistent also with Mustaufi's statement that Azraqi was a contemporary of the Ghaznavid Ibrāhīm (451/1059 to 492/1099) as well as with 'Arūdi's story of how Firdausi took refuge with Azraqi's father, Ismā'īl al-Warrāq, in Herat, after his flight from Ghaznah,¹ which - if the story is true - must [92] have been in the first decade of the 11th century. Taqī Kāshī² (who was in the habit of giving totally fanciful dates for the deaths of the poets included in his anthology) says that Azraqi died in 527/1132-3, which is much too late, as Qazwīnī rightly observed; if Ismā'īl was really Firdausi's host at the beginning of the 11th century he is not likely to have had a son who lived well into the second quarter of the 12th. Despite this, Nafīsī has attempted to rescue our poet's claim to extraordinary longevity by pointing out that some copies of Azraqi's *diwān* contain a poem (no. 25 of his edition) praising the Ghaznavid Abū l-Mulūk Arslān-shāh (509/1115 to 512/1118) and another (no. 24) dedicated to his successor Yamīn al-daulah Bahrām-Shāh (512/1118 to 547/1152). But Nafīsī himself admits³ that he found the first of these poems in only two (unspecified) manuscripts and the second in only one and that their authenticity is thus far from certain. To this I can add that neither of the poems is to be found in the excellent 13th-century London manuscript of Azraqi's *diwān*.⁴

'Aufī states that Azraqi versified the book of *Alfiyah wa Shalfiyah* (or however the title is to be read)⁵ in order to cure his master Tughān-shāh of impotence and proceeds to give a lurid description of how the remedy took effect. Azraqi's poem is doubtless connected with the (lost) Arabic works *Kitāb al-alfiyah al-ṣaghīr* and ...*al-kabīr* [93] listed by Ibn al-Nadīm under the heading 'books written about sexual intercourse in the guise of titillating anecdotes'.⁶ 'Aufī adds that Azraqi's poem was

¹See below, p. 118.

²apud Sprenger p. 16. Hidāyat puts Azraqi's death one year earlier.

³See his introduction, p. viii-ix.

⁴The poem to Arslān-shāh is in fact by Mukhtārī; see below, p. 431 fn.

⁵I take it that *Alfiyah* and *Shalfiyah* are the names of two women who figure in the story. Hajjī Khalīfah explains at least the first of these by saying that Azraqi's poem dealt with a woman who had had a thousand (*alf*) lovers. The second name was presumably invented to rhyme with the first; compare, however, (non-standard) Arabic *shallāfah*, 'prostitute'.

⁶*al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 314.

illustrated. Baihaqī¹ tells how Mas'ūd had one of his pleasure-domes decorated with copulation scenes from the 'book of *Alfiyah*', evidently not Azraqi's version, though the latter could well have been the object of the (lost) 'refutation' (*Naqlidat kitāb Alfiyah wa Shalfiyah*) which Abū Bakr b. Khusrau al-Ustād wrote for the atabeg of Azerbaijan, Qızıl Arslān (581/1186 to 587/1191).²

Some late authors (Daulat-shāh and Hajjī Khalīfah, both expressly on the authority of others³) claim that Azraqi 'wrote' (i.e. presumably versified) the *Sindbād-nāmah*, but as long as no quotations from this work have been identified this cannot be regarded as certain. There are two references to the story of Sindbād in Azraqi's *diwān*: in one⁴ the poet appears to claim the authorship not only of the *akhbār i Sindbād*, but [94] also of the *tārīkh i Shāh-nāmah*; but - assuming the poem is indeed by Azraqi - it would seem more likely that the author is in fact alluding to two well-known poems from the past. In the other⁵ Azraqi says that the 'poetry' in the counsels of Sindbād is 'difficult' but that he will elucidate its 'expressions' (*ma'āni*) if the king gives him sufficient funds. This would seem to refer to a 'difficult' older version of the story (perhaps Rōdakī's?) which Azraqi is proposing either to replace by a more up-to-date version, or perhaps merely to supply with a commentary. In either case it is by no means certain that Azraqi ever carried out

¹p. 121.

²Mentioned in the introduction to Abū Bakr's *Mu'nis-nāmah*; see G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Minorsky Volume* p. 435.

³Daulat-shāh p. 72: *wa goyand kih kitāb i Sindbād ... az muṣannafāt i ō-st*; Hajjī Khalīfah no. 7259: *wa ra'aitu bi khaṭṭ ba'd al-ʿulamā' anna-hu (sc. Sindbād-nāmah) li l-hakīm al-Azraqi*.

⁴No. 7, v. 191. This poem is something of a problem insofar as it occurs also in copies of the *diwān* of Mukhtārī, including the oldest copy, London Or. 3713, completed in 697/1298. But the same manuscript also contains the *diwān* of Azraqi and attributes the poem to him as well (fol. 33a); however, is in missing in the collection of Azraqi's poems in the Dublin manuscript. Cf. the edition of Mukhtārī's *diwān* by J. Humā'ī, Tehran 1341sh./1962 p. 80-1 (note that Humā'ī misquotes the number of his *codex optimus* as Or. 4514 - this is in fact a different, later copy of the *diwān* - and overlooks the fact that the manuscript attributes the poem to both poets).

⁵no. 64, v. 2275-6:

*har kih bīnad shahryār-ā pand-hā i sindbād
nēk dānad k-andar ō dushwār bāshad shā'irt
man ma'āni-hā i ō-rā yāwar i dānish kunam
gar kunad bakht i to shāh-ā khāṭir-am rā yāwari.*

this undertaking; the account of how Azraqī 'wrote' the *Sindbād-namah* may have been extrapolated from these verses.

Azraqī's *diwān*, which exists in at least one 13th-century manuscript¹ and from which, moreover, 'Aufi quotes a good number of poems, would seem a very promising candidate for a critical edition.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 103 V (Ms. completed Dhū l-ḥijjah 699/1300. End missing); **London** Or. 3713 fol. 18b-35b (Rieu Suppt. no. 211 III. Ms. completed 5 Šafar 697/1298); Or. 3376 fol. 109a-129a (Rieu Suppt. no. 234 III. Dated 2 Dhū l-qa'dah 1002/1594. Imperfect); S.O.A.S. 35350 (Dated 1006/1597-8); Or. 2880 fol. 140b-197b (Rieu Suppt. no. 224 III. Completed Jumādā I 1245/1829); Or. 2995 fol. 2b-87a (Rieu Suppt. no. 213 I. Dated 10 Ramaḍān 1264/1848); I.O. 909; **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.4 (Pictures); Or. 1724/4 (modern forgery 'dated' Rajab 604/1208; see also *Mikrūfīlm-hā* I p. 541); **Paris** Supplément 725 I (Blochet 1206. 16th century?); [95] Supplément 724 (Blochet 1207. Dated 12 Ramaḍān 1008/1600); Supplément 701 (Blochet 1246. Dated 8 Sha'bān 1016/1607. Contains the *diwāns* of Azraqī and of Zāhīr al-dīn Faryābī, but the pages are in disorder); **Berlin** Sprenger 1384 (Pertsch 711. Dated 27 Jumādā II 1044/1634); **Istanbul** Ḥakīm-oğlu 'Alī Pāša 669/7 (*Mikrūfīlm-hā* I p. 461); **Madinah** 'Arif Ḥikmat 39 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 484); **Isfahan** (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 596); **Tehran** Majlis 6228/3 (Munz. no. 21485 inspexit. Dated Rabī' II 996/1588); Majlis III 1183/2 (Dated 1003/1594-5); Adabīyāt II p. 11 (Dated 1007/1598-9) [Munz.]; Malik 4829 (Munz. no. 21486 inspexit. 16th century?); Majlis III 1058-9 (Dated 1010/1601-2); Adabīyāt I p. 245 (Dated 20 Ramaḍān 1013/1605); Univ. VIII 1408/2 (Dated Shawwāl 1015/1607); Millī 200/1 (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 194. Dated 1045/1635-6); Majlis II 349 (Dated 1206/1791-2); Dānish-sarāy i 'ālī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 640. Dated 13 Sha'bān 1219/1804); Majlis 4684/1 (Munz. no. 21504 inspexit. Dated 1256/1840); Majlis II 348 (Dated 1261/1845); Gulistān/Ātābāy 7 (Dated 1287/1870-1); Malik 4956/1 (Munz. no. 21496 inspexit); Millī II 569/3; Adabīyāt II p. 16 [Munz.]; Millī IV 1973 (16th century?); Millī V 2694 (18th century?); Millī 39 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 158); Malik 5174 (Munz. 21517 inspexit); Shūrā i Islāmī I 91 p. 64-114; **Qum** Mar'ashī XIV 5415 (17th century?); **Rasht** p. 1121

¹i.e. London Or. 3713. The Cambridge copy Or. 1724 is a modern forgery (see below, p. 366-7). For Dublin Beatty 103, see below, p. 609 fn.

(17th century?); **Kashan** (*Nuskhah-hā* VII p. 730. Qajar period); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 346 (Dated 20 Muḥarram 1011/1602); Riḍawī VII 344 (Dated Rabī' II 1261/1845); Riḍawī VII 343 (Dated 1288/1871-2); Univ. 111; **Tashkent** Acad. 781. (Dated 1269/1852-3); Acad. 782. (Dated 1270/1853-4); **Hyderabad** Āṣafīyah III p. 288; **Lucknow** Sprenger 151; **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 190 (17th century?). Nafīsī (p. xii-xv) mentions various manuscripts in private collections including one completed on 2 Dhū l-qa'dah 821/1418. Cf. Munz. III 21484-528. [96]

Selected poems: **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 98a (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar*); Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/11. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.65 no. 18 (Anthology dated 27 Ramaḍān 827/1424); **Paris** Supplément 783 fol. 4r sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century?); Supplément 1252 fol. 10v (Blochet 1992. 17th century?); **Rome** Ms. Caetani 60 (Piemontese 17. Dated 1 Sha'bān 1013/1604); **Tehran** Majlis XVII 5975 (18th century?); Majlis VIII 2326 (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 167v-172 (Modern).

Editions: **Tehran** 1336sh./1957 (Ed. 'A. 'Abd al-Rasūlī); 1336sh./1957 (Ed. S. Nafīsī).

LF (ed. Iqbāl p. 8: one verse from manuscript *stn*); 'Arūḍī p. 43-44 (and Qazwīnī's extensive commentary); 'Aufī II p. 86-104; Mustaufī p. 714; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh i Saljūqīyān i Kirmān* (in M.Th. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides* I, Leyden 1886) p. 10, 14; Jājarmī p. 240-5, 245-7, 253-6, 331-3, 333-6, 629-32; Daulat-shāh p. 72-3; Rāzī II p. 138-43; Ḥājji Khalīfah I no. 1152 (*Alfīyah wa shalfīyah*), III no. 7259 (*Sindbād-nāmah*); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 139-52; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II⁶ p. 432-8; *LN* s.v. 'Azraqī' p. 1978-81; Khaiyām-pūr p. 37; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 183-226; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Suwar* p. 649-57; L.W. Harrow, *A study of the imagery of the eleventh century panegyrist Azraqī of Herat* (unpublished MPhil. thesis. London 1973); *Elr* s.v. 'Azraqī Heravī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

40. **Bābā Ṭāhīr** 'Uryān is a *ṣūfī* saint and the reputed author of a number of *fahlawīyāt*, i.e. quatrains in *hazaj* metre and non-standard Persian. The closest thing that we have to a historical fact about him is the story that Rāwandī tells us about his meeting with Toḡrīl at the time when the latter entered Hamadan, i.e. in 447/1055. Attempts to deduce the date of his birth from one of the [97] quatrains are idle speculation.¹

He is not mentioned as a poet by any early source; it is particularly striking that Shams i Qais, who devotes an extensive discussion to *fahlawīyāt*, mentions only Bundār (q.v.) and not the supposedly so famous Bābā Ṭāhir as an author of such pieces. Attempts by various scholars to determine the dialect basis of the quatrains have not led to coherent results. It seems most probable that the recitation and copying of the poems by speakers of several idioms have resulted in a dialect mixture.

His *du-baitts* have been noted in the following manuscripts: **London** I.O. 4582/7 (Dated 1274/1858); **Paris** Supplément 1542 (Blochet 1072. 19th century); Supplément 1435 fol. 5 sq. (Blochet 2183. Manuscript dated 1 Dhū l-hijjah 1262/1846); **Berlin** Minutoli 297 (Pertsch 697); Ms. or. oct. 1151 (Heinz 85); **Leningrad** Acad. A67 (Index 1726. Dated 1204/1789-90); Univ. 1280, 1281a (Tagirdzhanov p.6); **Konya** Museum 2547 (Dated 848/1444-5, according to M. Mīnuwī, *MDAT* IV/2, 1325sh./1946, p. 54-9); **Baku** I 337 (Dated Shawwāl 1278/1862); **Tehran** Majlis XVII 5995/57 (16th-17th century?); Univ. XIII 4351 (17th-18th century?); Univ. XIII 4430 (19th century?); **Mashhad** Univ. 332/5 (Ms. contains the date 14 Muḥarram 1264/1847); Riḍawī VII 930 (Dated Shaʿbān 1222/1807); Univ. 318 p. 12-23 (Dated 29 Dhū l-hijjah 1292/1876); **Calcutta** Ivanow 923 fol. 310. Further late Mss. in Munz. IV p. 2827-8.

Editions: **Tehran** 1274/1857-8; 1306sh./1927 (ed. W. Dastgirdī); reprinted several times; 1336sh./1957 (ed. Ḥ. K. Kirmānī); 1354sh./1976 (J. [98] Maqṣūr, *Sharḥ i aḥwāl u āthār u du-baitt-hā i Bābā Ṭāhir i ʿUryān*; contains on p. 85-184 an edition of 365 quatrains and 4 *ghazals*); 1363sh./1984 (ed. M. Ilāhī-Qumshārī, 2nd edition); **Bombay** 1297/1880; 1301/1883-4; 1308/1890-1 (96 p. Collection of quatrains ascribed to Khaiyām, Bābā Ṭāhir, Abū Saʿīd and Anṣārī, together with the latter's *Munājāt*); **London** 1902 (*The Lament of Bābā Ṭāhir, being the Rubāʿiyāt of Bābā Ṭāhir*, edited and translated by E. Heron-Allen with a verse rendering by E.C. Brenton), **Lahore** 1924 (ed.

¹By calculating the numerical values of the letters occurring in certain words Mirza Mehdi Khan deduced that he was born in 326/973-8. On the basis of the word *af* occurring in the same poem Yāsāmī concluded that he was born in A.D. 1000. Of course, time-reckoning on the basis of *anni domini* was unknown even to the Christians in mediaeval Persia.

Maulawī Wajāhat Ḥusain); **Dushanbe** 1963 (*Bobo Tohir. Muntakhabi ruboiyot*, ed. M. Rahimī, with 196 quatrains and 2 *ghazals*).

See also: C. Huart, 'Les quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān en pehlevi musulman', *JA*, sér. VIII, tome VI, 1885, p. 502-45; id., 'Nouveaux quatrains de Bābā Ṭāhir', *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1908, p. 290-302; Mirza Mehdy Khan,¹ 'The quatrains of Baba Tahir', *JASB* LXXIII/1, 1904, p. 1-29.

Translations: besides those mentioned under 'editions': (German verse): G.L. Leszczyński, *Die Rubāʿiyāt (sic) des Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān oder die Gottedränen des Herzen aus dem west-medischen (sic) Originale...*, Munich n.d. [1920].

(Armenian): R. Abrahamian, Tehran 1930.

(English verse): A.J. Arberry, *Poems of a Persian Shūfī, being the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir...*, Cambridge 1937; J.E. Saklatwalla, *The Rubaiyat-i-Baba Tahir Uryān Hamadani. A lament*, [Bombay] 1939.

(Czech): *Pláč Bābā Ṭāhirův čili rubá'iját*, trans. Josef Štýbr, Brno 1938.

(Russian): Баба Тахир, и небу, и земле, trans. G. Aliyev, Moscow 1971; 2nd edition 1977.

(Italian): *Quatraine (Dobeiti)*, trans. G. Rebecchi, n.p., n.d.

Cf. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbāl, London 1921, p. 98-9; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 326; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 102; Gh.-R.R. Yāsāmī, 'Bābā Ṭāhir i ʿUryān', *Armaghān* X, 1308sh./1929, p. 66-70; R. [99] Abrahamian, *Dialecte des Israélites de Hamadan et d'Ispahan et dialecte de Baba Tahir*, Paris 1936; Ā. Hamadānī, 'Mashāḥir i Hamadān', *Armaghān* XVII, 1315sh./1936, p. 433-40, 552-6; P.N. Khānlārī, 'Du-baitt-hā i Bābā Ṭāhir', *Payām i nau* I/8-9, 1324sh./1945, p. 26-30, 37-9; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II⁶ p. 383-6; *El*² s.v. 'Bābā-Ṭāhir' (V. Minorsky, with further literature); *Elr* s.v. 'Bābā Ṭāher' (L.P. Elwell-Sutton).

41. *Badīʿ* and 42. *Badāʿīʿ*: The former is included by 'Aufī² among the poets of the Samanid period. He gives his name as Abū Muḥammad al-Badīʿ b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī and quotes a

¹Thus according to the table of contents and the errata slip. In the article itself the author's name is given as Syed Ali Bilgrami.

²*Lubāb* II p. 22-3 = Nafīsī's edition, p. 260-1.

number of verses¹ from an ode in praise of Abū Yaḥyā (thus in the poem) Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥaḍḍ al-Ṣaghānī (died 381/991)² and two verses from another poem. Hidāyat³ attributes six verses from the mentioned ode to a poet whom he calls Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Balkhī, with the pen-name Badā'i'i, and whom he claims to have been a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The same author then proceeds to say that this Badā'i'i is the author of the *Pand-nāmah i Anōshēruwān*, from which he quotes 91 verses, most of which can be found in the poem published by Schefer as *Rāḥat al-insān*. Nafīsī suggested, with a certain amount of hesitation, that Hidāyat might have confused two different poets, 'Aufī's Badī' and the author of the *Pand-nāmah*, who, in the manuscript from which Hidāyat transcribed his extracts, was apparently called Badā'i'i. This would seem to be confirmed by the discovery of a second manuscript of the poem in Leningrad, which the hand-list describes as the *Pand-nāmah i Nōshēruwān i 'ādil* by Muḥammad [100] b. Maḥmūd Badā'i'i Balkhī. If the author's name is really given in this form in the manuscript one should perhaps reconsider the possibility that he is in fact identical with the poet mentioned by 'Aufī, but this requires confirmation. One verse by (the same?) Badā'i'i is quoted in *Ṣiḥāḥ* p. 269, and one by 'Badī' in manuscript *nūn* of *LF* (ed. Iqbāl p. 474).

The manuscript used by Hidāyat included a fair number of verses missing in Schefer's copy, among them the first six verses of the poem. Instead of these Schefer's version has a prose introduction in which the name of the author is given as '*Sharīf i shā'ir i jawān*' and the title of the poem as *Rāḥat al-insān*. But this introduction is clearly spurious; Fouchécour has observed that it is virtually identical with the introduction in two manuscripts of a *Rāḥat al-insān* in prose and that it was from this work that the copyist has lifted it.

This *Pand-nāmah* (inc.: *sipās az khudāwand i charkh i buland * kih dar dil na-gunjad az ō chūn u chand*) purports to contain the wise sayings which Anōshēruwān had inscribed on the 23 turrets of his throne. These are then given in 98 stanzas of 4 rhymed couplets each in *mutaqārib* metre. Basing himself on the fact that the poem quotes two

¹Seven in Browne's edition, eight in Nafīsī's, with four more verses, from 'other manuscripts', in a footnote.

²See below, p. 230.

³*Majma'* I p. 174-5 = new edition, I p. 456-62.

verses by 'Unṣurī, Schefer claimed that 'l'auteur a dû être le contemporain d'Onṣory ou vivre peu d'années après lui', and Nafīsī has also argued that the style of the poem points towards a dating in the second half of the 5th/11th century, a date accepted also by Rypka,¹ Lazard² and Fouchécour. The date of the Leningrad manuscript (708/1308-9) provides, in any event, the *terminus ad quem* of the work. The poem is perhaps related to the (lost) *Kitāb al-tāj* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and [101] belongs in any case to the many versions, in prose and verse, of the wise counsels of the celebrated Sasanian autocrat.

Mss.: Paris Suppl. 1325 (Blochet 1763, who claims that the manuscript, which he considered to have been written in Turkey towards the year 1480, is 'l'original exécuté sur les ordres de l'auteur'); Leningrad Acad. C1102 (Index 479. Dated 708/1308-9).

Editions: Ch. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane* I, Paris 1883, p. 206-232 (Persian section; see also his 'Notice', p. 205-7 of the French section); S. Nafīsī, *Mihr* II, 1313sh./1934, p. 181-8, 254-64 (Based on Schefer's edition, with additional verses from *Majma'*).

Besides the fundamental work by Nafīsī (see editions) cf. Ṣafā, *Tarikh* I⁶ p. 422-8; Khayyām-pūr p. 81; *LN* s.v. 'Badī' i Balkhī'; Fouchécour, *Moralia* p. 46-9; Idārah-chī p. 168-70.

43. Ibn Aḥmad al-Badrī al-Ghaznawī³ is credited with a *rubā'i* in 'Aufī's chapter on the Ghaznavid poets.

'Aufī II p. 67; Khayyām-pūr p. 80.

44. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bahrāmī al-Sarakhsī is included by both 'Arūḍī and 'Aufī (who cites a dozen of his verses) among the poets of the Ghaznavid period. Rāzī says that he lived at the time of Maḥmūd, while Hidāyat states that he flourished under that king's father Sebūktigin (died 387/948-9) and that he himself died in 500/1106-7 but these statements can hardly both be correct. A treatise on metrics with the title *Kitāb ghāyat* [102] *al-'arūḍiyyin* (or: *al-'arūḍain*, i.e. 'of Arabic and Persian

¹p. 251.

²*Poètes* p. 28.

³Thus 'Aufī; the *ism* was evidently missing already in 'Aufī's source, since Badrī is included in the section devoted to 'poets of this (i.e. Ghaznavid) period whose name and *nasab* are not known'. In Nafīsī's edition (p. 298) the name is supplied as 'Ḥasanōyah', but on what authority?

prosody') is mentioned by 'Arūḍī¹ and by Shams² and the former adds that he also wrote a work on rhymes, *Kanz al-qāfiyah*. There is in fact in London, I.O. Delhi 1217, an apparently unique manuscript of a work entitled *Kanz al-qawāfi* by one 'Izz al-dīn Shaikh 'Alī i 'Izz al-dīn al-Sarakhsī, but closer examination of the book is required to determine if it is really a work of the 10th or 11th century. It would appear that the book mentioned by 'Aufī with the title *Khujastah-nāmah* also dealt with poetics.

LF passim; 'Arūḍī p. 28, 30 (and Qazwīnī's notes); 'Aufī II p. 55-7;³ Shams p. 151, 159, 267; Jājarmī II p. 457-8; Rāzī II p. 40; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 173; LN s.v. 'Abū l-Ḥasan i Bahrāmī' p. 400-1; Buzurg I p. 148; Khaiyām-pūr p. 93 (with further references); Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 567-9; R. Levy, '*Kanz al-Qāfiyah* (or *al-Qawāfi*) by 'Alī 'Izz al-Dīn Bahrāmī-yi Sarakhsī', *A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, p. 134-8; *Elr* s.v. 'Bahrāmī Sarakhsī' (Z. Safa).

45. The **Bal'amī** who is named as the author of two verses quoted by the *Farhang i Jahāngīrī* is presumably one or the other of the well-known Samanid wazīrs, Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh al-Bal'amī (died 329/940), or his son Abū 'Alī Muḥammad, called Amīrak (died probably after 382/992).

Collection of fragments (2 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 32, 135, II p. 140. See also *Elr* s.v. 'Amīrak Bal'amī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh). [103]

46. **Bassām** i Kūrd is the author of a poem commemorating the defeat of the Kharijite leader 'Ammār by Ya'qūb b. Laith in 251/865.

Collection of fragments (5 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 18, 57, II p. 16.

Tārīkh i Sīstān p. 211-2; Meier, *Mahsaṭ* p. 11.

¹p. 30.

²p. 159.

³In 'Aufī II p. 68 'Bahrāmī' is an error for Mukhtār. See below, no. 113.

47. **Bīhrōz** Ṭabarī is known to us only from 'Aufī,¹ who includes him under the Ghaznavid poets and quotes two verses of his lampooning a mean patron.

48. **Bundār** (or Pindār?) al-Rāzī is included by 'Arūḍī in his list of the poets who served the Buyids. Mustaufī and Shams i Qais state that he composed *fahlawīyat*, i.e. dialect poetry, and the latter quotes two verses to illustrate the metrical licenses in which he indulged (much to Shams's disapproval). Daulat-shāh adds that his patron was Majd al-daulah (387/997 to 420/1029) and that he composed poetry in Arabic, Persian and 'Dailamī'. Hidāyat, finally, who gives the poet's *laqab* as Kamāl al-dīn, states that both he and his patron died in 401/1010-1; this is wrong with regard to Majd al-daulah and can thus not be regarded as reliable for the poet either.

'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Shams p. 145-6; Mustaufī p. 723-4; Jājarmī II p. 487-92; Daulat-shāh p. 42-3; Rāzī III p. 21-3; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 171; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 173-4; 'A. Iqbāl, '*Bundār i Rāzī, yak-i az qadīm-tarīn shu'arā i pahlawī-zabān*', *Mihr* VII p. 28-35; Khaiyām-pūr p. 89 (with further references); Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; Idārah-chī p. 261-71; *Elr* s.v. 'Bondār Rāzī' (Z. Safa). [104]

49. **Burhānī** was the father of the celebrated Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Mu'izzī.² His given name must therefore have been 'Abd al-Malik. 'Arūḍī tells the story of his own encounter with Mu'izzī in 510/1116-7, in the course of which the latter told our informant that his father, the poet-laureate (*amīr al-shu'arā*) Burhānī died in Qazwīn at the beginning of the reign of Malik-shāh (i.e. not long after 465/1072-3) and handed over to his son his position at the court. 'Arūḍī then quotes a verse which the old man recited on this occasion, but it is possible that the verse is not by him, but by Adīb Mukhtār.³ A *rubā'ī* by Burhānī is quoted by Rādūyānī, a poem of 14 verses by Jājarmī and three further verses from an unidentified *jung* were added by Iqbāl.

Rādūyānī p. 110-1 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Arūḍī p. 28, 41 (and Qazwīnī's notes p. 154-5, 168-9); Jājarmī II p. 481-2; Iqbāl's introduc-

¹II p. 67.

²See below, p. 421-3.

³See below, p. 196-7 (no. 113).

tion to his edition of the *dtwān* of Mu'izzī, Tehran 1318sh./1939, p. ii-iv; M. Mu'īn, '*Burhān wa qasīdah i ū*', *NDAT* I/1, 1327sh./1948, p. 7-18; Šafā, *Tārkh* II⁶ p. 430-2; Khaiyām-pūr p. 84.

50. Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bustī, who served as a secretary under Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd, is a well-known Arabic poet. A few fragments of Persian verse (in which, it seems, he indulged only in an amateur capacity) have come down to us as well.

LF (one verse s.v. *chaghd*); Rādūyānī p. 85 (and Ateš's notes, p. 94-5); Waṭwāt p. 57; 'Aufī I p. 64-5; Daulat-shāh p. 26-7; Jāmī, *Nafahāt* p. 405, no. 425; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 70; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 55-7; P. Baidā'ī, '*Shaikh Abū l-Faṭḥ i Bustī*', *Armaghān* XVIII, 1316sh./1936, p. 221-4; LN s.v. 'Abū l-Faṭḥ'; Šafā, *Tārkh* I⁶ p. 457-8 Khaiyām-pūr [105] p. 20-1; Idārah-chī p. 272-84; *El*² s.v. 'Bustī' (J.W. Fück); Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; *El* s.v. 'Bostī' (Z. Safa).

51. Abū Maṣṣūr Qasīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Qā'inī *al-mulaqqab bi Buzurjmīhr* was another bilingual poet, five of whose Arabic verses are quoted by Tha'ālībī. 'Aufī, who gives him the title *amīr* and includes him in his chapter on the 'great kings' who composed poetry, repeats two of these (with explicit reference to Tha'ālībī as his source) and then quotes seven Persian verses, two of them from an ode to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He is presumably identical with the 'Buzurjmīhr i Qasīmī' whom Shams i Qais mentions, alongside Bahrāmī (q.v.), as one of the Persian prosodists.

Tha'ālībī, *Tatimmat* II p.45; 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufī I p. 33; Shams p. 151-2; Šafā, *Tārkh* I⁶ p. 570; Khaiyām-pūr p. 84.

52. Daqīqī is remembered primarily as the author of some thousand verses concerning the legend of Zoroaster and his patron, Gushtāsp, which Firdausī incorporated into his *Shāh-nāmah*.¹ His name is given by 'Aufī as Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, by others as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, his birthplace as Ṭōs, Balkh, Samarqand or Bukhārā. The dates which the anthologists give for his death are contradictory and improbable. We possess fragments of an ode which he wrote for two of the Samanids, Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ (350/961 to 365/975-6)

¹Moscow edition VI p. 65-135.

and his son Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (365/975-6 to 387/997); this gives us an approximate idea of when he flourished.

In the introduction to his *Shāh-nāmah*,¹ Firdausī tells how the 'young man' Daqīqī undertook the versification of the Book of Kings; however he had 'bad companions' and was killed by one of his [106] slaves before he could complete the poem. At the beginning of the section on Gushtāsp, Firdausī tells how Daqīqī appeared to him in a dream and asked him to insert into his poem the 'thousand verses' on Gushtāsp and Arjāsp which he had completed 'when my life ended'. Firdausī proceeds to do so, though not without some disparaging remarks on the quality of his predecessor's poetry.² Firdausī's words have been widely understood to mean that Daqīqī's work on the *Shāh-nāmah* consisted only of the verses subsequently incorporated into Firdausī's epic, but they could also mean simply that the episode in question was the last that Daqīqī completed before his 'life ended', but not necessarily the only one he wrote. That Firdausī incorporated this particular fragment into his own poem was of course a convenient way of deflecting from himself any recriminations that pious Muslims might raise against the positive image of Zoroaster in the Book of Kings; it need not mean that this was all that he had of his predecessor's work. Indeed, 'Aufī says that Daqīqī wrote 20 000 verses of his Book of Kings. This is not necessarily true; however, the *Tārkh-nāmah i Harāt* of Saif Harawī attributes some 70 couplets in *mutaqārib* metre and in epic style to Daqīqī, and it seems entirely possible that these are indeed fragments of his *Shāh-nāmah*, though they could conceivably belong to a different work of his. They include what are evidently the opening lines of the poem (Lazard's fragments 267-9, beginning *ba yazdān i dāwar khudāwand i jān * kih charkh āfrīd u zamīn u zamān*).

In frag. 205-6 the poet says that 'Daqīqī has chosen four things from the good and bad in the world': red lips, the sound of the harp, wine and the Zoroastrian religion (*dīn*, var. *kēsh i zard'hishī*). One the basis of these verses, it has [107] repeatedly been argued that Daqīqī was in fact a Zoroastrian; this seems, however, most unlikely. To begin with, the statement that he has 'chosen' (*bar guzīda-st*) Zoroastrianism would be decidedly strange if the poet had been born and raised in the

¹Ed. Khāliqī-Muṭṭaq I p. 13.

²Moscow edition VI p. 136.

old religion; it would seem rather to point to a conversion. But, that a Muslim in 10th-century Persia should have converted to another religion and then flaunted his apostasy in verse is something that can hardly be imagined. The verses must mean that the Muslim poet has 'chosen', 'given preference to', 'expressed admiration for' Zoroastrianism, but not actually formally adhered to it. This sentiment belongs, together with the invocation of 'idols', or with the praise of wine and other forbidden pleasures, to the stylised naughtiness of Muslim poetry and should not be regarded as an expression of religious convictions. The Muslim names that 'Aufī and his successors give to the poet and to his father are not necessarily correct, but neither should they be dismissed out of hand. And the verses at the beginning of his epic (frag. 267-8) show clearly that their author was at least nominally a Sunnite Muslim.

Collection of fragments, French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 32-6, 136-62, 184-7, II p. 141-77. Also: M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, *Daqīqī wa ash'ār i ū*, Tehran, 1342sh./1963; *Dīwān i Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad i Daqīqī i Tūsī*, ed. M. Jawād Sharī'at, n.p., 1368sh./1989 [basically a reprint of Lazard's collection plus Daqīqī's portion of the *Shāh-nāmā*, but with a useful glossary].

Baihaqī p. 376-7, 386-7; *LF* passim (one new verse in ed. Muḥtabā'i/Šādiqī p. 197); Rādūyānī passim; 'Arūḍī p. 39; Waṭwāt p. 38; Shams passim; 'Aufī II p. 11-3; Jāarmī II p. 454-7; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 214-7; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 408-19; Khaiyām-pūr p. 210; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 424-9; Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, 'Daqīqīs Geburtsort' [= Tōs], [108] *Der Islam* LIII, 1976, p. 115-9; J. Matīnī, 'Daqīqī, zabān i dār wa lahjah i ādharī', *MDAM* XI, 1354sh./1976, p. 559-75; A. Sh. Shabazi, 'Iranian notes 6: Daqīqī's religion' [= Zoroastrianism], *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (= *Acta Iranica* 25), Leiden 1985, p. 505-10; S. Navrūzova, 'Ba'ze lahzahoi tarjimai holi Daqīqī', *Armughon* 1989 p. 74-9; *Elr* s.v. 'Daqīqī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

53. Two verses by an otherwise unknown **Dhauqī**, referring to Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī,¹ are quoted by Rādūyānī, p. 12.

Cf. *LN* s.v. 'Dhauqī', p. 181; Khaiyām-pūr p. 218

¹See above, p. 104 (no. 50).

54. **Dihqān Khūzī** is known to us only from four verses quoted by Rādūyānī p. 15, 22.

55. One verse by **Fākhīr** or **Fākhīrī** is quoted in *LF* (ed. Iqbāl p. 168); also in Qawwās p. 139 and *Šihāh* p. 130.

56. A verse by Rōdakī, quoted by 'Aufī, mentions Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Farālāwī¹ and Shahīd as the two foremost poets of their time; he must therefore have flourished in the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

Collection of fragments (34 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 21-2, 70-2, II p. 40-6.

LF passim (one new verse in ed. Muḥtabā'i/Šādiqī p. 220); 'Aufī II p. 5; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 65; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 394-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 438; *LN* s.v. 'Abū 'Abd Allāh' p. 603-4; *Elr* s.v. 'Farālāwī'.

57. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Jūlūgh al-Farrukhī al-Sijzī was one of the principal poets of the early Ghaznavid period. The story of his early life is related by 'Arūḍī: his father Jūlūgh had been a [109] slave (*ghulām*, presumably meaning a slave-soldier) of the *amīr* of Sīstān and Saffarid vassal Khalaf i Bānū; the young Farrukhī was in the service (and presumably also a slave) of a land-owner (*dihqān*) in that country. On finding himself unable to support a wife on the salary he received from the latter, the young poet ran away from his master and went to the ruler of Chaghāniyān, Abū l-Muẓaffar (i.e. evidently Abū l-Muẓaffar Fakhr al-daulah Aḥmad b. Muḥammad²), while the latter was supervising the branding of his colts, and attracted his attention with two apposite poems, for which he was at once richly rewarded. In the former poem³ the author describes his voyage from Sīstān to Chaghāniyān, and alludes to the coincidence of a Muslim 'īd with Naurōz, from which it is possible to determine the date of the poem, and thus also the approximate date of Farrukhī's arrival in Chaghāniyān, as 1 Shawwāl 406/March

¹The reading and meaning of the name are uncertain; see Horn, *Einl.* p. 26 and my article in *Elr*.

²For his name, see below, no. 114 (ad Munjīk).

³*Dīwān*, ed. 'Abd al-Rasūlī, p. 331-3.

1016.¹ Seeing that 'Arūdī implies that the poet was already married at the time of his arrival, he could hardly have been born much later than 385/995. Not long afterwards, the poet transferred his allegiance yet again to an even more powerful patron, Sulṭān [110] Maḥmūd. To him are dedicated the majority of the poems in Farrukhī's *diwān* where we find also a celebrated elegy on his death (*Diwān*, p. 92-5), which occurred in 421/1030; besides these we find eulogies of Maḥmūd's two successors, Muḥammad and Mas'ūd, including one which would appear to have been presented to the latter on *ʿId al-fiṭr* 422/1031.² If we are to believe Labībī's statement³ that Farrukhī died young, we cannot put his death very much later than this.⁴

The biographical tradition deteriorates markedly with Daulat-shāh, who tells us that Farrukhī was born in Tirmidh (a long way from Sīstān), that he was a pupil of 'Unṣurī and that he wrote a treatise on rhetoric called *Tarjumān al-balāghah* (presumably the work by that name by Rādūyānī).⁵

Mss. of his *Diwān*: London Or. 3246 I (Rieu Suppt. no. 204. Dated Ramaḍān 1248/1833); Or. 2945 (Rieu Suppt. no. 203. Dated Jumādā II 1275/1859. The basis of the Tehran edition of 1301); I.O. 902 (incomplete); Leningrad Univ. 1003b (Romszewicz p. 8); Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 329 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 1171. Ateş 8. Dated Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1247/1832); Najaf 1387 (Munz. 25026. Dated Ramaḍān 1253/1837); 1384 (Munz. 25053); Tehran Adabiyāt I p. 266 (18th century?); Malik 5384 (Munz. no. 25024 inspevit. Dated 1249/1833-4); Majlis 5284

¹In the year 385 Y. Naurōz, i.e. 1 Farwardīn, fell on 12 March. 1 Shawwāl 406, the feast marking the end of Ramaḍān, corresponds, according to the usual tables, to 13 March, but the new moon could easily have been visible already on the eve of the 12th. The date of the poem was first determined by Ateş, as it turns out correctly, despite the fact that he took as his point of departure the erroneous assumption that at the time in question Naurōz was fixed to the vernal equinox. In reality, Muslims continued to celebrate Naurōz according to the Zoroastrian calendar at least until the time of the introduction of the Jalālī calendar in 1079; this can be seen from the dates given for Naurōz in the *Tārkh i Baihaqī*. The other date which Ateş considered, 405, is not likely: In that year 1 Shawwāl fell on (roughly) 25 March 1015, Naurōz on 13 March.

²See J.S. Meisami, *Iran* XXVIII, 1990, p. 38-9.

³See below, no. 92.

⁴The date given by Hidāyat, 429/1037-8, is thus just about possible, but not that given by Taqī (apud Sprenger, p. 15) and Ādhar, namely 470/1077-8.

⁵The *Tarjumān al-balāghah* is attributed to Farrukhī already by Yāqūt.

(Munz. 25036 inspevit); Majlis 4897 (Munz. 25037 inspevit); Majlis III 1038; Qum Mar'ashī VI 2367; Mashhad Riḍawī VII 508 (Dated 1125/1713); Univ. 147 (Dated 4 Rabī' I 1210/1795); Riḍawī VII 502 (Dated 1 Muḥarram 1253/1837); Riḍawī VII 505 (Dated Rajab 1263/1847); Riḍawī VII 509 (Dated 1288/1871-2); [111] Riḍawī VII 504; Riḍawī IX 1147 (Dated 1263/1847); Tashkent Acad. II 761 (Dated 1268/1851-2); Acad. II 762 (19th century); Lahore Punjab Univ. Lib. (according to *Oriental College Magazine* III/2, 1927, p. 73); Public Lib. I p. 375 (18th century?) [Munz.]; Public Lib. I p. 376 (18th century?) [Munz.]; Los Angeles Univ. M269 (*Nuskah-hā* XI/XII p. 43. 18th century? Beginning missing). Cf. Munz. III 25019-54.

Extracts: Oxford Elliot 37 fol. 183a (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar*); Paris Supplément 1366 fol. 208r seqq. (Blochet 1993. Ms. dated 20 Rajab 1010/1602); Leningrad Univ. 941y (Salemman p. 15).

Editions: Tehran 1301/1883-4; 1302/1884-5; 1311sh./1932 (Ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rasūlī; the preface is dated Tīr-Māh 1312sh./1933); 1335sh./1957 (Ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī).

Partial editions: Tehran 1346/1968 (annotated edition of four poems by Kh. Kh. Rahbar).

Glossary: D. Meneghini Correale, *Farroxi: Concordance and lexical repertoires of 1000 lines*, Venice 1991.

Shahryār-nāmah. A manuscript of a poem of this title (not identical with the *Shahryār-nāmah* attributed to Mukhtārī¹) is found in the Bankipore library. It contains a number of passages in which the author gives his name as Farrukhī and that of his patron as Maḥmūd. However, it also contains a prologue dedicated to 'Abbās Shāh, and the name 'Abbās has also been inserted at one other point in the manuscript over an erasure of the original name. Ms.: Bankipore Suppt. I 1798 (17th century? 180 fol. Damaged at end).² [112]

¹For these two versions of the *Shahryār-nāmah* see, in detail, below, p. 432-5.

²A microfilm of the Bankipore manuscript has recently been acquired by the library of the Royal Asiatic Society (Storey collection).

Baihaqī p. 280; 'Unsur al-Ma'ālī, *Qābūs-nāmah* (ed. Yūsufi) p. 150; *LF* passim (a critical edition and translation of the fragments contained there is given by Rypka and Borecký [= 'R/B'] p. 41-75); Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes, p. 98-90); 'Arūḍī p. 28, 36-40 (and R/B p. 30-4); Waṭwāt passim (and R/B p. 28-30); 'Aufī II p. 47-50 (and R/B p. 35-8); 'Aufī, *Jawāmi'* (facsimile) p. 353 (no. 1125); Shams passim (and R/B p. 38-41); Jājarmī p. 130-1; Daulat-shāh p. 55-7; Ādhar p. 86-8; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 439-65; J. Rypka and M. Borecký, 'Farūhī' [in French], *Archiv orientální* 16, 1948, p. 17-75 (contains a critical edition of those verses cited in Asadī's *Lughat i Furs* and other early sources, confronting them with the variants in 'Abd al-Rasūlī's edition of the *dtwān*); A. Ateş, 'Farrukhī chih zamān ba Chaghāniyān raft?', *MDAT* VIII/2, 1339sh./1961, p. 1-12 (Also in Turkish in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* IV, 1961, p. 23-32); Khaiyām-pūr p. 440 (with further references); Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 531-46; Gh. Yūsufi, *Farrukhī i Sīstānī. Baḥth-i dar sharḥ i aḥwāl wa rūzgār wa shi'r i ū*, Mashhad 1341sh./1962-3; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Şuwar* p. 486-98; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 1-180; M. Mulloahmadov, *Farrukhīi Sistonī*, Dushanbe 1978; R. Zipoli, *Āyīnah dar shi'r i Farrukhī wa Sa'dī wa Ḥafīz*, Tehran 1366sh./1987; M. Mulloahmadov, *Farrukhīi Sistonī* (in Tajik), Dushanbe 1978; J.S. Meisami, 'Ghaznavid panegyrics: some political implications', *Iran* XXVIII, 1990, p. 31-44 (translations of and commentary on several of his poems); C.E. Bosworth, 'Farrukhī's elegy on Maḥmūd of Ghazna', *Iran* XXIX, 1991, p. 43-9 (with translation and detailed commentary); *El*² s.v. 'Farrukhī' (Huart/Massé); *Elr* s.v. 'Farrokī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn).

58. Abū l-Qāsim Firdausī,¹ the author of the Iranian national epic, is arguably the greatest of [113] all Persian poets. His life very soon became shrouded in legend and all that can really be said about him with any degree of certainty is what the poet himself tells us, but even this is not always easy to discern given the textual problems posed by the *Shāh-nāmah*, the surviving manuscripts of which diverge immensely from one another.

¹Bundārī (I p. 3 of the edition cited on p. 149), an early and reliable source, gives his names as Abū l-Qāsim Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥasan al-Firdausī al-Ṭūsī. Later authors give his personal name also as Aḥmad or Ḥasan and diverge also concerning his father's name.

The fundamental scholarly studies of Firdausī and the *Shāh-nāmah* remain those by Nöldeke¹ and Taqī-zādah.² The recent inception of the first really critical edition of the poem by Khāliqī-Muṭlaq (the first five volumes of which are available at the time of writing) promises to put the study of the epic on an entirely new footing and to make obsolete much of what has been written up till now, including, very possibly, these paragraphs.³ [114]

The many passages in which the poet invokes the Ghaznavid Maḥmūd tell us, in any event, that at least the final version of the work was completed during his reign (389/999 to 421/1030). Moreover, the majority of the manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāmah* end with verses referring to the completion of the poem on the day Ard (25th) of Sifandārmud of the year 400 (*panj hashtād bār*) of the hijrah, i.e. either 8 March 1010

¹Th. Nöldeke, 'Das iranische Nationalepos', *GlPh* II, p. 130-211; second, much revised, edition printed separately under the same title, Berlin/Leipzig 1920; English translation by L.T. Bogdanov, *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* VII, 1930; Persian translation (*Ḥamāsah i millī i Irān*) by B. 'Alawī with an introduction by S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1327sh./1948. All references are to the 2nd German edition.

²Taqī-zādah's contributions were first published under the pseudonym 'Muḥassil' as a series of 13 articles in the journal *Kāwah* (*Kaveh*), N.S. I-II, 1920-1. They were reprinted in a slightly shortened form as '*Shāh-nāmah wa Firdausī*', *Haz. Fird.* p. 17-108, and again in their original form as part of the volume *Firdausī wa Shāh-nāmah i ā*, ed. Ḥ. Yaghmā'i, Tehran 1349sh./1970-1 (separate pagination). Nöldeke's appreciation of Taqī-zādah's contributions was published (posthumously) under the title 'Ein Beitrag zur Schahname-Forschung', *Haz. Fird.* (European section) p. 58-63.

³As a by-product of his work on the edition Khāliqī-Muṭlaq has published a large number of important articles on the text and interpretation of the epic, e.g. 'Die Reste altiranischer Anschauung über das Pferd im Šāhnāma', *ZDMG* Suppl. III/2, 1977, p. 1049-1052; '*Yak-i dakhmah kard-ash zi summ i sutūr*', *NDAT* XXIX, 2536sh.sh./1977-8, p. 462-70; 'Der Plan einer neuen Schahname-Edition', *Studia Iranica* X, 1981, p. 85-92; '*Si nukta dar abyāt i Shāh-nāmah*', *Āyandah* VIII, 1361sh./1983, p. 575-84, 790-8 (with a follow-up article by F. Muṭtabā'i in *Āyandah* IX, 1362sh./1983, p. 606-12); '*Mu'arriḥ i qī'a'āt i ilḥāqī i Shāh-nāmah*', *Irān-nāmah* III, 1363sh./1984-5, p. 26-53, 246-61; '*Chihil u yak nukta dar abyāt i Shāh-nāmah*', *Nām-wārah i Duktur Maḥmūd i Afshār* III, Tehran 1366sh./1987 p. 1838-56; '*Mu'arriḥ i siḥ qī'a'ah i ilḥāqī dar Shāh-nāmah*', *Irān-shināsi* I, 1368sh./1990, p. 675-90; etc. Many of his papers have been republished as *Gul i ranj-hā i kuhan*, Tehran 1372sh./1993.

or possibly the same day in 1011.¹ However, in a number of old manuscripts the year of completion is given rather as 384 of the hijrah (February 994 to February 995)² and the year '384' is given as the date of the completion of Firdausī's poem also at the end of Bundārī's Arabic translation, a work that is older than any of the existing Persian manuscripts which contain the closing lines of the poem.

Besides this, a very small number of manuscripts have, after the usual closing verses, an 'epilogue' in verse³ in which the author (ostensibly Firdausī himself) says that he completed the story (*dāstān*) in the year of the hijrah 389 (*nahum sāl u hashtād bā st-šad*) while staying with one Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the ruler of Khān i Lanjān (near Isfahan). The precise date is given first according to the Muslim calendar as Tuesday 25 Muḥarram, which in the year in question would correspond to Tuesday 17 January 999, then, a few verses later, as the Persian date day Asmān (27th) of Bahman, [115] which in that year corresponds to 14 February. Taqī-zādah argued that these dates belong to three successive recensions of the *Shāh-nāmā*: Firdausī completed his first version on 25 Sifandārmud A.H. 384 = 12 March 994, which cor-

¹There are two possible ways to understand this configuration of a Zoroastrian date with an Islamic year. One is that the event in question occurred on the 25 Sifandārmud which fell during the Islamic year 400 (= August 1009 to August 1010), that is on 8 March 1010. The other is that it occurred on 25 Sifandārmud of the *kharāj* year that commenced on Nau-rōz in A.H. 400 (= 14 March 1010), that is on 8 March 1011. For details see the article 'Ta'rīkh' in *Et*², section viii ('The tax year') and the literature cited there. In either case, the conversion takes account of the fact that the five epigomenal days still stood, in Firdausī's time, between the months of Ābān and Ādhar (see my article 'The Persian calendar', *Iran* 34, 1996, p. 39-54). The objections voiced in a review of first edition of *PL V*, in *BSOAS* 56, 1993, p. 601, are not valid.

²In the apparatus of the Moscow edition this reading is cited only for the manuscript 'K' (i.e. Cairo, Dār al-kutub 73 *tārīkh fārist*; see below p. 141), where the year is given as *si-šad sāl u hashtād u chār*, without indication of the month or day. But in other manuscripts (see *Haz. Fird.* p. 70) the same sum is formulated with different words and in at least some of these the precise date of completion is again given as 25 (Ard) Sifandārmud, which would correspond to 12 March 994 or 995 (according to the two possible interpretations mentioned in the previous footnote). It should be obvious that if 384 and 400 are in fact the years in which two different recensions of the epic were completed, then the date '25 Sifandārmud' can be correct in only one of the two years; the poet is most unlikely to have finished the revision on the exact anniversary of the first version.

³This was published and translated by C. Schefer in an appendix to his edition of the *Safar-nāmā* of Nāṣir i Khusrau, Paris 1881, p. 298-302.

responds (according to Taqī-zādah)¹ in that year to 25 Muḥarram (the Muslim date mentioned in the 'epilogue'); the second version (to which the epilogue belongs) was completed on 27 Bahman A.H. 389 = 14 February 999 (the verses mentioning 'Tuesday 25 Muḥarram' having supposedly been wrongly introduced from the closing section of the first version), and only after this did Firdausī go to Ghaznah where he presented his third and final version of the poem to Maḥmūd in the year 400/1009-10 (whereby the date '25 Sifandārmud' would have been introduced into this version from the first). This elaborate construction has not met with universal approval. A number of scholars, beginning with Mīnuwī,² have argued that the 'epilogue' is not the work of Firdausī at all and that it records not the composition of the *Shāh-nāmā* but a copying of the text which took place not in 389 but in 689 (reading *shash-šad* instead of the palaeographically virtually identical *st-šad*), in which year Tuesday 25 Muḥarram would correspond to Tuesday 7 February 1290. It would thus be the anonymous 13th-century scribe, and not Firdausī, who enjoyed the hospitality of the ruler of Khān i Lanjān. Unfortunately, this does not solve the chronological problems, since [116] 25 Muḥarram 689 (7 February 1290) does not correspond to 27 Bahman either according to the Zoroastrian calendar, nor according to the Jalālī calendar, though in the latter case the divergence is only of five days.³ Nonetheless, Mīnuwī was certainly right to say that the author of the 'epilogue' does not in fact explicitly claim to have composed the *Shāh-nāmā* and that, moreover, it is written in a style quite unlike Firdausī's.

¹*Haz. Fird.* p. 79. According to Wüstenfeld's tables 25 Muḥarram 384 corresponds to Sunday 11 March 994, but, of course, tables give only approximate equivalents. In any case, 25 Sifandārmud/12 March was a Monday, while the 'epilogue' speaks of Tuesday 25 Muḥarram. Taqī-zādah is thus forced to reckon with a scribal error ('*tahrīf*') in the text of the epilogue.

²M. Mīnuwī, '*Kitāb i Hazārah i Firdaus wa buṭlān i intisāb i Yūsuf u Zulaikha ba Firdaus*', *Rāzgār i nau* V/3, 1323sh./1944, p. 16-36.

³27 Bahman 658 Yazdgirdī corresponds to 25 November 1289; 27 Bahman 211 Jalālī to 2 February 1290. According to my calculations, during the time when the epilogue could have been composed, 27 Bahman of the Zoroastrian calendar corresponds to a Tuesday about 25 days into Muḥarram only in 421/1030 and 558/1163 (in both cases according to the late Sasanian positioning of the epagomenae). It would thus seem more likely that it was written in one of these years and that the year given in the text was intentionally altered by a scribe wishing to assign the verses to Firdausī.

More recently still, Ateş has argued that the text of the epic contains allusions to events as late 409/1019 (Maḥmūd's conquest of Qanauj¹), which, if correct, would mean that all of the dates mentioned in the various versions of the closing verses are too early, at least for the final version of the work. In any event, the main problem with the notion of two or three successive recensions is that even those manuscripts which claim the completion of the poem for 384 and thus presumably represent a pre-Ghaznavid recension of the epic, nonetheless contain passages lauding Maḥmūd (who did not even become king until 389/999) and in general do not seem to represent a different textual tradition from those giving the date 400. If, as indeed seems likely, Firdausī did release two (or perhaps even more) different versions of the *Shāh-nāmah* during his lifetime, these versions must have become so completely mixed up with one another in the subsequent manuscript tradition (and in the oral tradition) that it is now impossible to ascertain which verses belong to which recension.

The concluding section also contains (again with considerable variation from manuscript to manuscript) verses in which the poet gives his age as '65', '71' or 'almost 80' and speaks of having laboured on the epic for 35 years. Various attempts have been made to deduce from these verses [117] the exact date of the poet's birth² as well as the date when he began work on the poem, but all this seems futile as long as the text has not been sorted out. In the meanwhile we should content ourselves with the knowledge that at the time when he completed his masterpiece (whether in 384 or 400 or even a few years later) the poet was an old man (something between 65 and 80), that his birth must con-

¹Cf. ed. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq I p. 17, *dibājah* 179.

²Nöldeke, p. 25, suggested, with great caution and explicit reference to the uncertain state of the text, that the age '65' might be combined with the year '389' mentioned in the 'epilogue' to give a birth-date of 323 or 324 (935 or 936), in which case the poet would have been 76 or 77 ('almost 80') on completion of the 'final version' in 400. The date 324 was approved by Taqī-zādah and officially accepted by the Iranian government. Most recently A. Sh. Shabazi has attacked the problem in his article 'The birthdate of Firdausī (3rd Dey 308 Yazdigardi = 3rd January 940)', *ZDMG* 134, 1984, p. 98-105. Shabazi's arguments are based on uncontrollable assumptions, such as the number of verses that the poet wrote per day, and side-steps the textual problems. An entirely different set of dates have been proposed by 'A.R. Nāzīm-zādah, 'Tartkh i surādan i Sh.N.', *Āyandah* XI/4-5, 1364sh./1985-6, p. 252-65.

sequently have fallen in the first half of the 4th/10th century, and that he began work on the poem well before the time of Maḥmūd.

Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, writing a little more than a century after Firdausī's time, is our earliest biographical source. Indeed, it is probable that everything that we find in the later biographers (as well as in the three prose introductions to the *Shāh-nāmah* itself) is either taken, directly or indirectly, from 'Arūḍī or else freely invented.¹ According to this author Abū l-Qāsim Firdausī was a rich land-owner (*dihqān*) from the [118] village of Bāzh, in the district of Ṭabarān, in the province of Ṭōs. He worked on the *Shāh-nāmah* for 25 years and, when it was finished, had it copied out by 'Alī Dailam and recited publicly by Abū Dulaf. The governor of Ṭōs, Ḥuyaiy (bad variant: Ḥusain) b. Qutaibah rewarded him for his efforts by remitting the tax (*kharāj*) due on his land. Thereupon Firdausī went with his book and his reciter to Ghaznah where, with the help of the wazīr, the poem was brought to the attention of Maḥmūd. But the minister's enemies attacked the poet for being a Shiite (*rāfiḍī*), and a Mu'tazilite to boot, with the result that the sultan rewarded him with a paltry 20 000 dirhams. The poet, gravely offended, gave the money to a bath-house attendant and a beer-seller (i.e. two very lowly persons) and fled from Ghaznah. At first he took refuge in the house of Ismā'īl al-Warrāq, the father of Azraqī, in Herat. Six months later he fled to the ruler of Ṭabaristān, the sipahbad Shahryār,² at whose court he composed a satire against Maḥmūd. But the sipahbad, fearing the wrath of that king, purchased the manuscript of the satire for 100 000 dirhams and had it destroyed. The last part of 'Arūḍī's account (which he claims to have heard in 514/1120-1 from the poet Mu'izzī, who in turn had it from the Amīr 'Abd al-Razzāq of Ṭōs) tells how Maḥmūd, on hearing

¹For a critical confrontation between 'Arūḍī and the later sources see Nöldeke §20-23. The fragmentary preface in the Florence manuscript (which shares many elements with the Bāysunghur preface and with Daulat-shāh's biography) is edited, translated and analysed in Piemontese's article (see below, p. 124).

²This has generally been presumed to mean the Bāwandid Shahryār III, who ruled from 358/969 to 396/1006, which would require a very early date for the final completion of the poem (well before 400). But perhaps the intended ruler is the 'minor Bāwandid' Abū l-Fawāris Shahryār b. 'Abbās b. Shahryār, who left an inscription dated 413/1022 (see Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 155 n. 1). I see now that the possibility of identifying this person with the sipahbad mentioned by 'Arūḍī was considered also by W. Madelung in *Elr* I p. 749 (s.v. 'Āl-e Bāvand') as well as by Ş. Sajjādī in *DMBI* I p. 589.

his minister recite a verse from the *Shāh-nāmah*, regretted at last his shabby treatment of the great poet and ordered that a camel-train of indigo valued at 60 000 *dīnārs* be sent to him, together with the king's [119] apologies. But as the caravan entered the town of Tōs by one gate, Firdausī's corpse was carried out through another.

'Arūqī's story is a good one, and on the whole not implausible, but is it true? The main difficulty involves Firdausī's supposed satire. 'Arūqī maintains that this poem was destroyed by the ruler of Ṭabaristān, apart from the six verses which our author quotes. This would have to mean that the satire (*hajw-nāmah*) which we find - apparently in widely diverging forms - in so many of the manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāmah*¹ has been elaborated from these six authentic verses. Final judgement on this matter must, however, await a critical edition of the satire.²

Apart from the *Shāh-nāmah* and the Satire, a number of lyrical pieces have been attributed to Firdausī by the anthologists; these have been collected by Ethé.³ But as there seems to be no mention of them in early sources they must be regarded as, at least, doubtful.⁴ The religious [120] *mathnawī* entitled *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* is now no longer generally regarded as the work of Firdausī and will be discussed, below, p. 576-84.

The *Shāh-nāmah* is a *mathnawī* of about 60 000 verses (inc. *ba nām i khudāwand i jān u khirad * k-az īn bartar andēshah bar na-gdharad*), a grandiose compendium of the legendary and (from the time

¹Cf. Nöldeke §22.

²M. Shērānī in his *Chahār maqālah bar Firdausī wa Shāh-nāmah*, n.p. (apparently Kabul) 1355sh./1977 (originally published in Urdu in the 1920s) argues that the *hajw-nāmah* has been constructed out of verses from the *Shāh-nāmah* and quotes (p. 105-9) a number of parallel verses from the two poems. This deserves further investigation, though of course it must also be determined whether the passages which Shērānī quotes from the *Shāh-nāmah* are authentic and not rather interpolations from the *hajw-nāmah*. The question of formulaic repetitions within the *Shāh-nāmah* itself (a well-known feature of epic poetry in all languages) should also not be left out of consideration.

³H. Ethé, 'Firdausī als Lyriker', *SB München* 1872 p. 275-304, 1873, p. 623-59.

⁴The earliest authority to quote anything of Firdausī's, apart from the *Shāh-nāmah* and the Satire, is 'Aufī II p. 33, where we find two verses from an ode to Maḥmūd and a gnomic *qit'ah* of five verses. The latter is, however, almost certainly either by Muḥammad b. 'Abdih (see below p. 194) or else expanded from two of his verses.

of Alexander onwards) semi-legendary history of Iran, beginning with the 'first king' (in Zoroastrianism the first man) Gayōmart and continuing down to the Islamic conquest, a retelling of the Iranian national tradition which, though not specifically Islamicised, has at least been shorn of most of its overtly Zoroastrian content and thus made broadly acceptable to a Muslim audience. The ultimate source of Firdausī's poem is the (for us lost) Sasanian book to which early Arabic authors refer either by its name in Middle Persian (*Khwadāy-nāmag*) or in Arabic (*Siyar al-mulūk*). The book was translated from Middle Persian into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (died ca. 140/757), whose version was followed by others, whereby it remains unclear whether these merely reworked the older translation or actually made use of the Sasanian original. All of these Arabic versions are lost, but we can form a fairly precise idea of their contents (and of those of their source) from the account of pre-Islamic Iran given by such historians as Ṭabarī and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī. In Neo-Persian there were at least four versions of the Book of Kings before Firdausī, namely the *Shāh-nāmah* in verse by Mas'ūdī al-Marwazī (probably well before 355/966),¹ the version, presumably in prose, by Abū l-Mu'ayyad al-Balkhī (in the Samanid period)² - with which the '*Shāh-nāmah* of Abū 'Alī [121] al-Balkhī', mentioned by Bairūnī, is perhaps identical³ - the incomplete versification by Daqīqī (from about the same time),⁴ and, most importantly, the prose version prepared for the governor of Tōs, Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq, in Muḥarram 346/957. As Taqī-zādah has demonstrated, a small portion of the latter has been preserved in the 'older preface' which we find at the beginning of many copies of Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah*. The most significant argument for this rests on a passage in Bairūnī⁵ which tells us that 'in the *Shāh-nāmah*' Ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭūsī had fabricated for himself a genealogy tracing him back to the primeval king Manūchīhr; this genealogy is found precisely in the 'older preface'.⁶ According to this preface, the prose *Shāh-nāmah* was compiled for the governor by his minister, Abū Maṣṣūr Ma'marī, with

¹See below, no. 105.

²See above, no. 16.

³loc. cit.

⁴See above, no. 52.

⁵al-Bairūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*, ed. E. Sachau, p. 38.

⁶Haz. *Fird.* p. 144-6.

the help of a number of 'wise men' from various parts of Khurāsān, four of whom are mentioned by their (evidently Zoroastrian) names. It has generally been assumed that the 'four men' translated the Book of Kings from Middle- to Neo-Persian, though the text does not at this point actually say anything about translating, but merely about their 'bringing forth' (*firāz-āwardan*) of the 'books of the kings'. As the text, a few lines later,¹ specifically mentions the (Arabic) writings of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī it must be assumed that these were also used in compiling the Persian *Shāh-nāmah* and that the function of the 'four men' was perhaps little more than to augment the Arabic histories [122] with the help of certain Zoroastrian texts.²

Nöldeke, who did not seem to have been aware of any pre-Firdausian version of the Book of Kings in Neo-Persian apart from the '*Shāh-nāmah* of Abū Manšūr', assumed, reasonably enough, that the latter was in fact the 'ancient book' on which Firdausī based his poem and the same opinion was upheld by Taqī-zādah and, it seems, everyone else since. However, seeing that Taqī-zādah has demonstrated that there were other Persian *Shāh-nāmahs* prior to that of Abū Manšūr, the assumption that only the latter could have been Firdausī's source requires re-examination. In fact, there are three passages in Firdausī's poem (all of them in the final section, the history of the Sasanians) where the poet refers explicitly to one or the other of the 'four men' and where consequently his dependence on the *Shāh-nāmah* of Abū Manšūr is manifest.³ On the other hand, in the earlier portions of the epic (i.e. the greatest part of the text) not only are there no references to the 'four men' but, more significantly, there are at least two passages where Firdausī's account is at odds with what we happen to know of Abū Manšūr's *Shāh-nāmah*. One is in the story of Daḥḥāk, where Firdausī tells us how Farēdūn stopped the boulder with which his brothers were trying to kill him by means of 'a magic spell' (*afsun*).⁴ But according to the 'older preface' Farēdūn stopped the rock 'with his foot'.⁵ It is, of course, possible that Firdausī

¹Haz. Fird. p. 140.

²The story of the invention of the game of chess, for which Firdausī refers explicitly to one of the 'four men' (see above, p. 55), clearly has nothing to do with the *Khwadāy-nāmag* and there is no trace of the story in Ṭabarī.

³For these passages see above, p. 54-5.

⁴Ed. Khāliqī-Mutlaq I, *Daḥḥāk* v. 291.

⁵Haz. Fird. p. 137.

changed the story to suit his purposes, but if he had really introduced the 'spell' in an [123] attempt to heighten the drama of the incident one would not have expected him to do so in such an offhand fashion, without further elaboration.¹ An even clearer example is in the history of the Arsacids. Here, Firdausī tells us that he had no information about 'their dates' (*tārīkh-ishān*) and that 'apart from their names I have not heard anything about them, nor have I seen anything in the book of kings' (*k-az ʿeshān juz az nām na-shnīdah-am * na dar nāmah i khusrawān dīdah-am*).² But Bairūnī³ tells us explicitly that the '*Shāh-nāmah* of Abū Manšūr' gave both the names and the length of the reigns of the Arsacid kings and proceeds to convey this information in the form of a table. Moreover, the names that he gives from this source are quite different from those given by Firdausī, whose list of the Arsacid kings is more like the one which Bairūnī quotes a few pages earlier⁴ as those given by Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī, supposedly from the Avesta.⁵ It is thus quite clear that the 'book of kings' which Firdausī had before him when he was writing his account of the Arsacids was not the '*Shāh-nāmah* of Abū Manšūr' known to Bairūnī, but rather some other version. This contradiction has been known for a long time and Taqī-zādah made a rather hesitant attempt to explain it away by proposing that there might have been a textual discrepancy between the manuscript of the prose *Shāh-nāmah* used by Firdausī and the one available to Bairūnī. But seeing that both authors were writing at about the same time and that at that [124] time the *Shāh-nāmah* of Abū Manšūr was only a few decades old, such a

¹In general Firdausī's tendency is rather to play down the mythical and supernatural elements in the Iranian national tradition. In the mentioned passage in the 'older preface' the author is in fact justifying some of the more incredible incidents in the Book of Kings, claiming that they have a deeper meaning, known only to the wise, 'such as the heroic deed (*dastburd*) of Arish, and such as that stone which Afrēdūn stopped with his foot, and such as the snakes which emerged from Daḥḥāk's shoulder'. Only the last of these is found in this form in Firdausī's poem. The story of Arish (Avestan *ərəxša-*) and his superhuman bow-shot is well known from the Arabic offshoots of the Book of Kings, but is entirely missing from Firdausī's poem. Compare also Firdausī's very bland treatment of the story of Kā'ōs's flight to heaven.

²Moscow edition VII p. 116, Ashkāniyān 64-5.

³*Āthar* p. 116-7.

⁴P. 114.

⁵Cf. Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb ta'rīkh sint mulāk al-arḍ wa l-anbiyā'*, Berlin 1340/1922, p. 13.

hypothesis is not particularly attractive. It would seem much more likely that Firdausī had the (then relatively new) *Shāh-nāmah* of Abū Manṣūr at his disposal only at the time when he was writing the final section of his poem (that devoted to the Sasanians) and that for the earlier sections (the bulk of the work) he depended on one of the earlier Persian translations of the Book of Kings. In short, though there can be no doubt that Firdausī's poem is based on written sources, we cannot necessarily presume that it is all based on a single source.

The oldest dated copy of the *Shāh-nāmah* is the Florence manuscript,¹ which contains only the first half of the work and is dated Tuesday the 3rd (or 30th)² of Muḥarram 614 (11 April or 9 May 1217). The manuscript, though it has been in Europe for centuries, was only recently identified as a copy of Firdausī's epic. Previously, the oldest codex was believed to be the British Library copy (Add. 21,103) which contains the date Muḥarram 675 (1276) on the restored final leaf in a note which states that this date was copied from the 'original' (*manqūl 'an-hu*). It is not absolutely certain that the 'original' from which the (apparently) 16th-century copyist supplied the missing pages of the London manuscript is identical with the mutilated copy to which they were appended, though this is likely. [125] These two are the only known manuscripts bearing dates from the 13th century. There are a handful of dated copies from the 14th (see below, Dublin, Leningrad, Istanbul, Cairo, Karachi, New York). The mass of the manuscripts are from the 15th century or later.

An interesting feature of many of the later manuscripts is that large segments of other poems of the Persian 'epic cycle' (*Karshāsp-nāmah*, *Burzō-nāmah* etc.) have been inserted into the text at more or less appropriate places. To what extent this 'greater *Shāh-nāmah*' results merely from the endeavour of the scribes to create as 'complete' a text as possible, and to what extent it reflects a contamination of the scribal tradition by the oral tradition, remains to be examined.

¹ See the detailed description by A.M. Piemontese, *AION* 40, 1980, p. 1-38, 189-242.

² The manuscript has سبتم which can represent either. Piemontese (p. 11) reads '30th' with reference to the fact that 3 Muḥarram 614 was, according to the usual tables, not a Tuesday but a Wednesday (12 April), but this betrays a lack of understanding of the fundamental problems involved in all conversion tables.

The majority of the manuscripts have one (or sometimes more) of the following prose prefaces:

'Preface i': The so-called older preface (inc. *sipās u āfrīn khudāy rā kih in jahān u ān jahān rā āfrīd*), is contained in the majority of the older manuscripts (though not in the oldest, the Florence copy). As already mentioned, this consists largely of material salvaged from the preface to the old prose *Shāh-nāmah*. A critical edition was prepared by Qazwīnī.¹ The pioneering French translation by Wallenbourg² has been superseded by a richly annotated English version by Minorsky.³ More recently a new edition of the Persian text with numerous (often rather daring) conjectural [126] emendations and an extensive commentary was published by Monchi-Zadeh.⁴ For the archaic linguistic features in the older preface see Lazard, *Langue* p. 36-7 et passim.

'Preface ii': beginning *ḥamd (u sipās) u sitāyish mar khudā rā 'azza wa jalla kih khudā i har du jahān ast*. This is presumably what Qazwīnī called the 'middle preface' (*muqaddamah i ausaf*). Its contents are summarised in Rieu p. 536.

'Preface iii': beginning with the verse *iftitāḥ i sukhan ān bih kih kunad ahl i kamāl * ba thanā i maliku l-'arsh i khudā i muta'al*. This preface was written by (or perhaps rather for) the Timurid Bāysunghur b. Shāh-rukh in 829/1425-6. Though it does not appear to have been published as such, the greater part of it is incorporated into the Persian introduction in Macan's edition of the epic.

Extensive lists of manuscripts have been published by I. Mendelsohn, in *Firdausī Celebration 935-1935*, ed. D.E. Smith, New York 1936, and by Ī. Afshār in his *Kitāb-shināst i Firdausī*, Tehran 1347sh./1969; the latter list has also been incorporated, with additions, into Munzawī's general catalogue of Persian manuscripts (Munz. IV

¹ In his *Biṣṭ maqālah* II, Tehran 1313sh./1934, p. 1-64; a revised edition based on the collation of a larger number of manuscripts was published by Qazwīnī in *Haz. Fird.* p. 123-48.

² *Notice sur le Schāh'-Namé de Ferdoussi, et traduction de plusieurs pièces relatives à ce poème*, Vienna 1810, p. 25-69.

³ V. Minorsky, 'The earlier preface to the *Shāh-nāmah*', in *Studi in onore di G. Levi della Vida*, Rome 1956, II p. 159-79, reprinted in his *Iranica*, p. 260-73.

⁴ D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographisch-historische Studien zum iranischen National-alepos (=Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes XLI,2)*, Wiesbaden 1975.

31332-31855). Unfortunately, both lists contain a large number of errors. Afshār's compilation suffers in particular from the absence of bibliographic references and from the fact that it does not usually distinguish between more-or-less intact manuscripts on the one hand and loose leaves or even detached miniatures on the other. The selective list that follows has been compiled independently of those just mentioned (though it has been compared with them) and aims less at 'completeness' [127] than at controllability. For a detailed description of some of the oldest manuscripts see the articles by J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq in *Īrān-nāmah* III p. 378-406, IV p. 16-47, 225-255, VII p. 63-94 (quoted in what follows as 'Kh.-M.' with volume and page number).

Dispersed Manuscripts: The 'Demotte' manuscript (it is a deplorable convention to name a dispersed manuscript after the vandal who was responsible for its mutilation) is attributed by art historians to the first half of the 14th century. It was dismembered during the early part of the twentieth century; its pages were ripped out and sold separately, many of the miniatures were detached and pasted at random on to pages of text and new bits of text were manufactured to fill the blank spaces. For the present location of the surviving fragments and a reproduction and identification of the known miniatures see O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic images and contemporary history. The illustrations of the great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago/London 1980, supplemented by S. Blair, 'On the track of the "Demotte" *Shāhnāma* manuscript', in *Les manuscrits du moyen-orient... Actes du colloque d'Istanbul*, ed. F. Déroche, Istanbul/Paris 1989, p. 125-31. Three other early manuscripts are reconstructed and discussed in M.S. Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic. The earliest¹ Shahnama manuscripts*, New York/London 1979, and attributed by the author to 'around the year 1300';² these are the 'first small *Shāh-nāmah*' (the largest fragment of which is Dublin Beatty 104), the 'second small *Shāh-nāmah*' and the codex of which the [128] largest portion is preserved in the Freer Gallery (Washington). The author gives admirably precise information about the present location of the individual folios of these manuscripts. She also touches more briefly on the

¹ Sic; the author evidently means 'earliest illustrated'.

² A much earlier dating of the 'first small *Sh.N.*' was claimed by E. Blochet, 'On a Book of Kings of about 1200 A.D.', *Rupam* LXI, 1930, p. 3-10. This has been rejected by subsequent scholars.

'Schulz' *Shāh-nāmah*, the remnants of which are in the Metropolitan Museum (New York) and which appears to belong to the same school. Yet another dispersed manuscript (the largest portion of which is now in Dublin, Beatty 110) contained at one point a rosette with the date 741/1340-1. For the location of the other known leaves see E. Grube, *Muslim miniature paintings from the XIII to XIX century from collections in the United States and Canada*, Venice 1962, p. 32, supplemented by Simpson, op. cit., p. 45, no. 15, and her discussion, p. 9-10. Another, later, dispersed manuscript is the 'Houghton' (or 'Shāh Ṭahmāsp') *Shāh-nāmah* which is attributed to the 16th century and was vandalised by Houghton in the 1970s. The study by M.B. Dickson and S.C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols., Cambridge (Mass.) 1981, was prepared before its dispersal on the art market. **Dublin** Beatty 104 (77 detached leaves from the 'first small *Sh.N.*', with miniatures. 14th century?); Beatty 110 (see also Kh.-M. III p. 385; Fragment containing about one fourth of the work, including a portion of preface i, from a manuscript containing the date 741/1340-1; see above, 'dispersed manuscripts'. Pictures); Beatty 111 (Ten folios from the 'Demotte' manuscript, attributed to the 14th century. Pictures); Beatty 114 (Kh.-M. III p. 360-1. Fragment. Apparently part of the same original Ms. as London Or. 2780 - for which see Asadī, *Karshāsp-nāmah* - dated 800/1397. Pictures); Beatty 118 (One illustrated folio. 15th century?); Beatty 157 (Kh.-M. III p. 401. Dated Jumādā I 885/1480. Preface i. Conclusion combines the versions with the dates 384 and 400. Pictures); Beatty 158 (Kh.-M. III p. 402. Dated 23 Jumādā I 885/1480. Preface i. With date of composition 384. Pictures); [129] Beatty 214 (Dated 955/1548. Preface iii. Lacunae. Pictures); Beatty 230 (16th century? With date 384); Beatty 256 (5 illustrated folios. 16th century?); Beatty 270 (With pictures, one of which is dated Muḥarram 1066/1655); T.C.D. 1549 (Dated 1067/1656-7 according to Robinson, *Paintings* p. 161. Pictures); Beatty 271 (17th century? Pictures); Beatty 277 (Fragment. 16th century? Pictures); Beatty 295 ('Dated' 8 Dhū l-hijjah 905/1501, but this seems to have been tampered with. Pictures); T.C.D. 1551 (Pictures); **Manchester** Lindesiana 8 (=Robinson 613-31. Dated 860/1456 according to the Hand-list, but Robinson says he was unable to find any date and attributes the miniatures to the 16th century. Pictures); Lindesiana 933 (=Robinson 475-8, 694-768. Dated 1195/1781, but according to Robinson this applies only to the restored final leaves; he attributes the

rest to the 15th century. Pictures); *Lindesiana* 9 (=Robinson 431-74. 15th century? Preface i. Interpolations from *Burzō-nāmāh*. Pictures); *Lindesiana* 932 (=Robinson 575-612. Dated Muḥarram 949/1542. Pictures); *Lindesiana* 910 (=Robinson 481-549, 769-800. 16th century? Pictures); *Lindesiana* 121 (Dated 1024/1615); *Lindesiana* 909 (=Robinson 1481-1579. Dated 23 Jumādā II 1060/1650. Interpolations from *Burzō-nāmāh*. Pictures); *Lindesiana* 869 (dated 1227/1812. Pictures); *Lindesiana* 525 (18th-19th century? Pictures); *Lindesiana* 220 (18th-19th century? Imperfect); *Oxford* Ouseley Add. 176 (Ethé 501; Robinson p. 16-22. Written for Ibrāhīm b. Shāh-Rukh [early 15th century]. Preface iii. Glossary. Pictures); Ms. Pers. c. 4 (Ethé 1977; Robinson p. 74-6; Kh.-M. III p. 397-8, IV p. 243-5. Dated 4 Sha'bān 852/1448. Preface ii. 1 Picture); Elliot 325 (Ethé 493; Robinson p. 48-54; Kh.-M. IV p. 17-9. Dated 14 Ramaḍān 899/1494. Preface i. Pictures); Ouseley 369 (Ethé 494; Robinson p. 94-7. Dated Rabī' II 959/1552. Preface iii. Pictures); All Souls MS. 288 (Coxe II/1 p. 77; Robinson p. 185-6. [130] Dated 26 Šafar 988/1580. Breaks off at death of Iskandar. 'Includes the episode of Barzū'. Pictures); Pers. d. 44 (Beeston 2537. Colophons dated 24 Shawwāl 1000/1592 and 4 Rabī' I 1001/1592. Imperfect); Dep. b. 5 (Beeston 2538; Robinson p. 104-6. 16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Ouseley 345 (Ethé 495. 16th century? Pictures); Ouseley 344 (Ethé 496; Robinson p. 115-118. Dated 1010/1601-2 [Robinson says 1009]. Preface iii. Pictures); Ind. Inst. Pers. 7 (Beeston 2539. Dated 9 Muḥarram 1016/1607. First and last folios missing); Hyde 49 (Ethé 497. Dated 1022/1613. Preface ii and i, and followed by a vocabulary); Ouseley 370 (Ethé 498. Contains a note dated 22 Bahman-māh 1049/1639); Ind. Inst. 32 (Beeston 2540. 18th-19th century? Pictures); Whinfield 1 (Beeston 2541. 19th century? Pictures); Bodl. 716 (Ethé 499. Preface iii. Pictures); Fraser 60 (Ethé 500. Preface iii. Glossary. 1 picture); Hyde 50 (Ethé 502. The beginning of the Bāysunghur (?) preface is missing); Ouseley 247-249 (Ethé 503. 3 volumes of a set of originally 4. Preface iii); All Souls 289 (Coxe II/1 p. 77. Pictures); *Eton* 117 (First half); 118 (Second half); 119 (First half. All 3 Mss. modern); *Richmond* Keir III.133-75 (Dated 25 Jumādā I 879/1475. Pictures); Keir Suppt. p. 13-26 (=New York Kraus 114-27. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 945/1539. Pictures); Keir III.355-84 (Dated 15 Sha'bān 1035/1626. Beginning missing. Pictures); *London* Add. 21,103 (Rieu p. 533-4; Kh.-M. III p. 381-3, IV p. 41-7. Dated, according to

the restored final leaf, Muḥarram 675/1276.¹ Preface i); S.O.A.S. 46483 (Fragment containing the episode of Bahrām Gūr. 13th century?); Or. 2833 [131] (Rieu Suppt. 263. Dated Ramaḍān 807/1405. The version edited by Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī on the basis of the 'best manuscripts' and copied in the margin of his *Zafar-nāmāh*);² Or. 1403 (Rieu p. 534-5; Kh.-M. III p. 392-3, IV p. 233-8. Dated 11 Ramaḍān 841/1438. Preface i. Contains the version with the date 384 and the 'epilogue' referring to the completion of the poem in 389. There is also a rhymed colophon with the date 10 Muḥarram 779/1377. Pictures); Or. 12688 (Meredith-Owens p. 75. Dated 850/1446-7. 2 vols. Pictures); Add. 18,188 (Rieu p. 535; Kh.-M. III p. 403-4, IV p. 245-6. Dated 23 Jumādā II 891/1486. Pictures); R.A.S. 239 (Preface iii. Pictures. One of the miniatures contains a banner with the inscription '*al-sultān al-a'zam Muḥammad Jūkī*', a name borne by two Timurid princes of the middle of the 9th/15th century. The fly-leaf has seals of Bābur and of other Moghuls and an autograph note by Shāh Jahān dated 8 Jumādā II 1037/1628);³ Or. 4384 (Rieu Suppt. no. 198. 15th century? Preface i and date of composition 384. Some lacunae. Pictures); Add. 15,531 (Rieu p. 535-6. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 942/1536. Preface i. Pictures); I.O. 863 (=Robinson 269-91. Dated 18 Dhū l-qa'dah 967/1560. Preface iii. Pictures); Or. 12084 (Meredith-Owens p. 74. Dated 972/1564-5. 3 vols. Pictures); I.O. 869 (Dated Dhū l-hijjah 987/1580. Slightly defective. Preface iii); I.O. 872 (Dated Ramaḍān 991/1583. Preface ii); Add. 27,302 (Rieu p. 536. Dated 994/1596. Preface ii. Pictures); Ross and Browne XXIII (Dated 1008/1599-1600. Preface i. 'Between ff. 158 and 159 ... have been inserted twenty-four folios [132] in a later hand, containing the Episodes of Barzū and Sūsan'); I.O. 860 (Completed 16

¹The month is not indicated by Rieu. Kh.-M. quotes the colophon as: *katabtu* (or: *kutibat*) *min al-nuskah fi Muḥarram sanat khams wa sab'in wa sitt-mi'ah. kadha fi manqūl 'an-hu* 675.

²A facsimile of the manuscript, with an introduction in Persian and German by N. Rastgār, has now been published as *Zafar-nāmāh i Ḥamd Allāh i Mustaufī ba indimām i Shāh-nāmāh i Abū l-Qāsim Firdausi*, 2 vols., Tehran and Vienna 1377sh./1999.

³For a description of this manuscript and reproductions of its miniatures see *The Shāh-nāmāh of Firdausi with 24 illustrations from a fifteenth-century manuscript formerly in the Imperial Library, Delhi, and now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society described by J.V.S. Wilkinson with an introduction on the paintings by Laurence Binyon*, London 1931.

Rajab 1008/1600. Preface i.); I.O. 873 (=Robinson 929-52. Dated 10 Sha'bān 1008/1600. Preface ii. Pictures); I.O. 875 (Dated 10 Rabī' I 1009/1600); Add. 27,257 (Rieu p. 536. Probably 16th century. Preface iii); Add. 5600 (Rieu p. 536-7. 16th century? Preface i. Pictures); I.O. 880 (=Robinson 953-1001. 16th century? Apparently contains interpolations from the *Burzd-nāmah*. Pictures); I.O. 881 (=Robinson 321-3. Incomplete. Pictures, which Robinson attributes to the 16th century, apparently added later); I.O. 878 (16th century? Contains the 'epilogue' found in Or. 1403); I.O. 867 (=Robinson 363-76. 16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); I.O. 2992 (=Robinson 378-434, where it is attributed to the 16th century. Has a stamp dated 23 Dhū l-hijjah 1169/1756. Preface iii. Pictures); I.O. 861 (Dated 23 Ramaḍān 1009/1601. Preface i. Pictures); I.O. 864 (Dated 29 Muḥarram 1012/1603. Preface iii. Pictures); I.O. 876 (=Robinson 1005-67. Dated 1 Ramaḍān 1012/1604. Pictures); Add. 7724 (Rieu p. 537. Dated Rabī' I 1021/1612. Preface iii. Pictures); I.O. 874 (=Robinson 1113-51. Robinson thinks it might be dated Dhū l-hijjah 1022/1614, 'but the reading is by no means certain'. Preface ii. Pictures); Add. 16,761 (Rieu p. 537. Dated Dhū l-qa'da 1023/1614. Preface i. Pictures); Add. 27,258 (Rieu p. 537-8. Dated Ramaḍān 1037/1628. Preface iii. Pictures); I.O. 877 (Completed end Muḥarram 1053/1643. Variant readings in margins); Add. 4943 (Rieu p. 538. Dated Rabī' I 1054/1644. Second half only); I.O. 2859 (Dated 7 Šafar 1074/1663. Date of completion given as 384. Preface iii. Pictures); R.A.S. 238 (Dated 1077/1666-7. Preface iii); I.O. 865 (Completed 8 Dhū l-hijjah 1111/1700. Preface iii); Add. 6609 (Rieu p. 538. 17th century? Includes 5 leaves from an older Ms. Preface i. Pictures); Add. 6610 (Rieu p. 538. 17th century? First half only. Pictures); Or. 4906 [133] (Rieu Suppt. no. 195. 17th century? The epilogue has the date 384/994. Into the text are interpolated large extracts from the *Karshāsp-nāmah* and the *Burzd-nāmah*. Pictures); Or. 11842 (Meredith-Owens p. 74. 17th century? 2 vols. Pictures); I.O. 870 (=Robinson 1152-74. 17th century? Incomplete. Preface iii. Pictures); Ross and Browne CLIX-CLX (17th century? Pages in disorder. Pictures); S.O.A.S. 21381 (17th century?); S.O.A.S. 25294 (17th century? Pictures); R.A.S. 241 (17th century? Pictures); R.A.S. 242 (17th century? 1 picture); Wellcome 415A (17th century? Lacunae throughout. Pictures); I.O. 868 (=Robinson 1083-1110. 17th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Add. 18,804 (Rieu p. 538-9. Dated 1131/1719. Second half only. Pictures);

Add. 25,797 (Rieu p. 539. 18th century? First quarter only); Egerton 682-685 (Rieu p. 539. Dated Rabī' I 1202/1787-8); Add. 26,143 (Rieu p. 539. 18th century? First half only); Ross and Browne XXIV-XXVII (18th century? 4 volumes containing a portion of the work); Ross and Browne CLXI (18th century?); I.O. 3682 (18th century?); S.O.A.S. 24949 (18th century? Pictures); I.O. 866 (Dated 26 Muḥarram 1220/1805. Preface iii); Or. 2926 and 2976 (Rieu Suppt. no. 196, completed Rabī' I 1249/1833, and no. 197, dated 1 Jumādā I 1252/1836. Preface iii. Many interpolations from other epics. Incomplete at the end. Pictures); Or. 12483 (Meredith-Owens p. 75. 19th century. 2 vols. Pictures); S.O.A.S. 24948 (19th century? Pictures); Wellcome 415B-E (Assorted loose leaves, 19th century?); I.O. 862 (First half only. Preface i); I.O. 879; I.O. 2858 (Preface i); R.A.S. 240; R.A.S. 243 (Pictures); Cambridge Or. 420 (Browne Suppt. 785; Kh.-M. III p. 393-4. 'Seems to be dated 841/1437-8'. First part only); Fitzwilliam 22-1948 (Cat. p. 406; Kh.-M. IV p. 19-20. 34 disconnected folios. 15th century? Pictures); Or. 1356 (2nd Suppt. 173. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 972/1565. Pictures); [134] Fitzwilliam 21-1948 (Cat. p. 406. 2 illustrated folios. 16th century?); Collection of Sir Harold Bailey (according to Robinson, I.O. catalogue p. 188 no. 1. Dated 3 Dhū l-qa'dah 1012/1604); Fitzwilliam 311 (Cat. p. 301. Dated 1041/1630-1. Pictures); Corpus 202 (Browne Suppt. 786. Dated 1053/1643-4. Second part. Pictures); Add. 269 (Browne Cat. CXC VII. 16th-17th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Add. 835 (Browne Cat. CXCIX. 16th-17th century?); Add. 312 (Browne Cat. CXCVIII. 17th-18th century? Preface iii and i. Glossary); Or. 1354 (2nd Suppt. 171. 18th century?); Nn. 1. 20. (Browne Cat. CXCVI. Preface i); Corpus 203 (Browne Suppt. 787. Fragment); Browne Coll. V.69* (Ends with death of Rustam. Preface i); Leeds P. 42 (17th century?); Edinburgh National Lib. 738 (Dated Rajab 969/1562); Univ. 265 (16th century? Pictures); Univ. 266-267 (Contains a seal dated 1041/1631-2); Univ. 268-269 (Preface i); Fife Dunimarle Castle (Robinson, *Paintings* p. 79. Dated 850/1446-7. Pictures); Madrid Bibl. de Palacio patrimonio nacional II 3.218 (Kh.-M. IV p. 27-8. Dated 901/1495-6. Preface i); Paris Supplément 1946 (Blochet 1175. 14th century? Two leaves only); Supplément 493 (Blochet 1162; Kh.-M. III p. 394-5, IV p. 238-42. Dated 5 Dhū l-qa'dah 844/1441. Date of completion given as 384. Pictures); Supplément 494 (Blochet 1163; Kh.-M. III p. 395-6. Dated 27 Jumādā I 848/1444. Pictures); Ancien fonds 228 (Blochet

1164/Richard; Kh.-M. III p. 17-8. Dated 22 Ramaḍān 895/1490. Preface iii. Pictures); Ancien fonds 278 (Blochet 1165/Richard. Completed 21 Šafar 901/1495, but some leaves replaced later. Preface i and satire); Supplément 1280 (Blochet 1161. 15th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Supplément 489 (Blochet 1166. Completed Jumādā II 953/1546. Preface iii. Pictures); Supplément 492 (Blochet 1168. Dated 12 Ramaḍān 1004/1596. Missing leaves replaced and pictures added in 18th century); Supplément 1256 II [135] (Blochet 1199. 16th century? 5 leaves. Pictures); Ancien fonds 229 (Blochet 1167/Richard. 16th or 17th century? Preface iii); Supplément 1026 (Blochet 1169. Three hands which Blochet dates between the 16th and 18th centuries. First half of poem with Preface iii); Supplément 1122 (Blochet 1170. 16th or 17th century? Preface i. Pictures); Supplément 490 (Blochet 1171. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1012/1604. Pictures); Supplément 1307 (Blochet 1172. Dated 15 Ramaḍān 1023/1614. Pictures); Supplément 491 (Blochet 1173. Dated 1027/1618. Preface iii. Pictures); Supplément 1027 (Blochet 1174. 18th century? Pictures); **Strasbourg** Landauer 6 = Houghoughi 19 (15th century? 2nd half only. Pictures); Landauer 5 = Houghoughi 18 (Dated 8 Rabī' I 1224/1809. Pictures); **Leyden** 494 (Cat. DCXXXI; Kh.-M. III p. 393, IV p. 232-3. Dated 15 Ramaḍān 840/1436. Pictures); **Genoa** Ms. C.VII.145 (Piemontese 172. 19th century. 2nd half only. Contains extracts from *Burzō-nāmah*. Pictures); **Florence** Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms.Cl.III.24 (Piemontese 145. Dated Muḥarram 614/1217. First half only);¹ Bibl. Naz. Centr. Ms.Cl.III.48 (Piemontese 146. 15th century? Preface i. Pictures); Laurenziana Framm. Or. 1 (Piemontese 78. 15th century. 3 folios only); Laurenziana Or. 5 (Piemontese 79. Dated Shawwāl 990/1582. Preface i. Contains extracts from *Karshāsp-nāmah* and *Sām-nāmah*. Pictures); **Venice** Bibl. Armena Ms. 2012 (Piemontese 413. Dated 981/1573-4. Incomplete); Bibl. Armena Ms. 2134 (Piemontese 414. 19th century. 2nd half only. Incomplete. Pictures); **Rome** Vatican Ms. Pers. 118 (Rossi p. 126-7; Kh.-M. III p. 396, IV p. 242-3. Dated 848/1444-5. Preface iii); Casanatense Ms. 4893 (Piemontese 245. Dated Ramaḍān 1036/1627. Has a preface dedicated to Sulṭān Ḥusain Bāiqarā, followed by preface iii. Contains *Dāstān i Kuk i* [136] *Kuhzād*. Pictures); **Naples** Ms. III.G.68 (Piemontese 220. Dated

¹For this manuscript see above, p. 124 and Kh.-M. III p. 380-1, V p. 31-41. A facsimile has been published in *Iranistische Mitteilungen* XXI/1, 1991.

20 Rabī' I 977/1569. Preface i. Contains extracts from *Burzō-nāmah*. Pictures); Ms. III.G.68 bis (Piemontese 221. 18th century? 2 volumes containing the first half of the work. Extracts from *Burzō-nāmah*. Pictures); **Hamburg** Orient. 197-198 (Brockelmann 154-155. Two volumes. Preface ii); **Göttingen** Asch 70 (Dated 1030/1620-1. Pictures; according to Mendelsohn); Pers. 28 (Dated 1051/1641-2; Mendelsohn); Pertsch 48 (90 folios. 16th century? Mendelsohn); **Gotha** Nachträge 47** (Dated 31st year of Aurangzēb/1687-8. First half only. Preface iii); **Halle** no. 774 (Mendelsohn); **Munich** Cim. 36 (Aumer 8; Kh.-M. IV p. 28-9. Dated 26 Jumādā I 902/1497. Pictures); 16 Quatr. (Aumer 14. Dated 1048/1638-9. Preface beginning: *al-ḥamdu li llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn ḥamd u sipās i bē qiyās mar khudāwand rā kih jahān u jahānīn rā biyāfrīd*. Pictures); 12 Quatr. (Aumer 15. Same preface as preceding Ms. Pictures); 14 Quatr. (Aumer 12. Preface iii); 15 Quatr. (Aumer 13. Dated 1129/1717. Preface iii); Cod. or. 24^m (Aumer 9. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1064/1654. First half only); 13 Quatr. (Aumer 10. Pictures); Cim. 92^a (Aumer 11. First half only. Preface iii); **Berlin** Ms. or. fol. 4255 (Stchoukine 10; Kh.-M. III p. 405-6, IV p. 247-8.¹ Dated 19 Rajab 894/1489. Pictures); Ms. Diez A. fol. 1 (Pertsch 703; Stchoukine 26. Dated 1002/1593-4. Preface iii. Pictures); Ms. or. fol. 359 (Pertsch 706; Stchoukine 19. Has a stamp of Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [=Aḥmad I (1603-17) or Aḥmad III (1703-30)]. Stchoukine attributes to 16th century. Preface iii. Pictures); Ms. or. fol. 4251 (Stchoukine 30. Dated Šafar 1014/1605. Pictures. From the description of the pictures it appears that this [137] manuscript contains portions of the *Karshāsp-nāmah*); Ms. or. fol. 147 (Pertsch 704. Dated Jumādā II 1073/1663. Preface iii); Ms. or. fol. 209 (Pertsch 18; Stchoukine 33. Dated 12 'of the second month' 1077/1666. Down to the death of Afrāsiyāb. Evidently contains interpolations from *Karshāsp-nāmah*, *Burzō-nāmah*, etc. Pictures); Ms. or. fol. 172 (Pertsch 702; Stchoukine 63. 17th century? Preface i. Pictures); Hamilton 260 (Pertsch 702^a; Stchoukine 65. First half only. Preface i. Owner's note dated 1765 AD. Pictures); Ms. or. fol. 189 (Pertsch 705; Stchoukine 67. Dated 1199/1784-5. Preface iii. Pictures); Minutoli 134 (Pertsch 700; Stchoukine 73. Dated 15 Shawwāl 1245/1830. Pictures); Minutoli 20 (Pertsch 701. Modern fragment); Ms.

¹See also the detailed discussion of this Ms. by J. Khālīqī-Muṭlaq, 'Mu'arriḥ i yak nuskhah i mu'tabar i Sh.N.', *Farkhundah-payām* 1360sh./1981, p. 60-105.

or. fol. 3380 (Stchoukine 32. 19th century. First part only. Pictures); Cracow Majda p. 96 no. 3 (Dated 1028/1619); Wrocław Majda p. 94 no. 3 (17th century? Pictures); Vienna Flügel 501 (also Kh.-M. III p. 400-1. Dated 15 Shawwāl 882/1478. Preface i according to Kh.-M.); Flügel 502 (also Duda p. 173-6. Dated 30 Muḥarram 1016/1607. Preface iii. Pictures); Flügel 503 (also Duda p. 59-63. Completed 9 Rabīʿ III 1026/1617. Pictures); Krafft CLXXXVI (Dated 1169/1755-6); Zagreb (*Nuskah-hā* II p. 26. Dated Ramaḍān 982/1574. Pictures); Bucharest M.O. 333 (*Nuskah-hā* XI/XII p. 978. Pictures); Cluj M.O. 203 (*Nuskah-hā* XI/XII p. 985. Preface iii. Pictures); Lund Supplementa LIV (Dated 5 Dhū l-hijjah 1011/1603. Pictures); Leningrad¹ Dorn CCCXXIX (=G./D. 1; Kh.-M. III p. 384-5, IV p. 229-30. Dated Jumādā I 733/1333. Lacunae. Pictures);² Acad. C 52 (G./D. 2. Fragmentary. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 117 (Kostygova 410 = G./D. 3. 15th [138] century? 1 picture); Acad. C 1654 (G./D. 4; Kh.-M. III p. 396-7, IV p. 243. Dated Ramaḍān 849/1445. Preface i. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXXII (=G./D. 5. 15th century? Down to reign of Khusrau Parwēz. Beginning missing. Pictures); Acad. C 822 (Rosen p. 169-70 = G./D. 6; Kh.-M. IV p. 20-1. 15th century? Preface i. Pictures); Acad. C 184 (Rosen p. 169 = G./D. 7. Dated 5 Muḥarram 931/1524. Pictures); Acad. C 50 (G./D. 8. Dated Rabīʿ I 956/1549. Preface iii. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXXI (=G./D. 9. 16th century? Down to reign of Gushtāsp. Interpolations from *Burzō-nāmah*. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXX (=G./D. 10. 16th century? Down to reign of Bahman. Interpolations from *Burzō-nāmah*); Univ. (G./D. 11. Interpolations from *Burzō-nāmah*. Preface iii. Pictures); Acad. D 1 (G./D. 12. Preface i. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXXIV (=G./D. 13. Dated 1 Jumādā I 992/1584. Preface iii. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 382 (Kostygova 412 = G./D. 14. 16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 266 (Kostygova 403 = G./D. 15. Dated 1007/1598-9. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 90 (Kostygova 404 = G./D. 16. Dated 1011/1602-3. Preface iii. Interpolations from *Karshāsp-nāmah*. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 65

¹For the Leningrad manuscripts see L.T. Gyuzal'yan, M.M. D'yakonov, Рукописи Шах-Намэ в Ленинградских Собраниях, Leningrad 1934 (abbreviated G./D.). Gyuzal'yan was responsible for the description of the miniatures, D'yakonov for the (detailed and very valuable) codicology.

²The paintings are reproduced and discussed in A.T. Adamova and L.T. Gyuzal'yan, Миниатюры рукописи поэмы «Шахнаме» 1333 года, Leningrad 1985.

(Kostygova 405 = G./D. 17. Dated 20 Dhū l-qa'dah 1039/1630. Preface iii. Interpolations from *Karshāsp-nāmah* and *Farāmarz-nāmah*. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXXIII (= G./D. 18. Completed 1061/1651. Preface iii. Interpolations from *Karshāsp-nāmah* etc. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 381 (Kostygova 411 = G./D. 19. 17th century? Pictures); Nauchnaya Biblioteka im. M. Gorkogo MO 11 (G./D. 20. 17th century? Preface iii); Nauchnaya Biblioteka im. M. Gorkogo MO 72 (G./D. 21. Before 1100/1688-9); Nauchnaya Biblioteka im. M. Gorkogo MO 38 (G./D. 22. 17th century? Beginning missing); Acad. C 51 (G./D. 23. 17th century? Interpolations from *Burzō-nāmah*); Publ. Lib. New Series 64 (Kostygova 409 = G./D. 24. 17th/18th century? Pictures); Acad. D 377 (G./D. 25. Dated [139] 1 Rajab 1138/1726. Pictures); Acad. C 53 (G./D. 26. 18th century?); Publ. Lib. New Series 394 (Kostygova 406. Dated 1253/1837-8. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 13 (Kostygova 407 = G./D. 27. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1271/1855. Preface i. Pictures); Publ. Lib. New Series 12 (Kostygova 408 = G./D. 28. Dated 20 Rajab 1280/1863); Acad. C 1670 (G./D. 29. 19th century); Acad. D 14 (Index 2297); Istanbul Topkapı, Hazine 1479 (Karatay 332; Kh.-M. III p. 383-4, IV p. 225-9. Dated Şafar 731/1330. Preface i. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1511 (Karatay 333; Kh.-M. III p. 386-7. Dated Shawwāl 772/1371. Imperfect at the beginning. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1515 (Karatay 334; Kh.-M. III p. 391. Dated Rabīʿ I 803/1400. Pictures); Tarlan 380 (Dated 829/1425-6. Incomplete.); Nuruosmaniye 3384 mükerrer (Ateş 1. Dated 25 Jumādā I 834/1431. Preface i); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1547 (Karatay 335. Dated Shawwāl 842/1439); Ayasofya 3861/1 fol. 1b-586a (Ateş 2. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 857/1453. Preface ii); Topkapı, Hazine 1496 (Karatay 336; Kh.-M. III p. 398-9. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 868/1464. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1489 (Karatay 337; Kh.-M. III p. 402-7. Dated 887/1482. Preface i. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1506 (Karatay 338; Kh.-M. III p. 404. Dated 3 Jumādā II 891/1486. Pictures); Üniversite FY 1407 (Ateş 3; Edhem/Stchoukine XXIV; Kh.-M. IV p. 17. Dated Jumādā I 895/1490. Preface iii. Pictures); Üniversite FY 1406 (*olim* Yıldız 7954/310. Ateş 4; Edhem/Stchoukine XLV; Kh.-M. IV p. 19. Dated 899/1493-4. Pictures. This is the second volume of a manuscript the first half of which - minus a number of detached pages - is in the Türk ve İslâm Eserler Müzesi, Istanbul, Ms.

1978);¹ Köprülü, Mehmet Asim Bey 392 (Cat. III p. 182. Dated 3 Şafar 899/1493); Topkapı, Hazine 1507 [140] (Karatay 343; see his corrigenda; Kh.-M. IV p. 23-4. Dated Rabī' II 900/1495. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1542 (Karatay 344; Kh.-M. IV p. 24. Dated 10 Rajab 900/1495. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1491 (Karatay 345; Kh.-M. IV p. 24-5. Dated 20 Jumādā I 901/1496. Preface iii. Pictures); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3065 (Karatay 346; Kh.-M. IV p. 26. Dated 901/1495-6 according to Karatay, but Kh.-M. doubts this date. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1508 (Karatay 347; Kh.-M. IV p. 29-30. Dated 902/1496-7. Preface iii. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1510/I (Karatay 348; Kh.-M. IV p. 30-1, 248. Dated 5 Dhū l-ḥijjah 903/1498. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1513 (Karatay 339. 15th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1509 (Karatay 340. 15th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1499 (Karatay 341. 15th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1478 (Karatay 342. 15th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 1504 (Karatay 349. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 914/1509. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1480 (Karatay 350. Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 927/1521. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1485 (Karatay 351. Dated Rajab 928/1522. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1482 (Karatay 352. Dated Shawwāl 939/1533. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1514 (Karatay 353. Dated 942/1535-6. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1481 (Karatay 354. Dated 950/1543-4. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1516 (Karatay 355. Dated 27 Rajab 954/1547. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1495 (Karatay 356. Dated Şafar 960/1553. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1477 (Karatay 357. Dated Rajab 971/1564); Topkapı, Hazine 1488 (Karatay 358. Dated 972/1564-5. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1493 (Karatay 359. Dated 973/1565-6. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1483 (Karatay 360. Dated 978/1570-1. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1497 (Karatay 361. Dated Muḥarram 982/1574. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1544 (Karatay 362 and corrigenda. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 983/1576. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1548 (Karatay 363. Pictures); Üniversite FY 1405 (Ateş 6; Edhem/Stchoukine XXXIII; Kh.-M. IV p. 21-2. [141] Attributed to 15th [Kh.-M.], 16th [Edhem/Stchoukine] or 17th century [Ateş]. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1546 (Karatay 364. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1549 (Karatay 365; Kh.-M. IV p. 22-3. 16th century? Preface i.

¹Four miniatures from the first volume of this manuscript are in Richmond Keir III.128-31; see the discussion in Robinson's catalogue, p. 159-62 (and plates).

Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1475 (Karatay 366. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1484 (Karatay 367. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1486 (Karatay 368. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1487 (Karatay 369. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1490 (Karatay 370. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1494 (Karatay 371. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1500 (Karatay 372. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1502 (Karatay 373. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1503 (Karatay 374. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1505 (Karatay 375. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1512 (Karatay 376. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1656 (Karatay 377. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1476 (Karatay 378. Dated 1000/1591-2); Topkapı, Hazine 1492 (Karatay 379. Dated Rabī' II 1006/1597. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1501 (Karatay 380. Dated Ramaḍān 1010/1602. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1498 (Karatay 381. Dated 1038/1628-9. Pictures); Nuruosmaniye 3384 (Ateş 5. Dated 12 Dhū l-qa'dah 1085/1675); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1541 (Karatay 382. Dated 1097/1685-6.); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1543 (Karatay 383. 17th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan köşkü 1545 (Karatay 384. 17th century? Contains a prose introduction); Cairo Dār al-kutub 6006 *stin* (Tirāzī 1371; Kh.-M. III p. 385-6, IV p. 230-1. Dated Shawwāl 741/1341); Dār al-kutub 73 *tārīkh fārist* (Tirāzī 1370; Kh.-M. III p. 388, IV p. 231-2. Dated 796/1393-4. Pictures); Dār al-kutub 18 *tārīkh fārist* (Tirāzī 1365; Kh.-M. III p. 387. Dated 733/1332-3 according to the catalogue but Kh.-M. doubts this); Dār al-kutub 49 *tārīkh fārist* (Tirāzī 1366. Dated 805/1402-3 according to Ḥilmī but 705/1305-6 according to Tirāzī [printing error?]. Pictures); [142] Dār al-kutub 59 *tārīkh fārist* (Tirāzī 1368. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 844/1439. Pictures); Dār al-kutub 60 *tārīkh fārist* (Tirāzī 1369. Dated Shawwāl 905/1500. Pictures); Dār al-kutub 53 *tārīkh fārist* (Tirāzī 1367. Dated Sha'bān 1066/1656. Pictures); Baku I 329 (Dated 1043/1633-4); I 330 (Dated 1154/1741-2); Najaf 1385 (Munz. no. 31501. 15th or 16th century? with later additions); Tehran Majlis 5243 (Munz. no. 31349 inspexit. 14th century? Imperfect at both ends); Malik 5994 (Munz. no. 31350 inspexit; he attributes it to the 14th century, 'dated' 600/1203-4). Gulistān/Ātābāy II 341 (Dated 5 Jumādā I 833/1428. Preface iii. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 348 (Dated Şafar 847/1443. Pictures); Adabīyāt I p. 323 (Dated 16 Shawwāl 864/1460 according to Munz. 31435, where the date given in the catalogue [1004] is rejected. Frag-

ment); Bayāt 1 (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 66. Dated 885/1480-1. Pictures); Museum 3590 (*Nuskhah-hā* II p. 208. Dated 12 Jumādā I 895/1490); Millī II 972 (15th century? End missing); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 345 (Dated 5 Jumādā I 929/1523. Beginning missing; contains the last part of preface i. Pictures); Museum 4361 (*Nuskhah-hā* II p. 208. Dated 938/1531-2. Pictures); Millī II 983 (Dated 948/1541-2. Pictures); Gulistān/Bayānī (Dated 950/1543-4. Pictures. Munz.); Majlis III 1100 (16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Majlis III 1101 (16th century? Preface ii and i); Shūrā i Islāmī 622 (Dated Rajab 1009/1601. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 343 (Dated 10 Ramaḍān 1021/1612. Pictures); Sipah-sālār V p. 133 (Dated 1030/1620-1. Pictures) [Munz]; Majlis VIII 2529 (Dated 1055/1645); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 347 (Dated Muḥarram 1068/1657. Preface i. Pictures); Millī III 1063 (Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1085/1675. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 344 (Dated Rajab 1189/1775. Preface i); Millī III 1060/1 (Dated 1240/1824-5); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 338 (Dated 1252/1836-7. Preface i. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 342 (Dated 23 Shawwāl 1262/1846. preface ii); [143] Gulistān/Ātābāy II 346 (Safawid. Incomplete. Preface i. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 349 (Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 350 (Safawid. Preface iii. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 351 (Preface iii. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 352 (Qajar. Pictures); Majlis 1102 (late); **Mashhad** 'Abd al-Ḥamid Maulawī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 36. 15th century? Incomplete); Ridawī VII 648 (16th century?); Ridawī VII 649 (Dated 26 Rabī' I 1212/1797. Last part only); **Tashkent** Acad. II 749 (Dated 854/1450); Acad. II 750 (Dated 890/1485); Acad. II 751 (Dated 964/1556-7. Pictures); Acad. VIII 5715 (Dated 1004/1595-6); Acad. II 752 (16th century? Preface iii); Acad. II 753 (16th century?); Acad. VIII 5714 (16th century?); Acad. VIII 5717 (16th-17th century?); Acad. II 754 (Dated 1012/1603-4. Pictures); Acad. II 755 (Extract. Dated 4 Rajab 1052/1642); Acad. VIII 5716 (Dated 1058/1648); Acad. IX 6091 (Dated 18 Rabī' I 1075 /1664. Preface iii. Pictures); Acad. VIII 5718 (17th century?); Acad. VIII 5719 (17th century? Fragment); Acad. II 756 (18th century? With an introduction); Acad. II 757 (19th century); Acad. II 758 (19th century); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 317 (Dated 2 Shawwāl 1010/1602); Acad. II 320 (16th-17th century?); Fird. Libr. 22 (16th-17th century?); Acad. II 318 (17th-18th century? Pictures); Acad. II 319 (18th century? Preface iii); Acad. II 321 (19th century? Fragment. Pictures); **Kabul** Royal Libr. 69 (Cat. p. 28. Dated 1044/1634-5. Pictures); Royal Libr. 70 (Cat. p. 28. Fragment. Pictures); Museum 225

(Cat. p. 141. Dated 1233/1817-8. One picture); Museum 226 (Cat. p. 141. Incomplete); **Karachi** National Museum 1957-913/3 (Dated 752/1351. Second half; according to Kh.-M.'s edition); **Lahore** Shērānī 6348 (Dated Jumādā II 855/1451. Munz); Shērānī I 146 (15th century? Preface i. Munz.); Univ. II p. 428 (Dated 998/1589-90. Munz.); **Bombay** Cama (Cf. Kh.-M. III p. 388-90. 14th century? Incomplete. Pictures); [144] B.B.R.A.S. Persian 1 (Dated 6 Rajab 910/1504. Preface i. Pictures); Rehatsek p. 153 no. 94-95 (Dated 1021/1612); Rehatsek p. 153 no. 92-3 (Dated 1035/1625-6); Rehatsek p. 152 no. 90 (Second half only. Pictures); Rehatsek p. 152 no. 91 (Second half only); B.B.R.A.S. Persian 2 (Pictures); **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 47 no. 87 (Imperfect at both ends); Meherji Rana p. 97 no. 103 ("Vol. II". Dated 1197/1783); Meherji Rana p. 97 no. 104 (beginning only); **Khakpur** (*Nuskhah-hā* VII p. 567. Fragment from the 15th century?); **Hyderabad** Sālār Jung IV 1099 (Dated 977/1569-70. Preface iii. Pictures); Āṣafiyah I p. 244 no. 262 (Dated 1007/1598-9); Sālār Jung IV 1104 (16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Sālār Jung IV 1100 (Dated 20 Sha'bān 1009/1601. Preface iii. Defective. Pictures); Sālār Jung IV 1101 (Dated 1026/1617. Pictures); Sālār Jung IV 1102 (Dated Ramaḍān 1041/1632. Preface iii and i); Sālār Jung IV 1103 (Completed Shawwāl 1071/1668. Pictures); Sālār Jung IV 1105 (17th century? Pictures); Āṣafiyah I p. 244 no. 32 (Dated 1236/1820-1. Pictures); Āṣafiyah I p. 244 no. 212 (Pictures); Āṣafiyah III p. 104 no. 1335; **Rampore** Saulat 32 (17th century? Incomplete); Saulat 33 (17th century? Last 3 volumes of a set of 5); Saulat 34 (18th century? Last 2 volumes of a set of 4); There are also 11 Mss. in the Ridā library, the oldest of which is dated 840/1436-7, according to Gharawī, *Waḥd* VII, 1348sh./1970 p. 48; **Uch** 282 (16th century? Pictures); **Lucknow** Sprenger 222 (Several unspecified copies); **Bankipore** I 2 (15th century? Preface iii. Pictures); I 1 (Dated 17 Ramaḍān 942/1536. Preface iii. Lacunae. Pictures); Suppt. i 1794 (Dated 3 Dhū l-qa'dah 985/1578. Pictures); I 3 (Dated 29 Shawwāl 999/1591. Preface iii); I 4 (Dated 14 Sha'bān 1008/1600. Preface iii. 1 picture); I 5-8 (Dated 22 Ramaḍān 1094/1683. Pictures); I 9 (1 picture); Suppt. i 1792 (17th century? Preface iii. Contains interpolated extracts [145] from the *Karshāsp-nāmah*. Pictures); Suppt. i 1795 (18th century? Has a colophon - apparently spurious or copied from the prototype - dated 4 Ramaḍān 789/1387. Many leaves missing or misplaced. Has the epilogue dated 389. Pictures); Suppt. i 1793 (Dated 23 Ramaḍān

1246/1831. Pictures); **Calcutta** Ivanow 421 (also Kh.-M. III p. 399-400. Completed Shawwāl 882/1478. The concluding verses mention the date 384. Preface iii); Būhār 276 (16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Būhār 277 (16th century? Preface iii. Pictures); Ivanow 422 (17th century? Preface i. Pictures); **Los Angeles** Univ. M743 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 57. 18th century? Beginning and end missing); Univ. W7 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 57. 19th century? Last part only); Univ. W9 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 57. 18th century? End missing); Univ. W14 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 57. 17th-18th century? Beginning and end missing); Univ. W132 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 57. 18th century? End missing); **Ann Arbor** 280 (16th century? Pictures); **Baltimore** Walters Art Gallery (Robinson, *Paintings* p. 122. Dated 955/1548. Pictures); **Princeton** 1 (Dated Jumādā I 951/1544. Defective at beginning. Preface iii. Pictures); 2 (Dated 1065/1654-5. Pictures); 3 (Dated 1085/1674-5. Preface i. Pictures); 4 (Dated 1009/1600-1. Pictures); 406 (Pictures); 407 (Dated 15 Rabi' II 1257/1841. Preface i); **New York** A large number of copies and fragments (one dated 753/1352) are described in B.W. Robinson, *The Kevorkian Collection: Islamic and Indian manuscripts, miniature paintings and drawings*, unpublished typescript, New York 1953. These have since been dispersed on the art market; Kraus 114-127 (see supra: Richmond); Jackson-Yohannan 1 (Dated 996/1588. Down to death of Alexander. Beginning missing. Preface i. Pictures); Kraus 128-143 (16th century? Pictures); Jackson-Yohannan 2 (Dated 1 Muḥarram 1011/1602. Beginning missing. Pictures); Jackson-Yohannan 3 (Dated 12 Sha'bān 1016/1607. Preface i and satire. Pictures); Public Libr. (Mendelsohn p. 45. Dated 1023/1614); [146] Jackson-Yohannan 4 (Completed Shawwāl 1079/1669. Preface iii, with Preface i and satire added later. Pictures); Jackson-Yohannan 5 (16th-17th century? Down to death of Alexander. Pictures); Public Libr. (Mendelsohn p. 58. 19th century); **Cambridge (Mass.)** Harvard Pers. 25 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 5. 16th century? Pictures); A number of separate illustrated leaves from various copies (including 6 from the 'Demotte' Ms.) are found in the Fogg museum; see Schroeder II, III-VIII, X, XII, XXVII-XXVIII and further leaves listed in Norgen/Davis; **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. 50 (15th/16th century? Pictures); Lewis Coll. 52 (Dated 996/1588. Preface i. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 53 (Dated 1000/1591-2. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 51 (16th/17th century? Preface i. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 54 (17th/18th century? Pictures); Lewis Coll. 55 (Has a seal dated 1140/1727-8. Pic-

tures); Lewis Coll. 56 (One volume of a set. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 57 (18th century? Preface i. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 58 (19th century? Pictures); Lewis Coll. 59 (Dated 1244/1828-9. Pictures); **Washington** Library of Congress (Dated 1137/1724-5. Pictures) [Mendelsohn].

Besides these there are a large number of uncatalogued manuscripts, fragments of manuscripts, loose pages and detached miniatures in many private collections and art galleries.

Mss. containing the Bāysunghur preface only: **London** I.O. 871; I.O. 2860; **Istanbul** Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 1632/I (Cat. II p. 397. 16th century?).

Editions (complete, nearly complete or ongoing): **Calcutta** 1829 (*The Shah Nameh: an heroic poem ... carefully collated ... and illustrated by a copious glossary of obsolete words and obscure idioms: with an introduction and life of [147] the author in English and Persian [the latter containing the largest part of the Bāysunghur preface] and an appendix, containing the interpolated episodes etc. found in different manuscripts* By Turner Macan. 4 vols); **Bombay** 1849 (with Macan's appendix and glossary. Illustrated); 1272/1856-7 (again with Macan's appendix etc. Illustrated); 1275/1858-9 (based on Macan. Illustrated); 1300/1882-3 (Ed. by Nūr Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ṣamad and Muḥammad Ḥusain Kashmīrī); 1316/1898 (*"Ayeene-e-Khursheed", or the Shah-Nameh of Firdousi as edited by Khurshedji Minocherji Kateli*. 6 parts); 1914 (Photozincographic reproduction of the Shiraz edition. Illustrated); **Lucknow** 1287/1870-1 (2 vols. Illustrated); 1884; **Lucknow and Cawnpore** 1897 (with glossary. 4 vols.); **Cawnpore** 1874 (based on Macan, with preface and glossary); **Tehran** 1247/1831-2 (Preface by Ḥajjī 'Abd al-Muḥammad al-Rāzī); 1836; 1265/1848-9 to 1267/1850-1 (based on Macan. 4 pts. Illustrated); 1276/1859-6; 1310-2sh./1931-4 (Ed. M. Ramaḍānī. Based on Macan, Mohl, Vullers, 'Abd al-Muḥammad, Auliya' Samī' and a Ms. 5 vols.); reprinted 1341sh./1963; 1313-5sh./1934-5 (Ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī and others. Vols. 1-6 are a revision of Vullers's edition, 7-9 are based on Macan and Mohl. With critical notes. Illustrated); 1335sh./1956-7 (Ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī on the basis of Macan's edition. 6 vols.); 1350sh./1971-2 (Ed. M.J. Maḥjūb); **Paris** 1838-78 (*Le Livre des Rois ... publié, traduit, et commenté par M. J. Mohl*. 7 vols); For a (still valuable) critical commentary on the first volume see F. Rückert, 'Bemerkungen zu Mohl's Ausgabe des Firdusi,

Band I', *ZDMG* VIII, 1854, p. 239-329, X, 1856, p. 127-282; **Shiraz** 1849; **Leyden** 1877-84 (*Firdusii Liber Regum*, ed. J.A. Vullers and S. Landauer. A 'critical' [148] edition based on Macan and Mohl. 3 vols. only published, ending with the reign of Dārā son of Dārā. The manuscript of the remaining two volumes was prepared by F. Wolff and is now in the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Giessen; cf. *ZDMG* 141, 1991, p. 88); **Moscow** 1960-71 (Шах-наме. Критический текст. Ed. Ye. E. Bertel's, 'A. al-Ḥ. Nōshīn et al. 9 volumes. This first critical edition based on manuscripts suffers from the fact that it used too few manuscripts as well as from the eclectic method followed by the editors. The later volumes - for which Nōshīn bears the main responsibility - are considerably more useful than the earlier ones); 1991 (Шах-наме, vol. i, ed. M.N. Osmanov. More volumes apparently to follow); **Dushanbe** 1964-66 (ed. K. Aynī, Z. Ahrorī, V. Sirus, A. Dewonaqulow; 9 volumes in Tajik script, with variant readings); **New York** (vols. ii-iv: Costa Mesa and New York) 1988 - (ed. J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq. In progress. A splendid critical edition).

Partial editions: **Calcutta** 1811 (*The Shah Namu, being a series of heroic poems, on the ancient history of Persia...* Edited under the superintendence of M. Lumsden. Vol. I only); **Leipzig** 1891 (I. Pizzi, *Antologia Firdusiana con un compendio di grammatica persiana e un vocabulario*. 2nd edition); **Bombay** 1914 (*The Shahnameh of Firdausi. Its full text [in Gujarati characters] and its translation in Gujarati by Mahiar Navroji Kutar and Faramarz Navroji Kutar*. Apparently only one volume published); **Ashkhabad** 1935 (*Dastani cand az Shahnamaje Ferdovsi. Moqaddamā, tertib va izahate axere ketab M. a. Manaf-zada*. In Latinised Persian); **Tehran** 1352sh./1973 (*Dāstān i Rustam u Suhrāb az Sh.N.*, ed. M. Mīnuwī); 1354sh./1975 (*Dāstān i Furūd*, ed. M. Raushan, with variants and glossary), 2nd ed. 1369sh./1990; 1363-9sh./1985-90 (*Dāstān i Siyāwūsh az Sh.N.*, 2 vols., ed. M. Mīnuwī, completed by M. Qarīb and M. Madā'inī); 1370sh./1991 (*Razm-nāmah i Rustam u Isfandyār*, ed. J. Shi'ār and Ḥ. Anwarī, with extensive commentary).

Glossaries and concordances:

(1) *Mu'jam i (alfāz i) Shāh-nāmah* by Sharīf Daftar-Khwān Muḥammad b. al-Riḍā b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī al-Ṭūsī, who was still

alive in 589/1193.¹ Ms.: **Dublin** Beatty 360 (16th century?). Edition: **Tehran** 1353sh./1974 (ed. Ḥ. Khidīw-jam on the basis of a Ms. dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1285/1869). [149]

(2) *Lughat i Shah-nāmah* (in Turkish) written by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī in 1067/1656-7 and published by Salemann (1895). Cf. *PL* III p. 72-3.

(3) *Ganj-nāmah dar ḥall i lughāt i Shāh-nāmah* by 'Alī al-Makkī b. Ṭaifūr al-Bisṭāmī. Completed 7 Jumādā II 1079/1668. Mss.: **London** I.O. 891 (Dated 14 Shawwāl 1079/1669); **Hyderabad** Sālār Jung IV 1112 (18th century? End missing); Sālār Jung IV 1113 (19th century?).

(4) F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935; reprint Hildesheim 1965. This glossary and concordance is a fundamental work for studies of the *Shāh-nāmah* and of the history of the Persian language; id., 'Verbesserungen und Zusätze zum Schahname-Glossar', *ZDMG* 141, 1991, p. 88-113 (published from the martyred author's posthumous papers).

(5) R. Shafaq, *Farhang i Shāh-nāmah bā sharḥ i ḥāl i Firdausi*, Tehran 1320sh./1941; 2nd edition 1350sh./1972.

(6) M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, *Kashfu l-abyāt i Shāh-nāmah i Firdausi*, 2 vols., n.p., 1348-50sh./1969-71;

(7) 'Alī Jahāngīrī, *Farhang i nām-hā i Shāh-nāmah*, Tehran 1369sh./1990;

(8) Maṣṣūr Rastgār Fasā'ī, [same title], vol. I, Tehran 1369sh./1990;

(9) Maḥmūd Zanjānī, *Farhang i jāmi' i Shāh-nāmah*, Tehran 1372sh./1993.

Complete (or nearly complete) translations:

(Arabic prose): *Ta'rīkh al-Shāh-nāmah* by al-Faṭḥ b. 'Alī al-Bundārī al-Iṣbahānī (see *PL* I p. 255) at the command of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā b. al-Malik al-'Adil Abī Bakr b. Aiyūb. It was begun in Damascus in 620/1223 and completed in 621/1224. Cf. Ḥājī Khalīfah IV p. 12, no. 7407; Brockelmann I p. 321, Suppl. I p. 554. Edited by 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, Cairo 1350/1932.

¹Cf. Ḥ. Khidīw-jam, 'Sharḥ Daftar-Khwān, mu'allif i nukhustīn farhang i Sh.N. i Firdausi', *Farkhundah Payām* 1360sh./1981-2 p. 432-7.

(Georgian): several (mediaeval) versions edited by J. Abuladze, 2 vols., Tiflis 1916, 1934.

(Turkish verse): Fragments or two (or the same?) translations: Mss.: Vienna Flügel 504 (Dated Jumādā I 1078/1667); Flügel 505 (before 1703 A.D.). For other verse translations see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 154 sq. and Gibb, *History of Ottoman poetry* II p. 390.

(Turkish prose): Ms.: Istanbul Yıldız 7951/309 (3 vols. Edhem and Stchoukine XVI. Dated 1187/1773-4. Pictures); [150] For a modern Turkish translation see: *Şehname. Terceme eden Necati Lugal ve Kenan Akyüz*. 2 vols., Istanbul 1947.

(French prose): Mohl's translation (see under editions, Paris) was republished (without the text) as *Le livre des Rois par Abou'l-kasim Firdousi*, 7 vols., Paris 1876-8. Extracts from the same were again reprinted, with slight revision, in *Ferdowsi. Le livre des rois... traduit... par J.M. Extraits choisis et revus par Gilbert Lazard*, Paris 1979.

(Italian verse): *Il libro dei Re, poema epico recato dal persiano in versi italiani da I. Pizzi*, 8 vols., Turin 1886-8.

(English verse): *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi, done into English by A.G. Warner ... and E. Warner*, 9 vols., London 1905-25.

(German prose): A complete literal translation, based on the Moscow edition, by H. Kanus-Credé was published in instalments in *Iranistische Mitteilungen* VI, 1972 to XXVIII, 1998 (with some gaps).

Translations of substantial portions:

(English): *The poems of Ferdosi translated by J. Champion*, Vol. I (No more published), Calcutta 1785, reissued London 1788; *Sohrab, a poem: freely translated from the original Persian of Firdousee; being a portion of the Shahnamu of that celebrated poet* by J. Atkinson, Calcutta 1814 (in rhymed couplets, with the Persian text); republished (with significant revision) in Atkinson's *The Shāh nāme* of 1832 (see below, p. 155), p. 543-608; *Episodes from the Shah Nameh...* by S. Weston, London 1815; *Roostum Zaboolee and Sohrab, from the history of Persia; entitled Shah Namuh; or, Book of Kings, by Firdousee. Translated into English verse, with the original text annexed: notes, plates, & an appendix*, by W.T. Robertson, Calcutta 1829; *Episodes from the Shāh-nāme* by J.J. Modi, 2 vols., Bombay 1906-7; *The Shah-namah of Firdusi*, by A. Rogers (large extracts translated in rhymed couplets, with

linking narrative in prose), London 1907; *The Epic of the Kings*, (much abridged) translation by R. Levy, London 1967; J.W. Clinton, *The tragedy of Sohrâb and Rostâm*, Seattle 1987 (with the Persian text, unfortunately not in the recension actually followed by the translation; see also the review by M.C. Hillmann and response by Clinton in *Iran-shinâst* I/3, 1989, p. 53-76 of the English section); id., 'The [151] story of Sâmsan of Narimân and the birth of Zâl', *Iranica varia: Papers in honour of Professor Ehsan Yarshater* (= *Acta Iranica* 30), Leiden 1990, p. 38-47; id., *In the dragon's claws. The story of Rostam & Esfandiyar from the Persian Book of Kings*, Washington 1999; *The legend of Siyavash*, translated by D. Davis, Harmondsworth 1992.

(German): *Das Heldenbuch von Iran aus dem Schah Nameh des Firdussi von J. Görres*, 2 vols., Berlin 1820; *Heldensagen von Firdusi* [ten episodes] tr. by A. von Schack, Berlin 1851; *Epische Dichtungen aus dem Persischen des Firdusi* [nine further episodes] by the same, 2 vols. Berlin 1853; *Heldensagen von Firdusi in deutscher Nachbildung* [the 19 episodes of the two preceding works, with additions] Berlin 1865, Stuttgart 1877, Stuttgart 1894; *Firdosi's Königsbuch (Shahname) übersetzt von F. Rückert. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von E.A. Bayer. Sage I - XIII*, Berlin 1890, *Sage XV - XIX*, Berlin 1895 [Rückert's Ms. for 'Sage XIV' = Rostam and Suhrab, was not found], *Sage XX - XXVI*, Berlin 1895; *Geschichten aus dem Shahnameh. Ausgewählt und übertragen von Uta v. Witzleben*, Cologne 1960; *Das Buch der Könige, übertragen von Uta v. Witzleben*, Düsseldorf/Cologne 1961.

(Gujrati): by Jamshedji Kharshedji Desai. Ms.: *Navsari Meherji Rana* p. 143 no. 38 (First part only); *Shāh-nāme. Translated into Gujarati from Firdousi from the commencement up to the reign of king Minocheher by J.J. Modi, with an appendix containing an account of the kings, according to the Avesta, Pahlavi and other Persian books*. Bombay 1904.

(Russian): Книга о Царях, tr. S. Sokolov, Pt. I [to the death of Farēdūn], Moscow 1905; Further extracts from his translation (Заль и Рудабэ, Ростем и Сохраб) are printed in Krymsky's История Персии, Vol. I/4, Moscow 1913, pp. 277-408; Книга царей... перевод М. Лозинского, под ред., с комментариями и статьи Ф.А. Розенберга, Moscow-Leningrad 1934; Шахнаме, translated in verse by Ts.B. Banu-Lakhuti and others, Moscow 1957 - (apparently not completed).

(Armenian): Tr. Y. Tireakean, Paris 1906; New York 1909.

(Czech): *Kniha králů (Šah-náme)*, tr. J. Borecký, Prague 1910.

[152]

(Danish): *Firdausis Kongebog: udvalgte sagn af det persiske nationalepos i metrisk gengivelse med en indledning om digteren og hans vaerk*, by A. Christensen, Copenhagen 1931.

Retellings of the whole of the epic, or of individual episodes (for children or otherwise), in various languages, are numerous, but need not be listed here. See, however, M.A.R. Khan, 'Shāhnāma epitomised', *Indo-Iranica* XI, 1958, /1 p. 78-87, /2 p. 9-22, /3 p. 44-71.

Extracts and abridgements:

(1) *Ikhtiyārāt i Shāh-nāmah* (or *Kitāb i intikhāb i Shāh-nāmah*) written by one 'Alī b. Aḥmad for Malik-Shāh and completed, according to the text, in 474/1081-2. After the compiler's introduction (inc. *alā ai khirad-mand i rōshan-ruwān * ḥaqīqat k-az īn dār bāsh az kamān*) there follow extracts from Firdausī's poem under various headings ('praise of the prophet', 'praise of kings', 'description of old age' etc.). The narrative content of the *Shāh-nāmah* plays no role in it. See the account of the work in the Gotha catalogue.¹ Mss.: **Gotha** 48 (Ms. written for Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān b. Murād Khān, regn. 1594-1603).² The same work is evidently found also in **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 147 (Ateş 7. Dated 910/1504-5. Beginning missing) and perhaps also in **London** I.O. 882 (Dated Rabī' I 945/1538. Badly damaged. Ethé's tentative identification of the Ms. with the *ikhtiyārāt* of Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān - for which see the following entry - is apparently quite arbitrary).³

(2) 'Aufī II p. 33 mentions the *Ikhtiyārāt i Shāh-nāmah* by the famous poet Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān (for whom see below, p. 412-4). The work does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps this is a wrong attribution of the just mentioned *Ikhtiyārāt* of 'Alī b. Aḥmad?

(3) An anonymous *Miftāḥ i Shāh-nāmah* in prose was written in 845/1441-2. Ms.: **Leyden** 1659(2) (Cat. MMDLXXVIII. Dated 1112/1700-1).

¹This work is mentioned in the colophon of **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 352, where the author is called 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Qā'inī.

²This manuscript is wrongly identified by Munzawī no. 27248.

³I learn from *Iran-shināst* XII/3, 1379sh./2000, that an edition of the *Ikhtiyārāt* was published in Mashhad in the same year.

(4) Extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah*, with connecting passages in prose, are contained in the *majmū'ah* of Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad Gilānī, a pupil of Bahā' al-dīn Muḥammad al-Āmulī (d. 1030/1620-1).

Mss.: **Berlin** Petermann 175 fol. 11b-21a (Pertsch 45); the same anthology is reported also in **Hyderabad** Āṣafiyah II p. 970 no. 306.

(5) *Muntakhab i Shāh-nāmah* or *Khulāṣah i Shāh-nāmah* or *Tārīkh i (Dil-gushāy) Shamsḥēr-khānī* by Tawakkul Beg, son of Tūlak Beg, (for whom see *PL* I, p. 1008-9) written for the governor of Ghaznīn, Shamsḥēr Beg, in 1063/1653. An abridgement in prose, with copious extracts from Firdausī's poem. The actual epitome extends only as far as the reign of Ardashīr, followed by an enumeration of the remaining kings and a biography of the poet.

Mss.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 145 (Dated 1063/1653); **Lindesiana** 135 (17th-18th century?); **Lindesiana** 402 (Dated 1265/1848-9); **Oxford** Ouseley 222 (Ethé 504. Dated 9 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1144/1732); **Ind. Inst.** Pers. 101 (Beeston 2542. Dated 13 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1239/1824); **Ind. Inst.** Pers. 89 fol. 177-232 (Beeston 2543. 19th century. A fragment of the work); **Eton** 120, 121 (Dated 1194/1780); **London** Add. 25,798 (Rieu p. 539-40. 17th century?); **I.O.** 883 (Dated 25 Ṣafar of the 46th year of 'Ālamgīr = 1114/1702); **I.O.** 884 (Dated 3 Rajab of 1st year of Rafī' al-jalālat, identified by Ethé with Rafī' al-darajāt, which would date this Ms. to 1131/1719); **Or.** 371 (Rieu p. 540. Dated Sha'bān 1155/1742. Pictures); **I.O.** 885 (Dated 9 Shawwāl 1170/1757); **I.O.** 886 (Dated 5th year of Shāh-'Ālam 1177/1763-4); **I.O.** 887 (Dated 5 Jumādā II 1186/1772); **S.O.A.S.** 47646 [or 43646?] (Dated 25 Sha'bān 1196/1782); **Egerton** 1105 (Rieu p. 540. 18th century?); **Add.** 6939 (Rieu p. 540. A transcript of the preceding with a translation by J. Haddon Hindley); **Add.** 7725 (Rieu p. 540. Dated Rabī' I 1198/1784); **[154]** **Add.** 6611 (Rieu p. 540. Dated Dhū l-Qa'dah 1212/1798); **Add.** 27,269 (Rieu p. 540. 18th century); **Add.** 5619 (Rieu p. 540. 18th century); **Add.** 24,415 (Rieu p. 541. Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1218/1804); **Or.** 7031 (Meredith-Owens p. 67. Dated 1238/1822-3); **Ross and Browne** CLXXX (Dated 8 Rajab 1259/1843); **Or.** 7539 (Meredith-Owens p. 68. 19th century. Abbreviated); **Or.** 8761 (Meredith-Owens p. 69. 18th or 19th century. Pictures); **I.O.** 888 (modern); **I.O.** 889; **I.O.** 890 (defective); **Cambridge** Oo. 6. 60 (Browne Cat. CC. Dated 25 Dhū l-ḥijjah 13th year of Muḥammad Shāh = 1143/1730-1); **Add.** 411 (Browne Cat. CCI.); **Corpus**, No. 108 (Browne Suppt. 235); **Edinburgh** Univ. 270

(Dated 1090/1679); New Coll. Or. 29; **Paris** Ancien fonds 99A (Blochet 1181/Richard. Dated 10 Rabī' II 1143 = 1137 Bengali era = 12th year of Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī/1730); Supplément 1894 (Blochet 1184. Dated Rabī' II 1213/1798); Supplément 198 (Blochet 1182. 18th century?); Supplément 197 (Blochet 1183. 18th century? Incomplete); Supplément 1731 (Blochet 1185. 18th century? Incomplete); **Copenhagen** Mehren XLIII; Mehren XLIV; **Berlin** Sprenger 1619 (Pertsch 708); Ms. or. 4° 221 (Pertsch 709); Ms. or. oct. 1080 (Heinz 180; Stchoukine 76. Dated 1251/1835-6. Pictures); **Leipzig** Vollers 917; **Mashhad** Ridāwī III p. 90 no. 55 (listed in the catalogue as a manuscript of the *Shāh-nāmah*, but its conclusion is quoted as '*shud tamām Shāh-nāmah i Dil-gushāy*'); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 152 no. 89 (Dated 1129/1717); Univ. IV (Dated 2 Dhū l-qa'dah 1224/1809); **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 19 no. 28/II (First part only. Dated 1215 Y./1845-6); Meherji Rana p. 97 no. 105; **Uch** 283 (Dated 29 Ramaḍān 1126/1714. Pictures); **Bankipore** I 10; Suppt. i 1796 (Dated 3 Šafar 1239/1823); Suppt. i 1797 (19th century. Pictures); **Poona** Bhārat Itihāsa Samshodhak Mandal no. 69 (Acc. to Bombay Univ. catal. p. 268); **Hyderabad** Sālār Jung IV 1106 (18th century? Pictures); Sālār Jung IV 1107 (Dated 1224/1809); [155] Sālār Jung IV 1108 (Dated 30 Muḥarram 1245/1829); Sālār Jung IV 1109 (18th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 423 (18th century? Defective at end); Ivanow Curzon 185 (Dated 12 Sha'bān 17th year of Muḥammad Shāh/1147/1735. The 2nd half of the Ms. supplied by a modern hand); Ivanow Curzon 186 (Contains a seal dated 1134/1721-2); Ivanow Curzon 187 (19th century? One picture); Būhār 278 (19th century?); **Madras** I 290; I 291 (Dated 1137/1724-5); **Dacca** Univ. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 (all late).

Translations: (Urdu verse): by Munshī Mülchand. 'He died about A.D. 1832' (Sprenger p. 267). Mss.: **Cambridge** Corpus 148 (Browne Suppt. 789. Dated 1267/1850-1); extract in **London** Or. 1763 fol. 24-47 (Rieu p. 1026). Edition: **Calcutta** 1846.

(English): J. Atkinson: *The Shāh nāmeḥ of the Persian poet Firdausī, translated and abridged in prose and verse, with notes and illustrations* by J. Atkinson, London 1832. (Although it is nowhere stated in the volume, this is in fact essentially a translation of the 'Shamshēr-khānī', as was noted by Rieu p. 540. Atkinson's book concludes with a reprint of his *Soohrab*, as mentioned above, p. 150). For another translation, see under Mss., London Add. 6939.

(6) *Shāh-nāmah i Bakht-āwar-khānī*, by Bahādur 'Alī, son of Ilāh-wirdī Khān 'Ālam-gīr-shāhī (the latter died in 1079/1668-9 according to the *Ma'athir al-umarā*). See Rieu p. 1037b. The author of the Bombay University Catalogue says that this work is 'but a clever copy' of the *Muntakhab i Shāh-nāmah* by Tawakkul Beg, but without the verses. Ms.: **Bombay** Univ. XXXVIII.

(7) *Shāh-nāmah i nathr* by Khurshēd, son of Isfandiyār, of Navsārī, for Captain Aungier in 1671. Ms.: **London** Royal 16 B. xiv (Rieu p. 541. Dated Sharīwar 1040 Y./1671. The author's original draft); Add. 6938 (Rieu p. 541. Transcript of the first part of the preceeding with a translation by J. Haddon Hindley).

Partial translation: see under Mss.

(8) *Ṭīr i Shāh-nāmah* composed by Shāhim (?) 'Alī-khān, known as Shāh-'Ālam-Ibrāhīmī Sabzwārī Awad'hī in 1121/1709-10, for whom see the Berlin catalogue, p. 739. The author epitomises the poem [156] in prose, with extracts from the original. The last section is devoted to the history of the kings of Delhi down to Shāh-'Ālam II. Ms.: **Berlin** Ms. orient. Fol. 276 (Pertsch 707. Autograph? The Ms. contains first of all the author's own transcript of the Bāysunghur preface dated 6 Rabī' I 1142 = 1137 *faṣṭī* = 11th year of Muḥammad Shāh/1729. Then in a different script the text of the epitome, of which the last 4 leaves are in a different hand and dated the beginning [*ghurrah*] of Shawwāl 1123/1711).

(9) *Muntakhab i Rām Narāyan*, completed in 1140/1727-8. Ms.: **Bankipore** I 11 (Dated 7 Dhū l-qa'dah 1141/1729).

(10) *Fihrist i Shāh-nāmah*, or *Muntakhab i Shāh-nāmah*, written in 1147/1734-5 by Bhīm Sēn, with the *takhalluṣ* Muḥibb. Ivanow describes it as a 'versified table of contents' of the *Sh.N.*, Keshavarz, however, as 'a prose version' of the same. (Inc. in both Mss.: *alā ai šāhib i dānish, khirad-war * dar in nāmah ba fikr i zharf bi-ngar*). Mss.: **London** Wellcome 424 (Dated 1230/1815); **Calcutta** Ivanow 424 (Dated 1177/1763-4).

(11) A verse abridgement, again with the title *Fihrist i Shāh-nāmah*, by Shīrīn Parand (date?) is found in **London** I.O. 892 (Dated 1166/1752-3. Incomplete).

(12) *Durrah i chahār-pārah* by Farīdūn b. Muḥammad Qāsim Ḥalāl-khwur Māzandarānī and three others, written for Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1216/1801-2. The section on the Pēshdādiyān, by the afore-mentioned

Farīdūn is preserved in: **London** Add. 7664 (Rieu p. 541-2. Dated 1222/1807).

(13) *Khulāṣah i Shamsheer-khānī*, a meta-abridgement of no. 5 above, was prepared by Jamāl al-dīn Bijnōrī in 1821. Ms.: **Hyderabad** Sālār Jung IV 1110.

(14) *Muntakhab i Shāh-nāmah* (in verse), copied (and apparently written?) by Mīrzā Rīdā Naqqāsh b. [157] Muḥammad 'Alī-Khān in 1277/1860-1. Ms.: **Tashkent** Acad. VI 4415.

(15) *Shāh-nāmah i Firdausī i manthūr* by Qādī Baqā. Ms. (autograph?): **Kabul** Ministry of Information 101 (Cat. p. 251. Dated 1314/1896-7).

Unspecified verse abridgement: Ms.: **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 101 no. 124(1).

Unspecified prose versions: Mss.: **Tashkent** Acad. IX 6305 (18th-19th century?); **Los Angeles** Univ. C6 (*Nuskah-hā* XI/XII p. 57. 18th century?).

Three extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah*, followed by one from the *Humāi-Humāyūn* of Khwājū, are contained in: **London** Add. 27,261 II (Rieu p. 868-71. Dated Jumādā II 814/1411).

The so-called *Bitzhan-nāmah* is in fact an episode from the *Shāh-nāmah* with some interpolated verses. Mss.: **London** Or. 2946 fol. 2-49 (Rieu Suppt. no. 199 I. 18th century?); **Oxford** Ms. Pers. e. 14 (Ethé 1979). Cf. J. Matīnī, 'Dar bārah i Bitzhan-nāmah', *Āyandah* VI/1-2, 1360sh./1981. p. 32-7.

Miscellaneous collections of extracts:

Mss.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 131c (Dated 1140/1727-8); Lindesiana 260 (18th century?); Lindesiana 841 b,c (Dated 1085/1674-5); **Florence** Laurenziana Or. 306 fol. 123v-157r (Piemontese 95 II. *Dāstān i Suhrāb bā Rustam*. Dated 20 Jumādā II 975/1567); **Gotha** 40/6 (*Baḥr al-durar*); **Istanbul** Revan köşkü 1896/III (Karataş 904); **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 87 no. 44; **Bombay** Univ. XVIII (*dāstān i Rustam u Akwān-dēw u Isfandyār*); Univ. XIX (*Isfandyār-nāmah*); Univ. XX (*dāstān i Rustam u Isfandyār*); Univ. XXI (*Bahman-nāmah*); Univ. XXIX (*dāstān i Kāmūs i Kashānī*. Dated 16 Tīr 1044Y./1675); Univ. XXX (*dāstān i Kā'ūs*); Univ. XXXI (*Kā'ūs-nāmah*. Dated 6 Asfandārmad 1024Y./1655); Univ. XXXIV (*dāstān i Rustam u Isfandyār*); XXXIX (*Suhrāb-nāmah*); Univ. XXXVI (From the beginning to the birth of

Rustam); Univ. XXXVII ('from the battle of Yazdahruk... to Bēzan's coming to Kay-Khusraw with Gustaham'). [158]

LF passim; Rāduyānī passim; 'Arūfī passim; 'Aufī II p. 32-3; Shams passim; Daulat-shāh p. 49-55; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 382-438; Khaiyām-pūr p. 440-2 (with much further literature).

Apart from the already mentioned studies by Nöldeke (which contains a survey of the older literature), Taqī-zādah and Khāliqī-Muṭlaq,¹ the following might serve as a sample of the extensive secondary literature on Firdausī and the *Shāh-nāmah*: W. Barthold, «К истории персидского Эпоса», Записки Восточного Отделения Импер. Русск. Археол. Об. XXII, 1913-4; translated by H.H. Schaeder as 'Zur Geschichte des persischen Epos', *ZDMG* XCVIII, 1944, p. 121-57; Фердовси 934-1934, (various authors), Leningrad 1934; P.B. Vachha, *Firdousi and the Shahnama, A study of the great Persian epic of the Homer of the East*, Bombay 1950 (important review, in English, by J. Tavadia, *ZDMG* CII, 1952, p. 381-7); T. Kowalski, *Studia nad Šāh-nāme*, 2 vols., Cracow 1952-3; P. Humbert, *Observations sur le vocabulaire arabe du Chāhnāme*, Neuchâtel 1953; K.H. Hansen, *Das iranische Königsbuch. Aufbau und Gestalt des Schahname von Firdosi*, Mainz 1954; A. Ateş, 'Şāh-nāme'nin yazılış tarihi ve Firdevsî'nin sultan Mahmud'a yazdığı hicviye meselesi hakkında', *Belleten* 18/70, 1954, p. 159-68; id., 'La date de la dernière rédaction de Şāh-nāme de Firdavsi-i Tūsī et sa satire contre Sultān Maḥmūd', ibidem p. 169-78; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 458-521; Şafā, *Hamāsah* passim; G.Yu. Aliev, Легенда о Хосрове и Ширин в «Шахнаме» Фирдоуси, *UZIV* 19, 1958, p. 190-210; M.N. Osmanov, Фирдоуси. Жизнь и творчество, Moscow 1959; id., Сводь иранского героического эпоса («Худай-наме» и «Шахнаме») как источники «Шахнаме» Фирдоуси, *UZIV* 19, 1958, p. 153-89; M.T. Bahār, *Firdausi-nāmah*, Tehran 1345sh./1966; M. Mīnuwī, *Firdausī wa shi'r i ū*, Tehran 1346sh./1967; A.A. Starikov, *Firdausī wa Shāh-nāmah*, trans. by R. Ādharakhshī, Tehran 1346sh./1967; M. 'A. Islāmī-Nudūshan, *Zindagī wa marg i pahlawānān dar Shāh-nāmah*, Tehran 1348sh./1969; 'A. al-Ḥ. Nōshīn, *Sukhan e chand dar bārah i Shāh-nāmah*, Moscow 1970 (detailed review [159] by D. Monchi-Zadeh, *ZDMG*, 125, 1975, p. 395-408); M. Dj. Moīnfār, *Le*

¹ See above, p. 113-4, 127.

vocabulaire arabe dans le livre des rois de Firdausi, Wiesbaden 1970; M.N. Osmanov, О так называемом дастане «хакан-и чин» в «Шах-наме», Памятники письменности Востока 1972 p. 120-3; M.M. Maguire, *Rustam and Isfandiyār in the Shāhnāmah* (microfilmed dissertation, 1973), also printed in *Iranistische Mitteilungen* XXVI/2, 1996, p. 1-237; C.-H. de Fouchécour, 'Une lecture du Livre des rois de Firdowsi', *Studia iranica* V, 1976, p. 171-202; A. Krasnowolska, 'About a "black-and-white thread" in the *Shāh-nāme*', *Folia orientalia* 18, 1977, p. 219-31; id., 'Rostam Farroxxād's prophecy in *Shāh-nāme* and the Zoroastrian apocalyptic texts', *Folia orientalia* 19, 1978, p. 173-84; Fr. Machalski, 'Abolqāsem Ferdowsi et son *Shāhnāmah* en Pologne', *Folia orientalia* 18, 1977, p. 211-7; *Mīnuwī wa Shāh-nāmah*, Tehran 1356sh./1978 (reprint of a number of articles by M., with new contributions by others); A. Mazahéry, 'L'Iran de Ferdowsi et le héros culturel Rustam', *Zaman* 1, 1979, p. 4-20; *Shāh-nāmah i Firdausi wa shukūh i pahlawānī*, ed. M. Madā'inī, Tehran 1357sh./1979 (a collection of 19 articles); M. Boyce, 'Firdausi', *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* IV, 1984, col. 1188-94 (interesting for the folkloristic elements in the *Sh.N.*); Abū l-Qāsim Injawī, *Firdausi-nāmah*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., Tehran 1363sh./1984; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Le livre des rois, miroir du destin', *Studia Iranica* XVII, 1988, p. 7-46, XX, 1991, p. 33-148 (supposedly to be continued); S.H. al-D. Rāshidī, 'Nufūdh i Firdausi wa Shāh-nāmah dar Sind', *Dānish* XI, 1366sh./1989, p. 56-89; *Īrān-shināst* II/2, 1369sh./1990 (collection of articles in Persian and English delivered at two conferences in 1990); M. Qarīb, *Bāz-khwān-i Shāh-nāmah*, [Tehran] 1369sh./1990; M. Murtaḍawī, *Firdausi wa Shāh-nāmah*, Tehran 1369sh./1990; A. Shapur Shahbazi, *Firdowsi a critical biography*, Costa Mesa (California) 1991; M.J. Mahjūb, *Āfarīn i Firdausi*, [Tehran] 1371sh./1992; D. Davis, *Epic and Sedition. The case of Ferdowsi's Shāhnāmah*, Fayetteville 1992; S. Ḥamīdiyān, *Dar-āmadī bar andīshah u hunar i Firdausi*, Tehran 1372sh./1993; J. Ehlers, *Die Natur in der Bildersprache des Shāhnāme*, Wiesbaden 1995 (reviewed by me in *JRAS* 1998, p. 450-1); *Elr* s.v. 'Ferdowsi' (J. Khaleqi-Motlaq). The enigmatic verse *yak-ē dakhmah kard-ash zi summ i sutūr...* (= ed. Khāliqī-Mutlaq II p. 198, Kai-Kā'ōs 1007-9) has been discussed by me in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* VII, 1993, p. 31-4 (with references to previous studies) and now also (with entirely different conclusions) by M.R. Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Kilk* 68/70, 1374sh./1996, p. 17-31.

59. Abū Zaid¹ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ghaḍā'irī (or: al-Ghaḍārī)² al-Rāzī was one of the poets [160] who congregated at the court of Maḥmūd at Ghaznah. 'Arūḍī lists him among the poets of the Būyids; if this is true, then he is likely to have served the last Būyid rulers in Ray before the Ghaznavid conquest of that city in 420/1029. He has left us with one complete poem, a long ode in *-āl* in praise of Maḥmūd, which, according to a Ghaznavid poet of the next generation, Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān,³ Ghaḍā'irī sent from Ray to Ghaznah and for which he received a reward of 1000 dīnārs. Maḥmūd's poet laureate, 'Unṣurī, penned a reply with the same rhyme and metre, a devastating lampoon of the rival poet's talents. Jāarmī includes Ghaḍā'irī's ode in his *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* and the texts of it and of 'Unṣurī's response were included by Taqī in the small selection of 'Unṣurī's poems in his *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, whence it has made its way into the manuscripts and printed editions of 'Unṣurī's *diwān*.⁴ The same two poems, and a third, supposedly Ghaḍā'irī's reply to 'Unṣurī, again with the same rhyme and metre, were printed by Hidāyat, but as long as the third poem has not been traced to earlier sources its authenticity must remain doubtful. The other biographical 'information' given by Hidāyat, including the statement that the poet died in 426/1034-5, cannot be confirmed. It seems that Hidāyat confused him with the theologian Aḥmad b. Ḥusain al-Ghaḍā'irī.

Bairūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir fi ma'rifat al-jawāhir*, ed. Krenkow, Hyderabad 1355/1936-7, p. 80 (one verse); *LF* (4 verses quoted in the margin of Ms. *nūn* only); Rādūyānī *passim* (and Ateş's notes p. 96-7); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī *ad loc.*); Waṭwāt p. 19, 74; 'Aufī II p. 59-60; Shams *passim*; Jāarmī II p. 463-7; Daulat-shāh p. 33-5; Rāzī III p. 19-21; Taqī (British Library Ms. Or. 3506, fol. 45b-47a); Ādhar p. 1098-1101; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 368-72; 'A. Iqbāl, 'Ithā i yak qit'ah i shi'r

¹Thus 'Aufī; Hidāyat has Abū Yazīd.

²The manuscript of Rādūyānī's *Tarjuman al-balaghah* has 'Ghaḍā'irī' four times, as do the poet himself and 'Unṣurī in their poetical debate; 'Ghaḍārī' appears twice in Rādūyānī as well as in a verse by Manūchihri (*Diwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī, p. 86). The later sources fluctuate between the two forms.

³See his *diwān*, ed. Yāsīmī, p. 308-9.

⁴For the relationship between Taqī's anthology and the copies of 'Unṣurī's so-called *diwān*, see below, p. 605-7.

az *Ghaḍā'iri i Rāzi*, *Armaghān* XV, 1313sh./1934, p. 333-6 (Also in his *Majmū'ah i maqālāt* p. 328-31); id., '*Chand nuktaḥ i tāzah rāji*' ba *shā'ir i mashhūr Ghaḍā'iri i Rāzi*, *Āmūzish wa Parwarish* IX/10, 1318sh./1930, p. 17-22 (= *Majmū'ah i maqālāt* p. 525-9); M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, *Ghaḍā'iri wa ash'ār i ā*, Tehran 1334sh./1955; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 570-5; *LN* s.v. 'Ghaḍā'iri' p. 243-4 (Dh. Šafā); Khayyām-pūr p. 419 (with further references); *Elr* s.v. Ġazā'erī Rāzī.

60. Ḥakīm **Ghamnāk** is known to us only from the handful of verses quoted in Asadī's *Lughat i furs*. Cf. Horn, *Einl.* p. 26. [161]

61. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-**Ghawwāš**¹ ('pearl-fisher') al-**Junaidī** is mentioned by Tha'alībī as a bilingual (i.e. Arabic and Persian) poet who 'is alive now' (Tha'alībī died in 429/1037-8; the first version of his *Yattmah* was completed in 384/994, but was later augmented by the author). The same authority quotes eight of his Arabic verses, including two addressed to one al-Saiyid Abū Ja'far al-Mūsawī. 'Aufī, referring explicitly to Tha'alībī's *Yattmah*, quotes the same two verses but says that they were addressed to the well-known Būyid wazīr al-Šāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995). He then proceeds to quote four of his Persian verses in praise of wine. Further verses by (presumably the same) Ghawwāš² are quoted in Asadī's *Lughat i furs*, including a complete *rubā'ī* in Punjab manuscript, s.v. *mak*.

Tha'alībī *Yattmah* IV p. 318-9; *LF* (see the indexes to the 3 editions, and Horn *Einl.* p. 26); 'Aufī II p. 23-4; Rāzī II p. 189 (quotes the same Persian verses as 'Aufī); Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 49; Šafā I⁶ p. 441 (confuses 'Aufī with Tha'alībī); *LN* s.vv. 'Junaidī' p. 132 and 'Ghawwāš' p. 352; Khayyām-pūr p. 138-9; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; Idārah-chī p. 128-30.

62. Fakhr al-dīn As'ad al-Jurjānī (**Gurgānī**) is the author of the romantic epic of *Wīs u Rāmīn*. After the customary invocation of God and his Prophet (inc. *sipās u āfrīn ān pād-shāh rā * kih gēn rā padīd*

¹Thus Tha'alībī. 'Aufī gives his name as Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, but does not mention the name Ghawwāš.

²The identity of 'Junaidī' and 'Ghawwāš' does not appear to have been noted in the secondary literature.

āwurd u mā rā) the poet launches into an extensive encomium on the Seljuq Toḡril (429/1038 to 455/1063) in which he dwells in particular on that king's conquest of Isfahan in 441/1050, which date must be seen as the *terminus post quem* for [162] Gurgānī's poem. This is followed by eulogies of Toḡril's minister, Khwājah Abū Naṣr b. Maṣṣūr, and of his governor in Isfahan, Khwājah Abū l-Faḥ b. Muḥammad, the poet's actual patron. He then tells us how this governor asked him what he thought of the story of Wīs and Rāmīn. The poet replies¹ that it is fine story, put together by six wise men in 'Pahlawī'. But today not everyone understands that language. Moreover, 'in those days poetry was not a profession' (*ān-gah shā'iri pēshah na-būda-st*). If those authors were alive today they would see 'how speech is now produced' and 'how (quantitative) metre (*wazn*) and rhymes (*qawāfi*) are imposed upon it'. At the request of the governor Gurgānī takes it upon himself to retell the old story with the requisite poetic embellishment. This section has generally been understood to mean that Gurgānī's source, the 'Pahlawī' book of Wīs and Rāmīn was a poem, but without quantitative metre or rhyme. Although this is certainly possible, it does not seem the only conceivable interpretation of Gurgānī's words. It could be that he is simply saying that his source was in prose, and indeed could not have been otherwise, since 'in those days' that which a Muslim author would recognise as 'poetry' did not even exist. To be sure, the existence of a Middle-Persian poem (or poems) on the subject is evidently [163] implied by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī² when, in his commentary on the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, he explains the Arabic poet's phrase *firjardāt Rāmīn wa*

¹Ed. Todua/Gwakharia p. 28. See the translation in Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 153-4 (= *BSOAS* XI, 1946, p. 2-3) and the important remarks by Boyce, *JRAS* 1957, p. 37-8. In a later contribution (*BSOAS* XXV, 1962, p. 278-9) Minorsky rightly upholds (against Zarrīn-kūb, *Sukhan* IX/10, 1337sh./1958, p. 1015-8) that 'Pahlawī' here means 'Middle-Persian' and not the local vernacular of north-Western Persia. Gurgānī tells us precisely that the old book of Wīs and Rāmīn was studied by people in order to learn 'Pahlawī'; with the latter the poet thus evidently means a literary language and not a colloquial dialect. See also G. Lazard, *Minorsky Volume* p. 366-7 and note 19.

²Cf. M. Mīnuwī, '*Yak-i az fārsiyāt i Abū Nuwās*', *MDAT* I/3, 1333sh./1954, p. 62-77. The relevant verse by Abū Nuwās is on p. 67, Ḥamzah's commentary on p. 69.

Wīs by saying that '*firjardāt* are like odes' (*ka l-qaṣā'id*),¹ but this may refer not to a poetic version of the whole story but rather to a collection of songs put into the mouths of the two lovers. Something similar would seem to be implied by the verse of Rūmī's² which asks whether the reader has not seen the *dīwāns* of *Wīs* and *Rāmīn* (*dawāwīn i Wīsaḥ u Rāmīn*) or heard the tales (*hikāyāt*) of *Wāmiq* and '*Adhrā*. There may thus well have been '*dīwāns*' of the two lovers, alongside the story of their adventures, in the same way that there is an (Arabic) *dīwān* of Majnūn alongside the story of his romance with Lailā. It is consequently not certain that the 'odes' of *Wīs* and *Rāmīn* were identical with the source used by Gurgānī. In any event, the fact that Gurgānī has evidently based his poem directly on a Middle-Persian book and not (like Firdausī or Asadī) on documents already relatively far removed from their Sasanian sources goes a long way towards explaining the decidedly Zoroastrian flavour of so much of what we find in it. The specifically Parthian background of the story has been well developed by Minorsky and need not be discussed here.

Wīs u Rāmīn has survived in a very small number of manuscripts. The pronounced amoral character of the work and, particularly, the fact that it appears to condone adultery on the part of a woman meant that the work, if read at all, was widely regarded as indecent. Despite this, it had [164] a great influence on the formation of the style of the Persian romantic epic.

A number of authors have made extensive comparisons between the story of *Wīs* and *Rāmīn* and the well-known Celtic legend of Tristan and Iseult. However, in the absence of any plausible explanation of how this story could have migrated from Persia to mediaeval Europe it must be assumed that the apparent similarities between the two are due in part to the recurrence of certain universal folkloristic motives, and in part to the fact that both have as their point of departure an identical human situation: the story of a young woman forced against her will to marry an older man.

'Aufī reports that, apart from *Wīs u Rāmīn*, the only other known composition by Gurgānī were five verses (quoted by 'Aufī) satirising one

¹ *Firjard* is clearly an Arabic spelling of Middle-Persian *fragard*, a word known to us as the designation for the individual 'chapters' of the Avestan text *Vendidad*.

² *Dīwān i Shams i Tabrīz*, ed. Nicholson, p. 4, v. 7.

Thiqat al-mulk (i?) Shahryār.¹ A lyrical poem of eight verses is quoted by Jājarmī.

Mss. of *Wīs u Rāmīn*: Oxford Elliot 273 (Ethé 522); Paris Supplément 1380 (Blochet 1203. 16th century); Berlin Sprenger 1378 (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabī' II 1270/1854. Copied from the Calcutta Ms.); Istanbul Beyazit (*olim* Umumi) 5411 (see Todua/Gwakharia p. xxvii); Tehran Gulistān/Bayānī p. 534 (17th century?) [Munz.]; Bombay Univ. no. 137 (Cat. p. 220-2. Defective at both ends); Hyderabad Sālār Jung IV 1117 (End missing. Has a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Calcutta Ivanow 429 (16th century? = Lucknow Sprenger 109, the basis of the Calcutta edition). Cf. Munz. IV 36323-8.

Extracts: London Add. 12,560 fol. 177-185 (Rieu p. 821-2. Dated Sha'bān 1228/1813); Turin Nallino 68 fol. 85b-90b (dated Rabī' I 745/1344, now destroyed. Contained the ten letters); Tehran Malik 5611/4 (Munz. 36324 inspexit. 18th century? [165] With a preface in prose); Other anthologies are listed in the introduction to the edition by Todua/Gwakharia.

Editions: Calcutta 1864-5 (Ed. W. Nassau Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali); Tehran 1314sh./1935 (Ed. M. Mīnuwī); 1337sh./1959 (Ed. M.J. Mahjūb); 1349sh./1970 (critical edition by M.A. Todua and A.A. Gwakharia, based on 5 complete Persian manuscripts, 5 anthologies and the Georgian translation); Dushanbe 1966 (in Tajik script).

Translations: (Georgian): The old Georgian version (*Visramiani*) is attributed to Sargis T'mogveli (12th century) and is of great importance for the history of the Persian text. Editions: Tiflis 1884 (ed. I. Chavchavadze, A. Saradjishvili and P. Umicashvili); 1962 (Висрамиани. Текст, исследование и словарь, ed. A.A. Gvakhariya and M.A. Todua).

(English): *Visramiani*, translated from the Georgian by O. War-drop, London 1914; *Vis and Ramin*, translated from the Persian by G. Morrison, New York/London 1972 (with useful notes).

(Russian): Висрамиани. Грузинский роман 12 века и персидская поэма 11 века Вис и Рамин, translated (from the Georgian) by B.T. Rudenko and (from the Persian by) M.M. D'yakonov, Moscow/Leningrad 1938; Translated from the Georgian by

¹ For the name, and the possible identity, of this person see Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 154, 198.

Ts. Yordanishvili, Tiflis 1949, reprint 1960; Вис и Рамин, translated from the Persian by S. Lipkin, Moscow 1963.

(French): *Le roman de Wīs et Rāmīn*, traduit par H. Massé, Paris 1959 (from the Persian).

(Czech): *O lásce Wīsy a Rāmīna*, translated (presumably from the Persian) by V. Kubičková, Prague 1979.

'Arūḍī p. 28 ('Farrukhī i Gurgānī' is evidently a scribal error for 'Fakhrī...'. See Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 240; Shams p. 80, 145; Ibn al-Mujāwir (see below, p. 243 fn.); Mustaufī p. 824; Jārmī II p. 952; Wāliḥ (quotes ca. 700 verses from *Wīs u Rāmīn* according to Pertsch p. 623); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 375-6; K.H. Graf, 'Wīs und Rāmīn', *ZDMG* 23, 1869, p. 375-433 (contains a partial verse translation); R. von Stackelberg, [166] «Несколько слов о персидском Эпосе Виса и Рамин», *Древности восточные* II, 1896, p. 10-23; F. Gabrieli, 'Sul poema persiano "Wīs u Rāmīn"', *AION* N.S. 1, 1940, p. 253-8; id., 'Note sul "Wīs u Rāmīn" di Fahr ad-dīn Gurgānī', *Rendiconti*, VI/xv, 1939, p. 168-88; V. Minorsky, 'Wīs u Rāmīn A Parthian Romance', *BSOAS* XI, 1946, p. 741-63, XII, 1947, p. 20-35, XVI, 1954, p. 91-2, XXV, 1962, p. 275-86 (reprinted with considerable revision in his *Iranica* p. 151-99. Fundamental); M. Mīnuwī, 'Wīs u Rāmīn', *Sukhan* VI, 1333-4sh./1956, p. 13-21, 129-37; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 370-83; Khaiyām-pūr p. 435 (with further references); A.A. Gvakharia, «Вис о Рамин» Фахраддина Горгани и «Хосров и Ширин» Низами Гянджеви», *Труды Унив. Тбил.* 116, 1965, p. 199-207; A.A. Gvakhariya and M.A. Todua, 'Значение древнегрузинского перевода «Висрамиани» для установления критического текста его персидского оригинала «Вис у Рамин»', in *Иранская филология*, Leningrad 1964, p. 104-10; M. Molé, 'Wīs u Rāmīn et l'histoire seldjoukide', *AION* N.S. 9, 1960, p. 1-30; D. Kobidze, 'On the antecedents of Vis-u-Ramin', *Yādnāme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, p. 89-93; Shafī'ī-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 563-76; M. 'A. Islāmī-Nudūshan, 'Wīs u Rāmīn wa Shāh-nāmāh', *Nāmāh i Mīnuwī*, Tehran 1350sh./1971, p. 18-37; G. Morrison, 'Flowers and witchcraft in the "Vis o Ramin" of Fakhr ud-Din Gurgani', *Acta Iranica* III, 1974, p. 249-59; Dsh. Sh. Giunashvili, *Филологические Заметки*, Tbilisi 1978 [a collection of 6 articles with many references to *W.u.R.*]; id., 'Sukhan i chand dar bārah i matn-shināsi i manzūmah i Wīs u Rāmīn i Fakhr al-dīn i Gurgānī', *Īrān-shināsi* II/1, 1990, p. 125-34; J.C. Bürgel, 'Die Liebesvorstellungen im persi-

schen Epos Wis und Ramin', *Asiatische Studien* 33, 1979, p. 65-98; P. Kunitzsch, 'The "description of the night" in Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*', *Der Islam* LIX, 1982, p. 93-110; O. Neugebauer, 'The date of the "horoscope" in Gurgānī's poem' [=31 March 965], [167] *Der Islam* LX, 1983, p. 297-301; G. Lazard, 'La source en «fārsi» de Vis-o Rāmīn', *Труды Тбилисского Ордена Трудового* 241, 1983, p. 34-9; M.S. Southgate, 'Wīs and Rāmīn: An anomaly among Iranian courtly romances', *JRAS* 1986 p. 40-52; eadem, 'Conflict between Islamic mores and the courtly romance of *Wīs and Rāmīn*', *The Muslim World* LXXV, 1985, p. 17-28; *Et*² s.vv. 'Gurgānī' (H. Massé) and 'Wīs u Rāmīn'.

Literature on the supposed connections between *Wīs u Rāmīn* and the literature of the West: R. Zenker, 'Zur Ursprung der Tristansage', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* XXXV, 1911, p. 715-31; R. Schroeder, 'Die Tristansage und das persische Epos "Wis und Ramin"', *Germanische-romanische Monatsschrift* XLII, 1961, p. 1-44; P. Gallais, *Genèse du roman occidental: Essais sur Tristan et Iseult et son modèle persan*, Paris 1974; P. Kunitzsch, 'Are there Oriental elements in the Tristan story?', *Vox Romana* XXXIX, 1980, p. 73-85.

63. **Ḥakkāk** Marghazī¹ is quoted a dozen times in Asadī's *LF* (see the indexes). Sōzanī² enumerates him among the distinguished satirical poets.

64. A *qif'ah* of two verses by an otherwise unknown **Ḥalīlah** is quoted by 'Aufī (II p. 65) in his chapter on the Ghaznavid poets.

65. **Ḥanzalah** al-Bādghīsī is listed by 'Aufī amongst the poets of the Tahirids. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī tells the story of the profound effect which two of his verses had on Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khujistānī before the time when the latter entered the service of the Saffarid 'Alī b. Laith. This Aḥmad went on to rebel against the Saffarids in 261/875. It is, however, not clear whether 'Arūḍī regarded him as Aḥmad's contemporary or whether he was supposed to have flourished at an earlier date. The

¹The *nisbah* is found only in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn* of *LF*; see Iqbāl's edition p. 106, 280.

²*Dīwān*, ed. Shāh-Ḥusainī, p. 93. See below, p. 548.

date given for the poet's [168] death by Hidāyat, namely 219/835, seems rather too early.

Collection of fragments (4 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 17-8, 53, II p. 12.

'Arūdī p. 26; 'Aufī II p. 2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 199; *Elr* s.v. 'Hanẓala'.

66. A single verse by an otherwise unknown **Haram-Shāh** (or Khurram-shāh?) is quoted in manuscript P of *LF*, s.v. *bahār*. He is evidently not the same as the Khurram-shāh Kirmānī who is quoted by Jāarmī (II p. 981, 1068) and Rāzī (I p. 277).

67. Two verses by an otherwise unknown **Hazl Bustī** are quoted by Rādūyānī (p. 12).

68. **Husain Ḫāqī** is known to us only from Rādūyānī, p. 108-9, who credits him with six verses from a contrived poem without the letter *alif*. The same verses are quoted anonymously by Waṭwāt, p. 65-6, and by Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 508, where they are attributed to Munjik. Ateş, in his note on the passage in Rādūyānī, considers the possibility that he is identical with Turkī Kashī Ḫāqī.¹

Cf. Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 456; Idārah-chī p. 45-6.

69. A single verse by one Kiyā **Husainī** Qazwīnī is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF* s.v. *rang*. He is perhaps identical with the author of four verses cited by 'Aufī (II p. 67) amongst the Ghaznavid poets whose name appears in Browne's edition (following Ms. E.) as Muḥsin i Qazwīnī, in Ms. S. as *موسى خروزي* and in Hidāyat (*Majma'* I p. 511), who merely repeats the information given by 'Aufī, as Muḥsin i Farāhī(?).

70. Abū 'Alī **ibn Sīnā** (Avicenna), the famous physician and philosopher, died in 428/1036-7; cf. *PL* II p. 3, 43, 200-2. [169] He is credited with a number of Arabic and Persian poems, the most substantial of the latter being a *qaṣīdah* of 27 verses concerning hygiene, preserved in *Paris Ancien fonds* 384 III (Blochet 2041/Richard. 15th

¹Below, p. 231.

century?) and *Tehran Univ.* IX 2596 (*majmū'ah* dated 16 Ramaḍān 1087/1676). Besides this a number of *qit'ahs* and *rubā'iyāt* are attributed to him in various anthologies.

A quatrain of his and a reply to it by Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair: Ms.: *Paris Supplément* 793 fol. 103v-104r (Blochet 1984. 16th century?). Six apparently unpublished quatrains are found in *Paris Supplément* 1777 fol. 326 in marg. (according to M. Achena, *Elr.* III p. 103).

Editions: H. Ethé, 'Avicenna als persischer Lyriker', *Nachrichten... Göttingen* XXI/1, 1875, p. 555-67; *Stalinabad* 1953 (In Tajik script); *Dushanbe* 1980.

Translation (Russian verse): Ибн Сина. Избранное (various translators), Tashkent 1981.

Jāarmī II p. 1174-5 (one *rubā'ī*); Ādhar p. 315; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 68; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 163-4; Khaiyām-pūr p. 20; Chr. Rempis, 'Avicenna als Vorläufer 'Omar Chajjāms', *Orientalische Studien Enno Littmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag... überreicht*, Leiden 1935, p. 149-56; A. Zajaczkowski, 'Czterowersze Awicenny. Z dziejów literatury irańskiej w Azji Środkowej', *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1952, p. 34-55; S. Nafīsī, *Zindagānī wa kār wa andīshah wa rūzgār i pūr i Sīnā*, Tehran 1333sh./1954 (contains on p. 41-53 an edition of 118 verses with indication of their sources).

71. Abū 'Alī **Ilyās** is cited as the author of a single verse in *LF* s.v. *pazhūl*. Perhaps he is the father of the poet 'Alī b. Ilyās Āghājī (above, p. 75-7)? [170]

72. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Irāqī, Mas'ūd's secretary (*dabīr*), died on Monday, 6 Sha'bān 429 (15 May 1038).¹ Rādūyānī quotes two of his verses.

Rādūyānī p. 47 (and Ateş ad loc.)

73. **Ismā'īl** (II) b. Nūḥ al-Muntaşir, the last Samanid ruler, who was killed in 395/1005, was an amateur poet as well.

'Aufī I 22-3 ('Mansūr' is an error for 'Muntaşir'); H. Ethé, 'Die Lieder des Kisā'i' (see infra, no. 91) p. 149-53 (translation of 'Aufī's

¹Baihaqī p. 539.

entry); *LN* s.v. 'Ismā'īl' p. 2533-4; Khaiyām-pūr p. 40; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; Idārah-chī p. 239-46.

74. **Ismā'īl Rashīdī**¹ is credited with a single verse in *LF*, s.v. *taryān*. Evidently not the late 11th-century poet Rashīdī Samarqandī.²

75. Abū l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Istighnā'ī al-Naisābūrī is known only as the author of a single erotic *du-bait* quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the Samanid poets.

'Aufī II p. 23; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 88; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 48; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Muẓaffar' p. 849; Khaiyām-pūr p. 37; Idārah-chī p. 36.

76. 'Iyāḍī is cited by 'Aufī as the author of an elegy on the death of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī (in 467/1075). Hidāyat calls him 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Iyāḍī Sarakhsī and quotes a number of his poems, among them the verses in 'Aufī and also elegies on Ibn Sīnā (died 428/1036-7) and Alp-Arslān (died 465/1072) and an ode to Malik-Shāh (465/1072 to 485/1092). If these are indeed all his one must doubt Hidāyat's statement that he was a contemporary of [171] Mu'izzī and Nizāmī 'Arūḍī. One verse by 'Iyāḍī is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF*.

LF (ed. Horn) p. 120; 'Aufī I p. 71; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 354-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 411.

77.³ Abū l-Maḥāmid Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Jauharī al-Ṣā'igh al-Harawī (as 'Aufī calls him), or (as he styles himself) 'Jauharī i zar-gar' (Arabic *ṣā'igh* and Persian *zar-gar* both mean 'goldsmith') is quoted by 'Aufī as the author of two odes. The first contains a verse addressing 'malik tāj i mulūk i 'aṣr Farrukh-zād i farrukh-pai' (p. 112 v. 20) and 'Aufī is thus probably right to say that our poet was a contemporary of the Ghaznavid Farrukh-zād (443/1052 to 451/1059), though it is surprising that he includes him in the chapter devoted to the poets of Seljuqs, not those of the Ghaznavids. This poem is clearly an imitation of one by

¹The name is given thus in *LF*, ed. Iqbāl, p. 357, apparently on the authority of manuscript *stn*, and in *Shihāh* p. 238; *Farhang i Jahāngirī* (apud Horn, *Einl.* p. 18) has Ismā'īl Rashīd. In the Vatican manuscript of *LF* he appears merely as Rashīdī.

²For whom see below, p. 507-8.

³[In the first edition this entry was printed as foot-note 2 on p. 348-9.]

Qaṭrān;¹ Jauharī quotes the first *miṣrā'* of Qaṭrān's poem at the very end of his own, though he refers to its author only as 'ustād i sukhan'. 'Aufī's second ode is a light-hearted complaint about having received an old horse from the stable-master of an unnamed sultan; in the penultimate verse the author calls himself 'Jauharī i zar-gar'. Jājarmī quotes two poems by 'malik al-kalām Jauharī i zar-gar' and both of them (like 'Aufī's second ode) end with the poet's signature. (Muẓaffā maintains the second of these is an imitation of a well-known *qaṣīdah* by Mu'izzī, but I do not think the similarity is very great; both are merely imitating the same Arabic models.) Daulat-shāh quotes the first of the two poems cited by Jājarmī, but adds that its author was a pupil of Adīb Ṣābir and a contemporary of Athīr Akhsīkāfī, that he was a native of Bukhārā who settled in Isfahan, that his patron was Sulaimān-shāh b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (555/1160 to 556/1161) and that he versified the story of Maḥsaṭī and Amīr Aḥmad, though our informant adds that others say that this story was composed by Nizāmī (sic!) and that only God knows the truth of the matter. The later sources add nothing new. It seems likely that all the 'information' given by Daulat-shāh is wrong and that his claim that Jauharī lived at the time of Sulaimān-shāh was extrapolated from a verse in the last poem quoted by 'Aufī (p. 117 v. 5) in which the poet refers to the Sulaimān (Solomon) of the Qur'ān. As for Jauharī's supposed versification of the story of Maḥsaṭī and Aḥmad, it must be evident from Daulat-shāh's formulation that he had no first-hand knowledge of such a work. It is possible, as Meier suggested, that Daulat-shāh confused our poet with the late 13th-century alchemist and rhyme-smith 'Abd Allāh Jauharī Tabrizī who in fact refers at some length to Maḥsaṭī in the commentary to his own *Qaṣīdah ḥauliyah*. But Meier was hardly right to suggest that there were two poets who both used the name 'Jauharī i zar-gar', one at the time of Farrukh-zād and the other a century later at the time of Sulaimān-shāh; the poems quoted by 'Aufī and by Jājarmī are evidently all by one and the same poet.

The 'Jauharī' whom 'Arūḍī (p. 28) includes in his list of the poets of the Qarakhanids is more likely to be the later writer Ḥamīd al-dīn al-Jauharī.²

¹See his *diwān*, p. 243, and the editor's note.

²See below, p. 348-9.

'Aufi II p. 110-7; Jājarmī I p. 85-6, 147-9; Daulat-shāh p. 118-21; Rāzī III p. 423-4 (no. 1481); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 184-5 (new edition I p. 504-6, and Muṣaffā's notes); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 438-43; Meier, *Mah-sat* p. 60-1; Khaiyām-pūr p. 141.

78. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Jōybārī is the author of a *ghazal* of five verses cited by 'Aufi, who, like 'Arūḍī, includes him among the Samanid poets.

'Arūḍī p. 28; 'Aufi II p. 11; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 185; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Ishāq' p. 370; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 396-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 142; Idārah-chī p. 41.

79. Kā'ōs-Kai (doubtless a metrically dictated inversion for Kai-Kā'ōs), the son of Kai-Khusrau, of Rai is, according to verses 1524 and 1541, the author of the Zoroastrian religious *mathnawī* commonly called *Zarātusht-nāmāh*; see also verses 45-6, where the author speaks of his 'father' (*bāb*) Kai-Khusrau, son of Dārā, of Rai. Although his authorship has been noted more or less clearly by Rieu, Storey and Šafā, the poem has traditionally been attributed to the 13th-century Zoroastrian poet Zarātusht b. Bahrām b. Pazhdū.¹ In fact, the [172] verse in which this name is mentioned (1554) is clearly part of a rhymed colophon; Zarātusht is thus not the author, but merely the copyist of the manuscript from which some (or all) of the surviving copies descend. The original poem ends either with verse 1533,² or perhaps with 1539. Moreover, between the end of the original poem and the beginning of Zarātusht's colophon (v. 1551) there is an older rhymed colophon in which the anonymous scribe announces that he 'wrote' (i.e. copied) the story on the basis of the words (*guftār*) of Kā'ōs-Kai b. Kai-Khusrau - on whose

¹For whom see below, *PL* VI.

²Rempis thought that the original poem ended with v. 1534, arguing that the verb *niwīsham* in 1535 necessarily means 'I copied' rather than 'I composed'. However, the original poet also refers in several places to his having not merely 'spoken', but also 'written' the poem; e.g. v. 1525: *chu bīnt tu īn khaṭṭ u guftār ī man...* Potentially more significant is the fact (to which Rempis also draws attention) that in some of the manuscripts the poem actually ends with v. 1533, but even this can only be regarded as proof that the original poem ended here (rather than that the prototype was accidentally torn off at this point) when a *stemma codicum* has been established which shows that the manuscripts containing the shorter version really represent a different textual tradition from those containing the rhymed colophons.

soul he invokes blessings (i.e. the author was already dead) - in two days during the month of Ābān, 'when the world was frozen' (*kih gēll fusurd*). 'I began', he continues, 'on the day Ādur (=9th); on Ābān (10th) I was drunk while at the festival (i.e. the festival of Ābānagān), and on the evening of Khwar (11th) I finished writing it'. The year is given in two of the manuscripts available to Rosenberg as 647 (*chil u haft bā shash-šad*) of Yazdgird, but in the Leningrad manuscript as 347 (... *st-šad*).¹ The [173] earlier date was rejected by the editor (who knew that the supposed author, Zarātusht b. Bahrām, lived in the 7th/13th century) as an obvious textual corruption, but Rempis has since argued that it is the only one possible. 11 Ābān 647 Y. would correspond to 13 August 1278 Julian, on which date it is impossible to imagine that 'the world was frozen'. On the other hand, 11 Ābān 347 corresponds to 28 October 978 Julian (or 4 November projected Gregorian). From this Rempis concluded that Kai-Kā'ōs's poem must have been written before this date, i.e. it must be roughly contemporary with Daqīqī's uncompleted *Shāh-nāmāh*. However, the possibility should also be considered that the date has been tampered with (e.g. by Zarātusht b. Bahrām) and that consequently both years are wrong. The verses in which Hurmuzd 'predicts' the conquest of Iran by invaders from the land of the Turks (v. 1401) would seem to point rather to a date during the Ghaznavid or Seljuq period, i.e. not before the last part of the 4th/10th century.² If the statement that 'the world was frozen' in the middle of Ābān is to be taken literally then this would indeed seem to require a date before the end of the 11th century at the latest.³ But it is also possible that *fusurd* in vs. 1548 should be understood metaphorically, thus not 'when the world was frozen', but 'when the people of the world were dejected'. Consequently, I do not see any compelling reason to

¹The S.O.A.S. manuscript, which seems on the whole to belong to the same family as the Leningrad codex, has (fol. 36b) ...*sh.y.š.d* (sic!). This could easily represent a miscopying of an old manuscript in which *st-šad* was written with an *ihmal* sign over its first letter.

²This observation holds good, of course, also for the author's source for this part of the poem, i.e. the *Zand ī Wahman-Yasht*. I intend to return to the question of the dating of that work on an apposite occasion.

³In A.D. 1101 (for example) 11 Ābān would correspond to 27 September Julian (or 4 October projected Gregorian), which seems rather early for a ground frost in any part of Iran. A later dating would move us even further forward in the calendar.

doubt that the poem might well have been composed at any period up to just before the time of Zarātusht b. Bahrām, i.e. up to the middle of the 13th century.¹

The title of the poem (inc. *sukhan rā ba nām i khudāy i jahān * bi-ārāyad az* [or: *bi-āghāz dar*] [174] *āshkār u nihān*) is given in some of the manuscripts as *Zarātusht-nāmāh* (Book of Zoroaster), in others as *Kitāb i maulūd i Zartusht* (Book of the birth of Zoroaster),² and the latter is evidently correct, as it is mentioned by the poet himself in v. 1523 (*chu maulūd i Zartusht khwānt tamām...*). Indeed the poem does deal with the birth and childhood of Zoroaster and with his early prophetic career, down to the conversion of Gushtāsp. The author tells us (v. 14 sqq.) that it is based on a 'royal book' in 'Pahlawī script' which was in the possession of the chief priest (*mōbad i mōbadān*) and that at the request of that divine he versified it in 'Persian script' (*khatt i darī*).³ The account of the life of the prophet which then follows is very close to that which we find in surviving Middle-Persian books such as *Dēnkard* and the Epistles of Zādsparam and it is most likely that one of these is in fact the 'book' to which the poet refers. After the account of the conversion of Gushtāsp we find, rather abruptly, a new *dībājah* (v. 1260 sqq.) followed by the story of how Zoroaster asked Hurmuzd in vain for immortality and had to content himself with an account of the future history of the world down to the coming of the final saviour. This section is a fairly close verse paraphrase of the surviving *Zand ī Wahman-Yasht*. Its irrelevance for the story of the 'birth' of Zoroaster might lead one to suspect that the whole section from v. 1259 to 1522 is an interpolation, but one should perhaps not expect too much structural unity in a work of this sort. In any case, there does not seem to be an appreciable [175] difference in language or style between the versified *Wahman-Yasht* and the other parts of the poem.

¹This is the revised verdict expressed in the corrigenda to the first edition, p. 621. On this basis Kai-Kā'ōs ought to have been excluded from the present chapter.

²The name of the prophet occurs in the poem as Zarātusht, Zartusht, Zār(a)tusht or Zarratusht, depending on the requirements of the metre. All of these reflect Avestan *Zarathuštra-* (it is perhaps then better to read Zarāthusht, etc. ?). The usual Neo-Persian forms of the name, Zardusht and Zard'husht, continue Middle-Persian Zardu(kh)shst.

³v. 25.

Mss.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 300 (Cat. p. 235. 18th century?); **Oxford** Ouseley 40 (Ethé 1947. 19th century); Ouseley 397 (Ethé 1948. Incomplete); **London** Roy. 16 B. viii. (Rieu I p. 46-7. 17th century?); Add. 27,268 fol. 1-76 (Rieu I. p. 49. Dated Ardībihisht 1046Y./1676); Ross and Browne CCXIII (18th century?); S.O.A.S. 12274 fol. 20a-36b (Inspexi. 18th century? First 29 verses missing); **Glasgow** T.5.5. (Weir 3. Dated 30 Ardībihisht 1046Y./1676); **Paris** Supplément 200 (Blochet 198/2; Unvala p. 34. Dated 1103Y./1733-4); Supplément 48 (Blochet 199/1; Unvala p. 22-4. Copied from a Ms. dated 1103Y., apparently Supplément 200, in 1760-1); Supplément 199 (Blochet 197; Unvala p. 34. Dated 1205/1790-1); **Munich** Cod. Zend. 72 (Bartholomae p. 289; Unvala p. 76); **Leningrad** Kokand Collection 38 fol. 141-159v (See Rosenberg's edition p. iii-x. Ms. completed 1066/1655-6); **Mashhad** Univ. 179 (Dated 18 Šafar 1268/1851); **Bombay** Brelvi p. xxix no. 16 (Dated 1095Y./1725-6); Univ. LIII(1) (Dated 18 Bahman 1164Y./1795. Final portion of printed edition, including date, missing here. Called *Maulūd i Zartusht*); **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 29 no. 49/I (Dated Bahman 1228 Y./1859); Meherji Rana p. 101 no. 125(1); Meherji Rana p. 101 no. 126; Meherji Rana p. 103 no. 136; **Cambridge** (Mass.) Harvard Pers. 16 (*Nuskah-hā* IV p. 5). Cf. Munz. VI 46575-89.

Prose paraphrase: Ms.: **Oxford** Fraser 259 (Ethé 1949).

Editions: **St. Petersburg** 1904 (*Le livre de Zoroastre (Zarātusht Nāma) de Zartusht-i Bahrām ben Pajdū publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg*. Good critical edition with extensive introduction and notes); **Tehran** 1337sh./1959 (ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī on the basis of Rosenberg's edition, with a Persian translation of his introduction). [176]

Translations: (Gujrati): Ms.: **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 76 no. 51 (Dated 10 Dai 1151Y./1782).

(English): by E.B. Eastwick apud J. Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, **Bombay** 1843, p. 477-522 (inadequate; see Rosenberg's criticism).

(French): see editions.

(German): 'Das Zarathustra-Buch, deutsch von H. Kanus-Credé', *Iranistische Mitteilungen* XI, 1977 (contains also a translation of Rempis's article).

The older literature is surveyed in Rosenberg's introduction and in *PL* I, p. 162. Add to these: C. Rempis, "Qui est l'auteur du Zartusht-Nāme?", *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, **Tehran**

1342sh./1963, p. 337-42; R. 'Afīfī's introduction to his edition of Zarātusht's *Ardā-Wirāf-nāmah*, Mashhad 1343sh./1964-5, p. 9-18; Šafā, *Tārīkh* III p. 434-47 (overlooks Rieu, Storey and Rempis and claims that 'everyone' has attributed the poem to Zarātusht b. Bahrām); J.B. Sa'īd, 'Bar-rast i chand wāzhah i Zarātusht-nāmah', *Jashn-nāmah i Muḥammad Parwīn i Gunābādī*, Tehran 1975, p. 69-77.

80. Two verses by an otherwise unknown **Kashfī** are quoted in manuscript *nūn* of *LF* (ed. Iqbāl p. 325, 519-200).

81. **Kaukabī** Marwazī is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the Ghaznavid poets, where six of his verses are quoted.

'Aufī II p. 65; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 487; Khaiyām-pūr p. 493.

82. **Kēr i Khar** ('ass's penis') is given as the author of a pair of pornographic verses quoted by Rādūyānī, p. 47.

83. A single verse by **Khabbāz Qā'inī** is quoted in *LF*, s.v. *khabīwāz*. Presumably not identical with the following. [177]

LF (ed. Iqbāl) p. 173, (ed. Muḥtabā'ī/Šādiqī) p. 115-6; *LN* s.v. 'Khabbāz' p. 239; Idārah-chī p. 33.

84. **Khabbāzī** al-Naisābūrī is included by 'Arūḍī and 'Aufī among the Samanid poets and the latter cites two of his verses. Hidāyat claims that he died in 342/953-4, but it is not known where he found this information.

'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad. loc.); 'Aufī II p. 27; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 199; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 50-1;¹ Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 438; Khaiyām-pūr p. 186-7 (with further references); *LN* s.v. 'Khabbāzī' p. 240; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; Idārah-chī p. 110-1.

85. **Khaffāf** is quoted a good number of times in Asadī's *LF* and once by Shams i Qais.

¹Ethé quoted in this connection three verses that Wālih ascribes to one Abū 'Alī b. Hakīm Khabbāz and which refer to his father, Khabbāz, as a doctor, whom Ethé equated with Khabbāzī. But Ethé retracted this suggestion in I.O. Cat. col. 444 no. 912, where it is noted that the three verses are cited also by Rāzī (Tehran edition, II p. 436).

LF passim; Shams p. 394; Khaiyām-pūr p. 193.

86. The *Tārīkh i Sīstān* (p. 315) quotes a single verse by one Abū Ḥusain al-Khārījī addressed to Mākān b. Kākī (died 329/940-1). See Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 24, 77, II p. 51.

87. Abū Sa'īd **Khaḥrīrī** is quoted several times in Asadī's *LF* (where the Mss. also have ḥşry and ḥşryr). One half-verse is quoted by Rādūyānī.

LF (see the indexes to the 3 editions); Rādūyānī p. 75.

88. **Khuḥjastah** Sarakhsī is quoted about a dozen times in Asadī's *LF*. He and the just-mentioned Khaḥrīrī are named in a poem by Sōzanī.¹

LF passim; Khaiyām-pūr p. 187; 49-50.

89. Abū Ṭāhir al-Ṭaiyib b. Muḥammad al-Khusrawānī merits a short entry in 'Aufī's chapter on [178] the Samanid poets. Shams i Qais quotes two verses of his, mocking old men who dye their beards, in which he incorporated a verse by Rōdakī. Later authors, however, turn the story around and quote two verses of Rōdakī's² with which he supposedly responded to Khusrawānī's attack. The *qit'ah* attributed to Rōdakī - and indeed the whole anecdote - is most probably spurious. They form thus a very weak basis for the contention that the two poets were contemporaries. Khusrawānī might well have lived a generation later.

LF passim; Rādūyānī p. 103-4 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 20; Shams p. 440; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 199; H. Ethé, 'Fünf Lieder Khusrawānī's und Abū Naḥr Gīlānī's', *SB München*, 1873, p. 654-8 (edition and verse translation of 13 verses from late *tadhkirahs*); *LN* s.v. 'Abū Ṭāhir' p. 557-8; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 398-9, 440-1; Khaiyām-pūr p. 191; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; G.L. Windfuhr, 'Wortmuster bei Xosravani', *ZDMG* 119, 1970, p. 229-40 (recycled in *JAOS* 109, 1989, p. 260-1); Idārah-chī p. 112-26; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū Ṭāher Xosravānī' (M. Dabīrsīāqī).

¹See below, p. 548.

²Vs. 485-6 of Nafīsī's second edition of Rōdakī's fragments, with indication of sources (all late).

90. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Khusrawī al-Sarakhsī al-Ḥakīm is frequently quoted by Asadī and Rādūyānī. 'Aufī quotes odes that he dedicated to the Buyid wazīr al-Ṣāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995) and to the Ziyarid ruler of Gurgān, Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Wushmgīr (367/978 to 402/1012). Bākhazī mentions him in connection with these same patrons and quotes a number of his Arabic verses.

Bākhazī no. 305; *LF* passim (and Horn, *Einl.* p. 18); Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes p. 124-5); Waṭwāt p. 76; 'Aufī II p. 18-19; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 433-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 191; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; Idārah-chī p. 226-37. [179]

91. Abū l-Ḥasan¹ al-Kisā'ī al-Marwazī is evidently identical with the 'ascetic' whom Bākhazī calls Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kisā'ī al-Marwazī and to whom he attributes two Arabic verses. 'Aufī devotes a long entry to him, quoting, among other things, a *qaṣīdah* in which the poet states that he was born on a Wednesday, three days before the end of Shawwāl in 341 (=16 March 953) and that at the time of the composition of the poem he had reached the age of 50, i.e. he was still alive in 391/1000-1. 'Aufī also quotes an ode in praise of 'Sultān i Ghāzī Yamīn al-daulah', i.e. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, and a religious poem in praise of 'Alī. 'Arūdī, on the other hand, includes him among the Samanid poets; if correct, this would suggest that he was patronised successively by the Samanids and Ghaznavids. The collection of his fragments by Riyāhī contains a total of 292 verses which the editor considers authentic and references to a number of spurious poems. Among the former special mention is due to a substantial poem (the first in the volume) of 50 verses quoted by Taqī Kāshī in the supplement (*tadhkīb*) to his *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* (Bankipore VIII no. 684); the authenticity of the poem is assured by the fact that two of its verses are quoted by Asadī and one by Rādūyānī. Kisā'ī is frequently mentioned in disparaging terms in the poems of Nāṣir i Khusrau (see the index to his *diwān*); however, the exchange of poems between Kisā'ī and Nāṣir quoted by Taqī (followed by Hidāyat) is manifestly spurious.

¹Thus 'Arūdī; the late *tadhkirahs* - for which see Ethé's article - call him Abū Ishāq Majd al-dīn.

Collections of fragments: H. Ethé, 'Die Lieder des Kisā'ī', *Sitzungsberichte ... München* 1874, p. 133-53 (with German 'verse' translations); [180] M.A. Riyāhī, *Kisā'ī i Marwazī. Zindagi, andīshah wa shī'r i ū*, Iran 1367sh./1989.

Bākhazī no. 288; *LF* passim (very frequently quoted; there are several new verses in the ed. Muḥtabā'ī/Ṣādiqī); Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes p. 97-8); Naṣir al-dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naqd* (ed. Muḥaddith i Urmawī, Tehran 1331sh./1952) p. 252, 628; 'Arūdī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī's notes ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 33-9 (and Nafīsī's notes in the new edition); Shams p. 272, 320; Rāzī II p. 7-9; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 482-5; *LN* s.vv. 'Abū Ishāq' p. 369-70 and 'Kisā'ī'; Khaiyām-pūr p. 485 (with further references); Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 441-9; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Ṣuwar* p. 430-3; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Idārah-chī p. 285-332; *EL*² s.v. 'Kisā'ī' (J.H. Kramers/J.T.P. de Bruijn, with further literature).

92. Labībī, whose name and place of origin are not recorded, was a contemporary of Farrukhī and 'Unṣurī, as is clear from his verses quoted by Rādūyānī:

gar Farrukhī bi-murd, chirā 'Unṣurī na-murd?

pīr-e bi-mānd dēr u jawān-e bi-raft zūd.

farzānah-e bi-raft u zi raftan-sh har ziyān,

dēwānah-e bi-mānd u zi māndan-sh hēch sūd.

('If Farrukhī has died, why hasn't 'Unṣurī died? An old man stayed long but a young man has departed quickly. A wise man departed, and from his departure comes only harm; a madman remained, and his remaining is no good to anyone').

These verses would be of considerable importance for the chronology of Persian literature in the first half of the 5th/11th century if we had reliable information about the vital statistics of any one of the three poets involved. Unfortunately, we do not. [181] Labībī is evidently the author of five verses quoted by Baihaqī referring, as the historian tells us, to an event during the reign of Mas'ūd I (though the manuscripts of Baihaqī's work give the name of the poet as 'Laithī'). Moreover, 'Aufī, in his chapter on the Ghaznavid poets, quotes a fairly long *qaṣīdah* of his in which the poet gives the *kunyah* of his patron as 'Abū l-Muẓaffar'; 'Aufī identified the latter as 'Amīr Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Nāṣir al-dīn', but this is definitely wrong (as both Bahār and Rypka/Borecký have noted, apparently independently); for one thing, Maḥmūd's brother's

name was Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf etc., and for another the poet calls his patron a 'king' (*pād-shāh*). It is thus probable that the poem was in fact addressed to the ruler of Chaghāniyān, Fakhr al-daulah Abū Muẓaffar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.¹ Whether it is in fact the work of Labībī is, however, not certain, as it is ascribed in later *tadhkirahs* to Farrukhī and has also found its way into copies of the *diwāns* of Manūchihri, Lāmi'i and Azraqī. Apart from these poems we have a good number of quotations from Labībī in the *Lughat i furs*, which cites this poet very frequently. Most of the surviving fragments are from invectives and a large portion of them are vehemently pornographic.

Collections of fragments: J. Rypka and M. Borecký, 'Labībī', *Archiv Orientální* 14, 1943, p. 261-307 (a critical edition and German translation of the fragments); M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, *Labībī wa ash'ar i ū*, Tehran, 1332sh./1953 (first published in *Mihr* VIII, 1331sh./1952, p. 310-2, 367-71, 650-3 [182] and again reprinted in the first instalment of his *Ganj i bāz-yāftah*, Tehran, 1334sh./1955, p. 1-34.)

LF passim (two new fragments in ed. Muḥtabā'i/Ṣādiqī p. 97, 132); Rādūyānī p. 32 (and Ateş ad loc.); Baihaqī p. 73-4; 'Aufī II p. 40-1; Saif Harawī p. 510 (two verses); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 494 (Labībī) and 445-6 (the poem he attributes to Farrukhī); *Diwān i Farrukhī*, ed. 'A. 'Abd al-Rasūlī, Tehran 1311sh./1932-3, p. 5 of the introduction; M.T. Bahār, '*Qasīdah i Labībī*', *Āyandah* III, 1306sh./1927, p. 151-7 (an edition of the one long ode; reprinted in the *LN* article); *LN* s.v. 'Labībī'; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 547-50; Khayām-pūr p. 500; *EI*² s.v. 'Labībī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn).

93. Lāmi'i Dihistānī,² or Gurgānī,³ is listed by 'Arūqī among the panegyrists of the Seljuqs. There are three poems in his *diwān* praising a king named Nōshirwān, or, as one verse⁴ has it, '*mīr Fakhr al-daulah Nōshirwān, khudāwand i jahān*', evidently the Ziyarid ruler of his native Gurgān, (A)nōshirwān b. Manūchihri, who occupied his throne under the

¹Thus already Hidāyat p. 445, who calls the dedicatee 'Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥtāj i Chaghānī' but attributes the ode to Farrukhī. Bosworth, *Iran* XIX, 1981, p. 12, considers the possibility that the poet's patron was Abū l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Nāṣir al-dīn, another brother of Maḥmūd's, but was he a '*pād-shāh*'?

²Thus 'Arūqī.

³Shams; Jājarmī ('Lāmi'i al-Jurjānī').

⁴Ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī, no. 80, v. 977.

uneasy tutelage of the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs from around 420/1029 to perhaps as late as 441/1049-50.¹ He would appear to have been Lāmi'i's first patron. Afterwards he entered the service of the Seljuqs, praising their two well-known wazīrs, 'Amīd al-mulk Abū Naṣr al-Kundurī (who served Toghril and was eliminated shortly after the succession of Alp Arslān) and Niẓām al-mulk, as well as the latter's master, Alp Arslān (455/1063 to 465/1072).

Neither of two oldest *tadhkirahs* (those of 'Aufī and Daulat-shāh) devotes an entry to this [183] poet. The latter does, however, mention one Lāmi'i Bukhārī among the pupils of Sōzanī. If this is true, we must surely have two poets with the same name. The authors of the later *tadhkirahs* evidently confused the two: Ādhar makes Lāmi'i a pupil of Muḥammad al-Ghazālī and says that he died in Samarqand. Hidāyat repeats this last piece of information and adds that his death occurred during the reign of Sanjar (511/1118 to 552/1157), which is much too late, at least as far as our poet is concerned.

The hitherto recorded dated manuscripts of his *diwān* are without exception late. Apart from those listed by Munzawī (III 25647-58) we could mention: **London** Or. 2889 fol. 10-24a (Rieu Suppt. no. 212 II. Completed 28 Jumādā I 1293/1876); R.A.S. Storey bequest no. 3, fol. 156b-175a (Uncatalogued; inspexi. This *diwān* is added by a second hand to an older codex and dated 1269/1852-3); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.88 pp. 144-179 (Dated 1266/1849-50); **Leningrad** Univ. 941* (Salemman-Rosen p. 15); Univ. 1003c (Romaskewicz p. 87).

Selections: **Berlin** Sprenger 1378 fol. 379b sq. (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabī' II 1270/1854).

Editions: **Tehran** 1295/1878; 1319sh./1931 (ed. S. Nafīsī); 1353sh./1964-5 (ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī); reprinted 2335sh.sh./1976-7.

LF (one verse in ed. Muḥtabā'i/Ṣādiqī p. 30-1; there is another verse in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn*, ed. Iqbāl p. 420); 'Arūqī p. 28; Shams p. 335, 360; Jājarmī I p. 142-3; Yaghma'i p. 93-5; Daulat-shāh p. 102; Ādhar p. 160-2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 494-501; *LN* s.v. 'Lāmi'i' p. 74-6 (S. Nafīsī); Khayām-pūr p. 499-500; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II⁶ p. 386-98; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Ṣuwar* p. 641-8; *EI*² s.v. 'Lāmi'i' (J.W. Clinton). [184]

¹Cf. C.E. Bosworth, 'On the chronology of the Ziyārids in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān', *Der Islam* XL, 1964, p. 25-34.

94. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (or probably better, Ghazwānī) al-Laukarī¹ is credited by 'Aufī with 14 verses in praise of the Samanid Nūḥ (II) b. Maṣṣūr and with three addressed to his wazīr 'Ubaid Allāh b. Aḥmad al-'Utbī (367/977-8 to 372/982-3).

'Aufī II p. 15; Shams p. 231, 233 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Ḥasan' p. 412; Khayyām-pūr p. 419; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 421-2; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Idārah-chī p. 131-2.

95. A single verse by one Maḥmūdī is quoted in *LF* s.v. *kasak* (or *kashak*) (ed. Horn p. 69; ed. Iqbāl p. 297; also in *Šihāh* p. 185). Horn identified this poet with Zainabī Maḥmūdī (below, p. 239), but this is only a guess.

96. Maisarī² is the author of a medical poem of some 5000 verses in *hazaj* metre (inc. *ba nām i pāk i dādār i jahān ast * kih bakhshāyā u dānā i nihān ast*). Nothing is known of him except what can be deduced from that work, the title of which is given in the text (twice) as *Dānish-nāmah*, in the colophon, however, as *Kitāb i Maṣṣūrī ba nazm*; the latter title would seem to imply that the poem is based on the well-known medical compendium *al-Kitāb al-maṣṣūrī* of Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā' al-Rāzī, but there seems to be nothing in the text to support this. The title given in the colophon is thus probably spurious. The author tells us that he began his poem in Shawwāl 367/978 and completed it in 370/980-1 when he was more than 46 years old, thus indicating that he was born about 324/936. [185] The work is dedicated to one 'Nāṣir i Daulat', evidently the governor of Khurāsān, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmjur, who received the title *Nāṣir al-daulah* after the ascension of the Samanid Nūḥ (II) b. Maṣṣūr in 365/975-6.

Ms.: Paris Ancien fonds 310 (Blochet 818/Richard. Dated 3 Rabī' II 852/1448).

¹Thus 'Aufī. Shams calls him Ghazwānī Laukarī (p. 231) or simply Ghazwānī (p. 233). Ghazwān is the name of a quarter in Herat, but it is also a personal name, thus Ghazwānī could simply mean 'descendant of a certain Ghazwān'. Laukar is a locality near Marw.

²This reading of the name (or perhaps Maisirī?), rather than the expected Muya-sarī, is assured by the metre.

Edition: Tehran 1366sh./1987 (non vidi). Partial edition and French translation in Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 163-80, II p. 178-94.

Cf.: *PL* II p. 200; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 36-40; J. Matīnī, 'Dar bārah i dānish-nāmah i Maisarī', *MDAM* VIII, 1351sh./1972, p. 593-628; Gh. Yūsufī, 'Dānish-nāmah i Maisarī', *Rah-nimā i kitāb* VII, 1343sh./1964, p. 283-8.

97. Abū l-Muzaḥaffar Makkī b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Panjhūrī¹ is included by 'Aufī among the poets of the Ghaznavids.

Rādūyānī p. 69 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 46; Rāzī (Calcutta edition p. 38-9); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 66; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Muzaḥaffar' p. 843, 848; Khayyām-pūr p. 23.

98. Ma'nawī Bukhārī is credited with four gnomic verses in 'Aufī's chapter on the Samanid poets.

'Aufī II p. 27; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 510; Ethé, *Vorl.* p. 49-50; Khayyām-pūr p. 554; Idārah-chī p. 39.

99. Abū Sa'īd² Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manshūrī al-Samarqandī is included by 'Arūḍī and 'Aufī among the Ghaznavid poets. 'Aufī quotes, among [186] other things, an ode to Sulṭān Maḥmūd; a fuller version of the same poem is quoted by Jājarmī and Hidāyat and five verses from it can be found already in Rādūyānī.³ Another long ode to Maḥmūd is quoted in the old *jung* published by Yaghmā'ī. Presumably the same Manshūrī is the author of two verses quoted in the Punjab and Tehran (Malik) manuscripts of *LF* s.v. *haft-ōrang* (the second verse is also in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn*). Waṭwāṭ reports that in his *Kanz al-gharā'ib* Aḥmad Manshūrī collected artificial poems of the type called *mutalawwin*, which, if vocalised differently, can be scanned in two different metres.

¹In Rādūyānī: Makkī i Panjhūrī. 'Aufī gives the name as above except that Browne (following Ms. E) omits the first *yā'* of the *nisbah*; Ms. S has al-Panjhūr. Rāzī (followed by Hidāyat) gives the name as Abū l-Muzaḥaffar Ibrāhīm only.

²Thus in Ms. S of 'Aufī and in Hidāyat. Ms. E - followed in Browne's edition - has Abū Sa'd.

³More precisely: one of the verses cited by Rādūyānī on p. 64 occurs also in Jājarmī's and Hidāyat's versions, the two verses on p. 88 occur in 'Aufī and Hidāyat (but not in Jājarmī) and the other two on p. 64 are found only in Rādūyānī.

LF (ed. Iqbāl p. 292; ed. Muṣṭabāʾi/Šādiqī p. 21); Rādūyānī p. 64, 88 (and Ateş's notes p. 140); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Waṭwāt p. 55; 'Aufī II p. 44-6; Jājarmī II p. 459-61;¹ Yaghmāʾī p. 118-22; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 506; LN s.v. 'Abū Saʿīd' p. 508, and 'Aḥmad' p. 1273, 1356; Šafā I⁶ p. 553-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 566.

100. Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī al-Manṭiqī al-Rāzī, known as Mōrd² ('myrtle', or perhaps rather Muwarrīd?) eulogised the Būyid wazīr of Rai al-Šāḥib Ismāʿīl b. 'Abbād (367/977-8 to 385/995).

Collection of fragments and French translation: G. Lazard, 'Le poète Manteqī de Rey', *Mélange d'iranologie en mémoire de feu Sāid Naficy* (=MDAT XIX/1-2), Tehran 1972, p. 56-82 of the Latin script section; see also Idārah-chī p. 162-7. [187]

Bairūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir fī maʿrifat al-jawāhir*, ed. Krenkow, Hyderabad 1355/1936-7, p. 81 (one verse by 'Maṣṣūr Mōrd'; not in Lazard); LF (ed. Iqbāl) passim (quoted only in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn*); Rādūyānī p. 53, 55 (and Ateş's notes, p. 133); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Waṭwāt p. 4, 47, 83; 'Aufī II p. 16-8; Shams p. 275, 308; Jājarmī II p. 464-3; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 508-9; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 431-3; Khaiyām-pūr p. 568.

101. Abū l-Najm Aḥmad b. Qaus b. Aḥmad al-Dāmghānī, known as Manūchihri (or Minōchihri),³ flourished under the Ghaznavid Masʿūd I (421/1030 to 432/1040), to whom a large portion of his surviving poems is dedicated. His earliest patron, the one to whom he owed his pen-name, appears to have been the Ziyarid Falak al-Maʿālī Manūchihri b. Qābūs (402/1012 to 420 or 421/1029), who is identified in the supercriptions in at least some of the manuscripts as the dedicatee of poems no. 27 and 31 of Dabīr-Siyāqī's edition. Admittedly, the name of this prince is not actually mentioned in the odes in question. However, in one of the poems written after his arrival in Ghaznah, Manūchihri

¹'Manthūri' is a typographical error for Maṣṣūrī; see the *ghalaṭ-nāmah*.

²Thus 'Aufī.

³Neo-Persian Manūchihri is the etymologically correct continuation of Avestan *Manuš.ēθra-*, 'of the seed of Manush'. But at an early date popular etymology re-interpreted the name as *Mī/inō-chihri*, 'heavenly-faced', frequently spelt *my-*. Cf. Justi p. 191-3.

alludes to his previous service 'in Rai and Gurgān',¹ which would certainly seem to suggest that he had been at the court of one or another of the Ziyarids.² Two of his poems (no. 13, 48) are dedicated to Khwājah (Abū) Ṭāhir, who was Masʿūd's [188] *kad-khudā* in Rai for a short period in 423 to 424 (1032-3), and it was evidently after serving this representative of the Ghaznavids in Rai that our poet betook himself to the court of the king himself. In one place,³ in fact, he claims that Masʿūd had brought him from Rai on an elephant, but this must perhaps be taken with a pinch of salt. There is in any case no evidence that Manūchihri entered the service of the Ghaznavids before the time of Masʿūd,⁴ and no indication that he outlived that ruler. The *tadhkirahs* give the date of his death as 432/1040-1, 439/1047-8, or as late as 483/1090.⁵

Apart from *qaṣīdahs* and the usual shorter poems Manūchihri's *diwān* contains eleven celebrated *musammaṣs*. He has been admired in particular for his description of nature.

Manuscripts of his *diwān* are frequent, but overwhelmingly late (19th or 20th century), and it is on these modern copies that the existing editions are based. There is, however, an as yet unused manuscript in Tehran dated 1010/1601-2⁶ as well as a few fairly old manuscripts with more or less extensive selections from the poems. (Blochet's 16th century dating of the Paris manuscript needs closer scrutiny). That the vulgate text is, nonetheless, [189] not all that bad can be seen from the fairly close agreement between the text given by Dabīr-Siyāqī for the first strophe of his poem no. 58 with the version quoted by Rādūyānī, p. 105.

¹No. 34, five verses from the end (reference supplied by A.H. Morton).

²Clinton, p. 23-5, takes a hypercritical view of the link between Manūchihri and the Ziyarids, but appears to have overlooked the verse just mentioned.

³No. 34, twelve verses from end.

⁴'Aufī quotes two verses which he says are from an ode in praise of 'Sulṭān Yamīn al-daulah', i.e. Maḥmūd, but in the *diwān* they are found in a poem (no. 17) which, according to the superscription, was addressed to Masʿūd, and the historical allusions in the poem prove that this is correct.

⁵Thus Taqī, apud Sprenger p. 15.

⁶Curiously, Sprenger recorded the same date for the manuscript formerly in the library of the king of Oudh, in Lucknow, adding that it had 188 pages (the Tehran catalogue records 180 pages). Are the two manuscripts perhaps identical? Or was one copied, colophon and all, from the other?

Mss.: **London** Or. 2844 (Rieu Suppt. no. 206. Dated 1274/1857-8); Or. 2889 fol. 75b-119a (Rieu Suppt. no. 212 V. Completed 28 Jumādā I 1293/1876); R.A.S. Storey bequest no. 3, fol. 96b-155b (Uncatalogued; inspexi. Contains the *qaṣṣā'id* and the 7th, 3rd, 1st and the beginning of the 2nd *musammaṭāt* of Dabīr-Siyāqī's edition, breaking off in the middle of latter); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.1 (Dated 1290/1873); Browne Coll. V.2 (Dated 22 Muḥarram 1295/1878. *qaṣṣā'id* only); **Paris** Supplément 725 II (Blochet 1206. 16th century?); **Leningrad** Univ. 1004 (Romaskewicz p. 8. Dated 1271/1854-5); Univ. 1276 (Tagirdzhanov p. 6); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 917 (=Halis Ef. 1647. Ateş 10. Dated 20 Dhū l-hijjah 1285/1869); **Baku** I 338 (Dated 1260/1844); I 339 (Dated 1274/1857-8); **Tehran** Univ. XIV 4669 (Dated 1010/1601-2, with an introduction); Majlis 4906 (Munz. 26235 inspexit. Dated 1260/1844); Shūrā i Islāmī I 91 p. 1-63; **Sari** Shihāb Collection (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 621. Dated 1209/1794-5); **Qum** Mar'ashī V 1930; **Mashhad** Univ. 157, 158, 159; **Lahore** Univ. II p. 134 (Dated 1249/1833-4. See *OCM* III/2, 1927, p.74); **Bankipore** I 14 (19th century); I 15 (19th century); **Hyderabad** Āsafiyah I p. 734 no. 309; **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 188 (modern); **Lucknow** Sprenger 349 (Dated 1010/1601-2). A large number of late manuscripts are listed by Munzawī (III 26230-91) and in Dabīr-Siyāqī's introduction.

Selected poems: **London** Or. 2880 fol. 118b-140a (Rieu Suppt. no. 224 II. Completed Jumādā I 1245/1829. A selection of *qaṣṣā'id* only); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.65 no. 36 (Anthology dated 27 Ramaḍān 827/1424); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 1s v sq. (Modern); **Tehran** Malik (Dated Rabī' I 1011/1602, according to Dabīr-Siyāqī's introduction, p. vii); Majlis VIII 2326 (17th century?). [190]

Editions: **Tehran** 1285/1868-9; 1290/1873; 1295/1878; 1297/1880; 1301/1883-4; 1326sh./1948 (Ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī); reprinted¹ 1338sh./1959, 1347sh./1968. **Paris** 1886 (*Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11^{ème} siècle de notre ère (du 5^{ème} de l'hégire). Texte, traduction, notes et introduction historique par A. de Biberstein Kazimirski*). The same scholar had previously published a *Spécimen du Divan ... de Menoutchehri*, Versailles 1876.

Translations (French prose): See editions, Paris.

¹Apparently with revision. Only the first version of Dabīr-Siyāqī's edition is available to me.

LF passim; Rādūyānī p. 104-5 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Arūdī p. 28; Waṭwāt p. 10, 63; Shams passim; 'Aufī II p. 53-5; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, p. 477; Jājarmī II p. 542-52 (two poems); Daulat-shāh p. 40-2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 542-70; M. Qazwīnī, 'Manūchihrī', *Yādgar* I/2 p. 52-75; V.F. Blücher, 'Minūchihrī, ein Hofdichter Mas'ud's von Ghazna', *Acta Orientalia* I, 1923, p. 135-47; Hadi Hasan, 'The poetry of Minuchihri' in his *Studies in Persian literature*, first series, Aligarh 1924, p. 159-204; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 580-97; Khaiyām-pūr p. 570; M. 'Abd al-Mu'nim, 'Ta'thīr i zabān wa adabiyāt i 'arab dar ash'ār i M.', *Āryānā* XXIV, 1345sh./1966, p. 229-54; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 1-180; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 498-525; W. al-Kīk, *Ta'thīr i farhang i 'arab dar ash'ār i Manūchihrī i Dāmghānī*, Beyrouth 1971; J.W. Clinton, *The Divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghānī A critical study*, Minneapolis 1972; M.C. Hillmann, 'Manūchihrī: poet or versifier?', *Edebiyāt* I, 1976, p. 93-112; W.L. Hanaway, 'Blood and wine: sacrifice in M.'s wine poetry', *Iran* XXVI, 1988, p. 69-80; H.-'A. Mallāh, *Manūchihrī i Dāmghānī wa mūstafā*, Tehran 1363sh./1984; T. H. Subhānī, 'Du qaṣṣdah i tāzah az Manūchihrī', *Nāmwarah i Duktur Maḥmūd i Afshār* IV, Tehran 1367sh./1989, p. 2301-8 [191] (two poems from an old anthology, one not in the printed *dīwān*, the other Dabīr-Siyāqī's no. 39 with variants); A.D.H. Bivar, 'Manūchihrī's Māzandarān ode: an English version', *JRAS* 1990 p. 55-63; J.S. Meisami, 'Ghaznavid panegyrics: some political implications', *Iran* XXVIII, 1990, p. 31-44 (contains a commentary on poem no. 17); *EF*² s.v. 'Manūchihrī' (J.W. Clinton).

102. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ma'rūfī al-Balkhī is credited by 'Aufī with two verses from an ode which he says were dedicated to the Samanid ruler 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ b. Naṣr (343/954-5 to 350/961). Moreover, Dih-khudā¹ refers to an unpublished source which has him recite an ode in the presence of the ruler of Sīstān, Khalaf b. Aḥmad (died 399/1008-9).

Collection of fragments (45 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 31, 128-33, II p. 132-8.

LF passim; Rādūyānī p. 44; 'Aufī II p. 16; Shams passim; Jājarmī II p. 953; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 505; Khaiyām-pūr p. 551.

¹LN s.v. 'Abū 'Abd Allāh' p. 608.

103. **Marwārīdī** is credited with a single verse in *LF*, s.v. *lāmāh*.

104. Abū l-Faḍl **Masrūr** b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāliqānī is known to us only from the verses quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the Ghaznavid poets. These include a *qaṣīdah* of fifteen verses in praise of the wazīr Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan.

'Aufī II p. 42-4; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 576-7; Khayyām-pūr p. 537.

105. **Mas'ūdī** al-Marwazī is the author of the earliest known versification of the *Shāh-nāmāh* (inc. *nakhushtīn Gayyūmart āmad ba shāhī * ba gēti* [192] *dar girift-ash pēsh-gāhī*).¹ Two fragments of his poem are quoted in the *Kitāb al-bad' wa l-tārīkh* of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī,² a work written in about 355/966, which is thus the *terminus ad quem* of our poet. It is however likely, as Lazard has argued, that he wrote well before the time of al-Maqdisī, perhaps towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. Judging from these fragments and from the references in Tha'ālībī's *Ghurār mulūk al-furs*³ his poem encompassed the whole of the legendary history of the Iranians from Gayōmart to the fall of the Sasanian empire.

Collection of fragments (3 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 22, 73, II p. 47; see also Idārah-chī p. 20-2.

106. **Mas'ūd**⁴ or **Mas'ūdī**⁵ al-Rāzī⁶ served at the court of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. Baihaqī relates how, during the Mihragān festival in 430/1039,⁷

¹The second *miṣrā'* according to Qazwīnī's emendation; in the manuscript used by Huart the verse reads *nakhushtīn Kayōmarth āmad ba shāhī * girift-ash ba gēti darūn pēsh-gāhī*, which scans as *mutaqārib muthamman sālim*. However, since the other two verses quoted by Muṭahhar are clearly *hazaj musaddas maḥdhaf* the emendation of the first *bait* is unavoidable. (Differently J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, '*Prāmān i wazn i Shāh-nāmāh*', *Irān-shināst* II, 1369sh./1990, p. 46-76). It might be noted that there are other manuscripts of Muṭahhar's work (cf. Sezgin I p. 337).

²Ed. Huart, Paris 1899-1919, III p. 138, 173 of the Arabic section.

³Ed. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, p. 10, 388.

⁴Thus Baihaqī, 'Aufī, Waṭwāt, Rāzī.

⁵*LF*, Rādūyānī, 'Arūḍī, Hidāyat; it is possible, as Qazwīnī suggested, that both forms are correct, in other words that the poet's *ism* was Mas'ūd, his *takhalluṣ* Mas'ūdī, i.e. 'eulogist of Sulṭān Mas'ūd'.

⁶'Aufī, and the later *tadhkirahs*.

⁷Baihaqī gives the date of the incident as Tuesday 27 Dhū l-ḥijjah 430. According

he [193] incurred the wrath of his royal patron and was exiled to India on account of two verses in which he warned of the growing power of the king's enemies, comparing these with ants (*mār*) who had turned into serpents (*mār*). According to the same historian the king pardoned Mas'ūd on the following Nau-rōz (6 March 1040).¹ He is presumably identical with the 'Mas'ūdī i Ghaznawī' cited in *LF* s.v. *warraḥān* (or *warraḥān*) and by Rādūyānī p. 38. 'Aufī gives us further samples of his verse. Hidāyat's statement that our author was a leading Shiite religious scholar cannot be traced to any early source, and seems in any case most improbable.

Baihaqī p. 594, 611; *LF* (see the indexes to the three editions; Horn, *Einl.* p. 28 wrongly identifies our poet with Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān, for whom see *infra*, no. 240); Rādūyānī p. 36, 38 (and Ateş's notes, p. 125-6); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Waṭwāt p. 27 (and Iqbāl ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 63; Rāzī III p. 38-9; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 503; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 555-7; Khayyām-pūr p. 538.

107. A single verse is attributed to one Abū l-Qāsim **Mu'addib**² in Asadī's *LF* (ed. Iqbāl p. 317, ed. Muṭabā'ī/Ṣādiqī p. 177).

108. **Muḥammad** b. 'Abdih³ was a secretary to one of the Qarakhanids and a contemporary of Maḥmūd. [194] 'Arūḍī praises the style of his letters. Rādūyānī quotes four of his verses; two of these (which in turn incorporate an explicit quotation from Khusrawānī) occur also in a fragment of five lines which 'Aufī⁴ (and later authors) ascribe to Fir-

to Wüstenfeld's tables this would correspond to 19 September 1039, which, however, was a Wednesday. The correct equivalent is thus Tuesday, 18 September 1039, and the latter corresponds exactly to the date of Mihragān, i.e. to 16 Mihr 408 Yazd.

¹It was evidently on this occasion that Manūchihri composed his ode (no. 17 of Dabir-Siyāqī's edition) commemorating Mas'ūd's skirmish with the Qarakhanid Böritigin in Rabi' I 430/1038. In this poem Manūchihri refers to Böritigin precisely as a 'serpent' (*mār*), evidently an allusion to the verses of his rehabilitated colleague. See Meisami's discussion of the poem (cited above, p. 191). The two verses quoted by Baihaqī are cited also by Rādūyānī (p. 36) and Ṣādiqī (p. 199, anonymously).

²*Shihāh* p. 205 calls him Abū l-Qāsim Mu'adhhdhin.

³In Rādūyānī fol. 269b vocalised 'Abdah, doubtless the then current pronunciation in Persian.

⁴II p. 33.

dausi. Obviously, the attribution to Muḥammad is supported not only by the greater antiquity of Rādūyānī, but also by the fact that, as the less famous poet, he is also less likely to have had stray verses wrongly attached to his name.

Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes p. 100-1); 'Arūdī p. 13, 24 (and Qazwīnī's notes); Waṭwāt p. 78; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 439-41; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14.

109. **Muḥammad** b. Mukhallad is mentioned by the author of the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* in the same context as Muḥammad b. Waṣīf¹ and Bassām i Kūrd.²

Collection of fragments (3 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 19, 58, II p. 17.

Tārīkh i Sīstān p. 212; Meier, *Mahsat* p. 11.

110. Abū 'Abd Allāh **Muḥammad** b. Šālīḥ flourished under the Samanids, according to 'Aufī, who quotes four of his verses. His *nisbah* is given in the printed text of 'Aufī's *Lubāb* as al-Walwālījī,³ but by Hidāyat, who refers explicitly to 'Aufī as his source, as Nawā'ihī. Qazwīnī⁴ equated him with the poet mentioned by Manūčihīrī⁵ in a list of ancient poets as *an-ki āmad az Nawā'ihī*.⁶ It is [195] therefore likely, as Qazwīnī argued, that Nawā'ihī is the correct reading.

'Aufī II p. 22; id., *Jawāmi'* (facsimile) p. 352-3 (no. 1124); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 501; Bahār I p. 425; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 421; Khaiyām-pūr p. 523; Idārah-chī p. 47-8.

111. **Muḥammad** b. Waṣīf composed, according to the author of the *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, the first Persian poem in quantitative metre, namely an ode in honour of Ya'qūb b. Laith, probably at about the time when

¹Below, p. 195.

²Above, p. 103.

³'Aufī repeats the anecdote in his *Jawāmi'* *al-hikāyat*, where the poet is called <Abū> 'Abd Allāh b. Šālīḥ, without *nisbah*.

⁴In his edition of 'Arūdī p. 127 n. 4.

⁵*Diwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī p. 113.

⁶Variant: *Lawā'ihī*; the reading adopted by Dabīr-Siyāqī, *an-ki az Walwālījī āmad*, is a conjecture!

the latter captured Herat in 253/867. Another poem bemoans the death of 'Amr b. Laith and alludes to the events of 296-7/909-10.

Collection of fragments (23 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 18, 54-6, II p. 13-15.

Tārīkh i Sīstān p. 209-10, 253, 260, 286; Meier, *Mahsat* p. 10-11; S.M. Stern, Minorsky Volume p. 546-8; ; Bosworth, *Saffarids* p. 174-7, 222 fn. 670; *Et*² s.v. 'Muḥammad b. Waṣīf' (C.E. Bosworth)

112. Abū Sharīf¹ Aḥmad b. 'Alī **Mukhalladī**² Jurjānī is, according to 'Arūdī and 'Aufī, the name of the author of two verses stating that all that remains of the glory of the Sasanians and the Samanids is the praise bestowed upon them by Bārbad and Rōdakī respectively; he must therefore have lived after the fall of Samanids.³ Rādūyānī [196] quotes a translation by him of a prophetic *ḥadīth* and this is followed by further translations (not specifically attributed, but perhaps also by Mukhalladī) of a series of sayings by 'Alī. One verse by 'Bū Sharīf' is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF* s.v. *bīnī*, and the same verse is quoted in *Šihāḥ* p. 299 as the work of 'Mujalladī'. 'Mujalladī' is also quoted six times in the marginal additions to manuscript *nūn* of *LF* and four connected verses are cited in *Šihāḥ* (p. 46).

LF passim; Rādūyānī p. 119-21 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Arūdī p. 27 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufī I p. 13-4; *LV* s.v. 'Aḥmad' p. 1245 and 'Abū Sharīf' p. 539; S. Nafīsī, *'Mukhalladī i Gurgānī'*, *MDAT* IV/1, 1335sh./1956, p. 18-22; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 557-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 93, 529

113. al-Adīb Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-**Mukhtār** was a contemporary, and evidently also a friend, of Bākhazī (died 467/1075),

¹Thus 'Aufī. 'Arūdī calls him 'Sharīf Mujalladī Gurgānī'.

²Thus pointed (one dot over the *khā* and a dot under the *dal muhmal*) in Rādūyānī fol. 281b. The other sources fluctuate between 'Mukhalladī' and 'Mujalladī'.

³Arabic verses to the same effect are quoted (in all cases anonymously) by 'Aufī (I p. 13: two verses), Zahīrī (p. 29: four verses) and Rāwandī (*Rāḥat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, p. 62: three verses). Qazwīnī (ad Juwainī I p. 163) says that one of the verses - but not the one mentioning Rōdakī - occurs also in a *qaṣīdah* by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā al-Ghazzī, who died in 524/1129-30; see Qazwīnī ad 'Arūdī p. 100-1 and *Et*² *Suppl.* s.v. 'Ghazzī' (C.E. Bosworth). As long as the authorship of the Arabic verses is not established the question must remain open as to whether the Persian verses are translated from the Arabic or vice versa.

who quotes, among many other samples of his Arabic poetry, three verses dedicated to Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Ghushn. Two of these are quoted also by 'Aufī in the first entry of his chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs. There is a lacuna at the beginning of this entry in the manuscripts used by Browne, who supplied the missing name of the author as Bahramī; this is doubtless wrong. The Arabic verses are - as mentioned - by Mukhtār and he must consequently be the author of the five Persian verses quoted there as well. According to Iqbāl the author of the '*Tadhkirah* i 'Arafāt'¹ states explicitly that Muḥammad 'Aufī ascribes the last of these verses to Adīb Mukhtār; it is thus clear that the name Mukhtār still stood in the manuscript of 'Aufī's work available to that author. The same verse occurs already in 'Arūḍī, who says [197] that it was recited by Burhānī at the time when he gave over his position as poet-laureate to his son Mu'izzī,² whereby 'Arūḍī seems to imply that the verse is in fact by Burhānī. If this is true Mukhtār must have quoted it in his own *qiṭ'ah*, though it is just as likely that Burhānī was in fact quoting Mukhtār. Daulat-shāh³ and other late authors ascribe the same verse to Nizām al-mulk.

Bākhazī no. 488; 'Aufī II p. 68; Iqbāl's introduction to his edition of the *dīwān* of Mu'izzī, Tehran 1318sh./1939, p. ii-vi.

114. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī al-ma'rūf bi-Munjīk⁴ flourished at the court of the Āl i Muḥtāj, the rulers of Chaghāniyān,⁵ just to the north of his birthplace, Tirmidh, on the Amū Daryā. 'Aufī quotes an ode to 'Abū l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. al-Faḍl, a form which represents a contamination of the names of Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. al-Faḍl (died 381/991) and of his successor Abū l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. That the poem was in fact dedicated to the latter is clear

¹ Perhaps meaning the '*Arafāt al-ʿarīfīn* of Aḥadī??

² See above, p. 104.

³ P. 59.

⁴ In the *Tarjumān al-balāghah* regularly vocalised m^unjyk. His sobriquet appears to be derived by means of the Eastern Iranian *nishbah* suffix *-chik* from the *munj*, 'bee', a derivation suggested by the poet himself in a verse quoted by Asadī to illustrate that word: *har chand ḥaqīr-am sukhan-am ʿālī u shīrīn * ārē, ʿasal i shīrīn n-āyad magar az munj*, 'Although I am lowly, my words are elevated and sweet; indeed, sweet honey comes only from bees'.

⁵ For these see C.E. Bosworth, 'The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times', *Iran* XIX, 1981, p. 1-20.

from the fuller version of it quoted by Hidāyat¹ and in an early *jung*,² where the poet addresses his patron as '*Abū l-Muẓaffar Shāh i zamīn*'.³ The same [198] patron is addressed as '*Abū l-Muẓaffar Shāh i Chaghāniyān Aḥmad*' in three verses of Munjīk's quoted by Rādūyānī.⁴ On the other hand, in Asadī's *Lughat i furs* we find a verse which several of the manuscripts⁵ state was recited by 'Shahīd', mocking Munjīk in the presence of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, as well as two verses by Munjīk himself⁶ which are clearly his reply to the attack. Shahīd al-Balkhī died, of course, long before the time of Maḥmūd; it is however not impossible that Munjīk attended the court of that ruler and engaged there in a slang-matching match with some poet whom the copyists confused with Shahīd. Munjīk is one of the poets most frequently quoted by Asadī and Rādūyānī and thus clearly enjoyed a considerable reputation up to a century after his own time. Many of his surviving verses (like those of Labībī) are of a satirical and decidedly scatological vein.

LF passim; Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes, p. 93); Waṭwāt p. 39, 49, 74; 'Aufī II p. 13-14; Shams p. 324, 346, 351; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 506-8; LN s.v. 'Munjīk' (Dh. Ṣafā); Ṣafā I⁶ p. 424-8; Khayyām-pūr p. 566 (with further references); Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Shafīʿī-Kadkanī, *Shuwar* p. 434-8; Idārah-chī p. 184-224. [199]

115. Abū l-Ḥusain (or al-Ḥasan) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Murādī exercised his poetic talents mainly in Arabic. Thaʿālibī, in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*,⁷ quotes some two dozen of his Arabic verses, including

¹ *Majma'* I p. 508, with the erroneous statement that the patron was in fact Ṭāhir b. Ḥusain Sistānī.

² Yaghmāʿī p. 116-8.

³ Thus Yaghmāʿī p. 117. Hidāyat has ...*shāh i jahān*.

⁴ P. 58. A longer version of the poem can be found, once again, in Hidāyat, who calls its dedicatee 'Abū Muẓaffar Malik Aḥmad Ṣaffārī', the last word evidently a misreading of 'Ṣaghānī', the Arabicised version of Chaghānī. The verse would seem to decide the question of Abū l-Muẓaffar's personal name: it was Aḥmad and not Muḥammad (as 'Utbī has it; cf. Bosworth, op. cit., p. 11).

⁵ Ms. *stn* and in the margin of Ms. '*ain* (ed. Iqbāl p. 273) as well as in *Shihāḥ* (p. 174-5) all s.v. *bulkanjak*. The verse is also quoted, and attributed to Shahīd, but without the connection to Munjīk and Maḥmūd, in the Vatican Ms. under the same lemma. Lazard includes the verse among the fragments of Shahīd as no. 93.

⁶ Quoted in Ms. *stn* s.v. *bulkanjak* and the marginal additions to Ms. *nūn* s.v. *manjak* (see ed. Iqbāl p. 272).

⁷ IV p. 12-13.

a fragment of an ode to Naṣr (II) b. Aḥmad (301/914 to 331/943) and verses which he is said to have recited just before his death to al-Jaiḥānī (who served as wazīr during the early part of Naṣr's reign).¹ Rōdākī wrote an elegy on his death.

Collection of Persian fragments (2 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 23, 76, II p. 50. See also: A. Ḥabīb-allāhī, 'Murādī, az mu'āṣirān i Rūdākī', *Farkhundah Payām* 1360sh./1981 p. 288-301.

116. A single verse by one **Muraṣṣaʿī** is quoted in *LF* s.v. *parwāzah*.

117. Abū Ṭaiyib Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Muṣ'abī was a high-ranking official in the service of the Samanid ruler Naṣr (II) b. Aḥmad (301/914 to 331/943), rising to the rank of wazīr before his eventual execution. It has been suggested that he had sympathies with the Ismāʿīlīs. A verse of his is quoted in the anonymous Ismāʿīlī commentary on the *qaṣīdah* of Abū l-Haitham Gurgānī.² His fragments include what seems to be a complete poem on the vanity of the world.³ [200]

Collection of fragments (16 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 23, 74-5, II p. 48-9.

Baihaqī p. 107; Rādūyānī p. 7; 'Aufī II p. 7; Gardēzī, *Zain al-akhbār* (ed. M. Nāzim, Berlin 1928) p. 32; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah* IV p. 12-13, 15-16; Yāqūt, *Buldān* I p. 619-20.

118. An otherwise unknown **Muwaqqarī** is the author of a 'long' *qaṣīdah* of which Rādūyānī (p. 106) quotes the first four verses.

119. **Muẓaffarī** Panjdihī Marwī⁴ is included by 'Arūḍī and 'Aufī (who quotes a dozen of his verses) among the poets of the Ghaznavids.

¹For the two Arabic verses wrongly attributed to him by Nafīsī on the basis of a passage in the *diwān* of Kamāl al-dīn Ismāʿīl, called Khallāq al-maʿānī, see the edition of that *diwān* by Ḥ. Baḥr al-ʿUlūmī, Tehran 1348sh./1970, p. lxxii-lxxiii, 518.

²See above, p. 63-4.

³Lazard's verses 2-15, preserved in the *Tārīkh i Baihaqī*. Hidāyat attributes six of these verses to Daqīqī, doubtless wrongly.

⁴Thus in Hidāyat, who explicitly gives 'Aufī's *Lubāb* as the source of his information. In the printed text of the *Lubāb* the name appears as Muẓaffar Panjdihī. Horn misread Hidāyat's 'Marwī' as 'Harawī'; in fact Panjdihī is near Marw-i-Rōd.

He is presumably identical with the Muẓaffarī quoted repeatedly by Asadī.

LF passim (and Horn, *Einl.* p. 28); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 63-5; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 505; Khaiyām-pūr p. 549.

120. Abū Sarraqah 'Abd al-Rahmān¹ b. Aḥmad al-Balkhī al-Amīnī al-Najjār is the author of an ode of 16 verses in honour of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, quoted by 'Aufī. It is presumably with him (and not with Najjār al-Sāgharjī, whom 'Arūḍī² mentions as one of the poets at the court of Khidr Khān b. Ṭafghāj Khān) that we must identify the 'Najjār' to whom Asadī attributes one verse. The 'Nijādī' (error for 'Najjārī?'), one of whose verses is quoted by Rādūyānī, is perhaps also the same poet. [201]

LF s.v. *shatrang* (and Horn ad loc.); Rādūyānī p. 72 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 41-2; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 89; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Sarraqah' p. 501; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 599-600; Khaiyām-pūr p. 64.

121. A single verse is attributed to one **Na-shinās** (or rather **Nashnāsh**?) in the Vatican manuscript of *LF* (ed. Horn p. 40; also in *Ṣiḥāh* p. 138).

122. A substantial ode by **Nāṣir Ja'farī** is quoted by Jājarmī and a shorter version of the same poem is given by Hidāyat, who calls its author Nāṣir Nasawī. Hidāyat's text contains a verse giving the name of the poet's patron as 'Bū l-Faṭḥ Malik-Shāh' (465/1072 to 485/1092); the verse is missing in Jājarmī's version, though the superscription in the latter does identify Malik-Shāh as the object of the poet's attentions. Hidāyat, however, claims that the author's patron was 'Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Saljūqī', evidently confusing our poet with 'Aufī's Nāṣir Lughawī, the boon-companion of Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Ghaznawī (see below, p. 212-3).

Jājarmī II p. 475-7; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 636-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 588.

¹Thus 'Aufī; Hidāyat has Aḥmad.

²P. 28 and 46. For this poet see below, p. 437.

123. Abū Muʿīn Nāṣir b. Khusrau al-Qubādiyānī al-Marwazī,¹ with the pen-name **Hujjat**, the celebrated Ismāʿīlī propagandist, is discussed in *PL* I p. 1138-41, to which the following is a supplement. The year of the poet's birth is indicated in [202] one of his poems² as 394/1003-4 and this is consistent with his account in the *Safar-nāmah*³ of how on the eve of Thursday 6 Jumādā II 437 (19 December 1045) he suddenly awakened 'from forty years' sleep'. 'Forty' is here a round number; his precise age on that date would have been 42 or 43 lunar years.⁴ His travels through Persia, Syria, Egypt and Arabia and back to Central Asia in the years 437-444 (1045-1052) are described in detail in his *Safar-nāmah*. In his last years the poet settled in the district of Yumgān, in Badakhshān, his loneliness in that remote place being the subject of constant complaint in the poems. The latest clearly established date in his biography is the year 462/1069-70, when he dedicated his *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatain* to an otherwise unknown *amīr* of Badakhshān, 'Alī b. Asad b. al-Ḥārith. Ḥājī Khalīfah, in his *Taqwīm al-tawārīkh*,⁵ states that Nāṣir died in 481/1088-9; this date has been widely accepted and, though not improbable, has no authority, all the more so since the same Ḥājī Khalīfah, in two different places in his *Kashf al-zunūn*⁶ has him die as early as 431/1039-41, as does already Daulat-shāh. This date

¹The name appears thus (as A.H. Morton informs me) in *all* the manuscripts of his *Safar-nāmah* other than those copied from a printed edition. Only in Schefer's edition (and its various offshoots) do we find 'Abū Muʿīn al-dīn Nāṣir...' (evidently either a conjecture or an error on the part of the French scholar). 'Aufī II p. 202 quotes a verse by the 12th-century poet Shātrānjī (for whom see below, no. 297) with the statement: *Nāṣir i Khusrau kard khwad-rā laqab Ḥamīd al-dīn*, and it is evidently on the basis of this that Dabīr-Siyāqī emended Schefer's (mis)reading in the *Safar-nāmah* to 'Abū Muʿīn Ḥamīd al-dīn Nāṣir...'.

²*Dīwān*, ed. Mīnuwī/Muḥaqqiq, no. 242, v. 27.

³Ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1354sh./1976, p. 2.

⁴Storey, following Taqī-zādah, states that the poet was born in the month of Dhū l-qaʿdah. This is based on a line in the poem *mulḥaq* 1, v. 56, the author of which says that he was born in Dhū l-qaʿdah of the year 358 (with variants in the manuscripts). If the poem is really by Nāṣir, the year must be wrong. It is however more likely, as the editors of the critical edition think, that the poem is spurious, i.e. that it is by an unidentified older contemporary of Nāṣir's.

⁵Cited by Ethé, *ZDMG* 33, p. 649.

⁶III p. 598 and 600 (new edition II col. 990 and 991). For a discussion of these passages, which are not without textual problems, see the discussion of the *Saʿadat-nāmah* below, p. 206.

is naturally impossible. Later tradition, reflected by a spurious 'autobiography' and by the *tadhkirahs*¹ [203] made Nāṣir into a mighty magician who lived for more than a hundred years.

His extant theological works (*Gushāyish u rahāyish*; *Khuwān al-ikhwān*; *Zād al-mustāfirīn*; *Wajh i dīn*; the prose *Rōshanāʾī-nāmah*, or *Shash fasl*; *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatain* - all to be discussed in *PL* IV) are at least in part translations of Ismāʿīlī tracts in Arabic. Besides these we have his travelogue (*Safar-nāmah*) and the *dīwān*. The two didactic *mathnawīs* traditionally attributed to him, namely the *Saʿadat-nāmah* and the *Rōshanāʾī-nāmah*, are discussed below (p. 206-211) under the heading 'spurious works'. Of Nāṣir's Arabic *dīwān*, to which he occasionally refers,² no trace remains.

Nāṣir's *Dīwān* consists almost entirely of religious and didactic poems which, though occasionally dedicated to the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, or to the *dāʾī* l-duʿāt, al-Muʿaiyid fī l-dīn al-Shīrāzī, are far removed in character from the usual laudatory *qaṣʿdahs*. Mss.: **London** I.O. 903 fol. 97-112 (Dated Dhū l-qaʿdah 714/1315. 78 poems only);³ I.O. Delhi 1297 (18th century?); Or. 10919 (Meredith-Owens p. 60. Dated 1276/1859-60); Or. 3323 (Rieu Suppt. no. 210. Dated 9 Jumādā I 1296/1879. Contains also the spurious 'autobiography'); Or. 2845 (Rieu Suppt. no. 209. 19th century? End missing); **Berlin** Sprenger 1416 (Pertsch 710. 'Nicht ganz neu'); Ms. or. quart. 2026 (Heinz 359. With 'autobiography'); **Vienna** Flügel 506 [204] (Dated Dhū l-hijjah 1259/1843-4. With a prose preface); **Leningrad** Acad. C1702 (Cat. VIII 5; Index 1480. Dated 1334/1915-6); **Istanbul** Çelebi Abdullah Ef. 290 (Munz. no. 26421. Dated Jumādā II 736/1336); **Üniversite** FY 315 (Ateş 11. Dated Shawwāl 1262/1846); **Üniversite** FY 799 (=Halis Ef. 8626. Ateş 12. Dated 18 Jumādā I 1269/1853. Contains the 'autobiography'); **Najaf** Amīr al-muʿminīn 1434 (Munz. 26429); **Tehran** Majlis 8421/2 (Munz. no. 26422. In a *daftar* dated 868/1463-4); Majlis II 388 (Written for the Ottoman Sultān 'Muḥammad b. Murād', i.e. either Muḥammad II, died 886/1481, or Muḥammad III, died 1012/1603-4); Malīk 5567/2 (Munz. no. 26425. 17th century?); Univ. XI 3201 (Dated 29 Jumādā II 1201/1787); **Ḥuqūq** p. 115 (18th

¹For which see *PL* I p. 1140-1.

²*Dīwān*, no. 64 ult.; 177, v. 51-2.

³For this manuscript see below, p. 423 fn.

century?); Millī IV 1672 (Dated 4 Sha'bān 1229/1814); Millī III 1204 (Dated 29 Dhū l-qa'dah 1252/1837); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 485 (Dated 1253/1837-8); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 488 (Dated Dhū l-hijjah 1261/1845); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 486 (Dated 1266/1849-50); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 487 (Dated Muḥarram 1268/1851); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 489; Millī V 2028; **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 965/2 (Ms. completed 1041/1631-2. Selections only); Riḍawī IX 1163 (Dated 28 Rabī' II 1261/1845); Riḍawī IX 1162 (Dated Rajab 1266/1850); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 325 (Dated 11 Jumādā II 1050/1640); **Hyderabad** Āṣafīyah I p. 734 no. 300 (Dated 1104/1692-3); **Kapurthala** 179 (OCM III/4, 1927, p. 290); **Lucknow** Sprenger 265 (two copies, one of which was dated 1037/1627-8); **Madras** I 70 and 71 (both copies called 'qaṣṣ'id i Ḥujjat'); **Princeton** 38 fol. 364-450 (dated 815/1412-3); and many late Mss. (Nāṣir became popular towards the end of the 19th century); cf. Munz. III 26420-71.

Selections from his poems: **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 4b, 29a, 67a, 191b, 209b (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar*. On fol. 67a a *tasmi'* of 33 strophes); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.65 no. 31 (Anthology dated 27 Ramaḍān 827/1424); **Berlin** Sprenger 1378 fol. 442a sq. [205] (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabī' II 1270/1854. Apparently copied from the Calcutta Ms.); **Istanbul** Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 1620/12 (Cat. II p. 376); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 28v-47v (late).

Editions: **Bombay** 1860; **Tabriz** 1280/1863-4 (Ed. Riḍā-qulī Khān Hidāyat); **Tehran** 1314/1896-5 (together with *Safar-nāmah*); 1304-7sh./1925-8 (Ed. Naṣr Allāh Taqawī and Mujtabā Mīnuwī, introduction by Ḥasan Taqī-zādah, notes by 'Alī Akbar Dih-khudā, contains also *Rōshanā'ī-nāmah* and *Sa'adat-nāmah*); reprinted 1335sh./1956-7 and 1348sh./1969; 1353sh./1974-5 (ed. M. Mīnuwī and M. Muḥaqqiq; volume I: text and variant readings. The first critical edition).

Partial editions: H. Ethé, 'Auswahl aus Nāṣir Chusrau's *Qaṣiden*', *ZDMG* 36, 1882, p. 478-508 (based mainly on the I.O. manuscript, i.e. the oldest, with German verse translation); id., 'Kürzere Lieder und poetische Fragmente aus Nāṣir Chusrau's *Dīvān*', *Nachrichten... Göttingen*, 1882, p. 124-52; E.G. Browne, 'Nasir-i-Khusraw, poet, traveller, and propagandist (Text and verse translation of a hundred couplets ... from the first five poems of N.-i-Kh.'s *Dīwān*)', *JRAS* 1905, p. 313-52; Also: **Calcutta** 1926 (ed. M.K. Shīrāzī, contains 'only the portions prescribed for the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University'); **Stalinabad** 1957 (*Gulchine az devoni ash'or*, ed. K. Aini,

in Tajik script); **Tehran** 1340sh./1961-2 (*Pānzdah qaṣṣidah az Ḥakīm Nāṣir i Khusrau i Qubādīyānī az rūy i qadīm-tarīn nuskhah i khatṭī*, ed. M. Muḥaqqiq), reprint 1341sh./1962-3.

Commentaries: A fragment, commenting one poem = *Dīwān*, ed. Taqawī/Minuwī p. 120 (not in the new edition), of a work by Maulānā Qādī Maḥmūd Bahrī (first half of 12th/18th century) is contained in **Madras** II 611.

Translations: (German and English verse): see partial editions. [206]

(English verse): *Nasir-i Khusraw Forty Poems from the Divan translated with introductions and notes by Peter Lamborn Wilson and Gholam Reza Aavani*, Tehran 1977; *Make a shield from wisdom. Selected verses from Nāṣir-i Khusraw's Dīwān*, trans. with extensive commentary by A. Schimmel, London/New York 1993.

(Russian verse): Насир Хосров: Лирика, ed. I. Braginskiy, Moscow 1979 (various translators; includes selections from the *Dīwān* as well as from the *Rōshanā'ī-nāmah* and the *Sa'adat-nāmah*.)

Spurious works:

(1) *Sa'adat-nāmah* is a collection of moral precepts in some 300 verses (inc. *dil-ā hamwārah taslīm i riḍā bāsh * ba har ḥālī kih bāshī bā khudā bāsh*). It was first published by Fagnan in 1888, from the Paris manuscript supplément 781A, then reprinted (from Fagnan, with some emendations) in the appendix to the edition of Nāṣir's *Safar-nāmah* published in Berlin in 1341/1922-3, and then (from the Berlin edition, but collated with a manuscript in the editor's possession) in Taqawī's edition of Nāṣir's *dīwān* of 1307sh./1928. In Taqawī's manuscript the text ends with a verse in which the author tells his readers to heed 'the words of Sharīf', evidently the author's signature; there is no mention in this recension of the name Nāṣir. But in some other copies 'Sharīf' is replaced by 'Nāṣir i Khusrau', while the manuscript published by Fagnan retains the verse mentioning 'Sharīf' (three lines from the end) but adds a final verse giving the author's name as 'Nāṣir b. Khusrau'. It is quite obvious that (except in the version represented by Taqawī's manuscript) the text has been tampered with. The poem is clearly not by Nāṣir i Khusrau, whose pen-name was 'Ḥujjat', not 'Sharīf', and whose style is quite unlike that of the author of the *Sa'adat-nāmah*; moreover, the

latter poem contains no trace of Ismā'īlī doctrines. Nothing else is known of this Sharīf, except that he must have lived before the middle of the 9th/15th century, the date of the earliest manuscripts. A striking feature of the poem is the vehemence with which the author denounces the 'great ones' and his insistence that, after the prophets and saints, the best of mankind are the peasants, and then the artisans.

The modern Persian scholar M.T. Bahār identified the author of the *Sa'adat-nāma* as one Nāṣir al-dīn b. Khusrau Iṣfahānī, who supposedly died in 735/1334-5, referring in a foot-note to the entry on the *Sa'adat-nāmah* in the *Kashf al-zunūn* of Ḥājī Khalīfah. This is an error on the part of Bahār. In Flügel's edition of the *Kashf al-zunūn* the *Sa'adat-nāmah* is described as the work of 'Nāṣir Khusrau al-Iṣfahānī, who died in the year 431' and the same date, 431, is given for Nāṣir's death also in the entry on the *Safar-nāmah*. It emerges from the critical edition by Yaltkaya and Bilge that the date was left blank in both entries in the author's rough draft, but that at least in the former entry the date '431' is indicated in the Ismail Paşa manuscript, presumably reflecting the author's fair copy. In fact this is the (erroneous) date given already by Daulat-shāh for the death of Nāṣir i Khusrau, just as it is Daulat-shāh who (again wrongly) made Nāṣir a native of Isfahan. It is thus clear that Ḥājī Khalīfah has merely repeated the erroneous data that he found in Daulat-shāh and did possess any independent information about some different 'Nāṣir b. Khusrau Iṣfahānī'. In the edition of the *Kashf al-zunūn* published in Bulaq in 1277/1861 the date '431' occurs (in figures and words) in the entry on the *Safar-nāmah*¹ but is misprinted as '731' in the entry on the *Sa'adat-nāmah*² (again first in figures, and then spelt out in words). It is not clear whether Bahār's '735' is again a misprint in the (unidentified) oriental edition of the *Kashf al-zunūn* consulted by him, or whether it is simply a mistake of his own. In any case, this date has no authority and it does not justify assigning the *Sa'adat-nāmah* to 'Nāṣir b. Khusrau Iṣfahānī'; this person is fictitious.

Mss.: Dublin Beatty 139 (Dated 23 Sha'bān 869/1465); London Or. 12969 fol. 26a-40a (Meredith-Owens p. 76. 15th century? Inspexi);³

¹I p. 472.

²I p. 471.

³Meredith-Owens's description of the manuscript is not correct. The first work in the manuscript (fol. 1a-24b) is a fragment of a poem in *mutaqarib* metre, evidently by Nāṣir Bukhārā'ī (his name is mentioned several times in the text). Fol. 25a has the pencilled title '*Sa'adat-nāmah* i Nāṣir i Khusrau'. Fol. 26a-40a contain an incomplete copy of the *Sa'adat-nāmah*, with the usual incipit, and the name 'Nāṣir i Khusrau' in the

Paris Supplément 1398 fol. 20v sqq. (Blochet 1970. Dated 861/1456-7); Supplément 781A fol. 255v sqq. (Blochet 1972. Dated Rabī' I 892/1487); Leningrad Acad. A 904 fol. 51b-64b (Index 2248); Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 593/8 fol. 227a-231b (Ateş 19. Dated 890/1485); Üniversitesi FY 1037 (=Halis Ef. 1962. Ateş 20. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 973/1566); Tehran Majlis 4940 (Munz. 30982. Dated 872/1567-8). Cf. Munz. IV 30982-4.

Editions: E. Fagnan, 'Le Livre de la Félicité... par Nāṣir ed-Dīn ben Khosroū', ZDMG 34, 1880, p. 643-74 (with a French translation; see also the emendations by F. Teufel in ZDMG 36, 1882, p. 106-114). Also printed in the appendix to the edition of Nāṣir's *Safar-nāmah* published in Berlin, Kaviani Press, 1341/1922-3, and in N. Taqawī's edition of Nāṣir's *diwān*, Tehran 1307 Sh./1928, p. 545-61, and reprints (see above, p. 205).

Translations: (French prose): See editions.

(English prose): G.M. Wickens, 'The Sa'adatnāmah attributed to Nāṣir-i Khusrau', *The Islamic quarterly* 2, 1955, p. 117-32, 206-21.

Ḥājī Khalīfah III p. 598 (new edition II col. 990); Bahār, *Sabk* III p. 188; *El*² s.v. 'Sharīf'.

(2) *Rōshanā'ī-nāmah* is a didactic poem of about 550 verses in *hazaj* metre (inc.: *ba nām i kirdigār i pāk dāwar * kih hast az wahm u 'aql u fikr bartar*, with variants) and is preceded in the Gotha manuscript (followed by Ethé's edition) by 34 verses in the same metre, with the heading '*iftitāh i Rōshanā'ī-nāmah*', beginning *ba nām i ān-kih dārā i jahān ast * khudāwand i tan u 'aql u ruwān ast*. But it is not clear whether this actually has anything to do with the poem. The *Rōshanā'ī-nāmah* contains three verses (218, 231, 508 of Ethé's edition) where the author refers to himself as 'Ḥujjat', and in the first of these he is also seen to state that he resides in Yumgān. It is thus, at least in its published form, ostensibly the work of our poet. Moreover, the name 'Nāṣir

paenultimate verse, but the gilded *sarlawh* apparently gives the title as *Hidayat-nāmah*. The first of the two poems is adorned with pictures.

i Khusrau' occurs in the Leiden manuscript in the line following Ethé's verse 566. Nowhere does the work refer explicitly to Ismā'īlī, or even general Shiite, doctrines, though the discussion of the exoteric and esoteric meanings of the Qur'ān (v. 430-1) might suggest an Ismā'īlī connection. Towards the end of the poem (555-8) the author states that he completed the work in the year so-and-so, on the first of Shawwāl, when the sun was [207] in Pisces and the moon in Aries and there was a conjunction of 'the stars' in Libra. The year given in the manuscripts varies from as early as 323 to as late as 463,¹ with an array of intermediate dates. But in none of the years mentioned in the manuscripts did 1 Shawwāl fall in late February or early March (i.e. when the sun is in Pisces); moreover, at none of the various times in Nāṣir's lifetime when 1 Shawwāl did fall in February/March was there any conjunction in Libra.

Ethé, ignoring the statement about the conjunction, emended the line mentioning the year to read '440', when 1 Shawwāl corresponded roughly to 9 March 1049. However, since Nāṣir was in Cairo at that time, Ethé was forced to assume that the author revised the poem later in Yumgān, without changing the original date. Taqī-zādah, to whom we owe an extensive investigation of the question,² suggested that the verse mentioning the position of the sun and moon might be a spurious addition and proposed that the date mentioned in the original text might have been 1 Shawwāl 460, corresponding to 3 August 1068, on which date Jupiter and Saturn were (according to Taqī-zādah's calculation) both in Libra, although not actually in conjunction. But as these two planets had been in conjunction the previous September in the last segment of Virgo (i.e. just before Libra) contemporary observers might have regarded their close proximity in August 1068 as amounting to a repeated conjunction.

More recently Mīnuwī³ proposed [208] that the *Rōshanā'ī-nāmah* is not by Nāṣir i Khusrau at all, but by a later poet who used the same

¹The last-mentioned date is in Semenov's manuscript.

²See his introduction to the 1925-8 edition of the *Diwān*, p. lv-lviii.

³M. Mīnuwī, '*Raushanā'ī-nāmah i Nāṣir i Khusrau wa Raushanā'ī-nāmah i manzūm i mansūb ba ū*', *Yad-nāmah i Nāṣir i Khusrau*, Mashhad 2535sh.sh./1976, p. 574-80. The same volume contains also (on p. 262-72) an article by Ḍ. Sajjādī, '*Tahqīq dar Raushanā'ī-nāmah i Nāṣir i Khusrau*', which likewise argues against the authenticity of the poem, purely on the basis of stylistic arguments, for my taste rather too subjectively.

takhalluṣ (Ḥujjat) and also happened to live in Yumgān and that the correct date of the poem is 1 Shawwāl 643, i.e. roughly 19 February 1246 (643 instead of the 343 attested in a number of manuscripts, *st-ṣad* being a misreading of *shash-ṣad*). At this time the sun and the moon were indeed in Pisces and Aries respectively; moreover, in that year there was a conjunction between Jupiter and Saturn in Libra, admittedly not in February, but in September. But already in February the two planets were very close to each other, in Libra, and thus could reasonably be considered to be in conjunction.¹ This seems to me to be a very strong argument for putting the composition of the poem in 643/1246; in this case it naturally has nothing to do with Nāṣir.² On the other hand, Mīnuwī's suggestion that there were two 'Ḥujjats' in the same obscure Yumgān is a most improbable one. It would certainly seem more likely that the three verses alluding to 'Ḥujjat' or to 'Yumgān' were interpolated by someone who wanted to pass the poem off as a work of Nāṣir's. Indeed, v. 218, which says that Ḥujjat resided in Yumgān 'like a king' (*pādshah-wār*) is sufficiently reminiscent of the legends about 'Shāh Saiyid Nāṣir' to make it seem most likely that it is an interpolation. The same interpolator might then have altered the original date to something that he thought fell in Nāṣir's lifetime; uncertainty [209] about when the presumed author actually lived would account for the wild discrepancy between the dates given.³

¹I have extracted the following data from the sophisticated astronomical computer programme 'Kairos', kindly put at my disposal by its inventor, Raymond Mercier: At 60 degrees East conjunction of sun and moon (true new moon) occurs on 17 February 1246 (Julian) at 23:12 local time. The new crescent of Shawwāl is most likely to have been visible after sunset on 19 February, when (at 18:00) the true longitude of the sun is 338.1 (in Pisces), of the moon 3.191 (in Aries), of Jupiter 190.9 and of Saturn 197.3 (both in Libra).

²Ivanow, *Problems...*, p. 55-6, dismisses Ethé's (and presumably also Taqī-zādah's) 'complex speculations' and opts for the date 444/1053, which he found in one manuscript, but which, like all the dates found in the other manuscripts, is irreconcilable with the data given in the following lines. Ivanow's arbitrary dating was accepted, without further discussion, by Rypka, p. 189.

³I retract my statements in the first edition to the effect 'that no convincing arguments have yet been advanced against Nāṣir's authorship' and that 'the doctrines expounded in the poem are in line with the Ismā'īlī dogmas of the Fatimid period and show no trace of the *ghulūw* so characteristic of Iranian Nizārī Ismailism from the 12th century onward. Moreover, the language of the work (particularly in the version published by Semenov) has some striking archaic features, e.g. the frequent use of the particles *mar ... ra*.' Against the first argument, I would now say that I do not consider it at all certain that the *Rōshanā'ī-nāmah* is an Ismā'īlī work, but think it possible that its

Mss.: **London** I.O. 904 (Dated 1061/1651); I.O. 1761/5 (With unusual orthography, the *kasrah i idāfah* being 'almost always' indicated by *yā*); I.O. 4057; **Paris** Supplément 1777 fol. 158r sqq. in marg. (Blochet 1645. Ms. dated 852/1448); Supplément 1398 fol. 1v sqq. (Blochet 1970. Dated 861/1456-7); Supplément 1417 fol. 41v sqq. (Blochet 1662. Dated 15 Ramaḍān 879/1475); Supplément 781A fol. 249v sqq. (Blochet 1972. Dated Rabī' I 892/1487); **Leyden** 968 (2) (Cat. DCXXX. Dated 855/1451); **Gotha** 6/6 (gives the date of composition as 420); **Leningrad** Acad. C1102/4 (Cat. VIII 1; Index 2054. Dated 710/1310-1; the oldest recorded copy); Univ. 1113 (Romaskewicz p. 9. Dated 1318/1900-1); Acad. A1414/3 (Cat. VIII 2; Index 2052. Dated 1338/1919-20); [210] Acad. B1809/4 (Cat. VIII 3; Index 2053); **Konya** Mevlānā II 318/VI (Ms. dated 885/1480-1); **Istanbul** Şehid Ali Paşa 2703/9 fol. 166b-178a (Cf. H. Ritter in *Der Islam* XXV, 1939, p. 82 and *Mikrāfīlm-hā* I p. 515. Dated 11 Rajab 732/1332); 'Lala Ismail' [=Lālali?] 487/9 (*Mikrāfīlm-hā* I p. 500. Dated 741/1340-1); **Nuruosmaniye** 4198/4 fol. 330b-338b (Ateş 15. Dated 27 Rajab 825/1422); Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 1097/3 (Cat. II p. 300. Ms. dated Sha'bān 840/1437); 'Millat Efendi Ali Emiri' 1017/8 (according to *Mikrāfīlm-hā* I p. 487. Dated 855/1451); **Nuruosmaniye** 4964/37 fol. 195b-205a in marg. (Ateş 16. 15th century?); Üniversite FY 593/9 fol. 231b-228b [sic Ateş; for 238b?] (Ateş 17. Dated 890/1485); Topkapı, Hazine 299 (Karatay 387); **Kayseri** Reşid Efendi 607 fol. 1b-13b (Karabulut 465); **Tehran** Malik 4925/3 (Munz. 30158. Dated 842/1438-9); Majlis 8421/1 (Munz. 30161. Dated 868/1463-4); Majlis VIII p. 213 no. 2344/2¹ (Dated 15 Sha'bān 883/1478. Beginning missing); Majlis 5299 (Munz. 30164. 15th century?); Malik 5124 (Munz. 30165. 15th century? Incomplete); Univ. XI 3142/4 (Dated 10 Jumādā II 950/1543. Date of poem given as 343); Univ. XIV 4736/9 (17th century?); Malik 5076/5 (Munz. 30168. 17th century?); Majlis 4869 (Munz. 30169. 17th century?); Univ. XII 3533/3 (Dated 1228/1813); **Gulistan/Ātābāy** II 490 (Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1274/1858); **Dushanbe**

very superficial Ismā'īlī colouring is the result of interpolation. As for the linguistic argument, the mentioned feature would not in fact be very unusual in a poetic work of the 13th century.

¹The number is given wrongly as 2346 in the catalogue. See p. 56 of the same volume.

Acad. II 328 (Dated Şafar 1289/1872); **Acad.** II 329; **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 128 (Dated 25 Sha'bān 926/1520); **Bankipore** Suppt. i 1981 (18th century? Date of composition given as 323 as in the older I.O. copy). Cf. Munz. IV 30156-77.

Extracts: **Istanbul** Nuruosmaniye 4904/14 fol. 63b-68a (Ateş 18. Dated 940/1533-4); Köprülü 1597 fol. 166b-178a (see Taeschner in *Islamica* V, 1932, p. 320); [211] **Tehran** Gulistan/Ātābāy II 488 (Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1261/1845).

Editions: (See also above, under *diwān*). H. Ethé, 'Nāsir Chusrau's Rūšanānāma ... oder Buch der Erleuchtung ...' *ZDMG* 33, 1879, p. 645-664, 34, 1880, p. 428-464, 617-42 (critical edition with German verse translation); see also the corrections in F. Teufel, 'Zu Nāsir Chusrau's Rūšanānāma', *ZDMG* 36, 1882, p. 96-106; Ethé's text was reprinted in the Berlin 1341/1922 edition of Nāsir's *Safar-nāmah* (separate pagination); **Bombay** ca. 1915; A.A. Semenov, «Шугнанско-исмаилитская редакция "Книги Света" ... Насир-и-Хосрова», *Записки Коллегии Востоковедов* V, 1930, p. 589-610 (edition of a modern Ismā'īlī manuscript which contains some interesting variants).

(3) A poem¹ entitled *Āfāq u Anfus* is attributed to Nāsir in **Kayseri** Rāşid Efendi 607/2 fol. 14b-17b (Karabulut 343).

(4) A collection of '*mathnawīyāt i Ḥakīm Nāsir i Khusrāu*', including also *ghazals*, by a poet who uses the *takhalluṣ* 'Khusrāu' (evidently not our poet) is found in **Cluj** M.O. 21425 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 989).

Nāsir does not appear to be mentioned as a poet² before the 8th/14th century.³ Cf. Mustaufī p. 826; Jājarmī II p. 884-5; *Şiḥāḥ* (see index); Daulat-shāh p. 61-4; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 607-33; Hidāyat,

¹The catalogue says explicitly '*manzum*'. A prose work with the same title is reported elsewhere.

²His *Safar-nāmah*, on the other hand, is referred to in the *Jahān-nāmah* of Muḥammad b. Najīb Bakrān (before 617/1220). [A.H.M.] 'Aufī does not include him in his poetic anthology, but does apparently mention him as a pseudo-prophet in his *Jawāmi'* no. 2004 (see Nizāmu'd-dīn's summary).

³Two verses by 'Nāsir i Khusrāu' are quoted in *Watwāt* p. 69. I have not found them in the *diwān* and in the absence of other early citations of Nāsir's verses one must suspect a scribal error.

Riyāḍ p. 232-43; A.V. Zhukovskiy, Песнь Насири Хосрова, ZVORAO 4, 1890, p. 386-93 (with an edition of a *tarjīḥ-band*); W. Ivanow, *Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Leiden/Bombay, 1948; id., *Problems in N. i Kh. 's biography*, Bombay 1956 [212] (a revised version of the preceding); Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* VII p. 187-9; A.E. Bertel's, Насир-и Хосров и исмаилизм, Moscow 1959; also in Persian as *Nāṣir i Khusrau wa Ismā'īliyyān*, Tehran 1346sh./1967-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 587-8 (with further references); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II⁶ p. 443-69; M. Muḥaqqiq, 'Justujāy i maqāmīn wa ta'bīrāt i Nāṣir i Khusrau dar aḥādīth wa amthāl wa ash'ār i 'arab', MDAT XI/1, 1340sh./1961, p. 32-93; id., 'Alawī būdan i Nāṣir i Khusrau', *Yaghma* 14/153, 1340sh./1961, p. 35-41; id., *Tahlti i ash'ār i Nāṣir i Khusrau (āyāt i qur'ānī, aḥādīth, lughāt, amthāl)*, Tehran 1344sh./1965; id., 'Nāṣir-i Khusraw and his spiritual nisbah', *Yād-nāmah i Irān i Minorsky*, Tehran 1348sh./1969, p. 143-8; id., 'Taṣṭīḥ i dīwān i Nāṣir i Khusrau', *Nāmah i Mīnuwī*, Tehran 1350sh./1971-2, p. 405-22 (contains a critical edition of a number of poems); Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 228-9; Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 550-63; *Yād-nāmah i Nāṣir i Khusrau*, Mashhad 2535sh./1976 (38 articles, including several contributions to the textual criticism and interpretation of the *dīwān*); Poonawala p. 111-25 (with further references); 'A. Dashtī, *Taṣwīr-i az Nāṣir i Khusrau*, Iran 1362sh./1983.

124. *Nāṣir Lughawī*¹ (or Baghawī?) is known to us only from the *rubā'ī* in which he laments the depose of the Ghaznavid Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd in 421/1030. It is quoted by Baihaqī, who says that its author was one of the boon-companions (*nadīmān*) of the dethroned king, as well as by 'Aufī. [213]

Baihaqī p. 74-5 (see also Nafīsī's edition I p. 76 and Faiyād's new edition p. 84-5 and the notes in the latter two); 'Aufī II p. 65-6; *LN* s.v. 'Nāṣir i Lughawī' p. 173, and *supra*, no. 122.

¹Thus 'Aufī. In the two passages in Baihaqī where this person is mentioned we find 'Nāṣirī u Baghawī', though for the latter name the variant 'Lughawī' occurs in both passages. It is likely (as Nafīsī suggested) that this is a scribal error for 'Nāṣir (or Nāṣirī) i Baghawī (or Lughawī)'. Baghawī is the *nisbah* from Bagh (or Baghshūn), a village between Marw and Herat; cf. Sam'ānī fol. 86a (new edition II p. 273) and Yāqūt, *Buldān* I p. 694.

125. A certain Abū l-Ḥasan¹ Ōrmazdī is quoted a number of times in Asadī's *Lughat i furs*. The juxtaposition of these improbable names would seem to suggest a Zoroastrian convert to Islam. Perhaps the same as Yazdānī (no. 153)?

LF *passim*; Shams p. 113; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 66 (one verse); Khaiyām-pūr p. 80.

126. Pērōz (Fairūz) al-Mashriqī flourished, according to 'Aufī, under 'Amr b. Laith (265/878-9 to 287/900). It is possible that he is identical with the 'Pērōzī' from whom Rādūyānī quotes one verse. Hidāyat gives the date of his death as 283/896.

Collection of fragments (9 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 19, 60, II p. 19-20.

LF (ed. Iqbāl) p. 87, (ed. Muḥtabā'i/Šādiqī) p. 157 (a new verse); Rādūyānī p. 25; 'Aufī II p. 2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 381.

127. Abū l-Qāsim Ziyād b. Muḥammad al-Qamarī² al-Jurjānī heads 'Arūḍī's list of the poets of the 'kings of Ṭabaristān' (in this case, presumably the Ziyarids), and 'Aufī quotes an ode by him dedicated to the Ziyarid Shams al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Wushmgīr (367/978 to 402/1012), whose grandson, 'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī Kai Kā'ōs, mentions him in his *Qābūs-nāmah*. Qamarī is never quoted by Asadī, but Rādūyānī (followed by Waṭwāt) cites a good number of his verses to illustrate various rhetorical figures.

'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī, *Qābūs-nāmah* (ed. Yūsufī) p. 202; Rādūyānī *passim* (and Ateš's notes p. 93); [214] 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Waṭwāt p. 25, 38, 75; 'Aufī II p. 19-20; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 477-8; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Qāsim' p. 759; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 435-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 475; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15; M. Ishaque, 'Qamarī of Gurgan', *Indo-Iranica* XXV/3-4, 1972, p. 57-61; Idārah-chī p. 127.

128. Qarī' al-dahr is quoted frequently in Asadī's *Lughat i furs*, and once in Rādūyānī's *Tarjuman al-balāghah*. There is a verse mocking 'Qarī' by 'Asjadī,³ which suggests that the two were contemporaries.

¹The *kunya* is mentioned only by Shams i Qais.

²The vocalisation Qamarī is explicitly noted in Rādūyānī fol. 269b.

³*LF*, ed. Iqbāl, p. 492 (from the marginal additions to Ms. *nān*).

LF passim (and Horn, *Einl.* p. 27); Rādūyānī p. 79; Khaiyām-pūr p. 471.

129. Qaṣṣār i Ummī¹ is the author of a verse quoted by Asadī addressed to 'Mīr Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad Khusrau i Ērān-zamīn', the Ghaznavid, who ruled for a short time in 421/1030 and again in 432/1040-1. Two further verses of his are quoted by Rādūyānī.

LF s.v. *kafā*; Rādūyānī p. 42 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Arūdī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Khaiyām-pūr p. 472.

130. al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-zamān Qaṭrān al-'Aḡudī al-Tabrīzī² was born, as we learn from one of his [215] own poems,³ in Shādī-ābād, just outside Tabrīz. He appears to have spent his whole life in the service of the minor dynasties of Ādharbāijān and Transcaucasia. His *diwān* consists largely of odes to the Rawwādids of Tabrīz, Abū Maṣṣūr Wahsūdān (416/1025 to 451/1059) and his successor Abū Naṣr Mamlān, as well as the Shaddādids at Ganjah, 'Alī Lashkarī b. Mūsā (425/1033-4 to 441/1049-50) and Faḍl (or Faḍlūn) b. Abī l-Aswār (459/1067 to 466/1073-4), but also to others, including Asadī's patron Abū Dulaf. Nāṣir i Khusrau describes in his *Safar-nāmah* his meeting with Qaṭrān in Tabrīz in 438/1046. The most recent date that can be adduced from his poems is Friday 1 Dhū l-hijjah 462 (10 September 1070) on which day Mihragān coincided with a Friday and a new moon (*ādīnah u mihragān u māh i nau * bādand khujastah har sih bar khusrau*).⁴ Hidāyat says that he died in 465/1072-3, while Taqī⁵ makes it as late as 485/1092.

The introduction in manuscript 'ain of the *Lughat i furs*, ostensibly the work of Asadī himself, mentions an older Persian dictionary by 'Qaṭrān i shā'ir'. Asadī thus obviously knew him not only as a lexicog-

¹Ateş's reading. The name appears in the manuscript of Rādūyānī's book, fol. 252a, as qṣ'r'my. The same spelling, without vocalisation, is found in 'Arūdī and the Vatican Ms. of LF; Ms. *nān* and *Shihāh* p. 26 have 'Qaṣṣār'.

²Thus in 'Aufī. Daulat-shāh calls him Imām al-shu'arā Qaṭrān b. Maṣṣūr Tirmidhī (sic), while Hidāyat has Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jabalī al-'Aḡudī. The superscription in the manuscript supposedly dated 529/1134 has Abū Maṣṣūr Qaṭrān al-Jabalī (or al-Jilī? the photograph is unclear) al-Ādharbāijānī, but see below, p. 216. For 'Aḡudī compare the poem (*diwān* p. 259-60) dedicated to one Amīr 'Aḡud al-dīn.

³*Diwān*, ed. Nakhjavānī, p. 66.

⁴See *diwān* p. 355 and Taqī-zādah ad loc.

⁵Apud Sprenger p. 16.

rapher, but also as a poet. The fact that he never actually quotes any of Qaṭrān's verses in his own dictionary merely underlines the fact that the purpose of the latter was to illustrate the rare words used by the Eastern Persian poets; the poems of a Western writer like Qaṭrān were thus for his purposes of no significance. Qaṭrān's interest in lexicography is confirmed by Nāṣir i Khusrau when he tells us that he 'came to me and brought the *diwān* of Munjīk and the *diwān* of Daqīqī and read them in my presence and asked me about every expression (*ma'nā*) which [216] he found difficult. I told him its meaning and he wrote it down'. The point of the anecdote is clearly that the *diwāns* of these poets contained Eastern Iranian (i.e. Sogdian etc.) words that were incomprehensible to a Western Persian like Qaṭrān, who consequently took advantage of the presence of an educated visitor from the East, Nāṣir, to ascertain their meaning. It was exactly the same gap in comprehension which induced another Easterner, Asadī, to compile, again for the benefit of the literati of North-Western Persia, his *Lughat i furs*. Nāṣir's own comment on the incident, namely that Qaṭrān 'writes good poetry, but does not know Persian well', is of course fuelled by malice.¹

A good-sized collection of Qaṭrān's poems (ca. 1400 verses) is contained in a manuscript² from a private collection in Tabrīz supposedly copied on 11 Rabī' I 529/1134 - about half a century after the poet's death - by 'Alī b. Ishāq al-Abīwardī al-Shā'ir, whom scholars have identified with the celebrated poet Anwarī. The name of the latter was, however, most probably Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ishāq.³ Unfortunately, the manuscript seems to have disappeared from sight shortly after its discovery and there have been rumours in Iranian literary circles⁴ that it is in fact a modern forgery from the same factory which produced the notorious fake copies of the *rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar i Khaiyām and of the *Qābūs-nāmah*. As long as the manuscript is not available for study it is thus imprudent to [217] draw any conclusions from the data contained in it.

¹See Lazard, *Langue* p. 17 n. 32.

²Cf. M. Bayānī, '*Diwān i Qaṭrān i Tabrīzī ba khatt i Anwarī i Abīwardī*', *Yaghma* III, 1329sh./1951, p. 465-74, with a reproduction of three pages from the manuscript. The same three pages are reproduced also in Nakhjavānī's introduction to his edition of the *diwān*.

³See below, p. 256.

⁴As I have been told by A.H. Morton.

Manuscripts of Qaṭrān's *diwān* include an exceptionally large number of spurious poems, among them several by Rōdakī.¹ Mss.: **London** Or. 3246 fol. 263-86 (Rieu Suppt. no. 204 III. Dated Ramaḍān 1248/1833. Attributed to Rōdakī, but contains a note by Bahman b. 'Abd Allāh Mīrzā b. Fath 'Alī Shāh stating that, with the exception of the two poems beginning *mādar i mai* and *yād i jōy i Mūliyan*, these poems are in fact the work of Qaṭrān); Or. 2847 fol. 94-130 (Rieu Suppt. no. 245. Dated 26 Rajab 1279/1863. Selections); Or. 7894 (Meredith-Owens p. 54. Dated 1295/1878. 'Attributed in a note at the end to Rōdakī'); Or. 3317 (Rieu Suppt. no. 207. 19th century? The endorsement '*Diwān i Ḥakīm Rōdakī*' is corrected in a note); Or. 2879 (Rieu Suppt. no. 208. 19th century?); R.A.S. Storey bequest no. 3, fol. 1b-94a (Uncatalogued; inspezi); I.O. 3688; I.O. 4599 fol. 118-126a (selections); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.3 (Dated 7 Jumādā I 1261/1845. Formerly in the possession of Riḍā-Qulī Khān Hidāyat and apparently used by him in the compilation of his *Majma' al-fuṣṣahā*); **Paris** Supplément 1502 (Blochet 1204. Dated Ṣafar 1257/1841); Supplément 1529 (Blochet 1205. Dated 22 Ṣafar 1294/1877. Attributed to Rōdakī); **Tehran** Univ. XII 3944/2 (17th century? 'With poems by Rōdakī'); Majlis VIII 2477 (Dated 1206/1791-2); Majlis 4099/1 (Munz. 25357. Dated Muḥarram 1207/1792); Millī 203/2 (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 202. Dated 1245/1829-30. With poems by Rōdakī); Sipah-sālār IV p. 522 (Dated 1250/1834-5) [Munz.]; Gulistān/Ātābāy II 377 (Dated 28 Ṣafar 1258/1842); Millī III 1402 (Dated 1256/1840); Millī V 2297/1 (Attributed to Rōdakī); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 378; **Isfahan** (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 596); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 519 (Dated 1267/1850-1); Riḍawī VII 521 (Dated [218] 19 Rajab 1277/1861. With poems by Rōdakī); Riḍawī VII 520 (Dated 3 Rabī' I 1283/1866. With poems by Rōdakī); **Peshawar** Islāmīyah 1823(5) (Dated 1134 /1721-2); **Hyderabad** Salār Jung IV 1119 (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 430 (Dated 1018/1609-10. Contains two collections of poems; the one in the centre of the page corresponds, according to Ivanow, to London Or. 3317, that in the margins to Or. 2879. Attributed at the beginning to Rōdakī but in the colophon to Qaṭrān); **Private collections** 'Abd al-Ḥusain Bayāt (*Nuskhah-hā* VI 68. Dated 1007/1598-9); Nakhjawānī's edition mentions 8 Mss., all in pri-

¹See below, p. 223-4.

vate collections, including the supposedly 12th-century Ms. described above. Cf. Munz. III 25352-82.

Poems in anthologies: **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 68a, 194a, 209a, 245b (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar*. Includes a *tasmi't* and a *tarjī'*); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.65 no. 35 (Anthology dated 27 Ramaḍān 827/1424); **Berlin** Sprenger 1378 fol. 364b sq. (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabī' II 1270/1854. Apparently copied from the Calcutta Ms.); **Tehran** Majlis VIII 2326 p. 247-9 (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 2v sq. (Modern).

Editions: **Tabriz** 1332sh./1954 (Ed. M. Nakhjawānī, with introductions by S.H. Taqī-zādah and the editor. Important review by H. Ritter, *Oriens* IX, 1956, p. 367-8); reprint 1362sh./1983.

Nāṣir i Khusrau, *Safar-nāmah* (ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1354sh./1976) p. 9; *LF* (ed. Iqbāl) p. 1; *Waṭwāt* p. 7, 8, 9; 'Aufī II p. 214-21; Jājarmī p. 137-42; Daulat-shāh p. 67-9; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 466-76; S.A. Kasrawī, *Pād-shāhān i gum-nām*, Tehran, 1307-9sh./1928-30, vols. II-III passim (see the indexes. Fundamental); id., '*Qaṭrān, shā'ir i Ādharbāijān*', *Armaghān* XII, 1310sh./1931, p. 45-51, 101-6, 177-84, 297-301, 383-91, 457-61, 534-8 (also in *Maqālāt i Kasrawī* I, Tehran 1327sh./1948 p. 123-55); V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history* (= *Cambridge Oriental Series* No. 6), London 1953, passim; Ṣafā II⁶ p. 421-30; Khaiyām-pūr p. 437; Y. Dhukā', [219] '*Qaṭrān wa nukhusṭn mamdūh i tū*', *Sukhan* XIV, 1343sh./1964, p. 763-8; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 183-226; Shafī'ī-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 540-9; S.A.Ḥ. 'Ābidī, '*Sih qaṣīdah i nā-shinākhtah az Qaṭrān i Tabriz*', *Āyandah* VI/7-8, 1359sh./1980, p. 507-16; *EP*² s.v. 'Qaṭrān' (I. Dehghan).

131. The poetess **Rābi'ah** bint Ka'b al-Quzdārī is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the Ghaznavid poets where we find several of her poems, including an early example of a *mulamma'* (a poem with alternating Persian and Arabic verses). Her passion for bilingual contrivances is attested also by the poem attributed to her by Jājarmī,¹ a Persian poem incorporating the Arabic words which make up the *shahādah* and the *lahwalah*. Further specimens of her poetry are quoted by Rādūyānī (who

¹The attribution to 'dukhtar i Ka'b' is, however, apparently only in the table of contents.

calls her 'Ibnat Ka'b') and by Shams. The romantic account of her in 'Aṭṭār's *Ilāhī-nāmah* (for which see Ateş and Meier) has evidently no value as a biographical source.

Rādūyānī p. 81 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Aufī II p. 61-2; Shams p. 121; Jājarmī I p. *lām-kāf*; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 222; M. Ishaque, *Four eminent poetesses of Iran*, Calcutta 1950, p. 1-8 (with text and translation of most of the fragments); Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 449-51; Khaiyām-pūr p. 218-9; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15 n. 2; Meier, *Mahsati* p. 27-44; H. Massé, "The poetess Rābi'a Qozdāri", *Yādnāme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, p. 103-6.

132. Rāfi' Nishābūrī figures in 'Arūḍī's list of the poets of the 'kings of Ṭabaristān', which, at least in this context, evidently means not the Ziyārids, but the Bāwandids. This is clear from the appendix (*dhail*) to Ibn Isfandiyār's *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, when it quotes verses of his praising the Bāwandid Shahryār b. Qārīn (ruled from before 498/1108 to ca. 508/1114-5). The old anthology published by Yaghmā'ī has a poem by Rāfi' praising Nizām al-mulk (died 485/1092). Jājarmī attributes to a poet of the same name an ode the dedicatee of which is indicated with the words *khilāf u tashrif i mīr al-mu'minīn ibn al-Jahīr*, evidently the well-known wazīr of the caliphs al-Qā'im and al-Muqtadī and [220] ally of Malik-Shāh, Fakhr al-daulah Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Jahīr (wazīr from 454/1062 to 471/1078; died 483/1090).¹ Hidāyat quotes a shorter version of this poem, and a good number of others, claims that their author lived at the time of Maḥmūd and 'Unṣurī and names the former and his minister Ḥasan Maimandī as the dedicatees of two of the poems cited. But Nafīsī has shown that this is wrong and that Hidāyat simply misunderstood the names occurring in the poems. For his part, Nafīsī committed the blunder of stating that Ibn Jahīr lived in the 6th/12th century and that consequently there must have been two poets by the name of Rāfi' Nishābūrī, one ('Arūḍī's) in the 4th/10th century (under the Ziyārids), and another in the 6th/12th. In fact Ibn Jahīr lived, as mentioned, in the 5th/11th century. It is thus clear that we have only one Rāfi' Naisābūrī and that he flourished in the last quarter of the 11th century and the first quarter of the 12th.

¹Cf. *EL*² s.v. 'Djahīr (Banū)' (Cl. Cahen).

Shams quotes two verses by Rāfi', one of which he states to be an imitation of a verse by Mu'izzī, but it is by no means certain that it was not in fact the other way round.

LF (ed. Iqbāl, p. 165, 333: two verses from the marginal additions to Ms. *nūn*); 'Arūḍī p. 28; Shams p. 278, 437; Jājarmī II p. 485-7; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān* (ed. Iqbāl, *dhail* p. 174; see also Browne's epitome p. 256); Yaghmā'ī p. 101-2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 220-1; S. Nafīsī, *Ahwāl... Rūdakī* III p. 1302-3; Khaiyām-pūr p. 222; LN s.vv. 'Rāfi' i Nishābūrī' and '...Nishābūrī' (two entries) p. 98; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* III p. 99.

133. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ma'rūf bi Rōdah(?)¹ al-Balkhī is cited by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of the Ghaznavids, [221] where we find five single verses (*fard*), a type of poetry in which, according to 'Aufī, he specialised.

'Aufī II p. 46-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 242.

134. Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ādam al-Rūdhakī (Persian: Rōdakī²) al-Shā'ir al-Samarqandī,³ the most celebrated Persian poet prior to Firdausī, was born in the village of Rōdak, outside Samarqand, and made his name as the eulogist of the Samanid ruler of Bukhārā, Abū l-Ḥasan Naṣr (II) b. Aḥmad (reg. 301/914 to 331/943). Early poets such as Daqīqī, Firdausī, Abū Zurā'ah and Nāṣir i Khusrāu allude more or less explicitly to his blindness and 'Aufī indeed says he was born blind, but this has been doubted by some modern scholars, who have referred to the vivid descriptions of nature in a number of his verses. According to Asadī⁴ Rōdakī's *diwān* consisted of more than 180 000 verses (an even larger

¹The *shuhrah* is given in the manuscripts of 'Aufī's book as r.w.r.d.h., which does not seem to have any meaning. Nafīsī (ad 'Aufī p. 673) claims that in 'other' (unspecified) '*saftnahs* and '*tadhkirahs*' the name is given as r.w.d.h., evidently 'Rōdah', 'gut, string of an instrument'.

²Not Rō'ūdagī, as some authors have it. In a verse by 'Arūḍī (quoted by 'Aufī II p. 7) Rōdakt-st rhymes with kōdakt-st.

³Thus according to Sam'ānī and 'Aufī (who traces the *nasab* only as far as the poet's father). Daulat-shāh gives his *kunya* (doubtless wrongly) as Abū l-Ḥasan.

⁴In one of his *Munāẓarāt*, ed. J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, *MDAM* XIII, 1346sh./1978, p. 71, v. 33.

number is claimed by later authors). Of this prodigious output little has survived. We have one long ode (the splendid poem beginning *mādar i mai*) dedicated to Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, who was governor of Sīstān on behalf of the Samanids from 310/922-3 to 352/963, a handful of shorter poems and a considerable number of fragments, mostly single verses, quoted by Asadī, Rādūyānī and others. Apart from his lyrical pieces Rōdakī evidently wrote several *mathnawīs*, the most celebrated of which was his [222] versification of *Kaṭlāh wa Dimnah*.¹ According to the 'older preface' to the *Shāh-nāmāh*,² Naṣr b. Aḥmad ordered his minister Bal'amī to have the book of *Kaṭlāh wa Dimnah* translated from Arabic to Persian, and then commanded Rōdakī to turn it into verse. The same story is found in Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmāh*³ with the characteristic added detail that the *amīr* appointed 'interpreters' (*guzārandaḥ*) to 'read' the book to Rōdakī (who was, of course, blind). A number of fragments in *ramal* metre, quoted in Asadī's *Lughat i furs*, were identified by Horn⁴ as belonging to that well-known collection of stories. The present author, who is preparing a new edition of the fragments of Rōdakī's narrative poems, has so far been able to identify the location in the story of about 50 verses.⁵ Moreover, Nöldeke observed already⁶ that the fragments in *ramal* also contain verses that clearly belong to the story of Sindbād and the Seven Ministers, and, after the publication of Zāhīrī's prose version of the *Sindbād-nāmāh*, Dabīr-Siyāqī was able to place a few further verses in that story. This presents us with a slight chronological problem. Sam'ānī states that Rōdakī died in his native village in 329/940-1. But Zāhīrī⁷ states that his source, the Persian prose translation of the *Sindbād-nāmāh* by Khwājah 'Amīd Abū l-Fawāris Fanārūzī (or Qa-) was written in the [223] year 339/950-1 for 'Abū Muḥammad Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr al-Sāmānī', evidently an error for Abū

Muḥammad Nūḥ (II) b. Naṣr (regn. 331/943 to 343/954),¹ and that before that time 'no-one had translated it' (i.e. into Neo-Persian. Arabic versions had, of course, existed earlier, e.g. that by Abān al-Lāḥiqī). It is, however, possible that Rōdakī did not 'translate' the whole of the *Sindbād-nāmāh*, but rendered only a few of the stories.

Rōdakī, who enjoyed a tremendous reputation for about two centuries after his death, fell out of favour with the adepts of the highly mannered style of the Mongol period. It is most instructive to compare 'Arūḍī's exuberant praise of Rōdakī's verses on the Jōy i Mūliyān with Daulat-shāh's dismissal of the same verses. Only in the 19th century did the simple and direct style of the ancient Khurāsānī poets come back into favour with Persian literati, by which time the overwhelming mass of Rōdakī's authentic verses had disappeared. But the memory of his name had not vanished, as can be seen from the fact that in the intervening years that name had been used in connection with one of the notorious literary frauds with which the history of Persian literature is so richly littered, namely the manufacture of a Pseudo-'*Diwān i Rōdakī*'. As scholars like Ḥasan b. Luṭf Allāh al-Rāzī, in the 17th century, and Riḍā-Qūlī Khān Hidāyat, in the 19th, quite clearly noted, this Pseudo-'*Diwān*' consists in fact of poems by Qaṭrān supplemented by a handful of the well-known [224] poems of Rōdakī's quoted in the *tadhkirahs*.² Unfortunately, some Western scholars have fallen victim to this mystification.³

For manuscripts of the (Pseudo-)*Diwān* see Qaṭrān.

Edition of the Pseudo-'*Diwān*: Persia (n.p.) 1315/1897.

Collections of fragments: The basic work on this poet remains S. Nafīsī, *Aḥwāl wa ash'ār i Rōdakī*, 3 volumes, Tehran 1309sh./1930 to 1319sh./1940, with an edition of the fragments in the last volume. A revised edition of this book, with additional fragments (altogether 1047

¹ For the following see de Blois, *Burzōy*, p. 51-2.

² See supra, p. 125. The passage quoted is in *Haz. Fird.* p. 135-6.

³ Moscow edition VIII, Nōshīn-ruwān 3452 sqq.

⁴ Horn, *Einl.* p. 18-21.

⁵ In the collections by Nafīsī and Braginskii the *Kaṭlāh* fragments are not separated from the other verses in *ramal*. Nafīsī, moreover, arbitrarily ascribes to Rōdakī a number of verses in *ramal* by Ṭaiyān. (Since the above was written a collection of *Kaṭlāh* fragments has been published by Dabīr-Siyāqī; see the bibliography).

⁶ Apud Horn, *Einl.* p. 21.

⁷ P. 25.

¹ Cf. the introduction to Ateş's edition of Zāhīrī's *Sindbād-nāmāh*, p. 10 n. 1.

² Hidāyat, followed by Nafīsī and others, has argued that Qaṭrān's poems were attributed in good faith to Rōdakī as a result of a confusion between the name of latter's patron, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, and that of one of the former's protectors, Abū Naṣr Mamlān. But such a mix-up seems hardly likely.

³ Ethé, whose article on Rōdakī was published in 1873 (before Hidāyat's *Majma' al-fuṣṣahā*), rallied to the Persian scholar's opinion in his later contribution in *GlPh* II p. 220.

verses, but many of them manifestly spurious), but unfortunately without any critical apparatus, was published under the title *Muht i zindagi wa ahwāl wa ash'ar i Rūdakī*, Tehran 1336sh./1958; reprinted 1341sh./1962. Other collections: *Osori Rūdakī*, ed. A. Mirzoyev, Stalinabad 1958; Рудаки. Стихи, ed. I.S. Braginskiy with Russian verse translations by V.V. Levik and S.I. Lipkin, Moscow 1964; Абу Абдулло Рудаки: Стихи. Научный текст, перевод и комментарии, by I.M. Braginskaya, Dushanbe 1987 (non vidi. Cf. the review by J. Bečka, *Archiv Orientalní* 58, 1990, p. 86-7).

Translations: (Russian): besides those listed in the previous paragraph see: Рудаки. Tr. V.V. Derzhavin and V.V. Levik, Stalinabad 1949; reprint 1955; Избранное. Tr. V. Levik and S. Lipkin, Moscow 1957; reprint 1958, 1978. [225]

Baihaqī p. 61, 188, 239, 366, 599; *Tārīkh i Sīstān* p. 316-24; *LF* passim (he is the most frequently quoted poet; there are several hitherto unattested verses in the newly published Punjab manuscript); *Rādūyānī* passim (and Ateş's notes, p. 90-2); *Sam'ānī* fol. 262a-b; *Arūfī* p. 28, 31-4; *Waṭwāt* p. 4, 14, 83; *Aufī* II p. 6-9; *Shams* passim; *Mustaufī* p. 732; *Jārmī* II p. 453-4; *Daulat-shāh* p. 31-3; *Rāzī* III p. 335-43; H. Ethé, 'Rūdagi, der Sāmānidendichter', *Nachrichten...Göttingen*, 1873, p. 663-742 (still valuable as a guide to the late *tadhkirahs*); *Hidāyat*, *Majma'* I p. 236-40; E.D. Ross, 'Rudaki and Pseudo-Rudaki', *JRAS* 1924 p. 609-44; id., 'A Qasida by Rudaki', *JRAS* 1926, p. 213-37 (contains a critical edition of the ode *mādar i mai...* by M. Qazwīnī and a translation by Ross); id., 'Rūdakī's "Kalīla wa-Dimna"' in his 'Forward' to Tawny/Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, V, London 1926 p. xiii-xx (discusses a few of the fragments already identified by Horn); U. Melzer, 'Über einige Verse Rudakis', *ZDMG* 91, 1937, p. 404-6 (emendations to Qazwīnī/Ross); M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 'Rūdakī wa Sindbād-nāmah', *Yaghma* VIII, 1334sh./1955, p. 218-23, 320-4, 413-6 (the article locates 10 verses of Rūdakī's in the story of Sindbād and 32 in Kalīlah and Dimnah); M.I. Zand, *Sohibqironi shoiri - ustod Rūdakī*, Stalinabad 1957; A. Mirzoyef, *Abū 'Abd Allāh Rūdakī*, Stalinabad 1958 (published simultaneously in Tajik and Arabic character versions); id., *Abū 'Abd Allāh Rūdakī wa inkishāf i ghazal dar 'aṣr-hā i 10-15'*, Stalinabad 1957; id., Рудаки и развитие газели в X-XV вв., Stalinabad 1958 (translation of the preceding); id., Рудаки: жизнь и творчество, Moscow

1968; id., 'One more spurious manuscript of Rudaki's verses', *Iran Society Silver Jubilee souvenir*, Calcutta 1970, p. 247-57; *Rūdakī wa zamoni ū. (Majmu'ai maqolaho)*, ed. A. Mirzoyev, Stalinabad 1958; M. Mu'in, 'Yak qasidah i Rūdakī' (i.e. *bōy i jōy i Mūliyān*), *MDAT* VI/3-4, 1338sh./1959, p. 71-92; [226] id., 'Qasidah i Rūdakī wa istiqbāl i gūyandagān', *Āmūzish wa parwarish* XIV, 1323sh./1945, p. 577-90; S. Nafīsī, 'Chand nukta i tāzah dar bārah i Rūdakī', *MDAT* VI/3-4, 1338sh./1959, p. 21-39; B. Furūzānfur, 'Shi'r wa shā'iri i Rūdakī', *MDAT* VI/3-4, 1338sh./1959, p. 93-116; 'A. Huqūqī, 'Lughāt wa tarkībāt i Rūdakī', *MDAT* VI/3-4, 1338sh./1959, p. 117-170; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 371-89; Khayyām-pūr p. 241-2 (with further references); Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* 413-42; A. Tohirjonov (Tagirdzhanov), 'Ba'ze mas'alahoi tarjimai holi Rūdakī', *Sharqi surkh*, 1966/1, p. 126-30; Z.N. Vorozheykina, Еще несколько бейтов прописываемых Рудаки, Памятники письменности Востока 1972 p. 5-8; M. Ishaque, 'Rudaki, the father of Neo-Persian poetry', *Iran Society Silver Jubilee souvenir*, Calcutta 1970, p. 143-60 (contains translations of a number of his poems); H. Zarrīn-kūb, 'Anāšir i badī'i dar shi'r i Rūdakī', *MDAM* XII, 1355sh./1976, p. 105-16; J.M. Khumak, 'Charkh i kajah-bāz dar shi'r i Rūdakī', *Nāmwarah i Duktur Maḥmūd i Afshār* IV, Tehran 1367sh./1989, p. 2325-9; M.R. Shafī'i-Kadkanī, 'Rūdakī wa rubā'i', *ibid.* p. 2330-42; M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, 'Dāstān-hā i Bīd-pāy wa abyāt i bāz-māndah az manzūm-hā i baḥr i ramal i Rūdakī', *Qāfilah-sālār i sukhan* (Khānlārī memorial volume), [Tehran] 1370sh./1991-2, p. 99-114; 'A.A. Šādīqī, 'Ash'ar i tāzah i Rūdakī', *Nashr i dānish* IX/4, 1373sh./1993; Bosworth, *Saffarids* p. 289-91; *EL* s.v. 'Rūdakī' (with further discussion).

Bibliographies: R.O. Tal'man and A. Yunusov, Рудаки (Указатель литературы) (title also in Tajik), Dushanbe 1965; J. Bečka, 'New papers on Rūdakī by Tadzhik and other Soviet scholars', *Archiv Orientalní* 28, 1960, p. 494-501.

135. Abū 'Abd Allāh Rōzbih b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nukafī al-Lahaurī appears, if the *nisbah* is correct, to be the earliest Persian poet born in India. 'Aufī quotes an ode of his praising 'Sultān Mas'ūd i shahīd', i.e. Mas'ūd I (421/1030 to 432/1040) and a *qit'ah* addressed to one Shāhanshāh b. Shāh i Nēshābūr b. Ibrāhīm. One verse by 'rwznh nkny' is quoted in the Vatican manuscript of *LF* s.v. *shāshah*.

LF (ed. Horn) p. 49 (ed. Iqbāl quotes the verse, from Horn, on p. 79 and 219 and 'emends' [227] the name to Rōdakī); 'Aufī II p. 57-8; Ibn al-Mujāwir (see below, p. 243 fn.); LN s.v. 'Nukātī'; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 600-1; Khaiyām-pūr p. 242 ('Rōzbih') and 614 ('Nukātī'); I. Husain, *The early Persian poets of India (A.H. 421-679)*, Patna 1980, p. 6-10.

136. Šaffār Marghazī is known to us only from the few verses quoted by Asadī.

LF (see the indexes to the three editions); LN s.v. 'Šaffār' p. 222, Khaiyām-pūr p. 337; Idārah-chī p. 38.

137. Šānī' (reading uncertain) al-Balkhī is the author of a *rubāʿī* quoted in the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* (p. 324) which mentions '*mīr i shahīd*', i.e. the title given posthumously to the Saffarid ruler Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf (died 352/963).

Collection of fragments (1 *rubāʿī*), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 31, 134, II p. 139; see also Idārah-chī p. 82; Bosworth, *Saffarids* p. 288.

138. Abū l-Ḥasan **Shahīd** (or perhaps better: **Shuhaid**) b. al-Ḥusain al-Balkhī al-Warrāq al-Mutakallim was a philosopher and a poet in Persian and Arabic who died (according to Yāqūt, followed by al-Šafadī) in 315/927. He was a contemporary and close friend of the polymath Abū Zaid al-Balkhī and of the mu'tazilī theologian Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (the three Balkhīs were the subject of a joint biography, used by Yāqūt) and a bitter rival of the famous philosopher Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. The latter wrote a polemic against Shahīd on the subject of pleasure (*al-ladhdhah*) and another on eschatology (*al-ma'ād*), both now lost. The epitome of al-Sijistānī's *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* contains a short extract from a work by Shahīd on the 'superiority of the pleasures of the soul over those of the body', perhaps the object of al-Rāzī's attack.

Shahīd was a professional scribe and had a reputation as a meticulous copyist. His Arabic poetry, which is quoted by al-Marghīnānī, Yāqūt and 'Aufī, includes two *qit'ahs* mocking Aḥmad b. Abī Rabī'ah, who was the *wazīr* of the Šaffarid 'Amr b. al-Laith between 278/891 and 287/900. Yāqūt tells us that he also satirised Aḥmad b.

Sahl, the famous governor of Khurāsān, and had to flee his anger, but returned to Balkh after Aḥmad's execution (i.e. in 307/920).

But Shahīd is mainly remembered as a Persian poet. His famous contemporary Rōdakī wrote a elegy on his death, and he is mentioned with respect by other Persian poets of the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries, but afterwards his poems fell into oblivion, apart from the verses preserved by the anthologists and lexicographers. These include an amatory poem of eight lines quoted by Jāarmī, a extract from a *qaṣīdah* which 'Aufī says he dedicated to the Samanid Naṣr II (301/914 to 331/43), a poem with alternating Persian and Arabic verses and some couplets from a narrative poem, apparently of romantic content. Not surprisingly, several of the stray verses cited in the dictionaries have a philosophic or gnomic flavour.

Collection of fragments (106 verses), French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 20-1, 62-9, II p. 23-39.

al-Nadīm p. 299, 301 (=ed. Tajaddud p. 357-8); Abū Sulaimān al-Sijistānī, *Muntakhab šiwān al-ḥikmah*, ed. D.M. Dunlop, The Hague (etc.) 1979, p. 127; Bairūnī, *Risālah ... fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā' al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, p. 11, 18; Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, IV p. 21 (where 'Sahl b. al-Ḥasan' is an error for 'Shahīd b. al-Ḥusain'); id., *Latā'if l-ma'ārif*, ed. al-Abyārī/al-Šairafī, Cairo 1960, p. 203; Marghīnānī, *al-Maḥāsīn fī l-naẓm wa l-nathr*, ed. G.J. van Gelder, Istanbul 1987, p. 77; Yāqūt, *Irshād* I p. 143, 149 (and the edition by Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1993, p. 275, 279-80, 1421-2, the last passage containing the entry on Shahīd from a hitherto unpublished *mukhtaṣar*); id., *Buldān* II p. 167-8 (read, twice, Abū <l-Ḥasan> Shuhaid); 'Aufī II p. 3-5; id., *Jawāmi'* III p. 341-2; Shams p. 204; *al-Risālah al-mulḥaqah*, London Or. 9033, fol. 141b;¹ Šafadī, *al-Waḥf bi l-wafayāt* XVI p. 197-8 (no. 229); Jāarmī II p. 952-3; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 303-4; Qazwīnī's notes to 'Arūḍī p. 127-8 (and those by Mu'īn in his edition, *ta'liqāt*, p. 80-2); P. Kraus in his edition of al-Rāzī's *Rasā'il falsafīyah*, Cairo 1939, p. 145-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 313; and (with various new

¹For this work see below, p. 360. In his brief entry (three lines) on Shahīd (Shuhaid) b. al-Ḥusain al-Balkhī, the anonymous author credits him with two satirical verses (not otherwise attested):

yā man ra'ā jurḥan 'alaihi ri'āyatī lammā stabāna lahu 'azīmu kināyatī
aiqanta annī fī madḥika kādhibun fa li dhaka lam yu'jibka ḥusnu riwāyatī.

suggestions) my articles 'Shuhayd al-Balkhī, a poet and philosopher of the time of Rāzī', *BSOAS* 1996, p. 333-7, and 'Shahīd al-Balkhī' in *EP*, [228]

139. Two verses are attributed to one **Shāh-Sār** (or -Shār?) in Asadī's *LF*.

140. **Shākir** and 141. **Jullāb**: A marginal addition in manuscript *nūn* of Asadī's *Lughat i furs*¹ s.v. 'Jullāb' explains that this is the name of a poet at Bukhārā and attests this with a verse by Khusrawānī bemoaning the death of Abū l-Mathāl² and 'Shākir i Jullāb'. If the text is correct we must either assume that 'Shākir' and 'Jullāb' were two names for the same poet, or that Shākir was the son of Jullāb. At the same time, we must consider the possibility of the minor emendation 'Shākir u Jullāb', which would also give us two poets. In any event, the poet (or poets) in question must, like Khusrawānī and Abū l-Mathāl, have lived during the Samanid period, if not earlier. The fact that *LF* quotes a good number of verses by 'Shākir', 'Shākir i Bukhārī', 'Jullāb' and 'Jullāb i Bukhārī', but never combines the two names, makes it seem most likely that we have to do with two different persons.³ Two verses by 'Shākir i [229] Bukhārī' are quoted by Shams i Qais and it is evidently to the same author that we must credit the three verses by 'Shākir' quoted by Rādūyānī.

LF passim (and Horn, Einl. p. 22); Rādūyānī p. 17, 29, 34; Shams p. 223; Dh. Šafā, 'Du shā'ir i gum-nām', *MDAT* II/3, 1334sh./1955 p.

¹Ed. Iqbāl p. 30.

²See above, p. 66-7.

³An argument for the identity of the two might be seen in the fact that in Asadī's entry *suftah* one and the same verse is attributed to 'Jullāb i Bukhārī' in the Vatican manuscript (ed. Horn p. 13) and in Qawwās, but to 'Shākir i Bukhārī' in manuscript *stn* (ed. Iqbāl p. 480) and to 'Shākir' in *Šihāh* (p. 280). However, it is quite common for different manuscripts of *LF* to attribute the same verse to different poets, especially if their names are similar. Further confusion is caused by the mysterious 'rt'my, to whom the Vatican manuscript of *LF*, s.v. *gharj* (ed. Horn p. 15), attributes a single verse; in manuscripts *stn* and *nūn* (ed. Iqbāl p. 66), the India Office manuscript (Ethé, I.O. Cat. col. 1334) and *Šihāh* (p. 57) the verse is attributed to 'Shākir i Bukhārī'. Ethé (loc. cit.) suggested that the *rasm* in the Vatican codex might be a misreading of 'Ghaznānī'. In the late lexica (see Horn's apparatus criticus) the verse is attributed to Abū Salīk Gurgānī.

1-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 130 (s.v. 'Jullāb'), 287 (s.v. 'Shākir'); Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 399-401; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Idārah-chī p. 74-81.

142. **Shuhrah i Āfāq** is similarly credited with two verses in *LF*. Nafīsī has recovered three more verses from Surūrī's *MF* and a *ghazal* of 13 verses from an 'old *saftnah*'. One more verse is supplied by *Šihāh* p. 260.

Cf. S. Nafīsī, 'Shuhrah i Āfāq', *Sharq* I, 1310sh./1921, p. 577-80.

143. **Sipihri Mā-warā'-al-nahrī**¹ is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the Samanid poets, where two verses of his are cited. He is perhaps identical with the 'Alī Sipihri whom 'Arūdī includes in his list of the poets of the Āl i Khāqān.

'Arūdī p. 28; 'Aufī II p. 27-8; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 244; Khaiyām-pūr p. 261; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 14; Idārah-chī p. 69.

144. [According to Horn, the Vatican manuscript of *LF* attributes, s.v. *nakhchtz*, two verses to an otherwise unknown 'Surūdī', but Salimi (p. 34-5) says that the Ms. (which she has recollated) in fact has 'Rōdaki' and that 'Surūdī' is a misreading by Horn. The India Office manuscript (see Ethé's catalogue, col. 1335) and *Šihāh* p. 132 likewise attribute them to Rōdaki.] [230]

145. **Ṭahāwī** is mentioned in 'Arūdī's² list of the Samanid poets. Two verses are attributed to a poet of that name, s.v. *nihāzīd*, in manuscript *stn* and (the first verse only) also in the manuscript P of *LF*³ as well as in *Šihāh* p. 94 (var. 'Ṭukhārī'; this form also in Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 199 s.v. 'Khabbāzī'). 'Ṭahāwī' is well known as the *nishbah* relating to the village of Ṭahā in Egypt; it is an unlikely name for a Persian poet, but perhaps he was the *maulā* of an Egyptian. In the face of the manu-

¹Hidāyat calls him Sipihri Bukhārī and adds that he was a contemporary of Abū l-Mu'ayyad al-Balkhī and of Abū l-Mathāl, but this is presumably only a personal deduction on the part of the 19th-century scholar.

²P. 28; thus in all three Mss. according to Qazwīnī's note.

³The Aya Sofya manuscript has (according to ed. Mujtabā'i/Šādiqī p. 79) the same spelling, except that the 'ṭ' is written like 'kl'. The attribution to Ṭaiyān in Iqbāl's edition p. 105 is apparently only in the marginal additions to Ms. *nūn*.

script evidence it is in any event imprudent¹ to replace the name by the *lectio facillior* 'Tukhārī'. See also Idārah-chī p. 34 (who reads 'Tukhārī').

146. Abū al-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. al-Faḍl, the *amīr* of Chaghāniyān, died in 381/991. 'Aufī includes him in his chapter on poeticising princes where he cites a number of his verses, further samples of which are quoted by Asadī and Rādūyānī.

LF passim; Rādūyānī p. 21 (and Ateş ad loc.); 'Aufī I p. 27-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 352; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 428-9; Idārah-chī p. 171-83.

147. Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sinjī al-Ṭaiyān was - I paraphrase, here and in what follows, Sam'ānī's notice - a native of the village of Sinj (near Marw).² The greatest part [231] of his poetry, which was well-known in Marw, consisted of buffoonery and jesting,³ but later he repented and renounced poetry. He also worked as a builder (thus apparently his sobriquet Ṭaiyān, 'hod carrier') and is credited with the construction of the minaret of the mosque at Bāb al-Madīnah (evidently in Marw) and the one at the mosque in Sinj. A good number of verses by 'Ṭaiyān Marghazī' are quoted by Asadī. He is clearly not identical with the Ṭaiyān Bammī Kirmānī quoted by Rāzī⁴ and Hidāyat,⁵ who must - judging from his style - belong to a later period.⁶

LF passim; Sam'ānī fol. 375b (new edition IX p. 118);⁷ LN s.v. 'Ṭaiyān' p. 380-2; Khaiyām-pūr p. 360; Idārah-chī p. 58-68.

¹Pace Dih-khudā, LN s.v. 'Ṭahāwī' p. 177.

²According to Yāqūt, *Buldān* III p. 161-2, Sinj (thus vocalised by Yāqūt) is the name of two villages near Marw; one is called Sinj 'Abbād, the other is one of the biggest villages of Marw al-Shāhijān, four *farsang* from the metropolis. In the old facsimile edition of Sam'ānī the poet's native place is given as Shaikh, the name of a village near Isfahan (cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān* III p. 327-8). But the fact that both Sam'ānī and Asadī explicitly connect this poet with Marw makes it impossible to doubt that 'Sinj' is the correct reading.

³Read with the new edition: '*al-sakhf wa l-muṭayyah*'.

⁴Rāzī I p. 268-70 (in the edition the name is written ṭb'n).

⁵Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 328-9.

⁶See PL VI. The two Ṭaiyāns are clearly distinguished in the LN article. Note that the two verses attributed to Ṭaiyān in LF (ed. Iqbāl) p. 61 and *Ṣiḥāḥ* (p. 59) are ascribed (doubtless wrongly) to Ṭaiyān Bammī in Qawwās p. 134.

⁷Many thanks to C.E. Bosworth for providing me with photocopies of the relevant pages from the new edition.

148. **Turkī Kashī** Īlāqī (or however this name is to be read)¹ is included by 'Aufī, who quotes four of his verses, among the Samanid poets. One further verse is quoted in manuscript P of Asadī's *Lughat i furs*. His name is mentioned in a verse by Manūchihri.² See also Ḥusain Īlāqī (above, p. 168).

LF (ed. Muḥtaba'i/Şādiqī p. 132); 'Aufī II p. 26; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 176; Furūzanfar I p. 28; LN s.v. 'Abū Dharr' p. 456; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 455-6; Khaiyām-pūr p. 113. [232]

149. Abū l-Qāsim Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-'Unṣurī has left us with a fairly small *diwān* (evidently only a selection of his poems)³ consisting almost entirely of odes to the Ghaznavid Maḥmūd, his brothers Naṣr and Ya'qūb and his minister Maimandī. He was still alive during *ʿId al-fiṭr* in 422/September 1031, on which occasion he and Zainabī, according to Baihaqī's eye-witness account, received a rich reward from Maḥmūd's son, Mas'ūd.⁴ We also have a poem by Manūchihri,⁵ who did not arrive in Ghaznah until some time in the reign of Mas'ūd, eulogising 'Abū l-Qāsim Ḥasan *ostād i ostādān i zamānah* 'Unṣurī'. However, the fact that 'Unṣurī's *diwān* contains only one poem addressed to Mas'ūd suggests that he died not long after the latter's succession. The date given by Daulat-shāh for the poet's death (431/1039-40) is thus perhaps rather too late. Other *tadhkirahs* make him live as long as 441/1049-50.

'Aufī says that, besides his odes, 'Unṣurī dedicated a number of *mathnawīs* to Maḥmūd 'like *Shād-bahr u 'Ain al-Ḥayāh* and *Wāmiq u*

¹See Nafīsī ad 'Aufī, p. 656.

²*Diwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī no. 33.

³See below, Appendix IV.

⁴Baihaqī (p. 274) says that on that occasion Mas'ūd rewarded the 'obscure poets' (*shā'irān kih bē-gānah-tar būdand*) with 20 000 *dirams* (each or in total?), 'Alawī Zainabī with 50 000 *dirams*, 'Unṣurī with 1000 *dirams* and the 'singers and jesters' with 30 000 *dirams*. Clinton, on p. 30 of his book on Manūchihri (see above, no. 101), has interpreted this passage as implying an intentional slighting of Maḥmūd's panegyrist by the new king, but this is far from certain: we have, as far as I can see, no information about the exchange rate between the (silver) *diram* and the (gold) *dirār* during the Ghaznavid period, but the fact that 'Unṣurī alone is rewarded with gold would seem rather to imply a particular honour.

⁵*Diwān*, ed. Dabīr-Siyāqī, no. 33.

'*Adhrā* and *Khing but u Surkh but*'. It is very interesting that 'Unşurī's contemporary Bairūnī, in his catalogue of his own writings (and those of Muḥammad [233] b. Zakarīyā' al-Rāzī),¹ tells us that he himself 'translated the story of Wāmiq and 'Adhrā', the 'tradition of Qasīm al-Surūr [i.e. 'destined to happiness', corresponding to Persian *shād-bahr*] and 'Ain al-Ḥayāh' and 'the tradition of the two idols of al-Bāmiyān' [evidently the same as 'Unşurī's 'white idol and red idol'], as well as other stories. There is evidently some connection between the two authors' treatment of the same tales; one must imagine either that Bairūnī translated 'Unşurī's epics into Arabic, or (less probably, I think) that 'Unşurī based his poems on Bairūnī's Arabic (or Persian?) prose versions.² A number of *mathnawī* fragments in *mutaqārib* metre have been preserved in Asadī's *Lughat i furs* and Rādūyānī quotes two verses explicitly from the story of the two idols.³ Our knowledge of 'Unşurī the narrative poet was revolutionised in the 1950's when M. Shafī' discovered, stuffed into the binding of a manuscript dated 526/1132, substantial fragments of a yet older manuscript which the Pakistani scholar

¹*Risālah li l-Bairūnī fī fihrist kutub Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā' al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1936, p. 39, no. 80, 81, 83.

²In connection with the question of the relationship between 'Unşurī's and Bairūnī's versions of *Wāmiq u 'Adhrā*, etc., it is perhaps worth mentioning that Bairūnī, in his (extant, but unpublished) *Kitāb al-nisab baina l-filizzāt wa l-jawāhir fī l-ḥajm*, as quoted (or summarised) by the 12th-century scientist 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khāzinī in his *Kitāb mīzān al-ḥikmah*, Hyderabad 1359/1940, p. 77, cites these two verses by 'Unşurī:

shāh-a hazār sāl ba mulk andarān bi-zī

z-ān pas hazār sāl ba nāz andarān bi-bal

sāl-ē hazār māl u māh-ē šad hazār rōz

rōz-ē hazār sāl u sāl-āt hazār sāl

('Oh king! May you live and reign for a thousand years, and after that may you prosper in pleasure for another thousand years. And may each year be a thousand months, each month a hundred thousand days, each day a thousand hours and the hour a thousand years.'). Bairūnī works out how long the poet's patron would have to live in order to fulfil this extravagant wish (sidestepping the question of whether the 'years' mentioned in the last half-verse are lunar or solar years, Bairūnī assigns them the round number of 360 days and calculates the total days of the patron's life as 72 followed by 18 noughts) and claims (if we are to believe al-Khāzinī) that the verses are 'Unşurī's comment on the mathematical puzzle known as the chess problem (which involves calculating the value of $2^{64}-1$), a problem famously solved by Bairūnī himself. The two verses are cited also in a slightly different form in *Shihāh* p. 204, and the first verse only in the Vatican Ms. of *LF* s.v. *bal*.

³Rādūyānī p. 86; also in Waṭwāt p. 78.

identified as 'Unşurī's *Wāmiq u 'Adhrā*. That this work derives ultimately from a Greek source had been observed long ago on the basis of the obviously Greek names occurring in the fragments cited by Asadī. Following the publication of Shafī's material the collaboration of two Scandinavian scholars, the Iranist B. Utas and the classicist T. Hägg, led to the discovery that 'Unşurī's poem derives from the Hellenistic romance of Metiochus and Parthenope, a work known, like its Persian offshoot, only from fragments. Through what intermediaries the story passed from Greek to [234] Persian remains, however, unknown.¹ It has also become clear that the 16th-century Turkish *Wāmiq u 'Adhrā* of Lāmi'i,² which the author claims to be a translation of 'Unşurī's poem, has in fact little in common with the latter.³

Qarīb⁴ and Šafā have taken seriously the story which they found in their copies of the 13th-century Persian translation (by al-Ḥusain b. As'ad al-Dihistānī al-Mu'ayyadī) of *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* by Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin b. 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, which quotes the words of 'Unşurī the poet' about how, having lost his father as a young man, he became a travelling merchant, was robbed of all his belongings and only narrowly escaped with his life. However, in the Arabic original of Tanūkhī's work the name of the narrator is given as Abū l-Qāsim 'Ubaid Allāh b.

¹That 'Unşurī's source was an Arabic work translated directly from the Greek (as Hägg argues in his article 'The oriental reception of Greek novels: A survey with some preliminary considerations', *Symbolae Osloensis* LXI, 1986, p. 99-131) is, I should think, rather unlikely. All of the known Arabic renderings of Greek books derive from Syriac or (rarely) Middle-Persian intermediaries. Even Ḥunain b. Ishāq, who was fluent in Greek and Arabic, always translated his Greek sources first into Syriac before attempting an Arabic version. The reason for this is that a tradition and technique of direct Greek-Arabic translation did not exist.

²Verse translation by J. von Hammer-Purgstall as *Wamīk und Asra, d.i. der Glühende und die Blühende, das älteste persische (sic) romantische Gedicht*, Vienna 1833. Other poems with the same title, in Persian and Turkish, are listed by Mahjūb, *Sukhan* XVIII, 1347sh./1968, p. 131-2.

³The anonymous prose *Iskandar-nāmah*, ed. Ī. Afshār, Tehran 1343sh./1964, also refers to 'Unşurī's *Khing-but u Surkh-but* (p. 288-9) as well as to his *Shād-bahr u 'Ain al-ḥayat* (p. 430-1).

⁴In the introduction to his edition of 'Unşurī's *dtwan*, p. vi-ix.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAbqasī al-Shāʿir;¹ moreover, the name ʿAbqasī [235] occurs also in the Topkapı manuscript (dated 706/1306-7) of the Persian translation.² The 'correction' of ʿAbqasī to ʿUnṣurī can consequently not even be blamed on the Persian translator, but only on later copyists. Quite apart from this, it must be noted that Tanūkhī died in 384/994 and is thus not very likely to have known ʿUnṣurī. It is probable that also Hidāyat's story³ of how the young ʿUnṣurī was attacked by robbers and subsequently sold into slavery goes back to the same murky source.⁴

Editions of *Wāmiq u ʿAdhrā*: **Lahore** 1967 (Ed. M.M. Shafīʿ); **Tblisi** 1983 (Эпическое наследие Унсури, ed. I. Kaladze. Contains the manuscript fragments, reproduced photographically from Shafīʿ' edition, the other quotations, reproduced from Qarīb's edition of the *diwān*, a Russian translation and commentary).

Manuscripts of his *Diwān*:⁵ **Oxford** Elliot 114 (Ethé 521. Modern); **London** Or. 3246 fol. 213-262 (Rieu Suppt. no. 204 II. Dated Ramaḍān 1248/1833); Or. 10936 (Meredith-Owens p. 61. Dated 1276/1859-60); Or. 2843 (Rieu Suppt. no. 205. Dated 28 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1278/1862); Or. 2889 fol. 24b-43b (Rieu Suppt. no. 212 III. Completed 28 Jumādā I 1293/1876. *qasāʿid* only); Or. 10937 (Meredith-Owens p. 61. 19th century); **Cambridge** Or. 236 (Browne Suppt. 954. 19th century copy of Calcutta Ivanow 428); Browne Coll. V.88 pp. 2-139 (Dated 1266/1849-50); **Leningrad** Univ. 941w (Salemman-Rosen p. 15); [236] Univ. 1003a, 1038, 1087c, 1202c (Romaskewicz p. 8);

¹With variants. See the edition by ʿAbbūd al-Shālji, III, Beyrouth 1398/1978 p. 393 (*qiṣṣah* 365). The editor (in his foot-note in volume II, *qiṣṣah* 246) equates this person with the poet Abū l-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṣarwī, whom Tanūkhī quotes more than a dozen times in *al-Faraj baʿd al-shiddah* as well as in his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah wa akhbār al-mudhākarah* (see the indexes in al-Shālji's editions of the two books, under 'al-Ṣarwī') and who was apparently a close friend of the author. Although this equation is possible, the fact that the *nisbah* al-ʿAbqasī (from ʿAbd al-Qais) appears only in this passage must lead one to suspect that they might not be the same person.

²See the critical edition by Ismāʿīl Ḥakīmī, II, second printing, Tehran 1363sh./1984-5, p. 911. The name occurs also (again only in the Topkapı Ms., against 'Unṣurī' in the other copies) at the end of the story, p. 915.

³Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 355.

⁴As was suggested by A.H. Morton, with whom I have discussed this and other aspects of ʿUnṣurī's biography.

⁵For the manuscript tradition, see below, Appendix IV.

Istanbul Üniversite FY 328 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 33. Ateş 9. Has a *waqf* notice dated 1095/1684); **Tehran** Majlis III 1032 (Undated but, as the cataloguer has shown, part of a now mutilated Ms. written in 1010/1601-2); Qarīb 189/1 (*Nuskah-hā* V p. 648. Dated 6 Shaʿbān 1207/1793); Majlis III 1031 (Dated 1211/1796-7); Majlis VIII 2468 (18th century?); Aṣghar Mahdawī 464/5 (*Nuskah-hā* II p. 119. Dated Dhū l-qaʿdah 1225/1810); Millī III 1489 (Dated 1255/1839-40); Majlis II 375 (Dated 1256/1840); Majlis II 376 (Dated 1262 /1846); Gulistan/Ātābāy II 332 (Dated 5 Muḥarram 1262/1846); Millī III 1481 (Dated 1296/1879); Sipah-sālār II 1236 (19th century); Malik 4963/3 (Munz. no. 24885); Malik 5467/1 (Munz. no. 24914); **Qum** Marʿashī XVI 4813 fol. 88-167 (Dated 1259/1843); Marʿashī XI 4164 (Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1263/1847); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 499 (Dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 1261/1845); Riḍawī VII 498 (Dated 1274/1857-8); Riḍawī VII 497 (Dated 1278/1861); Univ. 146; **Lahore** Univ. II p. 135 [Munz.]; **Peshawar** Islāmīyah 1823(1) (Dated 1134/1721-2); **Hyderabad** Sālār Jung IV 1115 (19th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 427 (18th century?); Ivanow 428 (=Lucknow Sprenger 437. 18th century?); **Princeton** 5 (Made in the reign of Shāhjahān [1628-58]. *qasāʿid* only); Qarīb refers to three Mss. in his private collection. Cf. Munz. III 24881-915.

Selected poems: **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 180a, 200b, 208a, 235a, 240a (Ethé 1333 = *Daqāʿiq al-ashʿār*); **London** Or. 1858 fol. 65-78 (Rieu p. 1031. 19th century); **Tehran** Majlis XVII 5976 (18th century?); Majlis VIII 2326 p. 4-13 (17th century?); Univ. IX 2487/4 (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 273v-277v (Modern).

Editions: **Persia** (n.p., n.d. 68 foll.); 1298/1881 (95 foll.); **Bombay** 1319-20/1902; **Tehran** (n.d. 100 foll.); 1323sh./1944-5 (Ed. Y. Qarīb. Important review by H. Ritter in *Oriens* I, 1948, p. 134); [237] reprint 1341sh./1962-3; 1342sh./1963 (Ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāqī); reprint 1363sh./1984.

An anonymous commentary on a *qasīdah* attributed to him, with numerous quotations from poets of the 10th to 14th centuries (e.g. Asadī, Farrukhī, Munjik, Najīb Jarbādhaqānī, Qatrān, Rōdakī and ʿUnṣurī himself), with the title *Risālah dar bāb i qasīd<ah> i lughattiyah i ḥakīm ʿUnṣurī*, is contained in: **Paris** Ancien fonds 331 I (Blochet 1887/Richard. 17th century?).

Glossary: M.N. Osmanov, Частотный словарь Унсури, Moscow 1970.

Bairūnī, *Kitāb al-nisab* (see above, p. 233 fn.); Baihaqī p. 274, 280, 386, 678 (with two verses); *LF* passim; Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes, p. 88-90); 'Arūḍī p. 28, 35; Waṭwāt passim; 'Aufī II p. 29-32; Shams passim; Mustaufī p. 738-9; Jāarmī p. 129, 214-5; Daulat-shāh p. 44-7; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 355-67; M. 'A. Tarbiyat, 'Wāmiq u 'Adhrā', *Armaghān* XII/8, 1310sh./1931, p. 519-31; Khaiyām-pūr p. 409-10 (with further references); Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 559-67; M. J. Mahjūb, 'Wāmiq u 'Adhrā i 'Unṣurī', *Sukhan* XVIII, 1347sh./1968, p. 43-52, 131-42; Šafī'i-Kadkanī, *Šuwar* p. 526-39; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 1-180; B. Utaş, 'Did 'Adhrā remain a virgin', *Or. Suec.* XXXIII-XXXV, 1986, p. 429-41 (important); id., 'The ardent lover and the virgin - a Greek romance in Muslim lands', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48, 1995, p. 229-39; I. Kaladze, 'Un ignoto intreccio romanzesco classico nella letteratura persiana' (concerns the sources of *W.u. 'A.*), *Annali di Ca' Foscari* XXIII/3, 1984, p. 119-32; J. S. Meisami, 'Ghaznavid panegyrics: some political implications', *Iran* XXVIII, 1990, p. 31-44 (contains a translation of and commentary on the ode in Qarīb p. 10-13); *LN* s.v. 'Unṣurī' p. 395; *EL* s.v. 'Unṣurī' (V. F. Büchner); *EL*² s.v. 'Unṣurī' (J. T. P. de Bruijn).

150. Two verses by Aḥmad Ushnānī¹ are quoted [238] by Rādūyānī. He is presumably identical with the Ushnānī Jōybārī one of whose verses is quoted in *LF*.

LF s.v. *mōbad*; Rādūyānī p. 63 (and Ateş ad loc.); Idārah-chī p. 37.

151. Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-'Uṭārīdī is credited by 'Aufī with two *rubā'iyāt* and with two verses from a *qaṣīdah*. He says that he was one of the *mādiḥān i ḥaḍrat i yamīnī*, which presumably means 'eulogists of the Ghaznavid dynasty' rather than necessarily 'of Sulṭān Yamīn al-daulah Maḥmūd'.

'Aufī II p. 57; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 342; Khaiyām-pūr p. 396; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 597.

¹The consonants are clearly pointed in Rādūyānī. The vocalisation is by Ateş, with reference to Sam'ānī, fol. 40a, who says that the *nisbah* Ushnānī refers to Qanṭarat al-Ushnān in Baghdad. But it seems more likely, in the case of this Persian poet, that we have to do with a professional name from *ushnān*, 'potash'.

152. Maḥmūd al-Warrāq is the author of two verses cited by Hidāyat, who states that he flourished under the last Ṭāhirid ruler, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (248/862 to 259/872-3).

Collection of fragments, French translation, discussion and literature: Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 19, 59, II p. 18.

Cf. Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 511.

153. An otherwise unknown Yazdānī is quoted by Rādūyānī no fewer than six times (for a total of seven verses). I wonder whether he is not identical with Asadī's Ōrmazdī (q.v.)?

154. Yūsuf 'Arūḍī, a number of whose verses are quoted in Asadī's *LF*, is evidently identical with the 'Abū Yūsuf' whom Rādūyānī mentions as the author of a treatise on prosody. Shams quotes a further two verses of his which Rādūyānī (p. 95), however, ascribes (in a slightly different form) to Munjīk.

LF passim (and Horn, *Einl.* p. 31); Rādūyānī p. 2; Shams p. 335; S. Nafīsī, 'Yūsuf i 'Arūḍī', *Sharq* I, 1310sh./1922, p. 758-60; Dh. Šafā, [239] 'Du shā'ir i gum-nām', *MDAT* II/3, 1334sh./1955, p. 5-7; Šafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 437-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 661; Lazard, *Poètes* I p. 15 n. 2.

155. 'Abd al-Jabbār¹ Zainabī² al-'Alawī³ al-Maḥmūdī⁴ is included by 'Arūḍī and 'Aufī among the poets of the Ghaznavids. 'Aufī quotes, among other things, two odes dedicated to Maḥmūd; further verses praising the same king (they mention 'Abū l-Qāsim'), and with the same metre and rhyme as 'Aufī's second sample (and thus possibly from the same poem, though the verses do not overlap) are quoted by Jāarmī. Baihaqī, on the other hand, mentions him on three occasions as a highly

¹Thus Rādūyānī p. 8.

²Thus clearly pointed all 10 times in Rādūyānī and several times in the manuscripts of *LF* (see Horn, *Einl.* p. 21, and ed. Muḥtabā'i/Šādiqī p. 90) and in Qawwās (p. 190). From the pun that 'Aufī makes on the name it is clear that the latter read it as 'Zainatī' (or 'Zinatī'), a reading defended with much ire by Bahār (*Dānish* I, 1328sh./1949, p. 601-3), but the authority of Asadī and Rādūyānī clearly outweighs that of 'Aufī.

³Thus 'Aufī and Baihaqī.

⁴'Aufī.

esteemed panegyrist of Maḥmūd's son, Mas'ūd, one of these in connection with the events of the year 422/1031. See also above, p. 184 (Maḥmūdī).

Baihaqī p. 131, 274, 280; *LF* passim; Rādūyānī passim (and Ateş's notes p. 92-3); 'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Waṭwāṭ p. 20; 'Aufī II p. 39-40; Shams p. 359; Jājarmī p. 458-9; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 241; Şafā, *Tārīkh* I⁶ p. 550-3.

156. **Zarrīn-Kitāb** Marghazī¹ is credited with two verses in Asadī's *LF* (though several of the manuscripts ascribe one of these to 'Ammārah) and a third is added by Nakhjawānī's *Şihāḥ al-furs* (p. 189). [240]

LF (see the indexes to the three editions); *Şihāḥ* (see index); *LN* s.v. 'Zarrīn-Kitāb' p. 371. [241]

CHAPTER III: FROM THE END OF THE 11TH CENTURY TO THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 13TH

The present chapter carries the history of Persian poetry down to the time of the Mongol invasion. For general chronological orientation we have taken the *Lubāb al-albāb* of 'Aufī (completed before 625/1228) and the *Kitāb al-mu'jam* of Shams i Qais (after 628/1230-1). Between them 'Aufī and Shams quote virtually all of the significant Persian poets of the pre-Mongol period.¹ Other poets are included only if there is a fairly strong reason to assume that they flourished prior to the date of these two authorities. Anonymous narrative poems that have been ascribed to pre-Mongol times are described in appendix I.

The marginal additions in manuscript 'nūn' of Asadī's *Lughat i furs* do not quote any authors who can be dated later than the 6th/12th century. I have thus included in this chapter all of the names that are cited at least twice in those marginalia (in so far as they have not already appeared in Chapter II), as well as those quoted once, if they are mentioned also in some other source. But I thought it imprudent to perpetuate names mentioned only once, and not otherwise confirmed. [242]

A doubtless important source which I regret not having been able to use at first hand is the *Nuz'hat al-majālis*, a large collection of *rubā'is* put together by Jamāl al-dīn Khalīl al-Sharwānī around the middle of the 7th/13th century. An edition of this work was published a few years ago in Tehran, but my efforts to locate a copy of it remained for a long time unsuccessful and I had to content myself in the first instance with the table of contents published by Dānish-pazhūh in 1973.² [See now appendix III].

Of the later *tadhkirahs* the only ones consistently excerpted for this chapter are those by Mustaufī, Daulat-shāh, Rāzī - who is quoted by

¹Though these two authorities are virtually contemporaries, 'Aufī's emigration to India meant that he was less well in touch with the most recent developments of poetry in Persia. Thus, while Shams knows both Jamāl al-dīn and his son Kamāl al-dīn, 'Aufī is aware only of the former. The only other major figures known to Shams, but ignored by 'Aufī, are Falakī and Qamar. The reader will notice that in this chapter, as in the previous one, the amateur poets quoted in the first half of 'Aufī's book have for the most part been omitted.

²See his article in *Rah-nimā i kitāb* XV, 1351sh./1973, p. 568-82, with a list of the poets quoted.

¹The *nisbah* is only in *LF*, ed. Mujtabā'i/Sādiqī, p. 195.

volume and page number of the (abysmal) Tehran edition, as well as by the running numbers in Ethé's summary, which in many cases conveys a more accurate picture of what Rāzī actually wrote - and Hidāyat. The general historical sources have, of course, been exploited whenever I have been aware of them; Rāwandī's history of the Seljuqs has proved particularly valuable. Among those works [243] that have not to my knowledge previously been consulted by historians of Persian literature one might mention in particular the *Ta'rikh al-mustabṣir* of Ibn al-Mujāwir, written not long after 626/1228.¹

157. Dīyā' al-dīn 'Abd al-Rāfi' b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Harawī is represented by a number of poems in 'Aufī's anthology, from which we learn that he served successively the last Ghaznavid Khusrau-Malik (555/1160 to 582/1186) and the Ghorid Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (558/1163 to 599/1203). 'Aufī also tells us that he excelled in medicine and the *funūn i lughat*. (See also no. 206, ad Ḥusain al-Ḥājib).

'Aufī II p. 327-34, 413; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 fol. 5a, 197a = Ethé 1333); Rāzī II p. 144 (no. 628); [244] Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 336-7; Ṣafā, *Tārikh* II p. 715-8; Khayyām-pūr p. 376; *Elr* s.v. 'Abd al-Rāfi' (Z. Sajjādī).

158. 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. 'Abd al-Jāmi' al-Jabalī al-Shā'ir² was a native of the *jabal Harāt*. Sam'ānī says that he learnt traditions from him

¹Ed. O. Löfgren, Leyden 1951-4. For the date and authorship of this work see G.R. Smith, 'Ibn al-Mujāwir's 7th/13th century guide to Arabia: the eastern connection', *Occasional papers of the school of Abbasid studies* III, 1990, p. 71-88. The poets relevant to this chapter quoted by Ibn al-Mujāwir are Ḥasan Ghaznawī (p. 301, anonymously), Ḥusām Kirmānī (p. 84; see below no. 205), Mukhtārī (p. 178, wrongly attributed; see no. 249), Ṣābir (p. 197), Sanā'ī (p. 265: 'al-shā'ir al-Ghaznawī'), Shāh Bū Rajā (p. 84; see no. 286), Zahir Fāryābī (p. 246: 'al-Zahīrī'). He also quotes four of his own Persian verses (p. 84, 235), two from Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn* (p. 135, 255, both anonymously), one by Rōzbih Nukatī (p. 94, name misspelt in the Mss.; this verse supplements those mentioned above, p. 226-7) and one that remains unidentified (p. 53).

²As he is called by Sam'ānī. 'Aufī calls him al-Imām al-hammām Badī' al-zamān Tāj al-afāḍil 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Jabalī al-Adīb; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī has Farīd al-dīn Badī' al-zamān Abū l-Faḍā'il 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. 'Abd al-Jāmi' al-Jabalī al-Harawī al-Adīb. I can see no reason to doubt that the religious scholar mentioned by Sam'ānī and by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is the same person as the poet quoted by 'Aufī.

in Herat and that he heard some of his poems in Marw.¹ He is mentioned also by al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī in the unpublished section of his *Kharīdat al-qasr* among the (Arabic) poets of Herat, apparently with the information that he died 'after 540', i.e. after 1145-6. 'Aufī says that he was an accomplished poet in Arabic and Persian (he quotes, among other things, two poems with alternating Arabic and Persian verses). His Persian *diwān* has come down to us in a number of manuscripts, the oldest being the Dublin codex from the end of the 13th century.²

This *diwān* consists largely of panegyrics to the Seljuq sultan Sanjar (511/1118 to 552/1157) and to various persons of his entourage, notably his son-in-law, the vassal ruler of Sistān Tāj al-dīn Naṣr (II) b. Khalaf. Other identifiable patrons include Ṭoghrl-Tegīn b. Ekinchī, who ruled briefly in Khwārazm in 490/1097, the Seljuq ruler of Kirmān Arslān-shāh (I) b. Kirmān-shāh (495/1101 to 537/1142), the Mazyadid ruler of Iraq Dubais (II) b. Ṣadaqah (501/1108 to 529/1135), and [245] the ruler of Ṭabas Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Gīlakī, who is known to have been alive in 493/1099-1100. If we assume that 'Abd al-Wāsi' was at least twenty when he praised Ṭoghrl-Tegīn, then the date of his birth cannot be put later than 470/1077-8. Sam'ānī was born in 506/1113 and is unlikely to have travelled to Herat to study with 'Abd al-Wāsi' much before 526/1132, by which time the latter would have been at the least well into his 50s and possibly a good deal older. By then he had perhaps already retired as a court-poet and devoted himself to religious studies. Taqī Kāshī gives the date of his death as 555/1160.

According to Daulat-shāh our poet was a native of Gharchistān, emigrated from there to Herat and then to Ghaznah, where he entered the service of Bahrām-shāh, but defected to Sanjar when the latter captured Ghaznah (i.e. in 530/1135). Ṣafā³ includes Bahrām-shāh in his list of Jabalī's patrons, repeating in this context Daulat-shāh's story, but I have been unable to find any poems in the published *diwān* mentioning Bahrām-shāh by name; thus the 'information' given by Daulat-shāh

¹*rawā la-nā 'an Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Umair bi Harāt wa samī' tu shai'an min shi'ri-hi bi Marw*. Similarly Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, who in turn quotes Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-mudhaiyal*, evidently Sam'ānī's *Mudhaiyil ta'rikh Baghdad*. For an extract from this book see Leyden Arab. Cat. II p. 201-2; Brockelmann Suppl. I p. 565 (title cited as 'Dhail...').

²This Ms. was unfortunately not used by Ṣafā in preparing his edition.

³p. 700 of his edition of the *diwān*.

seems most questionable. Daulat-shāh goes on to reject (in a rare fit of good judgement) the story told by Mustaufi according to which 'Abd al-Wāsi' began life as an illiterate countryman who attracted the attention of a rich patron with some extemporised verses that he addressed to a group of camels. This is hardly a likely background for the teacher of Islamic traditions that we know 'Abd al-Wāsi' to have been.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 103/II (Ms. completed Dhū l-hijjah 699/1300. Beginning missing); **Oxford** Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/9. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); Ouseley 23 (Ethé 538. Has seal dated <1>179/1765-6); Ouseley Add. 19 (Ethé 539. [246] Owner's note dated 1127/1715); Elliot 116 (Ethé 540); **London** Or. 3320 (Rieu Suppt. 217. Dated 23 Rabī' I 1016/1607); **Halle** D.M.G. 19 (Dated 1016/1607-8); **Leningrad** Salemann 253; Romaskewicz 7; **Tashkent** Acad. 160/VI (Semenov 801. Dated 1269/1852-3); Acad. 238/X (Semenov 802. Ms. Dated 1270/1853-4); **Istanbul** Topkapı, Hazine 796 fol. 187b sqq. (Karatay 887. The Ms. is dated Rabī' I 810/1407 and contains pictures); Lâlâ İsmail 463 (See Şafā's edition I p. iii-iv. Dated Rabī' II 980/1572); Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/2 (*Mikrūfīlm-hā* I p. 420-1 and Şafā's edition I p. vi); **Tehran** Bayānī 56/4 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 15. Dated 995/1587); Majlis 4841/5 (Munz. 24576. Dated Rabī' II 996/1588); Sipah-sālār II 393 (16th century? End missing); Majlis III 1024 (Dated 1001/1592-3); Malik 5307/6 (Munz. 24581. 17th century?); Majlis III 1025 (17th century? Incomplete at both ends); **Peshawar** Islāmīyah 1823(4) (Dated 1134/1721-2); **Calcutta** Ivanow 448 (Dated 1224/1809). Cf. Munz. III 24572-97; Munz. Pak. VII p. 60 (4 Mss.).

Editions: **Lahore** 1862; **Tehran** 1339-41sh./1960-2 (ed. Dh. Şafā. Two volumes, with biography in vol. II p. 683-721).

Sam'ānī (new edition) III p. 191; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (see Leyden Cat. II p. 236); 'Aufi II p. 104-10; Shams p. 358; Ibn al-Fuwaṣī, *al-Juz' al-rābi' min talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb fī mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 2558; Mustaufi p. 740-1; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol. 92a, 133b, 251a); Jājarmī I p. 109-12, 120-3; Daulat-shāh p. 73-5; Rāzī II p. 118-23 (no. 608); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 396a sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 185-92; Browne, *History* II p. 341-2; 'A. al-H. Nawā'ī, 'Chand nuktaḥ rāji' ba aḥwāl i 'Abdu l-Wāsi' i Jabālī', *Yadgār* I/8, p. 44-6; *LN* s.v. 'Jabalī' p. 211-2; Şafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 650-6;

Khāiyām-pūr p. 127; *EL*² s.v. 'Abd [247] al-Wāsi' (Huart/Massé); *Eir* s.v. 'Abd-al-Vāse' Jabālī' (Dh. Şafā).

159. **Abū l-'Alā'** Ganja'ī¹ is remembered mainly on account of the scurrilous attack on him which Khāqānī included in his *Tuhfat al-irāqain*.² Here he is accused not only of the moral defects that one expects to find mentioned in polemics of this sort, but also of being an atheist and an adherent of the Ismā'īlī leader Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāh. The biographical information that we have about him appears largely to have developed out of the exegesis of these verses. Mustaufi, who says that Abū l-'Alā' was Khāqānī's teacher, quotes three verses in which the former claims to have committed sodomy with his pupil and another poem of nine verses retracting this claim and offering his apologies to Khāqānī. The second poem can be found (together with two more *qit'ahs*) in the old anthology published by Yaghmā'ī (where it has one additional verse); here the author calls himself the 'master' (*ostād*) and 'father-in-law' (*pidar-khwāndah*) of Khāqānī, says that he had reached the age of 60 and that at the age of 16 (variant: 'around 40') he had come from Arrān³ to Sharwān. Daulat-shāh says that Abū l-'Alā' was the master both of Khāqānī and of Falakī and claims (with explicit reference to Mustaufi's *Tārīkh i guzīdah*, though in fact Mustaufi says nothing of the sort) that he married his daughter to Khāqānī after first having promised her to Falakī. He then quotes eight verses with the same metre and rhyme as the nine quoted by Mustaufi and in Yaghmā'ī's anthology, but not one of his verses agrees with [248] any of those quoted by them.⁴ Rāzī quotes the poem in a form which combines verses from Mustaufi's and Daulat-shāh's versions, as well as some more poetry, including a substantial *qaṣīdah* to the Sharwān-shāh Manūchihr (II), who was Khāqānī's first

¹Hidāyat gives him the 'name', or rather the title, Nizām al-dīn.

²For this work see below, no. 224.

³Bad variant: Ērān.

⁴The verses quoted by Daulat-shāh make every impression of having been elaborated from those given by Mustaufi. Thus Daulat-shāh's last verse *bi-guftam bi-guftam na-guftam na-guftam * bi-gādam bi-gādam na-gādam na-gādam* ('if I said it, I said it, if I didn't, I didn't; if I ... him, I did it, if I didn't, I didn't'), is evidently someone's improvement on the last verse of Mustaufi's version: *ba jāy i yak-ē rah du ṣad bār guftam * na-gādam na-gādam na-gādam na-gādam* ('Not once, but two hundred times I said: I did not ... him, I did not, I did not, I did not').

patron and who ruled from 516/1122 at the earliest until some time between 555/1160 and 566/1170.¹ Here Abū l-ʿAlāʾ gives his own age as 55, [249] speaks of Sanāʾī and ʿImādī as having already died and defends himself against the accusation of having treacherously divulged the king's secrets to an un-named enemy. We shall return to this poem in the discussion of ʿImādī's vital statistics.

Khāqānī, *Tuhfat al-ʿirāqain*, ed. Qarīb, p. 235-7; Mustaufī p. 722-3 (also in *JRAS* 1900, p. 741-2, with variants); Yaghmāʾī p. 190-1; Daulat-shāh p. 70-1; Rāzī III p. 299-303 (no. 1397); Adhar I p. 204-5; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 81; N. Khanikov, *JA* 6^{ème} série, tome IV, 1864, p. 149-62 (translation of and commentary on Khāqānī's invective); Browne, *History* II p. 392-3; Hādī Ḥasan, *Falakt-i-Shirwānī*, London 1929, p. 55, 95-6 ('Abū l-ʿAlāʾ's *Qaṣṣdah*'); Shujāʾ al-mulk Shīrāzī, 'Abū l-ʿAlāʾ i Ganjavī', *Armaghān* XIV, 1312sh. /1933, p. 705-13; Khaiyām-pūr p. 20; *Elr* s.v. 'Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Ganjavī' (Ḍ. Sajjādī).

¹Earlier estimates (by Hādī Ḥasan and Minorsky) for the end of his reign need to be revised following the publication by Kouymjian of a coin of Manūchīhr's dated *fi sanat kham[s wa khamstn wa khamst-mi'ah]*; the restoration of the date 555/1160 is assured by the fact that this coin names the caliph al-Mustanjid (555/1160 to 566/1170) and the (Seljuq) sultan Sulaimān (who reigned only from Rabīʿ II 555/1160 to Rabīʿ I or II 556/1161). Khāqānī, in his elegy on the death of Manūchīhr (*diwān*, ed. Sajjādī p. 530, without substantial variants), speaks of his 'thirty-year reign' (*si-sālah mulk u milk i jahān*). According to the Georgian Chronicle Manūchīhr's father, Farēdūn (Ap'ridun) II, was killed during a battle with the ruler of Darband in November of the Georgian year 340 (A.H. 514, A.D. 1120). But if Manūchīhr really succeeded his father in 514 and did not die until after 555, then he must have ruled for at least 41 lunar years. Khāqānī's 'thirty years' could conceivably mean 'thirty-odd years', but hardly 'forty-one'. In the light of this contemporary evidence we must conclude either that the date given by the Georgian source for the death of Farēdūn is wrong, or else that Manūchīhr did not ascend the throne until some years after his father's death. Manūchīhr certainly died before 566/1170 (the last year of the caliphate of al-Mustanjid, whose name still occurs on coins of Manūchīhr's successor Akhsatān). Thus he died between 555/1160 and 566/1170 and began ruling fewer than 40 years before this, i.e. not before 516/1122. See: M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie* I (translation of the Georgian chronicle), St. Petersburg 1849, p. 364; Hādī Ḥasan, *Falakt-i-Shirwānī* p. 11-12, 22-3; id., *Researches in Persian literature*, Hyderabad 1958, p. 6; V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, p. 135-6; D.K. Kouymjian, 'A unique coin of the Shirvānshāh Minūchīhr II dated A.H. 555/1160 A.D.', in *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, Beyrouth 1974, p. 339-46; id., *A numismatic history of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān based on Islamic coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries* (Microfilm), Ann Arbor 1969, p. 165-73.

160. Saiyid Abū ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusain al-Marwazī is included in ʿAufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar, where two of his *qaṣṣdahs* are quoted: one dedicated to an un-named dignitary, the other to 'Sulṭān Iskandar', the name by which ʿAufī designates the Khwārazm-shāh ʿAlāʾ al-dīn Muḥammad b. Tekish (596/1200 to 617/1220).¹ [250]

ʿAufī II p. 339-45; Rāzī II p. 16 (no. 520);² Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 82; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 844-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 20.

161. Dih-khudāy Abū l-Maʿālī al-Rāzī is quoted by ʿAufī in his chapter on the poets of Iraq during the Seljuq period as the author of two substantial *qaṣṣdahs*, the second of which addresses a certain ʿAbū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar; a different ode praising this same person is quoted by Jājarmī. These three poems are quoted also by Hidāyat, who identifies the poet's patron as the Seljuq Abū l-Faṭḥ Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (529/1134 to 547/1152) and adds that Abū l-Maʿālī died in 541/1146-7. See also the next entry.

ʿArūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī's notes p. 155); Waṭwāṭ p. 34, 35, 56; ʿAufī II p. 228-36; Shams p. 265, 354, 383; Jājarmī II p. 495-7; Rāzī III p. 39-42 (no. 1075; same poems as ʿAufī); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 79-80; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Maʿālī' p. 850; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 600-4; Khaiyām-pūr p. 24 ('Abū l-Maʿālī i Rāzī') and 211 ('Dih-khudāy i Rāzī').

162. Abū l-Maʿālī Naḥḥās is the author of a poem of four verses, quoted by Rāwandī (and after him by Rashīd al-dīn), in Rāwandī's source the *Saljūq-nāmah* of Ḥabīb Naisābūrī,³ and (in Arabic translation) by al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, lamenting the rapid coming and going of ministers after the death of Nizām al-mulk (in 485/1092). Juwainī calls him Abū l-Maʿālī Naḥḥās Rāzī and says that he composed poems in praise of Ḥabashī b. Altun-tāq, who was the governor of Khurāsān during the

¹The poem mentions the dedicatee's *laqab* ʿAlāʾ al-dīn, his name Muḥammad, as well as his father's name Tekish. Following his defeat of the Qara Khitāy in 607/1210, Muḥammad assumed the title 'Iskandar al-thānī'.

²In the edition 'Saiyid ʿAlī', but Ethé quotes the name as 'Saiyid Abū ʿAlī', as in ʿAufī.

³The poet's name is misspelt in the edition.

reign of Berk-yāruq and was killed by Sanjar in 493/1110.¹ If he was indeed a native of Rai then it is not unlikely that he is identical with the subject of the preceding entry. [251]

By contrast, Rāzī (followed by Hidāyat) makes him a native of Isfahan, says that he served Berk-yāruq as *ʿarīd i lashkar*, and quotes a few of his poems. Hidāyat adds that he died in 512/1118-9.

A *qaṣīdah* of 16 verses quoted in the *Nuzʿhat-nāmah i ʿAlāʾī* is ascribed in one of the old manuscripts to Abū l-Maʿālī Naḥḥās, but other copies quote it anonymously. It has been published, from a manuscript of the *Nuzʿhat-nāmah*, as the work of Rōdakī in Nafīsī's book on the latter poet,² but there is no good authority for this attribution.

Shahmardān b. Abī l-Khair, *Nuzʿhat-nāmah i ʿAlāʾī*, ed. F. Jahānpūr, Tehran 1362sh./1983, p. 26-8; *Zubdat al-nuṣrah wa nukhbat al-uṣrah*, abridged by al-Bundārī from the original of al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, ed. M.Th. Houtsma (his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes* II), Leyden 1889, p. 63; Zāhīr al-dīn Naisābūrī, *Saljūq-nāmah*, Tehran 1332sh./1953, p. 34; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, p. 136; Juwainī II p. 2 (and Qazwīnī's note); Sharwānī, *Nuzʿhat al-majālīs* (see below, appendix III); Rāzī II p. 358-9 (no. 864; name garbled in the edition); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 78-9; Browne, *History* II p. 186; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* VII p. 107-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 597.

163. 'Abū Maṣṣūr i Bā Yūsuf' is mentioned by 'Arūḍī as one of the poets at the court of Ṭughān-shāh b. Alp-Arslān (who was still alive in 476/1083-4). 'Arūḍī adds that he met Abū Maṣṣūr in Herat in 509/1115-6 on which occasion he heard from the latter an anecdote about Ṭughān-shāh and Azraqī. This Abū Maṣṣūr is doubtless identical with the poet whom 'Aufī calls Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Rashīd b. Aḥmad b. Abī Yūsuf al-Harawī (omit the second 'ibn?'). 'Aufī quotes the *maṭlaʿ* of a *qaṣīdah* and a *rubāʿī* by this poet; however, he includes him in his chapter on the early Ghaznavid poets, evidently in error.

'Arūḍī p. 43, 44 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); *LF* ed. Iqbāl p. 249 (one verse in Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Aufī II p. 61; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Maṣṣūr' p. 869-70; Khaiyām-pūr p. 24.

¹Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Tornberg, X p. 201-2.

²2nd edition (see above, p. 224), p. 497, vs. 147-62.

164. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Nāmakī (al-Namaqī) al-Jāmī, called **Aḥmad i Jām**, or Zhandah-pīl, the famous mystic, is said to have been born in 441/1049-50 and to have died in 536/1141-2. A *diwān* is ascribed to him in a number of manuscripts, almost all of them of Indian [252] provenance, and none older than the 17th century, though one *rubāʿī* is attributed to him in the 13th-century *Nuzʿhat al-majālīs*. See also *PL* I p. 950 n. 3.

Mss. of his *diwān*: London I.O. 2863 (Dated Ramaḍān 1069/1659. Contains on fol. 56b-68a a collection of poems by his sons and descendants); I.O. 4803a (Dated 22 Rabīʿ I 1100/1689); Or. 269 I (Rieu p. 551. 18th century); Or. 5599 fol. 53a-106b (Meredith-Owens p. 50. Dated 1231/1815. Pictures); I.O. 910; Cambridge Or. 1556 (2nd Suppt. 344. 17th century?); Leningrad Acad. B 2307 fol. 1b-28a (Index 1355. Dated 1125/1713-4); Acad. B 128 (Index 1354); Tehran Malik 6053/15 (Munz. 22086. 17th century?); Lahore Univ. I/2 p. 142 (Dated 1109/1697-8); Bombay Brelvi p. xxiv no. 9 (Dated 1076/1656-7); Lucknow Sprenger 88 (Dated 1080/1669-70); Bankipore I 23 (17th century?); Hyderabad Āṣafīyah I p. 716 no. 451; Calcutta Ivanow 436 (modern); Ivanow Curzon 191 (Dated 5 Jumādā II 1224/1809). Cf. Munz. III 22085-9; Munz. Pak. VII p. 36-8.

Editions: Cawnpore 1879; 1881; 1885; 1898; Lucknow 1923.

Sharwānī, *Nuzʿhat al-majālīs* (see appendix III); Rāzī II p. 177-9 (no. 667); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 67-8; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 51-3; *EL*² s.v. 'Aḥmad-i Djām' (F. Meier); *ELr* s.v. 'Aḥmad-e Jām' (H. Moayyad).

165. al-Shaikh **Aḥmad** b. Muḥammad - the name is followed in the defective manuscript by a word that looks like 'al-mīm' and then by a lacuna - is credited in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) with a single poem which 'Aufī says is 'in the manner of Mukhtārī'. In fact it is clearly inspired by the ode in Mukhtārī's *diwān*, ed. Humāʾī, p. 512-5. Rāzī quotes the same poem, but, for the reason given below (no. 199, ad Ḥamīd al-dīn) wrongly ascribes it to another poet. [253]

'Aufī II p. 412-3; *LN* s.v. 'Aḥmad' p. 1356; Khaiyām-pūr p. 30.

166. Majd al-dīn 'Aiyūq is represented by one *ghazal* in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). See also above, p. 78 n. 1.

'Aufi II p. 354-5; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 541; Khaiyām-pūr p. 413.

167. 'Ajabī Khujandī is credited by 'Aufi with a *qaṣṣidah* in praise of Sharaf al-dīn Ḥusām al-Nasafī.¹

'Aufi II p. 389-90; Rāzī III p. 458-9 (no. 1526; 'Ajbī); Khaiyām-pūr p. 384.

168. 'Ajbī Jūzjānī² is mentioned in 'Aufi's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar, where we find two *qaṣṣidāhs*, both of which mention as the poet's patron Bahā' al-dīn Sām b. Ḥusain, the Ghorid, who reigned for a few months in 544/1149.

'Aufi II p. 352-4; *MF* p. 278 (verse by 'Ajbī Gurgānī); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 337-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 385.

169. Shihāb al-dīn 'Am'āq (thus the conventional reading, but perhaps better Ghamghaq?)³ [254] al-Bukhārī was a panegyrist of the Qarakhanids of Samarqand. His *diwān* has not come down to us as such, but a good number of his poems are quoted in the *tadhkirahs* (notably, it seems, by Taqī Kāshī) and these have been collected by Nafīsī (unfortunately without indication of the sources for the individual poems, so that for many of them the question of their authenticity remains in abeyance). Of the *qaṣṣidāhs* dedicated to identifiable patrons the great majority invoke Nāṣir al-ḥaqq wa l-dīn Shams al-mulk Abū l-Ḥasan Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm (460/1068 to 472/1080). We have also one poem⁴ (or possibly

¹For whom see 'Aufi I p. 164-9; Rāzī III p. 388-92 (no. 1459); Šafā, *Tarikh* II p. 764-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 296.

²Thus 'Aufi. Hidāyat calls him Shams al-dīn 'Ajbī Jurjānī.

³The *rasm* 'm'q occurs in all the sources and the final syllable -aq is confirmed notably by a verse of Anwarī's (*diwān*, ed. Mudarris i Ridāwī, I p. 273, 6), where it occurs in the rhyme. It has no meaning in Persian or Arabic and has not been explained. Šafā's suggestion that 'Am'āq might be an error for 'Aq'āq, 'magpie', would require the most implausible assumption that the latter perfectly common word was replaced in various independent traditions by one and the same meaningless form. If, however, one assumes that the letters are correct, but the pointing possibly wrong, one might suggest that *Ghamghaq could represent Turkish *qamğaq*, 'salt-wort', for which see G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 627b.

⁴Nafīsī, p. 157-62. The dedication to 'Jamāl i mulk, khāqān i mu'azzam ... Malik Khidr' is on p. 159.

two¹) to his brother and successor Khidr b. Ibrāhīm (who appears to have ruled only for a year or so). 'Arūdī tells us that Amīr 'Am'āq was the poet-laureate at the court of Khidr, with other poets under him, and narrates an elaborate story of his rivalry with Rashīdī for the king's favour. But the account that 'Arūdī gives of the splendour of Khidr's court is not confirmed by the historical sources, who have nothing to say about his short-lived and uneventful reign. It is thus possible that 'Arūdī, who is notoriously lax with regard to historical details, has confused Khidr with his more famous brother Naṣr. There is also one poem² to Naṣr's father-in-law, the Seljuq Alp-Arslān (455/1067 to 465/1072). The poem printed by Nafīsī on p. 179-83 is not by 'Am'āq, but (according to 'Aufi) by 'Aṭā' i Ya'qūb (below, no. 174); the 'Bū l-Muẓaffar [255] Ibrāhīm' mentioned therein is thus not the Qarakhanid Ibrāhīm II (who ruled for a short time from 526/1132 onwards), but his Ghaznavid namesake.

'Am'āq's datable *qaṣṣidāhs* thus all belong to the third quarter of the 5th/11th century. However, Daulat-shāh, on the authority of the supposed *Tārīkh i al i Saljuq* of Abū Ṭāhir Khātūnī,³ says that when Sanjar's daughter Māh i Mulk Khātūn died (which, according to Ibn al-Athīr,⁴ was in 524/1130), he commissioned 'Am'āq, who was then 'old, weak and blind', to write an elegy for her. Although it is not impossible that 'Am'āq lived until this date, we ought to have a more reliable informant than Daulat-shāh before accepting this possibility as a fact. Taqī has our poet live another two decades until 543/1148-9.

Selections from his poems are found in: **Berlin** Sprenger 1378 fol. 374b sq. (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabī' II 1270/1854. Apparently copied from the Calcutta Ms.); **Tehran** Majlis VIII 2326 p. 183-9 (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 927 fol. 6 (Modern). Cf. Munz. III 24876-9.

Collections of poems and fragments: **Tabriz** 1307sh./1928; **Tehran** 1339sh./1961 (*Diwān i 'Am'āq i Bukhārī*, ed. S. Nafīsī, with an extensive introduction containing references to all the available sources).

¹Nafīsī, p. 137-9, invokes, despite its superscription, 'Jamāl i mulk, khāqān i mu'azzam', which seems to be 'Am'āq's name for Khidr (see the previous note).

²Nafīsī p. 188-9.

³For this (probably fictitious) work see below, p. 400 (Khātūnī).

⁴*al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, X p. 468.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 13, 19-20 ('Am'āq'), 44 ('Am'āq'), 399, 400, 504-5, 508 (all verses in Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Arūdī p. 28, 46-7; Waṭwāt p. 44-5; 'Aufī II p. 181-91; Shams p. 322; Jājarmī II p. 499-500; Daulat-shāh p. 64-5; Rāzī III p. 409-20 (no. 1474); Taqī (London Or. 3506 fol. 279b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105; Paris Supplément 799 fol. 3r sqq. = Blochet 1242); [256] Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 345-50; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* VI p. 58-9; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 535-47; Khayyām-pūr p. 307; *El²* Suppl. s.v. 'Am'āq' (J.T.P. de Bruijn); *Elr.* s.v. 'Am'āq' (J. Matīnī).

170. Aḥḥad al-dīn Anwarī¹ was the most famous panegyrist in the generation after Mu'izzī. The wealth of anecdotal information in the late mediaeval *tadhkirahs* obscures his biography rather than elucidating it. The following is a digest of what can actually be deduced from his poems and from early historical sources.

Anwarī was born in (or near) Abīward in the Dasht i Khāwarān. In one poem he indicates that his father had been a courtier in the service of some Seljuq princess. Anwarī himself attended the court of Sanjar during the second half of his long reign. According to Juwainī, he accompanied Sanjar when, in 542/1147, the latter besieged the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız in Hazār-asp, Anwarī's contribution to the war effort being to write poems mocking the enemy, which Sanjar's archers then shot into the besieged fortress. Atsız retaliated by doing the same with verses by his court poet, Waṭwāt. When Sanjar was defeated and captured by the Ghuzz in 548/1153 Anwarī composed [257] a well-known poem lamenting these events.² After the death of his patron he appears to have lived for a while in Balkh, where he wrote poems in praise of local princes and of the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* Ḥamīd al-dīn, whose *Maqāmāt i Ḥamīdī* (written

¹Only this much of his name is certain. His contemporary Zahrī Samarqandī, in his unpublished *Aghrād al-siyāṣah*, calls him Muḥammad b. 'Alī (thus according to Ateş, *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. 'Enveri' p. 278); the apparently contemporaneous author of the introduction in some copies of the *dīwān* (e.g. London Or. 3486/I) has 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq, while 'Aufī has Aḥḥad al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. That his grandfather was indeed named Ishāq is confirmed by the verse in his *dīwān*, ed. Mudarris i Ridāwī p. 302 ult. The 'Alī b. Ishāq al-Abīwardī who supposedly copied the Tabriz Ms. of the *dīwān* of Qatrān in 529/1134 (see above, p. 216) is in any case certainly not Anwarī, though this could possibly be the name of his father.

²*Dīwān* p. 201-5.

in 551/1156-7) are mentioned. He also addressed some odes to the atabeg Quṭb al-dīn Maudūd b. Zangī, who ruled in Mosul from 544/1149 onwards, and the Seljuq sultan Sulaimān b. Muḥammad, who ruled from 555/1160 to 556/1161. The most recent date that can be extracted from the *dīwān* is that of the festival of Bahmanjanah in 'the year 533 of the dating of the Persians', i.e. 1 December 1164, which he mentions in one poem.¹

There exist a number of versions of an anecdote linking him with some catastrophic but unfulfilled prognoses in connection with a conjunction of the stars in 582/1186, but it is not clear whether Anwarī is supposed to have lived until then, or whether he made his predictions some years in advance. The *tadhkirahs* give a wild array of dates for his death and the question has been much debated by modern scholars, but the poems themselves would suggest, as has been seen, a date not long after 560/1164-5.

Apart from his *qaṣīdahs* - many critics have regarded him as the foremost practitioner of panegyric poetry in Persian - and his *ghazals*, Anwarī has left a large number of invectives of a ferocity which, though not unique, is nonetheless astonishing.

The only more or less critical edition of his *dīwān* is that by Mudarris i Ridāwī, who at least consulted the oldest dated copy (London Or. 3713)² and two of the old Istanbul manuscripts [258] and recorded variants from a number of others. However the edition is not complete, since the editor has omitted some poems that he considers obscene; for these the older edition by Nafīsī can be consulted.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 103/X (Copied jointly by Muḥammad-Shāh b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd Iṣfahānī - the scribe responsible for the oldest London copy - and by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī and dated 23 Dhū l-hijjah 699/1300); **Manchester** Lindesiana 111 (16th century?); Lindesiana 839 (Dated 1023/1614); Lindesiana 277 (17th century?); Lindesiana 524 (Dated A.D. 1859); **Oxford** Laud 133 (Ethé 543. Owner's mark dated 941/1534-5); Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/1. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); Ouseley 13 (Ethé 544. Dated 1 Dhū l-hijjah 1015/1607); Elliot 40 (Ethé 545. Completed 16 Dhū l-hijjah

¹*Dīwān* p. 415, l. 7: *sāl bar pānšad u sī u sih zi tārtkh i 'ajam*.

²His Ms. 't'. Wrongly described in volume I, introduction, p. 18, as a Paris manuscript, but correctly identified in volume II, introduction p. 146-7.

1018/1610); Elliot 113 (Ethé 546. Dated 1019/1610-1); Ouseley 1,2 (Ethé 555. Dated 1082/1671-2. *qaṣṣīdahs* only); Elliot 39 (Ethé 547. 17th century?); Ouseley 36 (Ethé 548. 17th century?); Ouseley 123 (Ethé 549. 17th-18th century?); Elliot 41 (Ethé 550); Elliot 42 (Ethé 551); Elliot 43 (Ethé 552); Fraser 64 (Ethé 553); Ouseley Add. 135 (Ethé 554); Walker 98 (Ethé 556); London Or. 3713/V (Rieu Suppt. 211; M-R's *tā*). Copied by Muḥammad-Shāh b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd Isfahānī and dated 6 Rabī' II 692/1293); Or. 3486/I (Rieu Suppt. 220. Dated 841/1437-8. With preface); I.O. 939 (Dated Rabī' I 987/1579. Two different collections); I.O. 2864 (Dated 18 Ramaḍān 1009/1601); Add. 7732 (Rieu p. 555. ca. 1011/1603; a number of folios were replaced in 1200/1785-6); Or. 4514/V fol. 78b-116b (Rieu Suppt. 215. Completed 14 Rabī' II 1023/1614); I.O. 946 (=Robinson 146-51. Ms. dated 12 Jumādā II 1038/1629. '*Intikhab i diwān*', with 2 extraneous pictures); I.O. 2865 (Dated 1 Ramaḍān 1038/1629); I.O. 935 (Dated 7 Muḥarram 1061/1650); Add. 25,019 (Rieu p. 554-5. Dated Shawwāl 1083/1672); [259] Add. 5617 (Rieu p. 555. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1087/1677); I.O. 944 (Dated 1 Dhū l-qa'dah 1094 /1683. *Qaṣṣīd*); Add. 22,381 (Rieu p. 555. 17th century? Various leaves missing); I.O. 945 (Dated 1120/1708-9. *Qaṣṣīd*); Add. 16,763 (Rieu p. 555-6. Dated 1129/1717. Contains only the *qaṣṣīdahs*, among them several that are manifestly spurious); Or. 3233 (Rieu Suppt. no. 218. Dated 20 Rajab 1154/1741);¹ S.O.A.S. 44585 (18th century?); S.O.A.S. 24943 (18th century?); Or. 11956 (Meredith-Owens p. 64. 18th-19th century); I.O. 936-938; I.O. 940-943; Cambridge Oo. 6. 31. (Browne Cat. CCVI. 15th or 16th century?); Add. 213 in marg. (Browne Cat. CCXXXIII. 15th or 16th century? *qaṣṣīdahs* only); Oo. 6. 27. (Browne Cat. CCV. 16th century?); Or. 1687 (2nd Suppt. 435. 16th century?); Oo. 6. 34. (Browne Cat. CCVII. Dated 15 Sha'bān 1124/1712); for other undated copies see Browne Suppt. 507-511, 952, 1052-1055, Browne Coll. V.30; Edinburgh New Coll. Or. 40; Paris Supplément 823 fol. 1 sqq. (Blochet 1968. 13th century? Fragment); Supplément 519 (Blochet 1223. Dated 857/1453); Supplément 518 (Blochet 1224. Dated 931/1524-5); Supplément 514 (Blochet 1228. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 1035 /1526); Supplément 783 fol. 58v sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century? Selections); Supplément 515 (Blochet 1225. Dated 23 Jumādā I 1010/1601); Supplément 516-7

¹According to Nasim, p. 346 no. 2, it is dated 1054/1644.

(Blochet 1226-7. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1027/1618); Supplément 1895 (Blochet 1229. 19th century); Rome Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Ms. Caetani 72 (Piemontese 285. Copied by Muḥammad 'Alī and dated 10 Šafar <1> 104/1692); Munich (Aumer Ergänzungsheft 352. Dated 931/1524-5); 170 Quatr. (Aumer 20. Dated 1234/1818-9); Berlin Ms. or. fol. 148 (Pertsch 713. Dated 4 Muḥarram 993/1585); Sprenger 1375 (Pertsch 714. Dated [260] 7 Muḥarram 34th year [of Aurangzēb] = 1102/1691, altered to '1115'); Petermann 193 (Pertsch 714^a. 'Nicht ganz neu'); Sprenger 1376 (Pertsch 715. Dated 1227/1812); Petermann 716/2 (Pertsch 682. Selections); Ms. or. fol. 3012 (Heinz 111); Gotha 49 (Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1027/1618); Vienna Kraftt CLXXXVII (Dated 1013/1604-5); Flügel 511 (has an owner's note dated 1081/1670-1); Uppsala Zetterstéen 420 (Dated Sha'bān 1249/1833-4); Leningrad Dorn CCCXXXV (Copied by Ibn Muḥammad Qāsim al-Kirmānī and dated Dhū l-hijjah 1003/1595); Acad. C 1658 (Index 1390. Dated 1015/1606-7. Selections only); Dorn CCCXXXVI (Dated Rabī' II 1022/1613); Acad. C 56 (Index 1388. Dated 1050/1640-1); Acad. A 17 (Index 1383); Acad. B 123 (Index 1384); Acad. B 124 (Index 1385); Acad. A 125 (Index 1386); Acad. C 819 (Index 1389. *qaṣṣīdahs* only); Istanbul Fatih 3784 (Ritter-Reinert p. 119; Mudarris i Riḍawī's *lām*. Copied by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Hāfiẓ and dated Shawwāl 708/1309); Fatih 3786 (Ritter-Reinert p. 120; Mudarris i Riḍawī's '*ain*'. 'Probably' by the same scribe as the preceding); Ayasofya 2051/5 (*Mikraflm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330. '*qaṣṣīd*'); Lâlâ İsmail 487/7 (*Mikraflm-hā* I p. 500. Selected poems in a Ms. dated 741/1340-1); Üniversite FY 496/2 (Ateş 68. Copied by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad al-Madīnī and dated 21 Jumādā I 759/1358); 'Harāj-chī-oghlu' (sic) 925 (*Mikraflm-hā* I p. 88. Dated 1 Muḥarram 838/1434); Fatih 3781 (Ritter-Reinert p. 120. 15th century? Seal of Bayezid II); Fatih 3783 (Ritter-Reinert p. 121. 'Schwesterhandschrift der vorigen'); Üniversite FY 254 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 393. Ateş 69. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 358 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 498. Ateş 70. Copied by Muḥammad b. Naşr 'Alī and dated 1026/1617); Üniversite FY 534/2 (Ateş 71. Dated 15 Jumādā II 1048/1638); Üniversite FY 9 (Ateş 72; Edhem/Stchoukine XXXVIII. Copied by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad Bihbihānī and dated 26 Rabī' I 1079/1668); [261] Fatih 3782 (Ritter-Reinert p. 121. Copied by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Bihbihānī and dated 19 Šafar 1082/1671); Topkapı, Revan 1013

(Karatay 394. 18th century? 'qasā'id'); Ünersite FY 77 (Ateş 75. 18th century? 'qasā'id'); Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/1 (*Mikrūflm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); **Cairo** 153 *mīm adab fārist* (Tirāzī I 624. Selected poems in Ms. dated 823/1420); 93 *mīm adab fārist* (Tirāzī I 623. Dated 13 Şafar 1103/1691); 4 *adab fārist* (Tirāzī I 621); 123 *adab fārist* (Tirāzī I 622); 103 *adab fārist* (Tirāzī I 625); 70 *mīm adab fārist* (Tirāzī II 1815); **Madinah** 'Arif Hikmat 38 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 484. Dated 993/1585); **Najaf** 1373 (Munz. 21730. 17th century?); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. apparently dated 6 Shawwāl 1017/1609); same collection (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 343. Dated 1062/1652); **Tehran** Sipah-sālār II 1164 (13th century? Beginning and end missing); Malik 5267 (13th century? Munz. 17451; apparently M-R's *kāf*); Bayānī 54/2 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 15, dated there 768/1366-7; apparently M-R's *dāl*, though he gives its date as 753/1352); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 420/II (Ms. dated 862/1457-8. Selection of *qasīdahs*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 465/I (14th-15th century? Selections); Milli I p. 476 (15th century? incomplete); Univ. XII 3983 (15th-16th century?); Adabiyāt II p. 16 (Dated 977/1569-70); Univ. X 2685/1 (Ms. copied by Nizām Dihlawī and dated Muḥarram 985/1577); Majlis 8890 (Munz. 21674. Dated 988/1580); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 44 (Copied by Khān-Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī Quraishī and dated Sha'bān 989/1581); Bayānī 56/2 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 15. Dated 995/1587); Univ. IX 2487/2 (Dated 1 Rabī' I 1001/1592); Sipah-sālār II 1166 (Dated 1005/1596-7); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 43 (Dated 1 Rabī' II 1015/1606); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 42; Gulistān/Ātābāy I 45; Gulistān/Ātābāy I 46; etc.; **Mashhad** 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Maulawī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 28. 15th-16th century? End missing. Pictures); Riḍawī VII 363 (Dated 25 Ramaḍān 1008/1599); [262] Riḍawī VII 357 (M.R.'s 'alif'. Dated Rabī' I 1023/1614); Riḍawī VII 358 (M.R.'s 'p'. Dated 23 Dhū l-qa'dah 1058/1648); Riḍawī VII 360/1 (17th century?); Riḍawī VII 361 (17th century?); Riḍawī VII 356 (17th century?); Riḍawī VII 354 (18th century?); Riḍawī VII 359 (18th century?); Riḍawī VII 355 (Dated 1236/1820-1); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 366-368; **Peshawar** Islamiyah 1792; **Lahore** (Numerous Mss. from the 15th century and later are listed in Munz. Pak. VII p. 41-4); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 162 no. 124 (Dated 989/1581); Univ. 106; **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 93 no. 82; **Aligarh** Subh. p. 35 no. 59; **Kapurthala** (For a Ms. dated 1016/1607-8 see *OCM* III/4, 1927, p. 19); **Hyderabad** Āṣafiyah I p. 742 no. 597;

Lucknow Sprenger 99 (Dated 692/1293); **Bankipore** I 25 ('Dated' 700/1300-1, 'but the appearance of the MS. shows that it belongs to the 15th century A.D.'). I 26 (Dated Sha'bān 992/1584); I 27 (16th century?); **Madras** II 586 (Dated 1104/1692-3); I 67; **Calcutta** Ivanow 450 (16th century?); Ivanow 451 (Copied by Muḥammad Qazwīnī Jausaqī and dated 1008/1599-1600); Būhār 290 (Dated Jumādā I 1012/1603. Lacunae); Ivanow 453 (Dated 14th year of Aurangzēb/1671); Ivanow 452 (17th century?); Ivanow 454 (18th century?); **Cambridge** (Mass.) Houghton Pers. 8.5 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 4. 15th-16th century? Pictures); Houghton Pers. 10 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 4. Dated 1059/1649). Cf. Munz. III 17451-5 ('*Kulliyāt*'), 21656-797 ('*Diwān*'). Further Mss. in private collections are listed in the introductions to the editions by Nafīsī (p. l-ii) and Mudarris i Riḍawī (I p. 17-19).

Editions: **Tabriz** 1260/1844; 1266/1849-50; **Delhi** 1296/1878 ('*Qasā'id*'. 770 pp.); **Lucknow** 1297/1880 ('*Kulliyāt i nazm*'); 1306/1889 (same title); 1897 (same title); **Bombay** 1937 ('*Qasā'id*'); **Tehran** 1337sh./1958 (ed. S. Nafīsī, with extensive introduction); 1337-40sh./1959-61 (ed. M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī. 2 volumes with continuous [263] pagination, with a biography at the beginning of Vol. 2); reprinted 1364sh./1986.

Commentaries:

(1) *Sharḥ i qasā'id* (or: *diwān*) *i Anwarī* by Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd 'Alawī Shādī-ābādī¹ and dedicated to the sultan of Mālwah, Nāṣir al-dīn Khaljī (regn. 906/1500 to 916/1510). Mss.: **London** I.O. 947 (Dated 24 Muḥarram 1056/1646); I.O. Delhi 1291 (Dated 1080/1669-70); Or. 362 (Rieu p. 556. 17th century?); Add. 25,820 (Rieu p. 556. Dated Sha'bān 1232/1817); **Paris** Supplément 1383 (Blochet 1230. Dated 25 Jumādā I 1036/1627); **Bankipore** I 28 (18th century?); I 29 (18th century?); **Lahore** (Munz. Pak. VII p. 44-5: five copies); **Hyderabad** Āṣafiyah III p. 514 no. 165; **Calcutta** Madrasah CXXXVI (17th century?);

(2) *Sharḥ i (abyāt i) qasā'id i Anwarī* of Mīr Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥusainī Farāhānī. According to Naṣrābādī (who wrote around 1083/1672-3) he

¹Shādī-ābād is another name for Māndū, capital of the kingdom of Mālwah (Sto.). For his commentary on the *qasā'id* of Khāqānī see below, no. 224.

had recently been put to death in Shīrāz. See Naṣrābādī p. 276; Khwush-gō (Ethé's summary) no. 642. Mss.: **Oxford** Ouseley 43 fol. 72-161 (Ethé 557. 17th century?); **London** I.O. 948/I (Ms. dated 19 Ramaḍān of the 19th year of 'Ālam-gīr/1087/1676); Or. 361 (Rieu p. 556-7. 17th century?); S.O.A.S. 46676 (Dated 29 Rabī' I 1135/1722); I.O. 949; I.O. Delhi 1241/2; **Paris** Supplément 1524 (Blochet 1231. Dated Rabī' II 1072/1661. Autograph?); **Leningrad** Acad. B 126 (Index 2406); Acad. B 127 fol. 1a-53a (Index 2407. Incomplete); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 547 (Ateş 76. Dated 1164/1750-1); **Tehran** Majlis III 1105 (Dated 1028/1619); Majlis III 1106 (Dated 1230/1815); Majlis II 409 (Dated 1240/1824-5); [264] Majlis II 410; **Mashhad** Riḍawī III/vx Ms. 63 (Apparently an autograph); Riḍawī VII 701/1 (Dated Rabī' II 1022/1613); **Pakistan** (Munz. Pak. VII p. 45-6: seven copies in Lahore - the oldest dated 1041/1632 - and Karachi); **Lucknow** Sprenger 100; **Bankipore** I 30 (Dated 1211/1796-7); **Calcutta** Ivanow 455/I (Dated 1118/1706-7); Ivanow Curzon 193 (18th century?); Ivanow Curzon 194/I (18th-19th century?).

Edition: **Tehran** 1340sh./1961 (*Sharḥ i mushkilāt i dīwān i Anwārī*, ed. Mudarris i Riḍawī).

(3) The same author's commentary on the *muqatta'at*. Mss.: **Oxford** Ouseley 43 fol. 162a-199 (Ethé 557. 17th century?); Bodl. 371 (Ethé 558. Fragment); **London** I.O. 948/II (Ms. dated 19 Ramaḍān of the 19th year of 'Ālam-gīr/1087/1676); Or. 3312 (Rieu Suppt. 219. Dated Dhū l-hijjah '132', i.e. perhaps 1132/1720); I.O. Delhi 1241/3; **Leningrad** Acad. B 2242 (Index 2408. Dated 1054/1644-5); Acad. D 2 (Index 2409); **Tehran** Majlis III 1105 (Dated 1028/1619); Majlis III 1106 (Dated 1230/1815); Majlis II 409 (Dated 1240/1824-5); Majlis II 410; **Mashhad** Riḍawī III/vx, Ms. 63/II (Apparently an autograph); Riḍawī VII 701/2 (Dated Rabī' II 1022/1613); Riḍawī III/vx Ms. 70 (Dated 1055/1645); **Bankipore** I 30 (Dated 1211/1796-7); **Lucknow** Sprenger 100; **Calcutta** Ivanow 455/II (Dated 1118/1706-7); Ivanow Curzon 194/II (18th-19th century?).

(4) Unidentified commentaries: **Madras** I 266; **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 135 no. 28 (Dated 21 Sha'bān 1112/1701).

Modern commentary: Saiyid Ja'far Shahīdī, *Sharḥ i lughāt u mushkilāt i dīwān i Anwārī i Abīwardī*, [Tehran] 1358sh./1979-80, reprinted 1364sh./1986.

Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, passim; 'Aufī II p. 125-38; Shams passim; Juwainī II p. 8; Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 242; [265] Mustaufī p. 712-4; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 passim = Ethé 1333); Jājarmī passim; Daulat-shāh p. 83-6; Rāzī II p. 25-8 (no. 528); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 512a sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); W. Kirkpatrick, 'The tears of Khorassan: an elegiac epistle, from Anverī', *The Asiatic miscellany* (Calcutta) I, 1785, p. 286-310; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 152-67; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 171-3; V.A. Zhukovskiy, Али Аухадэддинъ Энвери. Материалы для его биографии и характеристики, St. Petersburg 1883; H. Ferté, 'Notice sur le poète Enverī suivie d'un extrait de ses odes', *JA* série 9, tome 5, 1895, p. 235-68; Browne, *History* II p. 365-84 (with a detailed summary of Zhukovskiy's monograph); M. Qazwīnī, 'Rāji' ba wafāt i Anwārī', in his *Bīst maqālah* II, Tehran 1332sh./1953, p. 359-69; id., *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* I p. 126-34; M. Mīnuwī, 'Ijtimā' i kawākib dar sāl i 528', *MDAT* II/4, 1334sh./1955, p. 16-53 (see also his comments in the Beatty catalogue I p. 8-10); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 656-8; Khayyām-pūr p. 67-8; K.B. Nasim, *The life and works of Hakim Auhad-ud-din Anwari*, Lahore n.d. (foreword dated 1967); M.R. Shafī'i-Kadkanī, *Muflis i kīmiyā-furūsh, Naqd wa taḥlīl i shī'r i Anwārī*, 2nd ed., Tehran 1374sh./1995 (an annotated anthology with extensive introduction); P. Orsatti, 'The name of the *mamdūh* in the *dīwān* of Anwārī', *Proceedings of the third European conference of Iranian studies* (Cambridge, 1995) II, Wiesbaden 1999, p. 57-72; *El²* s.v. 'Anwārī' (R. Levy); *Elr* s.v. 'Anwārī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn).

171. Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Nizāmī al-'Arūdī al-Samarqandī¹ was a minor poet at the court of the Ghorids and a major prose writer, the author of the already frequently cited *Chahār maqālah*. What we know of his life derives entirely from that book. He was born in Samarqand and reached the age of reason before 504/1110-1, the earliest date which he mentions in connection with his own activities. He was in Balkh in 506/1112-3 and Herat in 509/1115-6. He met Mu'izzī for the first time outside Tōs in 510/1116-7. He evidently spent some time in Naisābūr (he mentions being [266] there in 512/1118-9, 514/1120-1 and 530/1135-6) but was outside Herat with the Ghorid 'Alā' al-dīn Ḥusain

¹As he calls himself in *Chahār maqālah* p. 3.

in 547/1152. The *Chahār maqālah* were almost certainly written in, or shortly before, 552/1157 and dedicated to the Ghorid prince Ḥusām al-dīn 'Alī b. Mas'ūd. Of his further life we know nothing.

Apart from the five verses of which 'Arūḍī himself says (p. 53) that he improvised them in the presence of one the Ghorids we have only a few fragments, largely of satirical content, quoted by 'Aufī and his successors.

'Aufī II p. 7, 207-8; Mustaufī p. 753; Daulat-shāh p. 60-1; Rāzī III p. 352-4 (no. 1426); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 635; Qazwīnī's introduction to his edition of the *Chahār maqālah* (summarised in Browne's English introduction); Khaiyām-pūr p. 609; *El*² s.v. 'Nizāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī' (H. Massé).

172. al-Saiyid al-ajall **Ashrafī** al-Samarqandī is included by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Transoxania after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) where we find, along with some other poems, verses from two odes to an unspecified Khwārazm-shāh and a *rubā'ī* which 'Aufī tells us was composed in Bukhārā in the year 597/1200-1; this contradicts Taqī's claim that Ashrafī died in 595/1198-9.¹ The later anthologists ascribe to him a good number of poems, hardly any of which overlap with 'Aufī's selection. Among those quoted by Hidāyat is a short piece mentioning *khudāwand i gēst, malik Arslān * panāh i hamah mulk i Afrāsiyāb*, evidently one of the Qarakhanids; but is it really his?

A selection of poems by 'Saiyid Ḥasan Ashrafī' is contained in *Oxford Whinfield* 54 [267] (Beeston 2662/7. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603); it remains to be examined whether these do not in fact belong to Saiyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī (alias Ashraf), despite the fact that the latter is represented (under his usual name) by a separate selection in the same manuscript.

'Aufī II p. 390-2; Shams p. 389; Rāzī III p. 362-8 (no. 1431); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 101-2; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 168-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 44.

173. **Aṣīl** al-dīn b. al-Najīb al-Samarqandī was still alive at the time that 'Aufī composed his anthology. 'Aufī quotes only four of his verses, two of them a *rubā'ī* mocking Sa'd Najjārī (see below, no. 254).

¹Taqī, apud Sprenger p. 16 no. 30. The same date is given also by Ādhar.

'Aufī II p. 396; Khaiyām-pūr p. 45.

174. Abū l-'Alā' 'Aṭā' b. Ya'qūb al-Kātib, *al-ma'rūf bi* Nā-kūk,¹ i.e. 'out of tune', was a secretary in the service of the Ghaznavid Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd (450/1059 to 492/1099). 'Aufī gives the date of his death as 491/1098,² says that he left *dtwāns* in Persian and Arabic and that he was imprisoned in Lahore for eight years by the order of Ibrāhīm. The *dtwān* of Mas'ūd i Sa'd contains two elegies on the death of 'Aṭā i Ya'qūb' and another poem addressed to him during his lifetime. 'Aufī quotes several of his Persian poems. For the *Burzō-nāmah* wrongly attributed to him see below no. 317.

Bākhārī no. 350; Mas'ūd i Sa'd, *Dtwān*, ed. Yāsimī, p. 50, 367, 603-4; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Khariḍat al-qasr* (Leyden Cat. II p. 240); 'Aufī I p. 72-5; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 342-3 ('Aṭā' i Rāzī); Qazwīnī/Browne, *JRAS* 1906, p. 42-4; Ṣafā, [268] *Tarikh* II p. 477-83; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, p. 76; Khaiyām-pūr p. 395 ('Aṭā i Rāzī), 396 ('Aṭā i Nā-kūk); *El* s.v. 'Abū l-'Alā' 'Aṭā' (C.E. Bosworth).

175. **Athīr** al-dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhīr al-Akhsīkatī³ (or Akhsīkathī),⁴ was a native of Akhsīkat(h), the capital of Farghānah,⁵ who emigrated to Western Persia and attached himself to the courts of the Seljuq sultans and their (nominal) subjects, the atabegs of Azerbaijan. The only three kings who are unambiguously (and repeatedly) mentioned in his panegyrics are the Seljuq Arslān b. Toghrl (556/1161 to 571/1176), whose death is commemorated in an elegy,⁶ the atabeg Muẓaffar al-dīn Qızıl Arslān b. Ēldügüz (582/1186 to 587/1191)

¹Thus 'Aufī. al-Kātib calls him 'Aṭā' b. Ya'qūb b. Mālik al-Ghaznawī.

²Hidāyat has 471/1078-9; i.e. in his copy of 'Aufī he read *sab'in* instead of *tis'in*. The two words are of course very similar in Arabic script.

³Thus (with further honorifics) in the India Office manuscript (see Humāyūn-Farrukh's introduction p. xxxiii n. 1). Rāwandī and 'Aufī call him merely Athīr Akhsīkatī.

⁴Thus Shams p. 273.

⁵Akhsīkath (thus pointed and vocalised in Yāqūt, *Buldan* I p. 162) is evidently an Arabicised form for the local name, Akhshīkath (or however the first vowel is to be read); cf. (Manichaean) Sogdian 'xšy-, 'to rule', and (Christian) Sogdian knθ and kθ, 'town'.

⁶*Dtwān* p. 68.

and one 'Alā' al-daulah Fakhr al-dīn 'Arab-shāh, whom the poet apostrophises as *shāh i Quhistān*, meaning presumably not the Quhistān in Eastern Iran, but Media/al-Jibāl,¹ i.e. one of the local dynasts in the mountains around Hamadān. For the identification of the other rulers praised in his poems the rubrics in the manuscripts of the *diwān* (and in the printed edition) are of no use, as these are almost always fallacious. There is, however, at least one poem praising one Ghiyāth al-dīn, [269] with the title *malik al-mulūk*,² presumably Arslān's predecessor, Ghiyāth al-dīn Sulaimān (555/1160 to 556/1161), and at least one praising a certain Rukn al-dīn,³ probably Arslān's successor Toghril III (571/1176 to 590/1194). The editor's attempts to discover other Seljuqs and atabegs in the poems are either inconclusive or definitely wrong; there is in particular no evidence for his contention that Athīr had already reached the Seljuq court at the time of Muḥammad II.

Athīr also praised a number of ministers and at least one (and probably several) of the Āl i Khujandī, the leaders of the Shāfi'ī religious faction in Isfahan, though here again it is difficult to know exactly which members of that family are intended. The editor has included no fewer than eleven Khujandīs (several of them fictitious) in his long list of Athīr's patrons, but the only one unambiguously named in the poems, namely Jamāl al-dīn Mas'ūd, is absent from his list.⁴

Daulat-shāh says that Athīr fled from Khurāsān to the West at the time of the rebellion of the Ghuzz against Sanjar (i.e. ca. 548/1153), and although this seems possible from a chronological point of view, it is perhaps merely a deduction. Taqī puts his death in 608/1211-25 and says that only with great difficulty did he find a copy of his *diwān* containing about 10 000 verses.⁶

Mss.: Oxford Elliot 38 (Ethé 620); London I.O. 1029 (Ms. copied by 'Abd al-Mu'min al-'Alawī al-Kāshī in 713-4/1314-5. Pictures.

¹Thus in Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 228: *al-Jibāl nāhiyah mashhūrah yuqāl la-hā Quhistān*.

²*Diwān* p. 200.

³p. 297-8.

⁴*Diwān* p. 300. For this Jamāl al-dīn and the other members of the Khujandī family see in detail below, no. 227 (ad Khujandī).

⁵Taqī, apud Sprenger p. 16 no. 27.

⁶Sprenger p. 346.

Humāyūn-Farrukh's *stn*);¹ [270] Or. 268 (Rieu p. 563-4. 15th century?); Or. 10912 (Meredith-Owens p. 59. 17th century?); Cambridge Or. 1388 (2nd Suppt. 183. 17th century?); Naples Bibl. Nazionale Ms. III. P.25 (Piemontese 222. 16th century?); Istanbul Ayasofya 2051/13 (*Mikrūftlm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330); Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/11 (*Mikrūftlm-hā* I p. 421); Tehran Gulistān/Ātābāy II 465/2 (14th-15th century? Four *qaṣīdahs*); Majlis 4841/7 (Munz. 21433. Dated 996/1588); Majlis III 1183/1 (Ms. dated 1003/1594-5); Malik 4733 (Munz. 21435. Dated 26 Sha'bān 1005/1596. Humāyūn-Farrukh's *mlm*); Univ. XIV 4676 (Dated Šafar 1013/1604); Millī (*Nuskah-hā* VI p. 198. Dated 1020/1611-2); Majlis VIII 2372 (Ms. contains the date 1081/1670-1); Malik 5307/15 (Munz. 21440. 17th century?); Mashhad Riḍawī VII 965/1 (Ms. dated 1041/1631-2); Riḍawī VII 342 (17th century?); Lucknow Sprenger 120; Calcutta Būhār 297 (16th century?); Princeton 10 (Dated 920/1514-5). Cf. Munz. III 21431-48.

Edition: Tehran 1337sh./1958 (ed. Rukn al-dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh).

Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, p. 301, 327-30; 'Aufī II p. 224-8; Shams p. 273-4, 285; Mustaufī p. 715-6; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār* pas-sim (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333); Jājarmī I p. 7-9, II p. 877; Daulat-shāh p. 121-2; Rāzī III p. 459-66 (no. 1528); Taqī (his biography is printed in Humāyūn-Farrukh's introduction p. xx-xxvi); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 102-5; id., *Riyāḍ*, p. 168; Khaiyām-pūr p. 26; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 707-15; *Elr.* s.v. 'Athīr Akṣikātī' (Z. Safa).

176. Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār was the principal religious poet during the second half of the 12th century, the generation between Sanā'ī and Rūmī. [271] The contents of this article are the following:² Biography [p. 271]; 'Major' works: (1) *Khusrau-nāmah* [p. 276]; (2) *Asrār-nāmah* [p. 278]; (3) *Manṭiq al-tair* [p. 281]; (4) *Muṣṭbat-nāmah* [p. 288]; (5) *Ilāhī-nāmah* [p. 291]; (6) *Dīwān* [p. 294]; (7) *Mukhtār-nāmah* [p. 296]; 'Minor', spurious and doubtful works (alphabetically by title) [p. 297]; Literature [p. 318].

¹For this and the older Mashhad Ms. see below, no. 247 (Mu'izzī).

²For 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-auliya'* (in prose) see PL I p. 930-3.

Biography: 'Aṭṭār's contemporary 'Aufī includes him in the chapter devoted to the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar, calls him Farīd al-dīn Abū Ḥāmid Abū Bakr al-'Aṭṭār al-Naisābūrī and speaks of him in the present tense, from which fact one might conclude that he was still alive when 'Aufī composed his work in about 618/1221, or at least that 'Aufī had not yet heard of his death. Another contemporary, Shams i Qais, quotes a single verse (not apparently in the *diwān*) by 'Farīd i 'Aṭṭār' mentioning the Khwārazm-shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish (596/1200 to 617/1220). Our next source, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, calls him Farīd al-dīn Sa'īd b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Naisābūrī,¹ known as al-'Aṭṭār, and quotes Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī (who was born in 597/1200 and was Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's teacher) as saying that he met 'Aṭṭār in Naisābūr, that he was an eloquent and learned old man and that 'he was martyred in Naisābūr at the hands of the Tatars', i.e. evidently during the sack of Naisābūr in 617/1220. Ṭūsī was only twenty at that time and must therefore have been very [272] young when he met the poet. The statement that 'Aṭṭār was killed by the Mongols is repeated (and elaborated) by a number of later authorities, though other, earlier or later, dates for his death have also been offered.

Any attempt at reconstruction of his biography is inexorably entwined with the question of which of the many works that have come down to us under his name are really his. Early attempts (notably by Qazwīnī in his introduction to Nicholson's edition of 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-auliya'*) have lent heavily on the apparent auto-biographical and auto-bibliographical statements in the poems *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib* and *Lisān al-ghaib*, with their account of the poet's conversion from Sunnism to Shiism, of the persecution that he suffered on this account in his homeland, of his extensive journeys in India, Turkestan etc. and his flight to Mecca, where he wrote *Lisān al-ghaib*. To be sure, it has long been noted that the style and religious content of these poems differ markedly from 'Aṭṭār's supposedly early works, but it was assumed that his manner and outlook had evolved during his career. However, the

¹The personal name Sa'īd does not seem to occur in any other source and results perhaps from the misunderstanding of a report which spoke of the 'late' (sa'īd) 'Aṭṭār. In the Tehran (Gulistan) Ms. of 'Aṭṭār's collected works, copied in 731/1331 (less than a decade after the death of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī) the poet is called Farīd al-daulah <wa> al-dīn Muḥammad al-'Aṭṭār al-Nishābūrī.

intensive study of the 'Aṭṭār corpus, first by Shērānī¹ and then by Nafīsī² and (most systematically) by Ritter³ has [273] led to the conclusion that these two works are forgeries from around the middle of the 9th/15th century. More precisely, they are the work of a Shiite poet from Tūn who on the one hand calls himself 'the second 'Aṭṭār' or 'the 'Aṭṭār of the age' - and thus in effect admits that he is not the original 'Aṭṭār - and who alludes more than once to poets of the Mongol period like Rūmī, Ḥāfiz and Qāsim i Anwār, but who on the other hand puts verses into his poems stating that they were composed in the 6th/12th century and claiming as his own the authentic works of 'Aṭṭār.

But once these two forged works have been rejected we are left with very little material for a biography. 'Aṭṭār tells us virtually nothing about himself, his poems contain hardly any allusions to contemporary persons or political events and revolve very much in a timeless world of mysticism. We do, however, possess his introductions to the *Mukhtār-nāmah* and the *Khusrau-nāmah* which give us the information that he was indeed a druggist ('aṭṭār) by profession and that he wrote at least some of his poems while working in his pharmacy. They also supply us with an approximate chronology of his poems. The prose preface to the *Mukhtār-nāmah*⁴ mentions (twice, and both times in the same order) five previous works: (1) *Khusrau-nāmah*, - i.e. the first, apparently lost, version of the same - (2) *Asrār-nāmah*, (3) *Manṭiq al-tair*, (4) *Muṣṭabāt-nāmah* and (5) *Diwān*; he also mentions two poems that he had by then already destroyed: *Jawāhir-nāmah* and *Sharḥ al-qalb*. Some friends, he says, complained of the difficulty of finding their way in his huge collection of shorter poems, whereupon he extracted his *rubā'iyāt* from the

¹M. Shērānī, 'Taṣnīfāt i shāikh Farīdu l-dīn 'Aṭṭār', in *Urdū* (Aurangabad) VII, 1927, p. 1-97. This article (in the Urdu language) was summarised in English by 'Abd al-Qādir Sarfarāz in the Bombay University catalogue p. 60-4.

²S. Nafīsī, *Just-u-jā dar aḥwāl wa āthār i Farīdu l-dīn 'Aṭṭār i Nishābūr*, Tehran 1320sh./1942. See also the note in his edition of 'Aufī p. 734-45.

³See H. Ritter, 'Philologika X: Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār I', *Der Islam* XXV, 1939, p. 134-73; 'Philologika XIV: Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār II', *Oriens* XI, 1958, p. 1-76; 'Philologika XV: Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār III. Der Diwān (Mit Vergleich einiger Verse von Sanā'ī und Ḥāfiz)', *Oriens* XII, 1959, p. 1-88; 'Philologika XVI: Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār IV. Muxṭarnāme. Pandnāme', *Oriens* XIII-XIV, 1961, p. 194-239 and his *magnum opus*: *Das Meer der Seele. Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār* (quoted as 'Ritter, Meer'), Leyden 1955. See also his article 'Aṭṭār' in *EF*².

⁴See Ritter, *Der Islam* 25, p. 152-5.

dīwān, destroyed some of them and rearranged the others in the present [274] (6) *Mukhtār-nāmah*. In the verse preface to the surviving revised version of the *Khusrau-nāmah*¹ the author mentions the same six titles and adds (7) the *Ilāhī-nāmah*. He refers further to an unnamed friend who had objected that the original *Khusrau-nāmah* was too long and that, moreover, the author had repeated part of that poem in his *Asrār-nāmah* (this confirms the order of the first two books as given above); thereupon 'Aṭṭār reworked and abridged the former poem. The abridged *Khusrau-nāmah* is the last poem that is now generally accepted as the work of 'Aṭṭār.

It is, however, possible that some of the remaining works in the corpus are his as well, namely those belonging to Ritter's 'Group II', of which the most important are the *Ushtur-nāmah*, the *Jauhar al-dhāt* and the *Hailāj-nāmah*. Nafīsī ascribed these to the 15th-century author of the above-mentioned forged works, 'Aṭṭār Tūnī, but Ritter² has shown that they are already attested in manuscripts of the 14th³ and early 15th centuries and also that their content differs significantly from the works of the Shiite forger. If they are not by 'Aṭṭār then they must be the works of an earlier pseudopigraphist who (like the poet from Tūn) laid claim to 'Aṭṭār's authentic [275] works. If authentic, the *Ushtur-nāmah* must be 'Aṭṭār's poem number (8), for in the prologue⁴ the author mentions only the five indubitably authentic *mathnawīs*; if it is a forgery it must in any case have been forged at a time when the other works of Pseudo-'Aṭṭār had not yet come into existence. It is followed by (9) *Jauhar al-dhāt*, the author of which mentions the *Ushtur-nāmah* and the *Muṣṭabāt-nāmah* and says that he is still working on the *Hailāj-nāmah*. This (10) *Hailāj-nāmah*, in turn, refers back to the *Jauhar al-dhāt*. However, since the

¹id. p. 146-52. Ritter distinguishes two prefaces (both found in all the Mss. consulted by him): one belonging to the original version of the work and a second referring specifically to the circumstances of the abridgment. The difficulty here is that the supposed first preface mentions, among other poems, the *Mukhtār-nāmah*, while the preface to the *Mukhtār-nāmah* mentions, as we have seen, the *Khusrau-nāmah*. If the two parts of the preface really belong to separate versions (which I think is not certain) it is evident that in revising the poem the author made some changes in the original preface, notably adding the reference to the *Mukhtār-nāmah*.

²*Oriens* XI p. 7-8.

³The Konya Ms. of *Jauhar al-dhāt* is dated 735/1335 (if correctly read). The Leyden Ms. of *Ushtur-nāmah* is dated 786/1384.

⁴See Muḥaqqiq's edition p. 42.

works in 'Group II' have not as yet been studied in detail we have thought it more prudent to leave them, for the while, amongst the 'doubtful' writings.

'Aṭṭār's two earliest poems (*Khusrau-nāmah* and *Asrār-nāmah*) are strikingly similar not only in title but also in their general character to Nizāmī's first two books, *Makhzan al-asrār* and *Khusrau-Shitrīn*. In the absence of an absolute chronology of 'Aṭṭār's works it is difficult to say who influenced whom. Nizāmī in any event admits in the preface to his first poem to familiarity with Sanā'ī's *Ḥadīqah* but gives no hint of knowing anything of 'Aṭṭār.

The *mathnawīs* by, or ascribed to, 'Aṭṭār are mostly found in collective manuscripts, generally with the title *Kulliyāt i 'Aṭṭār*. These differ in their contents one from the other and the works contained in them have been catalogued separately (and selectively)¹ in what follows. A large number of Mss. of 'Aṭṭār's 'Kulliyāt' and of collective Mss. containing one or more of his poetic works together with works of other authors [276] are listed by Ritter, *Oriens* XI p. 8-62, and a smaller selection is in Munz. III 17876-911.

Edition of the 'Kulliyāt': Lucknow 1872.

Authentic works:

(1) *Khusrau-nāmah*, also called *Khusrau u Gul*, *Gul u Khusrau* or *Gul u Hurmuzd* (inc. *ba nām i ān-kih ganj i jism u jān sākt * ṭilism i ganj i jān har du jahān sākt*), is a romantic story of the son of the king of the Byzantines and the daughter of the ruler of Khūzistān. The author says that it is based on a prose work by one Badr Ahwāzī. The verse introduction (for which see above, 'biography') indicates that 'Aṭṭār reworked and shortened his original version of the book. Ritter remarked that all the Mss. known to him contain this introduction; it is thus uncertain whether any trace of the older version has survived (despite the claims of various cataloguers to the contrary). See Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV, p. 114-52, and, for a detailed summary of the story, *ibid.* p. 160-72.

¹Because of the large number of available copies I have aimed at some degree of completeness only for Mss. copied down to about the end of the 9th/15th century.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 117/V (Dated 821/1418); Beatty 288 (19th century? Pictures); **Oxford** Ouseley 371/4 (Ethé 626. 16th century?); Ouseley 353/1 (Ethé 627. Ms. has a note dated ‘13’ which Ethé interprets as 1013/1604-5); Elliot 206/6 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/4 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 208/4 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 204/6 (Ethé 625); Elliot 204/3 (Ethé 625); **London** Or. 2888/II (Rieu Suppt. 237. Dated Rabī‘ II 893/1488); I.O. 1032/8 (Dated 1025/1616); Add. 16,787/V (Rieu p. 576. Dated Sha‘bān 1191/1777); I.O. 1031/2; I.O. 1033/6; I.O. 1035/3; **Cambridge** Add. 817 (Browne Cat. CCXIX. Dated 1177/1763-4); **Paris** Supplément 1434 (Blochet 1294. Dated Shawwāl 696/1297, some [277] leaves restored in 19th century. Blochet claims that it ‘contient une rédaction du poème beaucoup plus étendue que celle qui se lit dans le manuscrit 1291’); Supplément 811 fol. 521v sqq. and 554v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605. Apparently contains two different versions of the poem); **Leningrad** Kokand Collection 38 fol. 406-512 (See Rosenberg’s edition of the *Zarātusht-nāmāh* p. x. Dated 1064/1653-4); **Istanbul** Ateş Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 9-10. Dated 22 Rabī‘ II 816/1413); Üniversite FY 538/4 (Ateş 119. Dated 826/1423); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/4 (Karatay 484; *Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438); Nuruosmaniye 4199/5 (*Oriens* XI p. 13. Ms. dated 13 Rajab 847/1443); Üniversite FY 1315/5 (Ateş 120; *Oriens* XI p. 13-4. Ms. dated Rabī‘ I 848/1444); Halet 234/8 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Üniversite FY 473/3 (Ateş 121; *Oriens* XI p. 19. Dated 24 Shawwāl 900/1495); Topkapı, Revan 1044 (Karatay 500; *Der Islam* XXV p. 173. Copied by Aḥmad b. Sultān ‘Alī in 981/1573-4. According to Karatay the Ms. contains *Jauhar al-dhāt*, but Ritter says it is *Khusrau-nāmāh*. Pictures); Fatih 4052/7 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 213-214/3. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Dated 10 Shawwāl 1058/1648); Lâleli 2010/8 (*Mikrû-film-hā* I 403); **Madinah** ‘Arif Hikmat 30 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 484. Ms. dated 859/1455. Presumably this poem; the catalogue has ‘*Khusrau u Shīrīn*’); **Hamadan** I’timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. dated 28 Shawwāl 831/1428); **Tehran** Majlis III 1147/5 (Ms. dated

840/1436-7); Aṣghar Mahdawī (*Nuskhah-hā* III p. 483-4. Dated 1 Sha‘bān 884/1479); Malik 5228 (Munz. 33345. Dated Muḥarram 905/1499); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 6, ‘*Gul u Khusrau*’, and no. 10, ‘*Gul u Hurmuz*’, of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/2 and /11 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8. Two copies of different versions of the poem); Būhār 300/I (18th century?); [278] **Cambridge (Mass)** Hofer Collection (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 11. Ms. dated 827/1424).

Editions: **Lucknow** 1878-9 (with marginal glosses); **Tehran** 1340sh./1961 (ed. A. Suhailī-Khwānsarī).

(2) *Asrār-nāmāh*, a collection of edifying anecdotes which, unlike those in ‘Attār’s later works, are not bound together by a frame-story. The beginning occurs in two different forms (inc. I: *ba nām i ān kih jān rā nūr i dīn dād * kharad rā dar khudā-dānī yaqīn dād*; inc. II: *ba nām i ān kih az khāk ādam-ē kard * zi kaḥk-ē u zi dād-ē ‘ālam-ē kard*). Summary in Ritter, *Meer*, p. 30-1.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 117/IV (Ms. completed 821/1418); Beatty 321/III (Ms. copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Ṣafar 821/1418); Beatty 324/II (Copied by Ḥājī Aḥmad b. Sālūk al-Tūlamī in 846/1442-3); Beatty 153 fol. 271b sqq. (Ms. dated 12 Rabī‘ II 881/1476); **Oxford** Elliot 207/14 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/3 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 208/9 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 205/16 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1034/2 (Copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī b. Bābā Ḥājī and dated 20 Rajab 807/1405); Or. 11325 fol. 70b-137b (Meredith-Owens p. 72. With a colophon in Uighur script dated 862/1457-8. Pictures); Or. 4151/III (Rieu Suppt. 235. Ms. dated 22 Rajab 877/1472. Pictures); Or. 2747/V (Rieu Suppt. 236. Ms. dated 22 Dhū l-ḥijjah 889/1485); Or. 332/III (Rieu p. 578. Dated 1000 to 1004/1591-2 to 1595-6); Add. 16,787/III (Rieu p. 576. Dated Sha‘bān 1191/1777); I.O. 1031/12; I.O. 1033/3 (incomplete); **Cambridge** Or. 1698/7 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); **Paris** Supplément 1398 fol. 70v-173v (Blochet 1970. Dated 861/1456-7); [279] Ancien fonds 256/I (Blochet 1295/Richard. Contains a note dated 889/1484. First 2 folios restored);

¹ See Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV p. 172-3; id., *Oriens* XI, p. 46-7; Munz. IV 33335-55.

¹ See Ritter, *Oriens* XI, p. 60-2; Munz. IV 27285-336; Munz. Pak. VII(1) p. 165-8.

Supplément 1429 fol. 10sq. in marg. (Blochet 1308. 13th century?); Supplément 1526 in marg. (Blochet 1296. Dated 905/1499-1500); Supplément 658 (Blochet 1306. Dated Ramaḍān 1008/1600. Incomplete); **Leyden** 310(1) (Cat. II DCL. Dated 786/1384); **Basel Tschudi Collection** (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Ms. completed in Muḥarram 828/1424); **Florence Bibl. Nazionale Centrale** Ms. Cl. III. 10 (Piemontese 147. Apparently dated 17 Rajab 844/1440); **Gotha** 52; **Vienna Flügel** 516/3 (Copied 2 Šafar 902/1496 from an original dated 642/1244-5); **Leningrad Acad.** C1102 fol. 221a-226a (Index 133. Dated 708/1308-9); Acad. D 436 fol. 205b-234b (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3);¹ **Konya Mevlâna Müzesi** 1734/2 (Ateş 46; *Oriens* XI p. 8-9. Copied by İbrâhîm b. 'Iwaḍ al-Marāghî and dated 19 Rajab 656/1258); Mevlâna Müzesi 91/2 (Ateş 46; *Oriens* XI p. 9. Copied by the same scribe and dated 5 Dhū l-ḥijjah 676/1278);² **Istanbul Üniversitesi** FY 446 (*Oriens* XI p. 61. Copied by 'Alî b. Dōst i Khudâ al-Rifâ'î al-Anqarî al-Khalâfî and dated 27 Dhū l-ḥijjah 725/1325); Halet İläve 56 (*Oriens* XI p. 61. Copied by Khwâjah b. 'Umar al-Qunawî and dated 23 Dhū l-ḥijjah 735/1335); Ateş Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 9-10. Ms. dated Jumādâ II 816/1413); Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi 2044/17 (*Oriens* XI p. 61. Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Ayasofya 4792/25 (*Oriens* XI p. 61. Dated 816/1413-4); Atıf Efendi 2241/15 (*Oriens* XI p. 31-3. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 828/1425); Nuruosmaniye 4199/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 13. Ms. dated 13 Rajab 847/1443); Üniversitesi FY 1315/1 (Ateş 120; *Oriens* XI p. 13-4. Ms. dated Rabî' I 848/1444); Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi 1992/1 (*olim* Nuruosmaniye 3786. *Oriens* XI p. 12-3. From the library of Shâh-rukh, d. 850/1447. Pictures); Hamidiye 627 (*Oriens* XI p. 61. Dated Rabî' I 887/1482); Halet 234/7 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Süleymaniye, Murad Buhârî 213/4 [280] (*Oriens* XI p. 10-1. Ms. dated 9 Sha'bân 989/1581); Üniversitesi FY 213-214/14. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); Fatih 4052/4 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); **Afyon Karahisar** 1788/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Copied by 'Alî b. Rōzbihân and dated

¹For Dorn CCCLIV, see below p. 307 (*Mazhar al-'ajâ'ib*).

²The dates of the two Konya Mss. were read by Ateş as 680 and 693 respectively, but should be read as 656 and 676 according to R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* II (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XVII/2, Reihe A), Wiesbaden/Stuttgart 1987, p. 125.

824/1421); **Cairo Taşawwuf fārisī** 23/8 (*Oriens* XI p. 34-5. Ms. dated 1 Muḥarram 852/1448); 139 mīm adab fārisī (Tirāzī 1835/4. Ms. dated 20 Muḥarram 858/1454); **Medinah** 'Ārif Hikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādâ II 844/1440); **Tabriz Millî** 3634/1 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 309. Ms. dated 1 Šafar 885/1480); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. dated 28 Shawwāl 831/1428); **Shiraz** Wişāl (*Nuskhah-hā* p. 293 no. 34. Ms. dated 892/1487); **Tehran** Gulistân/Ātābāy II 327/II (Ms. copied by Abū Bakr b. 'Alî al-Isfarā'inî and dated Sha'bân 731/1331); Malik 5974/3 (Munz. 27290. Dated Rajab 808/1405-6); Malik 5955/1 (Munz. 17880. Ms. dated 819/1416-7); Majlis III 1147/4 (Ms. dated 840/1436-7); Gulistân/Ātābāy II 325/IV (Ms. dated 25 Ramaḍān 880/1476. Pictures); Aşghar Mahdawî (*Nuskhah-hā* III p. 483-4. Ms. dated 884 /1479-80); Bayānî 55/I (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 15. Copied by Amr Allāh b. Shaikh Uwais Nakhjawānî and dated 901/1495-6); Gulistân/Ātābāy II 324 (Copied by Shâh Maḥmūd al-Nīshābūrî in 970/1562-3); **Mashhad** Riḍawî VII 770/1 (Ms. dated 10 Rajab 911/1505); Riḍawî VII 769/5 (Has a note dated 1052/1642-3); **Tashkent Acad.** II 855/6 (Dated Jumādâ I 827/1424); **Lahore Univ.** II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 12 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Lucknow** Sprenger 140; **Bankipore** I 51 in marg. (14th century?); I 47/II (Dated 13 Šafar 1123/1711); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/6 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow 478/2 (17th century?); Ivanow 479/3 (17th century? Calls itself '*Intikhāb i A.N.*'); Ivanow 484 (17th century?); Ivanow Curzon 204/5 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); Būhār 300/III (18th century?); **Cambridge (Mass)** Hofer Collection (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 11. Ms. dated 827/1424). [281]

Editions: **Tehran** 1298/1880; 1356/1937; 1318sh./1939-40; 1338sh./1959 (Ş. Gauharî. Corrections in *Rāh-nimā i Kitāb* XXV, 1338sh./1959. p. 716-24).

Translation (Turkish): by Huḍūrî, at the time of Selim I. See *Oriens* XI p. 62.

Translation (French): *Le livre des secrets*, tr. Chr. Tortel, Paris 1985.

(3) *Manṭiq al-ṭair* or *Maqāmāt al-ṭayr* (inc. *āfrîn jān-āfrîn i pāk rā * ān-kih jān bakhshid musht-e khāk rā*). According to the verses at the end of some of the manuscripts, the poem was completed on Tuesday,

the 20th of Ramaḍān (*māh i khudā*), 573/Tuesday 14 March 1178.¹ But in other Mss. (including the oldest) the *khātimah* is missing altogether. The poem is based on the *Risālat al-tair*, extant in Arabic and Persian prose versions attributed to Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) al-Ghazālī,² and tells the allegorical story of the search of the birds for a king. The frame-story is interspersed with many interesting sub-stories. Summary in Ritter, *Meer*, p. 8-18.

Mss.:³ **Dublin** Beatty 117/II (Dated 819/1416-7); Beatty 321/II (Ms. copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Ṣafar 821/1418); Beatty 124 vol. II no. vii (Ms. completed Ṣafar 840/1436); Beatty 324/I (Copied by Ḥajjī Aḥmad b. Sālūk al-Tūlamī in 847/1443-4); Beatty 153 fol. 2b sqq. (Ms. dated 12 Rabī‘ II 881/1476); Beatty 160 (signed by Sulṭān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī, who died in 919/1513); **Manchester** Lindesiana 540 (Dated 1007/1598-9); **Oxford** Pers. d. 71 fol. 1-137a in marg. (Beeston 2564. Ms. completed 16 Ramaḍān 874/1470. Several leaves missing); Elliot 246 (Ethé 628; Robinson 501-7. Dated 19 Jumādā I 898/1493. Pictures); Ouseley Add. 105 (Ethé 629. Dated 3d year of Akbar/1557-8); Ouseley 63 (Ethé 630. 16th century?); [282] Elliot 207/13 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/11 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/18 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 205/17 (Ethé 625); Seld. Sup. 25 (Ethé 631); Whinfield 67 (Beeston 2565. Imperfect at both ends); **Eton** 123; **London** Add. 27,261/XIV (Rieu p. 868-71. Ms. dated Jumādā II 814/1411. Beginning only); Or. 12003 (Meredith-Owens p. 74. Dated 848/1444-5); Or. 11325 fol. 1b-70a (Meredith-Owens p. 72. With a colophon in Uighur script dated 862/1457-8. Pictures); Or. 4151/II (Rieu Suppt. 235. Ms. dated 22 Rajab 877/1472. Pictures); Or. 2747/III (Rieu Suppt. 236. Ms. dated 22 Dhū l-ḥijjah

¹London Add. 16,788 gives the year 570/1174-5, while Or. 4151 and Berlin Ms. or. oct. 270 make it 583/1187-8.

²The *Risālat al-tair* (or *tayār*) in Persian prose has been published for the first time, and the Arabic prose version republished, in *Majmū‘ah i āthār i fārsī i Aḥmad i Ghazālī*, ed. Aḥmad Mujaḥid, Tehran 1370sh./1991-2, p. 77-92 of the second series of pages. The editor thinks that the Persian *risālah* is ‘certainly’ by Aḥmad Ghaz(z)ālī, the Arabic ‘probably’ by his brother Muḥammad. See also, with different conclusions, Ritter, *Meer*, p. 8-18 (and the literature cited there); *El²* s.v. ‘al-Ghazālī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad’ (H. Ritter); *El²* s.v. ‘Simurgh’.

³See Ritter, *Oriens* XI, p. 50-56; Munz. IV 35445-577; Munz. Pak. VII(1) p. 193-8.

889/1485); I.O. 2875 (Dated 985/1577-8); Add. 7735 (Rieu p. 577-8. 16th century?); Or. 1227 (Rieu p. 578. 16th century? Several leaves missing at both ends); I.O. 1032/6 (Dated 1025/1616); Add. 7737/II (Rieu p. 816. Dated Rabī‘ II 1033/1624); Add. 16,788 (Rieu p. 578. Dated Muḥarram 1051/1641); I.O. 1036/1 (Dated 17 Sha‘bān 1105/1694); Add. 16,787/I (Rieu p. 576. Dated Sha‘bān 1191/1777); Harleian 3285 (Rieu p. 578. 18th century?); Or. 5010 (Meredith-Owens p. 65. Dated 1288/1871-2. Pictures); I.O. 1031/5; I.O. 1035/1; I.O. 1043-1045; **Cambridge** Or. 1698/5 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); Or. 195 (Browne Suppt. 1263. Dated 852/1448-9); Or. 264 (Browne Suppt. 1264. Dated 900/1494-5); Or. 190 (Browne Suppt. 1262. Dated 925/1519); Corpus, No. 231 (Browne Suppt. 1266. Dated 1239/1823-4); Dd. 11. 17. (Browne Cat. CCXXIII); **Paris** Supplément 1777 fol. 1v sqq. in marg. (Blochet 1645. Ms. dated 852/1448); Supplément 781A fol. 359r sqq. (Blochet 1972. Ms. dated Rabī‘ I 892/1487. End missing); Ancien fonds 348 (Blochet 1298/Richard. Dated 9 Jumādā II 897/1492. Pictures); Ancien fonds 318/I (Blochet 1300/Richard. 15th century? End missing. Pictures); Supplément 657/I (Blochet 1466. Copied by Maḥmūd b. Murshid b. ‘Alī al-Naqīb, 15th century?); [283] Supplément 1906 (Blochet 1299. 16th century? First pages restored); Supplément 2025 (Blochet 2457. 16th century?); Supplément 811 fol. 294v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); Supplément 656 (Blochet 1301. Dated Rajab 1045/1635); Supplément 655 (Blochet 1302. 17th century?); Supplément 1682 fol. 58v sqq. (Blochet 2187. Dated 1215/1800-1); Supplément 1709 (Blochet 1303. 19th century?); Supplément 1710 (Blochet 1305. 19th century?); Supplément 1907 (Blochet 1304. 19th century?); **Basel** Tschudi Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Dated Muḥarram 828/1424); **Turin** Bibl. Reale Ms. Or. 40 (Piemontese 338. Copied by Nāṣir b. Ḥasan al-Makkī and dated Ṣafar 857/1453. Pictures);¹ **Parma** Bibl. Palatina Ms. 1975 (Piemontese 238. 16th century?); **Rome** Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Ms. Caetani 35 (Piemontese 284. 18th century?); **Hamburg** Orient. 209 (Brockelmann 161); **Tübingen** Cd. 1858 (Ewald p. 15. Dated 887/1482-3); **Munich** Cod. or. 284 (Aumer 33. Dated 900/1494-5); 169 Quatr. (Aumer 34. Dated 973/1565-6); 187 Quatr. (Aumer 32); **Berlin** Ms. or. oct. 2150 in marg. (Heinz 207. The main body of the Ms. was copied by Darwēsh

¹A facsimile of the Turin Ms. was published in Tehran in 1994.

Manşūr b. Ḥusain Ṭā'ūsī and dated Jumādā II 800/1398); Ms. or. oct. 268 (Pertsch 753; Stchoukine 3. Copied by 'Atīq al-Tūnī¹ and dated Sha'bān 860/1456. Pictures); Ms. or. oct. 3581 (Heinz 23. Copied by Nizām al-dīn Ṭihirānī and dated 1 Muḥarram 963/1555); Sprenger 1382 (Pertsch 758. Has a seal dated 1213/1798-9); Minutoli 143 (Pertsch 757. Dated Ramaḍān 1258 /1842); Petermann I 455 (Pertsch 756; Stchoukine 49. Dated 27 Rabī' II 1259/1843. Pictures); Ms. or. oct. 269 (Pertsch 754); Ms. or. oct. 270 (Pertsch 755); Ms. or. oct. 1532 (Heinz 118. Fragment); Ms. or. oct. 1531 (Heinz 285); **Vienna** Flügel 516/1 (Dated 20 Muḥarram 902/1496); Flügel 517/1; **Uppsala** Zettersteen 423-7; [284] **Leningrad** Acad. B 152 fol. 2b-147b (Index 4313. Dated 975/1567-80); Acad. D 436 fol. 331b-367b (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); Acad. B 151 (Index 4312. Dated 1024/1615); Kokand Collection 38 fol. 246-304 (See Rosenberg's edition of the *Zarātusht-nāmah* p. x. Dated 1063/1653); Acad. A 28 (Index 4308); Acad. A 921 (Index 4310); and others (Acad. Index 4314-21); **Konya** Mevlāna Müzesi 1734/1 (Ateş 45; *Oriens* XI p. 8-9. Copied by İbrāhīm b. 'Iwāḍ al-Marāghī and dated 13 Rajab 656/1258); Mevlāna Müzesi 91/1 (Ateş 45; *Oriens* XI p. 9. Copied by the same scribe and evidently dated 676/1278);² Mevlāna Müzesi 1698/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 19. Dated Rabī' I 893/1488); **Istanbul** Süleymaniye, Darülmünevi 234/5 (*Oriens* XI p. 27-8. Dated 14 Rabī' I 811/1408); Süleymaniye, Murad Buhārī 217 (*Oriens* XI p. 50. Copied by Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-dīn b. 'Alī Māzandarānī and dated Muḥarram 813/1410); Ayasofya 4792/24 (*Oriens* XI p. 51. Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi 2044/16 (*Oriens* XI p. 51. Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Ayasofya 3875/9 (*Oriens* XI p. 51. Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Ateş Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 9-10. Ms. dated Jumādā II 816/1413); Süleymaniye, Galibolulu Tahir 36 (*Oriens* XI p. 51. A second hand has added the date Ramaḍān 821/1418); Nuruosmaniye 4198/3 (Ateş 118. Ms. dated 825/1422); Üniversite FY 538/2 (Ateş 119. Ms. dated 826/1423); Atıf Efendi 2241/17 (*Oriens* XI p. 31-33. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 828/1425); Nuruosmaniye 4199/4 (*Oriens* XI p. 13. Ms. dated 13 Rajab 847/1443); Üniversite FY 1315/4 (Ateş 120; *Oriens* XI p. 13-4. Ms. dated Rabī' I 848/1444); Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi 1992/3 (*olim* Nuruosmaniye

¹For whom see Robinson, *Paintings* p. 63.

²For the dates of these two Mss. see above, p. 279, fn.

3786. *Oriens* XI p. 12-3. From the library of Shāh-rukh, d. 850/1447. Pictures); Ayasofya 4317 (*Oriens* XI p. 51. Dated 27 Dhū l-qa'dah 860/1456); Nuruosmaniye 2624 (Ateş 124. Dated 869/1464-5); Halet 234/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Dated 888/1483); Ayasofya 4318 (*Oriens* XI p. 51. Dated Ramaḍān 889/1484); Lâlâ İsmail 227 [285] (*Oriens* XI p. 51. Dated 10 Ramaḍān 892/1487); Ayasofya 2110 (*Oriens* XI p. 19-20. Dated 899/1493-4); Nuruosmaniye 2623 (Ateş 125. 15th century?); Nuruosmaniye 2622 (Ateş 126. 15th century?); Topkapı, Revan 1031 (Karatay 494. 15th century?); Topkapı, Emanet Hazinesi 1511 (Karatay 496. 15th century? Gilded by Shāh-zādah Yūsuf Bahādur Khān); Üniversite FY 1168 (*olim* Halis Efendi 4059. Ateş 127. Copied by Khair al-dīn b. Ṭāhir and dated 10 Shawwāl 917/1512); Topkapı, Emanet Hazinesi 1512. (Karatay 497. Dated Muḥarram 921/1515); Fatih 4120 (Ritter-Reinert p. 130; *Oriens* XI p. 52-3. Dated Rajab 948/1541); Üniversite FY 1193 (*olim* Halis Efendi 5635. Ateş 128. Copied by 'Abdī b. Shaikh Maḥmūd in 973/1565-6); Süleymaniye, Murad Buhārī 213/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 10-1. Dated 9 Sha'bān 989/1581); Fatih 4052/3 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 202 (Ateş 129. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 614 (*olim* Halis Efendi 3257. Ateş 130. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 1218 (Ateş 131. 16th century?); Topkapı, Ahmet III 1527/I (Karatay 495; *Oriens* XI p. 20. Ms. copied by 'Abd Allāh al-Samarqandī and dated Rajab 902/1497. With Turkish translation); Üniversite FY 213-214/8. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); Üniversite FY 128 (Ateş 132. 17th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 237 (Karatay 498. Copied by Muḥammad Ṭāj al-dīn al-Gilānī); **Afyon Karahisar** 1788/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Ms. copied by 'Alī b. Rōzbihān and dated 824/1421); **Cairo** Taşawwuf fārisī 23/4 (*Oriens* XI p. 34-5. Ms. dated 1 Muḥarram 852/1448); 139 mīm adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī 1835/2. Ms. dated 20 Muḥarram 858/1454); 9/1 adab fārisī (*Oriens* XI p. 14. Dated 26 Rajab 877/1472); **Medinah** 'Ārif Ḥikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādā II 844/1440); 'Ārif Ḥikmat 192 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 483. Dated 853/1449); 'Ārif Ḥikmat 30 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 484. Ms. dated 859/1455); 'Ārif Ḥikmat 166 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 490. Dated 998/1589-90); **Tabriz** [286] Millī 3634/2 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 309. Ms. dated 1 Şafar 885/1480); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. dated 28 Shawwāl 831/1428); **Tehran** Shūrā i Islāmī I 154 (Supposedly 6th/12th century); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 327/III (Ms. copied by Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-

Isfarā'īnī and dated Sha'bān 731/1331); Malik 5974/2 (Munz. 35450. Dated Jumādā I 808/1406); Adabīyāt I p. 502 (Dated Rajab 830/1427); Malik 5955/1 (Munz. 17880. Ms. dated 819/1416-7); Majlis III 1147/3 (Ms. dated 840/1436-7); Miftāḥ (Munz. 35468. Dated 19 Sha'bān 862/1458); Majlis 8981/2 (Munz. 35470. Dated 868/1463-4); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 325/II (Ms. dated 25 Ramaḍān 880/1476. Pictures); Aṣghar Mahdawī (*Nuskah-hā* III p. 483-4. Ms. dated 884/1479-80); Bayānī 15 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 9. 15th century?); Bayānī 16 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 9. 17th century?); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 328 (Dated 30 Muḥarram 1236/1820); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 330 (Dated Rabī' I 1257/1841); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 329 (Dated Ramaḍān 1258/1842); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 770/4 (Ms. dated 10 Rajab 911/1505); Riḍawī VII 769/3 (Has a note dated 1052/1642-3); **Tashkent** Acad. II 855/2 (Ms. dated 6 Jumādā I 827/1424); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 416-422 (multiple copies; the oldest, no. 418, is dated 20 Ṣafar 987/1579); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 11 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Bombay** Univ. X/2 (Dated 23 Rabī' I 1004/1595. Incomplete); **Lucknow** Sprenger 132 (several copies); **Bankipore** I 51 (14th century?); I 50 (Dated 7 Jumādā I 842/1438. Pictures); I 46/III (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/7 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow 479/1 (17th century?); Būhār 301 (17th century? Damaged); Ivanow Curzon 205 (Dated 25 Ramaḍān 1114/1703); Ivanow 480/1 (Dated 49th year of Aurangzēb/1116/1704-5); Būhār 300/IV (18th century?); **Cambridge (Mass)** Hofer Collection (*Nuskah-hā* IV p. 11. Ms. dated 827/1424).

Editions: **Paris** 1857 (*Mantic Uttair, ou le langage des oiseaux* ed. Garcin de Tassy; 'sehr [287] fehlerhaft' according to Ritter), 3rd edition 1860; **Bombay** 1280/1863; 1297/1880; 1313/1895-6; **Lucknow** 1871; **Cawnpore** 1880; 1896; [Tehran?] 1287; **Tehran** 1337sh./1958-9 (ed. M.J. Mashkūr), reprinted 1341sh./1962, 1365sh./1986; 1342sh./1964 (ed. Ṣ. Gauharīn, with variants); **Isfahan** 1351/1932-3.

Translations: (Turkish): The Old Anatolian translation by Süleymān Gülshehrī, written in 717/1317-8, has been published (facsimile of the Ms.) in Ankara 1957; see *Oriens* XI p. 56 (with further literature). Further versions by Kuratovālī Ḍa'ifī Pīr Meḥmed b. Evrānūs (d. 967/1559-60), Fedā'ī Dede (1045/1635-6), Aḥmad Sīwāsī and Mīr 'Alī Shēr Nawā'ī (in Chaghatai) are discussed there as well. Modern Turkish translation: *Mantiḳu't-ṭayr tercemesi*, by A. Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1944.

(Urdu): two translations (one in Dak'hni verse) are mentioned by Ethé ad I.O. 1031/5.

(French prose): *Mantic uttair ou le langage des oiseaux, poème de philosophie religieuse traduit... par M. Garcin de Tassy*, Paris 1863, reprinted 1982.

(English verse): 'A bird's-eye view of Farīd-uddīn Attār's bird-Parliament', in *Letters and literary remains of Edward Fitzgerald II*, London 1889, p. 431-82; *The conference of the birds translated with an introduction by Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis*, Harmondsworth 1984 (based on Gauharīn's edition and complete apart from the introduction and the epilogue).

(English prose): *The conference of the birds: a sufi allegory, being an abridged version... by R.P. Masani*, London 1924, reprinted New Delhi 1981; *The conference of the birds*, translated (from Garcin's French) by C.S. Nott, London 1954, reprinted 1961.

(Swedish): *Mantiq-ut-Tayir*, tr. E. Hermelin, 2 volumes, with a reprint of Garcin de Tassy's Persian text, Stockholm 1929. [288]

(Indonesian prose): *Musyawahar burung*, translated (at third hand, via Nott's English and Garcin's French) by Hartojo Andangdjaja, Jakarta 1983.

(Italian): *Il verbo degli uccelli, a cura di Carlo Saccone*, Milan 1986.

Epitome: *Intikhāb i Mantīq i Ṭair* in 16 *maqūlahs*, written by Muḥammad Badakhshānī for Bayezid II. Ms.: **Istanbul** Fatih 3678 (Ritter-Reinert p. 130. Autograph dated 898/1492-3).

Commentaries: By Shem'ī (d. ca. 1005/1596-7)¹ in Turkish. Ms.: **Istanbul** Carullah 1716 (*Oriens* XI p. 55).

Modern Persian prose paraphrase: *Ba sūy i Si-murgh*, by Ni'mat Allāh Qāḍī, called Shakīb, Tehran 1343sh./1964.

(4) *Muṣibat-nāmah*, also called *Nuz'hat-nāmah* or *Jawāb-nāmah* (inc. *ḥamd i pāk az jān i pāk ān pāk rā * kih khilāfat dād musht-e khāk rā*). Summary in Ritter, *Meer*, p. 18-30.

¹See below, p. 313.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 117/III (Dated 24 Muḥarram 821/1418); Beatty 321/IV (Ms. copied by 'Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Ṣafar 821/1418); Beatty 121 (Dated 833/1429-30. Modern pictures); Beatty 153 fol. 345b sqq. (Ms. dated 12 Rabī' II 881/1476); **Manchester** Lindesiana 45a (=Robinson p. 150. Dated 939/1532-3. Pictures); Lindesiana 259 (Dated 1093/1682); **Oxford** Elliot 207/12 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/17 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/11 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Ind. Inst. Pers. 47 (Beeston 2566. Dated 16 Jumādā II 1177/1763); Elliot 204/5 (Ethé 625); Ouseley Add. 132 (Ethé 633); **London** I.O. 1034/5 (Ms. copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī b. Bābā Ḥājī and [289] completed 1 Dhū l-qa'dah 812/1410); Or. 4151/IV (Rieu Suppt. 235. Ms. dated 22 Rajab 877/1472. Pictures); Or. 2747/IV (Rieu Suppt. 236. Ms. dated 22 Dhū l-ḥijjah 889/1485); Or. 332/II (Rieu p. 578. Dated 1004/1595-6); I.O. 1032/10 (Dated 1025/1616); Add. 7737/III (Rieu p. 816. Dated Rabī' II 1033/1624); Add. 16,787/IV (Rieu p. 576. Dated Sha'bān 1191/1777); I.O. 1031/15; I.O. 1033/1; I.O. Delhi 1271; **Cambridge** Or. 1698/6 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); **Paris** Supplément 1491 (Blochet 1309. Dated 20 Dhū l-qa'dah 686/1287. First page restored); Supplément 1429 (Blochet 1308. 13th century? Beginning and end restored. The Ms. contains also extracts from other *mathnawīs* attributed to 'Aṭṭār); Ancien fonds 256/II (Blochet 1295/Richard. Contains a note dated 889/1484); Supplément 811 fol. 357v-438 (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Berlin** Minutoli 232 (Pertsch 761. Two hands); Petermann 404/1 (Pertsch 46. End missing); **Gotha** 51; **Vienna** Flügel 516/2 (Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 901/1495. Second half only; if correctly identified); **Uppsala** Tornberg CLXII; **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 263b-330a (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); **Konya** Mevlāna Müzesi 1734/3 (Ateş 47; *Oriens* XI p. 8-9. Ms. copied by Ibrāhīm b. 'Iwāḍ al-Marāghī and dated Rajab 680/1281); Mevlāna Müzesi 91/3 (Ateş 47; *Oriens* XI p. 9. Copied by the same scribe and evidently dated 26 Muḥarram 693/1293); Mevlāna Müzesi 1704 (*Oriens* XI p. 57. Dated Ramaḍān 867/1463); **Istanbul** Nafiz Paşa 455 (*Oriens* XI p. 57. Dated 5 Dhū l-ḥijjah 740/1340); Ateş Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 9-10. Ms. dated Jumādā

¹See Ritter, *Oriens* XI, p. 56-60; Munz. IV 35064-103; Munz. Pak. VII(1) p. 191-3.

II 816/1413); Ayasofya 4792/26 (*Oriens* XI p. 57. Dated 816/1413-4); Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi 2044/15 (Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Nuruosmaniye 4198/1 (Ateş 118. Ms. dated 825/1422); Üniversite FY 538/3 (Ateş 119. Ms. dated 826/1423); Atıf Efendi 2241/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 31-33. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 828/1425); Süleymaniye, Murad Buhārī 213/1 [290] (*Oriens* XI p. 10-1. Copied by Sulaimān b. 'Alī-shāh b. Dāniyāl and dated 10 Dhū l-ḥijjah 836/1433); Nuruosmaniye 4199/3 (*Oriens* XI p. 13. Ms. dated 13 Rajab 847/1443); Üniversite FY 1315/2 (Ateş 120; *Oriens* XI p. 13-4. Ms. dated Rabī' I 848/1444); Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi 1992/4 (*olim* Nuruosmaniye 3786. *Oriens* XI p. 12-3. From the library of Shāh-rukḥ, d. 850/1447. Pictures); Nafiz Paşa 456/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 14. Dated 28 Ramaḍān 865/1480); Halet 234/4 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Ayasofya 1659/3 (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Ms. dated 26 Rabī' II 890/1485); Halet 329 (*Oriens* XI p. 57-8. Dated 890/1485); Topkapı, Ahmet III 1527/2 (Karatay 495; *Oriens* XI p. 20. Copied by 'Abd Allāh al-Samarqandī and dated Rajab 902/1497. With Turkish translation); Fatih 4052/5 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 213-214/5. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Dated 15 Jumādā I 1059/1649); **Cairo** Taşawwuf fārisī 23/6 (*Oriens* XI p. 34-5. Dated 1 Muḥarram 852/1448); 139 mīm adab fārisī (Tirāzī 1835/3. Ms. dated 20 Muḥarram 858/1454); **Tabriz** Millī 3634/6 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 309. Ms. dated 1 Ṣafar 885/1480); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Dated 3 Dhū l-qa'dah 830/1427); **Shiraz** Wişāl (*Nuskhah-hā* p. 293 no. 34. Ms. dated 892/1487); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 327/IV (Ms. copied by Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Isfarā'inī and dated Sha'bān 731/1331); Malik 5955/1 (Munz. 17880. Ms. dated 819/1416-7); Aşghar Mahdawī (*Nuskhah-hā* III p. 483-4. Ms. dated 884/1479-80); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 325/III (Ms. dated 25 Ramaḍān 880/1476. Pictures); Majlis III 1147/2 (Ms. dated 840/1436-7); Malik 5062/9 (Munz. 35981. Dated 952/1545-6); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 770/3 (Ms. dated 10 Rajab 911/1505); Riḍawī VII 769/4 (Has a note dated 1052/1642-3); **Tashkent** Acad. II 855/3 (Ms. dated 6 Jumādā I 827/1424); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 414 (17th century?); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 5 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Lucknow** Sprenger 124 [291] (two copies); **Bankipore** I 46/V (17th century?); I 47/IV (Dated 17 Rajab 1123/1711); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/8 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow 478/3 (17th century?); Ivanow 479/2 (17th century?); Ivanow Curzon 204/3 (Followed by a colophon - evi-

dently forged or copied from the original - dated 13 Rajab 699/1300. The Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6; **Cambridge (Mass)** Hofer Collection (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 11. Ms. dated 827/1424).

Editions: **Tehran** 1298/1881; 1354/1935-6; 1338sh./1959 (ed. N. Wiṣāl).

Translations (Turkish): For the translation by Pīr Meḥemmed (for Murad II) and the abridged Turkish version by Aḥmadī (with the misleading title *Asrār-nāmah*) see *Oriens* XI p. 58-60.

(French prose): *Le livre de l'épreuve*, trans. Isabelle de Gastines, Paris 1981.

(5) *Ilāhī-nāmah* is the story of a king who asks his six sons in turn what they would most desire. They ask for predictable worldly things, the futility of which the king demonstrates with a series of mostly short anecdotes. The beginning exists in three different versions, for which see Ritter's edition (inc. I: *ba nām i kirdigār i haft aflāk * kih paidā kard ādam az kaf-ē khāk*; inc. II: *ba nām i ān kih mulk-ash bē zawāl ast * ba wasf-ash nuṭq i ṣāhib-ūql lāl ast*; inc. III: *ilāhī-nāmah rā āghāz kardam * ba nām-at bāb i nāmah bāz kardam*). Summary in Ritter, *Meer*, p. 4-8.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 117/I (Ms. completed 821/1418); Beatty 153 fol. 116b sqq. (Ms. dated 12 Rabīʿ II 881/1476); **Manchester** Lindesiana 225 (Dated 1143/1730-1); **Oxford** Pers. d. 71 (Beeston 2564. Ms. completed 16 Ramaḍān 874/1470. Several leaves missing); Elliot 207/11 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/5 [292] (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 208/8 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 204/1 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1034/3a-b (Copied by Muḥammad Ḥājjī b. Bābā Ḥājjī and dated 20 Ramaḍān 807/1405); Add. 27,261/XIII (Rieu p. 868-71. Dated Jumādā II 814/1411); Or. 4151/I (Rieu Suppt. 235. Ms. dated 22 Rajab 877/1472. Pictures); Or. 2747/II (Rieu Suppt. 236. Ms. dated 22 Dhū l-ḥijjah 889/1485. Incomplete); Or. 332/I (Rieu p. 578. Dated 1000 to 1004/1591-2 to 1595-6); I.O. 1032/2 (Dated 1025/1616); Add. 7089 (Rieu p. 578. 17th century? With additional verses at beginning and end); Add. 16,787/II (Rieu p. 576. Dated Shaʿbān 1191/1777); I.O.

¹See Ritter, *Oriens* XI p. 47-9; Munz. IV 27568-661; Munz. Pak. VII/1 p. 169-70.

1031/14; **Cambridge** Or. 1698/1 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); Or. 1284 (2nd Suppt. 150. 16th century?); **Paris** Ancien fonds 224 (Blochet 1307/ Richard. 14th century? In the Bibliothèque Nationale since 1668); Ancien fonds 256/III (Blochet 1295/Richard. Contains a note dated 889/1484); Supplément 1526 (Blochet 1296. Dated 905/1499-1500); Supplément 811 fol. 453v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); Supplément 1355 fol. 104v sqq. (Blochet 1997. Dated Rabīʿ I 1 <0> 82/1671); **Basel** Tschudi Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Ms. completed in Muḥarram 828/1424); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 146b-204b (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); **Konya** Mevlāna Müzesi 1703 (*Oriens* XI p. 47. Dated 20 Muḥarram 833/1429); **Istanbul** Fatih 3674 (Ritter-Reinert p. 130. Dated 4 Jumādā II 729/1328. Inc. II); Süleymaniye, Darülmecnevi 234/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 27-8. Ms. dated Jumādā II 811/1408. Inc. II); Ateş Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 9-10. Dated Jumādā II 816/1413); Ayasofya 4792/27 (*Oriens* XI p. 47. Dated 816/1413-4); Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi 2044/14 (*Oriens* XI p. 47. Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Üniversite FY 538/1 (Ateş 119. Ms. dated 826/1423); Atıf Efendi 2241/16 (*Oriens* XI p. 31-33. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 828/1425); Süleymaniye, Murad Buhārī 213/3 [293] (*Oriens* XI p. 10-1. Copied by Sulaimān b. ʿAlī-shāh b. Dāniyāl and dated 23 Ramaḍān 837/1434); Nuruosmaniye 4199/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 13. Ms. dated 13 Rajab 847/1443); Üniversite FY 1315/3 (Ateş 120; *Oriens* XI p. 13-4. Ms. dated Rabīʿ I 848/1444); Türk ve İslām Eserleri Müzesi 1992/2 (*olīm* Nuruosmaniye 3786. *Oriens* XI p. 12-3. From the library of Shāh-rukh, d. 850/1447. Pictures); Nafiz Paşa 353/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 14. Dated 10 Rabīʿ I 856/1452); Halet İlāve 58 (*Oriens* XI p. 48. Dated Rabīʿ I 862/1458); Fatih 3673 (Ritter-Reinert p. 130. Dated 863/1458-9); Üniversite FY 473/1 (Ateş 121; *Oriens* XI p. 19. Dated 7 Dhū l-ḥijjah 896/1491); Halet 234/5 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Ayasofya 1659/6 (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Dated Shaʿbān 889/1484); Ayasofya 2110/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 19-20. Mss. completed 920/1514); Fatih 4052/6 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 213-214/7. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Dated 3 Rajab 1059/1649); **Cairo** Taṣawwuf fārisi 23/5 (*Oriens* XI p. 34-5. Ms. dated 1 Muḥarram 852/1448); 139 mīm adab fārisi (Tirāzī 1835/1. Ms. dated 20 Muḥarram 858/1454); **Medinah** ʿĀrif Ḥikmat 143 adab fārisi (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādā II 844/1440); ʿĀrif Ḥikmat 30 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 484. Ms. dated 859/1455); **Tabriz** Millī 3634/4

(*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 309. Ms. dated 1 Šafar 885/1480); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. dated 28 Shawwāl 831/1428); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 327/V (Ms. copied by Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Isfārā'inī and dated Sha'bān 731/1331); Malik 5974/4 (Munz. 27570. Dated 10 Sha'bān 808/1406); Malik 5955/1 (Munz. 17880. Ms. dated 819/1416-7); Majlis III 1147/1 (Ms. dated 840/1436-7); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 325/I (Ms. dated 25 Ramaḍān 880/1476. Pictures); Aṣghar Mahdawī (*Nuskhah-hā* III p. 483-4. Ms. dated 884/1479-80); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 457/III (Ms. completed Rabī' I 1083/1672); **Tashkent** Acad. II 855/1 (Ms. dated 6 Jumādā I 827/1424); [294] **Dushanbe** Acad. II 407 (17th century?); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 13 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Lucknow** Sprenger 139; **Bankipore** I 47/I (Dated 24 Ramaḍān 1133/1721);¹ **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/3 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow 478/1 (17th century?); Ivanow Curzon 204/4 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6).

Editions: **Lucknow** 1872; **Tehran** 1316/1898-9; 1356/1937-8; 1339sh./1960 (ed. F. Rūhānī, based mainly on Ritter, but without variants), reprinted 1351sh./1972, 1359sh./1980; **Istanbul/Leipzig** 1940 (*Ilahi-name. Die Gespräche des Königs mit seinen sechs Söhnen*, ed. H. Ritter; the only critical edition).²

Translations (Turkish verse): 'Ibret-nümā by Shemsī, dedicated to Murāt III. Mss.: **Leipzig** Fleischer CCCXXIV (Dated Rabī' I 1025/1616); **Istanbul** Bayezid 3315 (*Oriens* XI p. 49).

(French prose): *Le livre divin*, tr. F. Rouhani, Paris 1961, reprinted 1990.

(English prose): *The Ilāhī-nāma or Book of God*, translated (with copious notes) by J.A. Boyle, Manchester 1976.

(6) 'Aṭṭār's *Dīwān* consists almost entirely of *ghazals* of pseudo-erotic and religious inspiration. For a translation and detailed discussion of a large number of poems see Ritter, *Oriens* XII p. 1-83.

Mss.:³ **Oxford** Elliot 207/20 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/19 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I

¹The correctness of this date is confirmed by the words 'during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh' quoted in the catalogue. For 47/II, /III, and /IV the catalogue gives the date as 1123.

²See also his corrections, *Oriens* XI p. 48-9.

³See Ritter, *Oriens* XII p. 86-7; Munz. III 24792-826.

1027/1618); Elliot 209/20 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 1078/1668); [295] Elliot 205/11,19 (Ethé 625); Elliot 46 (Ethé 636); **London** I.O. 1032/11 (Dated 1025/1616); I.O. 1031/9; **Cambridge** Or. 1670-1/I (2nd Suppt. 421. Photostat of a Ms. in a private collection. 15th century?); **Paris** Supplément 1795/I (Blochet 1292. Ms. dated 4 Šafar 821/1418); Supplément 811 fol 658v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Leningrad** Acad. C 1611 (Index 1576. Dated 1044/1634-5. Lacunae); **Istanbul** Ayasofya 2910/6 (*Oriens* XII p. 86. Ms. dated 706/1306-7. 14 *qaṣīdahs*); Halet İlāve 238/2 (*Oriens* XII p. 86. Ms. dated 727/1326-7); Ayasofya 2051/6 (*Oriens* XII p. 86; *Mikrūflm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330. 'qaṣā'id'); Süleymaniye, Darülmüşnevi 234/4 (*Oriens* XI p. 27-8. Ms. dated Jumādā II 811/1408. 'Ghazaltıāt wa rubā'ıyāt'); Ayasofya 3857/23 (*Oriens* XII p. 86. Ms. dated 816/1413-4); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/5 (Karatay 484; *Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438); Halet 234/14 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Ayasofya 1659/5 (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Ms. dated 26 Rabī' II 890/1485); Üniversite FY 473/2 (Ateş 121; *Oriens* XI p. 19. Ms. completed 5 Jumādā I 902/1497); Üniversite FY 490 fol. 1b-88b (Ateş 123. 15th century? 'Muntakhab i ghazaltıāt'); Fatih 4052/1 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); **Medinah** 'Arif Hikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādā II 844/1440); **Tehran** Majlis VIII 2600 (First part copied by Faḍl Allah Qazwīnī and dated 688/1289; second part by Ḥasan Ḥājj Muḥammad and dated 1 Dhū l-hijjah 707/1308); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 327/I (Ms. copied by Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Isfārā'inī and dated Sha'bān 731/1331. 'Kitāb qaṣā'id wa ghazaltıāt'); Bayānī 13 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 9. 14th century?); Bayānī 14 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 9. 14th century? Selections); Shūrā i Islāmī I 306 (14th century?); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 326 (Has a note dated 14 Rajab 1128/1716. 83 *ghazals* only); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 770/2 [296] (Ms. dated 10 Rajab 911/1505. 'Ghazaltıāt'); **Tashkent** Acad. II 855/4 (Ms. dated 6 Jumādā I 827/1424); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 7 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Lucknow** Sprenger 121; **Bankipore** I 46/XIII (17th century?); I 52 (19th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/1 (Dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow 487 (17th century?).

Editions: **Tehran** 1319sh./1940 (ed. S. Nafīsī) reprinted 1335sh./1956, 1339sh./1960; 1341sh./1962 (ed. T. Tafaddulī), reprinted 1345sh./1967.

Concordance: D. Meneghini Corrales and V. Zanolli, *Attar, concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 9)*, Venice 1993.

(7) *Mukhtār-nāmah*, a collection of ca. 2000 *rubāʿīs*, grouped by subject-matter, with an introduction in prose by the author, beginning *ḥamd u sipās i bē-qiyās khudāwand-e rā kih ishrāq i āftāb...*, for which see above, 'biography'. Text and paraphrase of the preface in Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV, p. 152-5. Analysis, with text and translation of many of the *rubāʿiyāt*: Ritter, *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 195-227. See now also: S. A. Mīr-Afḍalī, *Āyā Mukhtār-nāmah az 'Attār ast?*, *Nashr i dānish* XVII/1, 1379sh./2000, p. 32-43.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 321/VII (Ms. copied by 'Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Ṣafar 821/1418); Beatty 153 fol. 429b sqq. in marg. (Ms. dated 12 Rabī' II 881/1476); **Oxford** Elliot 207/21 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/21 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/21 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 205/18 (Ethé 625); **London** Or. 353/III (Rieu p. 577. Dated Ṣafar 877/1472. A few lines missing at beginning of preface); Or. 2747/I (Rieu Suppt. 236. Ms. dated 22 Dhū l-ḥijjah 889/1485. Incomplete); I.O. 1032/12 (Dated 1025/1616); Add. 16,787/VI (Rieu p. 576. Dated Sha'bān 1191/1777); **Cambridge** Or. 1670-1/II (2nd Suppt. 421. Photostat of a Ms. in a private collection. 15th century?); **Paris** Supplément 811 fol. 749v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Leningrad** Acad. A 85 (Index 3964); [297] **Istanbul** Ateş Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 9-10. Dated 12 Jumādā II 816/1413); Üniversite FY 538/5 (Ateş 119. Ms. dated 826/1423); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/6 (Karatay 484; *Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438); Üniversite FY 1315/6 (Ateş 120; *Oriens* XI p. 13-4. Ms. dated Rabī' I 848/1444); Halet 234/15 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Üniversite FY 473/4 (Ateş 121; *Oriens* XI p. 19. Dated 5 Jumādā I 902/1497); Üniversite FY 368 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 513. Ateş 134. Dated 1 Muḥarram 968/1560); Fatih 4052/2 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); **Cairo** 139 mīm adab fārisī (Tīrāzī 1835/6. Ms. dated 20 Muḥarram 858/1454); **Medinah** 'Arif Ḥikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms.

¹See Ritter, *Oriens* XIII-XIV p. 227-8; Munz. IV 34706-26.

dated Jumādā II 844/1440); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 327/VI (Copied by Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Isfārā'īnī and dated Sha'bān 731/1331); Majlis III 1147/6 (Ms. dated 840/1436-7); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 8 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 167 no. 137; **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 204/1 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6).

Collections of *rubāʿiyāt* (different from *Mukhtār-nāmah*?): Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 185 fol. 1-10 (15th century?); **London** Or. 11077 fol. 292b (7 quatrains. 13th century?); **Leningrad** Kokand Collection 38 fol. 391-405 (See Rosenberg's edition of the *Zarātusht-nāmah* p. x. Ms. completed 1066/1655-6).

Editions of the *Mukhtār-nāmah*: **Tehran** 1353/1934-5; 1358sh./1979 (ed. M.R. Shafī'ī-Kadkanī, with an extensive introduction).

Doubtful and spurious works:¹

(1) *Asrār al-shuhūd* (inc. *ḥast bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm * maṣḥaf i āyāt i asrār i qadīm*: scansion?!), a collection of versified anecdotes from the lives of the saints.

Mss.: **Leipzig** Vollers 1048/II (Dated 1007/1598-9. 'Asrār-nāmah'); **Lucknow** Sprenger 125; Other Mss.: Munz. IV 27276-83. [298]

Edition: **Lahore** 1894.

(2) *Bē-sar-nāmah* (inc. *man ba ghair i tu nabīnam dar jahān * qādir-ā, parwardagār-ā, jāwidān*) is similar in content to the second part of the *Ushtur-nāmah*.

Mss.: **Oxford** Elliot 207/17 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/18 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 205/14 (Ethé 625); Fraser 250 (Ethé 634. Dated 1112/1700-1. Defective); **London** I.O. 1036/2 (Dated 17 Sha'bān 1105/1694); Or. 10940 fol. 71b-77b (Meredith-Owens p. 71. Ms. dated 1181/1767-8); I.O. 1031/7; I.O. 1033/7; I.O. 1049; **Paris** Supplément 811 fol. 445v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605);

¹J.T.P. de Bruijn informs that several of these have been 'edited' by Aḥmad Khushnīshīn 'Imād, those numbered 2, 3, 16, 19, 20 and 22 in a single volume, **Tehran** n.d. (introduction dated 1362sh./1983), and number 6 separately, **Tehran** [1364sh./1985]. I have not seen these publications.

Supplément 1485 (Blochet 1320. 19th century); **Vienna** Krafft CXCI (Dated 1232/1816-7); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 261b-263a (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 213-214/12. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); Üniversite FY 167 (Ateş 144. 19th century?); **Lucknow** Sprenger 123; **Bankipore** I 47/VI (Ms. contains dates in 1123/1711 and 1133/1720); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/12 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow Curzon 204/9 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6). Cf. Munz. IV 27908-20.

Editions: **Cawnpore** 1850; 1891; 1897; **Lucknow** 1872 (in the '*Kulliyāt*'); 1877 (twice, with other works); 1302/1885; 1315/1897; **Tehran** 1309/1891-2; 1319/1901; 1325/1907.

(3) *Bulbul-nāmah* or *Gul u Bulbul* (inc. *qalam bar dār i rāz i dil 'iyān kun * sar-āghāz-ash ba nām i ghaib-dān kun*). The story of Solomon and a nightingale. In two 15th-century Mss. it is attributed to one 'Aṭṭār Tūnī, i.e. presumably the author of the forged *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib* and *Lisān al-ghaib*. Note, however, the early dates in the Dublin, Istanbul and London manuscripts.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 321/VI (Ms. copied by 'Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Ṣafar 821/1418); **Oxford** [299] Elliot 207/8 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/8 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/14 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 205/12 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1034/4 (Ms. copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī b. Bābā Ḥājī and completed 1 Dhū l-qa'dah 812/1410); I.O. 1032/5 (Dated 1025/1616); Or 5415 fol. 67b-71b (Meredith-Owens p. 90. 16th-17th century?); I.O. 1031/3; I.O. 1033/8; **Cambridge** Or. 1698/3 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); Ll. 6. 15 (Browne Cat. CCCV/II. Dated 976/1568-9); Or. 257/3 (Browne Suppt. 177. Dated 1273/1856-7); Or. 274/1 (Browne Suppt. 178. Dated 1273/1856-7); **Paris** Supplément 1398 fol. 35v sqq. (Blochet 1970. Dated 861/1456-7); Supplément 781A fol. 278v sqq. (Blochet 1972. Ms. dated Rabī' I 892/1487); Ancien fonds 343/II (Blochet 1297/ Richard. 16th century? End missing); Supplément 811 fol. 448v-452v (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Basel** Tschudi Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Ms. completed in Muḥarram 828/1424); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 237b-241a (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); Acad. C 1166 fol. 172b-219b (Index 3463. Ms. dated 1115/1703-4); **Kokand** Collection 38 fol. 223-245 (See Rosenberg's edition of the

Zarātusht-nāmah p. x. Dated 1064/1653-4); **Istanbul** Süleymaniye, Darülmüşnevi 234/3 (*Oriens* XI p. 27-8. Ms. dated Jumādā II 811/1408); Atıf Efendi 2241/3 (*Oriens* XI p. 31-33. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 828/1425); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438. Incomplete); Topkapı, Hazine 697 (Karatay 501. Copied by Ḥabīb b. Ḥusain Samarqandī in 871/1466-7. Different incipit); Halet 234/9 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Topkapı, Koğuşlar 1031/II (Karatay 922. Dated 965/1557-8); Fatih 4052/8 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 213-214/11. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); **Kabul** (*Oriens* XI p. 27. In an anthology [300] supposedly dated 803/1400-1); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 15 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Bankipore** I 47/IV (Ms. contains dates in 1123/1711 and 1133/1720); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/14 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8). Cf. Munz. IV 27712-26; Munz. Pak. VII(1) p. 608-9.

Editions: **Lucknow** 1872 (in the '*Kulliyāt*'); [**Tehran**] 1312/1894-5.

(4) *Dīwān i mu'jizāt*. Ms.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 543 (18th century?).

(5) *Haft wādī* begins with the same verse as the *Muṣṭbat-nāmah*. It is apparently an extract from *Manṭiq al-ṭair* and other poems.

Mss.: **Oxford** Elliot 207/9 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/12 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 205/13 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1032/4 (Dated 1025/1616); I.O. 1031/6; I.O. 1033/15; I.O. 1050 (defective); **Paris** Supplément 811 fol. 438v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 255b-261a (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 213-214/18. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); **Tehran** Malik 5062/7 (Munz. 17893. Ms. dated 956/1549); **Bankipore** I 46/X (17th century?); Suppt. i 1982 (18th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/4-5 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8. Two copies of the same poem); Ivanow Curzon 204/11 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); Būhār 299/II (Dated 1203/1788-9). Cf. Munz. IV 36631-5.

(6) *Hailāj-nāmah* (inc. *bi nām i kirdigār i fard i bē-chūn * kih mā-rā az 'adam āwurd bē-rūn*) is presented in I.O. 1046 as the 'third *daftar*' of the *Jauhar/Jawāhir al-dhāt*. It is, according to Ritter, 'a poor imitation of the second part of the *Ushtur-nāma*'. See also above, p. 274-5.

Mss.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 797 (17th century?); **London** Or. 6634 (Meredith-Owens p. 66. [301] Dated 861/1456-7); Or. 353 II (Rieu p. 577. Dated Šafar 877/1472. Latter half only); I.O. 1048 (Dated 2 Šafar 902/1496); I.O. 1046 fol. 335b sqq. (Dated 1139/1726-7); **Cambridge** Or. 1670-1/III (2nd Suppt. 421. Photostat of a Ms. in a private collection. 15th century?); **Istanbul** Halet 234/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); **Medinah** 'Ārif Hikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādā II 844/1440); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 3 of a Ms. dated 857/1453). Cf. Munz. IV 36676-91.

Edition: **Lucknow** 1872 (in the '*Kulliyār*'); **Tehran** 1253/1837-8.

(7) *Jauhar* (or *jawāhir*) *al-dhāt* (inc. *ba nām i ān-kih nūr i jism u jān ast * khudāy i āshkārā u nihān ast*), in two *daftar*s. This work belongs together with the *Ushtur-nāmah* (which it quotes) in the central position that both works give to Ḥallāj. See above, p. 274-5.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 321/V (Ms. copied by 'Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Šafar 821/1418. '*Jauhar-nāmah*'); **Manchester** Lindesiana 797a,b (16th century?); **Oxford** Ouseley 371/1 (Ethé 626. 16th century?); Ouseley 353/2 (Ethé 627. Ms. has a note dated <10> 13/1604-5); Elliot 206/3 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020 /1611-2); Ouseley 374/7 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 208/3 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 204/8 (Ethé 625); **London** Or. 11325 in marg. (Meredith-Owens p. 72. With a colophon in Uighur script dated 862/1457-8. Pictures); Or. 353/I (Rieu p. 576-7. Dated Šafar 877/1472. Deficient at beginning and end; the leaves missing at the beginning have been replaced by the beginning of the *Ilāhī-nāma*, in a modern hand); Or. 2888/I (Rieu Suppt. 237. Dated Rabī' II 893/1488); I.O. 1047 (Dated 10 Shawwāl 1021/1612. 2nd *daftar* only); I.O. 1046 (Dated 1139/1726-7); I.O. 1031/17; I.O. 1033/2 (first *daftar* only); I.O. 1035/2 [302] (incomplete); **Paris** Supplément 1795/II (Blochet 1292. Dated 4 Šafar 821/1418); Supplément 1366 fol. 70r sqq. (Blochet 1993. Dated Rabī' I 1009/1600); Supplément 811 fol. 179v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Berlin** Diez A 12^o no. 1 (Pertsch 759. Dated Šafar 850/1446. Fragment of *daftar* 1);

Petermann 461 (Pertsch 760. Dated Sha'bān 860/1456, but Pertsch thinks it is 'erheblich jünger'. *Daftar* 1, beginning missing); Ms. or. oct. 2415 (Heinz 203. 2nd *daftar*); **Vienna** Flügel 518 (also Duda p. 52-3. Contains seals of Shāh-rukh, regn. 807/1404 to 850/1446, and of the Ottoman Bayezit I - acc. to Flügel - or II - acc. to Duda -); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 48b-145a (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); **Kokand** Collection 38 fol. 305-388 (See Rosenberg's edition of the *Zarātusht-nāmah* p. x. Ms. dated 1064/1653-4. '*Jawāhir-nāmah*'); **Konya** Müze 90 (Ateş 44. Copied by 'Uthmān b. Ḥusain al-Bahwānī and dated 10 Jumādā I 735/1335); **Istanbul** Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/1 (Karatay 484; *Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438); Halet 234/6 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Ayasofya 1659/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Ms. dated 26 Rabī' II 890/1485); Topkapı, Revan 1044 (Karatay 500; *Der Islam* XXV p. 173. Copied by Aḥmad b. Sulṭān 'Alī in 981/1573-4. According to Karatay the Ms. contains *Jauhar al-dhāt*, but Ritter says it is *Khusrau-nāmah*. Pictures); Esat 2558 (Duda p. 40. Dated 998/1589-90. Part 1 only); Topkapı, Revan 1042 (Karatay 499. Copied by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khwārazmī. 16th century?¹ Pictures); Üniversite FY 213-214/4 (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Dated 1 Rajab 1057/1647); **Medinah** 'Ārif Hikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādā II 844/1440); **Tabriz** Millī 3634/3 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 309. Ms. dated 1 Šafar 885/1480); **Tehran** Malik 5974/6 (Munz. 28971. Ms. dated Rabī' II 809/1406); **Mashhad** Ridāwī VII 769/2 (Has a note dated 1052/1642-3); [303] **Dushanbe** Acad. II 415 (17th century?); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 1 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Bankipore** I 46/I (17th century? Bk. ii only, incomplete); I 49 (17th century? Bk. i only); **Calcutta** Ivanow 482 (15th-16th century?); Ivanow 477/13 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8. Beginning only); Ivanow 483 (17th century? Beginning only); Ivanow Curzon 204/2 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169 /1755-6); Būhār 299/IV (Beginning only). Cf. Munz. IV 28970-9011.

Editions: **Lucknow** 1872 (in the '*Kulliyār*'); **Tehran** 1315/1897-8; 1318/1900 (in 2 parts).

¹If this 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khwārazmī is the same as the copyist mentioned on p. 468, then this Ms. must be dated to the middle of the 15th century.

(8) *Jumjumah-nāmah*, alias *Qiṣṣah* (or *Hikāyat*) *i Sultān Jum-jumah*, is the story of a skull that has been brought back to life, possibly a fragment of an authentic work, according to Ritter. For parallels in the *Ilāhi-nāmah* and the *Ushur-nāmah*, and in the Arabic version (Gotha, Arabic catalogue IV 453), see Ritter, *Meer* p. 100-1, 640.

Mss.: Oxford Fraser 124/54 (Ethé 1239); Gotha 45/7; Leningrad Acad. B 2172 fol. 1a-5b (Index 1086); Acad. B 4497 fol. 138b-144b (Index 1087); Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 213-214/10. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); Kayseri Râşid Efendi Eki 224/12 (Karabulut 358).

An edition (from the Oxford and Leningrad Mss. and from two copies of a Judaeo-Persian transcription) has been published, with a translation in English, facsimiles of the two mentioned Mss. and commentary in J.P. Asmussen, *Studies in Judaeo-Persian literature*, Leyden 1973, p. 67-109.

(9) *Kanz al-asrār* or *Kanz al-baḥr* (inc. *sipās u ḥamd bar khallāq i ʿālam * kih az khāk ē padīd āwurd ādam*) ends with verses stating that it was completed in 699/1299-1300. The author calls himself 'the 'Aṭṭār of the age' ('*Aṭṭār i zamān*). See Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV, p. 157-8.

Mss.: Oxford Ouseley 374/20 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/10 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); London I.O. 1031/8; I.O. 1033/9; Leningrad Acad. C 1166 fol. 1b-62b (Index 3463. Ms. dated 1115/1703-4); Acad. C 1960 fol. 107a-153b (Index 3487); Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 213-214/20. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Dated 20 Šafar 1060/1650); Calcutta Ivanow Curzon 204/16 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6). Cf. Munz. IV 33017-8. [304]

(10) *Kanz al-ḥaqā'iq* begins with three verses which are identical with the 1st, 3rd and 5th of the *Asrār-nāmah*. See the summary of this work by Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV, p. 158-9.

Mss.: Oxford Elliot 207/18 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/9 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/19 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); London Or. 4151/V (Rieu Suppt. 235. Ms. dated 22 Rajab 877/1472. Pictures); I.O. 1032/7 (Dated 1025/1616); I.O. 1031/13; I.O. 1033/16; Leningrad Acad. C 1166 fol. 63b-105b (Index 3463. Ms.

dated 1115/1703-4); Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 213-214/13 and 16. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); Tehran Gulistān/Ātābāy II 325/V (Ms. dated 25 Ramaḍān 880/1476. Pictures); Malik 5062/13 (Munz. 33026. Ms. dated 965/1557-8); Bankipore I 46/IX (17th century?); Calcutta Ivanow 477/15 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); Ivanow Curzon 204/14 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6). Cf. Munz. IV 33024-31.

(11) *Khayyāt-nāmah*¹ (inc. *ba nām i ān kih hastī z-ō nishān yāft * nufūs i nāṭiqah z-ō nūr i jān yāft*). Cf. Berthels, 'Farīdaddīn 'Aṭṭār's Khayyāt-nāma', *Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR, otdeleniye gumanitarnykh nauk* 1929, p. 201-14.

Mss.: Oxford Elliot 209/16 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); London I.O. 1033/10 (incomplete); Leningrad Acad. C 1166 fol. 140b-171b (Index 3463. Ms. dated 1115/1703-4); Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 213-214/22. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); [305] Tehran Malik 5062/12 (Munz. 29706. Ms. dated 956/1549); Bankipore I 46/VII (17th century?); Calcutta Ivanow Curzon 204/15 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); Ivanow 486 (=Sprenger 136. 17th-18th century?); Būhār 299/I (Dated 1203/1788-9). Cf. Munz. IV 29706-9.

(12) *Khazā'in al-asrār*, is, according to one of the two owners' notes in the Oxford Ms., the title of the *mathnawī* whose prose preface begins with the words *fa l-wahdatu li man wuḥḥidat dhātuhū bi l-dhāt*.

Mss.: Oxford Pers. e. 71 fol. 2-313 (Beeston 2571. 16th century? Beginning and end missing).

(13) *Lisān al-ghaib* (inc.: *ism i tauḥīd ibtidā i nām i ḥ-st * murgh i rūḥ-am jumlagī dar dām i ḥ-st*), supposedly written in Mecca at the end of 'Aṭṭār's life. It is by the same forger as *Mazhar al-ʿajā'ib*.

Mss.: Manchester Lindesiana 797c (16th century?); Oxford Ouseley 371/2 (Ethé 626. 16th century?); Elliot 206/4 (Ethé 622. Con-

¹Ethé reads the title as *Khayyāt-nāmah*, which (following Sprenger) he renders as 'Book of transition', but to my knowledge *khayyāt* means only 'needle'; moreover, in the verse in which the author indicates the title of the poem, quoted by Sprenger, the metre requires *khayyāt*.

tains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/6 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/13 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 205/20 (Ethé 625); London I.O. 1031/16; I.O. 1033/11 (incomplete); Paris Supplément 1366 fol. 113v seqq. (Blochet 1993. Ms. contains dates between 1009/1600 and 1010/1602); Supplément 811 fol. 35v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); Rome Vatican Pers. 89 (Rossi p. 107. Dated 22 Shawwāl 47th year of Ālamgīr, i.e. 1114/1703); Hanover p. 140-157 acc. to Rossi; Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 213-214/6. (Ateş 122; Oriens XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); Tabriz Millî 3634/5 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 309. Ms. dated 1 Şafar 885/1480); Bankipore I 46/VI (17th century?); Calcutta Ivanow Curzon 204/7 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6). Cf. Munz. IV 33508-21. [306]

Edition: Tehran 1344sh./1965-6 (ed. A. Khush-nawīs 'Imād).

(14) *Manşūr-nāmah*, or *Hallāj-nāmah* (inc. *būd manşūr, ai 'ajab, shūrīdah-hāl * dar rah i taḥlīq ō rā šad kamāl*), a brief account of the death of Hallāj. In many copies it is inserted into the *Waṣlat-nāmah*.

Mss.: Oxford Ouseley 374/15 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); London I.O. 1033/13; Leningrad Acad. B 150 (Index 4306); Acad. C 667 fol. 130a-138a (Index 4307. Ms. dated 1287/1870-1); Konya Mevlāna Müzesi 1698/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 19. Ms. dated Rabī' I 893/1488); Istanbul Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/3a (*Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438); Halet 234/3a, 13a (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); Ayasofya 1659/4a (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Ms. dated 26 Rabī' II 890/1485); Fatih 4052/10 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); Bankipore I 46/IV (17th century?).

(15) *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib* (inc. *āfrīn jān, āfrīn bar jān i jān * z-ān-kih hast ō āshkārā u nihān*), a hagiography of 'Alī. The date of composition is given (mendaciously) in one verse as 584/1188 (*pānšad u hashtād u chār*), when the author was supposedly 100 years old, and in another there is a chronogram for 585/1189 (*sirr i 'ajā'ib*). In several verses the author calls himself a citizen of Tūn. It is certainly a forgery. See Bombay Univ. Cat. p. 60-5 (summarising Shērānī), Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV, p. 137-8 and Nafīsī p. 126sqq.

Mss.: Oxford Ouseley 371/3 (Ethé 626. 16th century?); Ouseley 353/4 (Ethé 627. Ms. has a note dated '13' which Ethé interprets as

1013/1604-5); Elliot 206/5 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/16 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/12 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 204/2 [307] (Ethé 625); London Add. 6621 (Rieu p. 579. 17th century? Consists of 73 leaves detached from a larger volume, the whole of the *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib*, and a further leaf containing the conclusion of another, unidentified, poem); I.O. 1031/18; I.O. Delhi 1270; Cambridge Or. 651/1 (Browne Suppt. 1210. Dated Rabī' I 1201/1787); Browne Coll. V.8 (Dated Şafar 1286/1869. Apparently contains several other *mathnawīs*); Paris Supplément 811 fol. 90v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); Leningrad Dorn CCCLIV (Copied by Dōst Muḥammad apparently in 947/1540-1);¹ Kokand Collection 38 fol. 1-120 (See Rosenberg's edition of the *Zarātusht-nāmah* p. iii. Dated 1066/1655-6); Istanbul Nuruosmaniye 4199 mükerrer (Ateş 133. Copied by Muḥammad Ridā al-Mashhadī and dated 990/1582); Üniversite FY 213-214/2. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Dated 27 Dhū l-qa'dah 1058/1648); Shiraz Wişāl (*Nuskhah-hā* p. 293 no. 34. Ms. dated 892/1487); Bombay Univ. 24; Bankipore I 46/II (17th century? Incomplete); I 48 (18th century?); Calcutta (=Lucknow Sprenger 131. Dated 1186/1772-3. Pictures); Ivanow Curzon 204/6 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); Būhār 300/II (18th century?); Būhār 302 (18th century?). Cf. Munz. IV 35223-39.

Editions: Tehran 1323/1905-6; 1345sh./1966 (ed. A. Khush-nawīs 'Imād).

(16) *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ* (inc. *panāh i man ba ḥaiy-ē kih na-mitrād * ba āh-ē 'udhr i šad 'iṣyān padhitrād*) was written by a man from Zanjān in 688/1289-90, or, as other copies have it, 587/1191-2. A text-book of ascetic exercises. See Ritter, *Der Islam* XXV, p. 157.

¹For this Ms., identified by Dorn as 'Attār's *Asrār-nāmah* and with a date which he read as 927/1521, compare the photograph of the last page (five final verses and colophon) published by Ch. Adle in *Studia Iranica* XXII, 1993, figure 3, where the date appears rather to be 947/1540-1. The poem concluding on this page is definitely not the *Asrār-nāmah*, but evidently a recension of the *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib* differing from that in 'Imād's edition (where I have not been able to find the five verses); the third verse from the end corresponds to the last line of the copy of *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib* contained in Istanbul Üniversitesi FY 213 (see *Oriens* XI p. 20).

Mss.: **Oxford** Ouseley 353/3 (Ethé 627. Ms. has a note dated <10>13/1604-5); **Elliot** 207/19 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); **Ouseley** 374/10 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); **Elliot** 208/7 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 1078/1668); **London** Or. 4151/VI (Rieu Suppt. 235. Ms. dated 22 Rajab 877/1472); **I.O.** 1032/9 [308] (Dated 1025/1616); **I.O.** 1031/11; **I.O.** 1033/4; **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 213-214/9. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 325/VI (Dated 25 Ramaḍān 880/1476. Pictures); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 17 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Bankipore** I 46/VIII (17th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 204/10 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6). Cf. *Munz.* IV 35353-62.

Editions: **Lucknow** 1872 (in the ‘*Kullīyāt*’).

Part of the work was published under the title *Irshād i bayān*, **Tehran** 1315sh./1936-7.

(17) *Mi‘rāj-nāmah*, ‘could well be an excerpt from the *na‘t* of any *mathnawī*’ (Ritter).

Mss.: **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 213-214/23. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 2 of a Ms. dated 857/1453). Cf. *Munz.* IV 35310-4.

(18) *Naṣīhat-nāmah*. Mss.: **London** Or. 9819 fol. 1b-23b (Meredith-Owens p. 82. 17th-18th century?); **Berlin** Petermann II Nachtr. 8, fol. 31b sqq (Pertsch 688/3).

(19) *Nuz‘hat al-aḥbāb*. Mss.: **Paris** Supplément 1398 fol. 57v sqq. (Blochet 1970. Dated 861/1456-7); **Istanbul** Halet 234/11 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Dated 889/1484); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 16 of a Ms. dated 857/1453). Cf. *Munz.* IV 35920-1.

Editions: **Lucknow** 1872 (in the ‘*Kullīyāt*’).

(20) *Pand-nāmah* (inc. in some copies: *ibtidā kardam ba nām i kirdigār * khāliq i khalq az shighār u az kibār*; in other copies it begins *ḥamd i bē-ḥad mar khudāy i pāk rā * ān kih tmān dād mushṭī khāk rā*; compare the latter with the incipit of the *Muṣibat-nāmah*), a small treatise on morals, particularly popular in Turkey. Nafīsī [309] thought it

authentic, but Ritter¹ pointed out that it is not traceable before the 15th century and is lacking in all the old manuscripts of the *Kullīyāt*, that it is not mentioned in ‘Attār’s authentic works and that ‘von der gedankenwelt ‘Attār’s darin eigentlich nichts zu spüren ist’.

Mss.:² **Dublin** T.C.D. 1556; **Manchester** Lindesiana 895a (Dated 1202/1787-8); **Lindesiana** 241c (Dated 1210/1795-6); **Lindesiana** 541 (18th century?); **Oxford** Elliot 207/10 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); **Ouseley** 374/14 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); **Elliot** 209/15 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 1078/1668); **Fraser** 247 (Ethé 632. Dated 14 Rabī‘ I 43rd year of ‘Ālamgīr/1699); **Elliot** 205/15 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1032/1 (Dated 1025/1616); **Harl.** 5464 fol. 67-144 (Rieu p. 790. Dated Rabī‘ II 1078/1667. With Turkish glosses); **Sloane** 3588 I (Rieu p. 579-80. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 1083/1673); **Harleian** 5447 I (Rieu p. 580. 17th century?); **Or.** 5932 fol. 17b-54b (Meredith-Owens p. 90. Dated 1150/1737-8. With interlinear Turkish translation); **I.O.** 1037 (Has a seal dated 1172/1758-9); **I.O.** 1038 (Dated 18 Shawwāl 1191/1777); **Add.** 6632 III (Rieu p. 803. Dated Jumādā II 1192/1778); **Add.** 7734 (Rieu p. 580. Dated Shawwāl 1193/1779. With Turkish glosses); **Ross and Browne** XXXIII (Dated 1197/1783); **I.O.** 1039 (Dated 4 Dhū l-qa‘dah 1209/1795); **Sloane** 3264 (Rieu p. 580. 18th century. With a Latin translation by Solomon Negri); **Add.** 6960 II (Rieu p. 580. 19th century copy of *Sloane* 3264); **I.O.** 1031/4; **I.O.** 1033/5; **I.O.** 1040-1042; **Wellcome** 413. **Cambridge** Browne Coll. Sup. 6 fol. 17a-45b (17th-18th century? End missing); **Add.** 784 [310] (Browne Cat. CCXXI. Dated 1161/1748. A few Turkish glosses); **Add.** 250 (Browne Cat. CCXXII. Recent); **Glasgow** T.5.20 (Weir 14. Dated 9 Jumādā I 1100 /1689); **S.7** (Weir 15); **Edinburgh** New Coll. Or. 32; **Paris** Supplément 1398 in marg. fol. 113v-175v (Blochet 1970. Dated 861/1456-7); **Supplément** 781A fol. 300v sqq. (Blochet 1972. Ms. dated Rabī‘ I 892/1487); **Anciens fonds** 7/XXI (Blochet 2147/Richard. 16th century? Incomplete at end); **Ancien fonds** 343/I (Blochet 1297/Richard. 16th century?); **Supplément** 1366 fol. 46-53 (Blochet 1993. Dated 11 Šafar

¹*Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 228-9.

²Mss. of this work are extremely common; we limit ourselves therefore to a small sample. See Ritter, *Oriens* XIII-XIV p. 229-38; *Munz.* IV 28266-321; *Munz.* Pak. VII(1) p. 170-83.

1009/1600); Supplément 811 fol. 649v-658 (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); Supplément 1255 (Blochet 1316. Dated 1087/1676-7); Supplément 649 (Blochet 1310. 17th century? Incomplete); Supplément 651 (Blochet 1311. 17th century? End missing); Supplément 648 (Blochet 1312. 17th century?); Ancien fonds 261/II (Blochet 1313/Richard. 17th century? With Turkish glosses); Supplément 650 (Blochet 1314. 17th century?); Supplément 652 (Blochet 1315. 17th century? Beginning missing); Supplément 653 (Blochet 1317. Dated 1149/1736-7); Supplément 947 (Blochet 1318. Dated 6 Šafar 1205/1790); Supplément 1683 fol. 112v sqq. (Blochet 2188. 19th century); Supplément 1686 fol. 73r sqq. (Blochet 2190. 19th century); Supplément 1687 fol. 92v sqq. (Blochet 2191. 19th century); Supplément 1688 fol. 73r sqq. (Blochet 2192. Dated 1277/1860-1); Supplément 1689 fol. 42v sqq. (Blochet 2193. 19th century); Supplément 1691 fol. 54r sqq. (Blochet 2194. Ms. completed in 1299/1881-2); Supplément 1693 fol. 53v sqq. (Blochet 2196. Dated 1263/1847); Supplément 1695 fol. 60v sqq. (Blochet 2197. 19th century); Supplément 1697 fol. 81v sqq. (Blochet 2199. 19th century); Supplément 1698 fol. 95r sqq. (Blochet 2200. 19th century); Supplément 1700 fol. 38v sqq. (Blochet 2201. 19th century); Supplément 1701 fol. 31r sqq. (Blochet 2202, with erroneous call-number. 19th century. Incomplete); Supplément 1702 fol. 157v sqq. [311] (Blochet 2203. 19th century); Supplément 1736 fol. 134v sqq. (Blochet 2204. 19th century?); 2104; Arabe 2315 fol. 30v-60; Suppl. turc 381/I; Supplément turc 1408 fol. 146 sqq.; **Göttingen** Divshali/Luft 58 (Dated [1]189/1775); Divshali/Luft 60 (Dated 1258/1842-3); Divshali/Luft 59; **Berlin** Petermann II Nachtr. 8 (Pertsch 688/6. Dated Rajab 981/1573); Ms. or. quar. 182 (Pertsch 749); Ms. or. quar. 188 (Pertsch 750); Ms. or. quar. 25 (Pertsch 751); **Gotha** 50; **Munich** 178 Quatr. (Aumer 30. Dated 1077/1666-7); 219 Quatr. (Aumer 31. Dated 1185/1771-2); Cim. 87 (Aumer 28); **Uppsala** Tornberg CLX; Tornberg CLXI; **Bratislava** 570 (16th century?); 571; 572 (17th century?); **Vienna** Flügel 517/2; Flügel 1935; Flügel 1936; Krafft CLXXXIX; **Leningrad** Acad. B 149 (Index 433. Dated 964/1556-7); Acad. C 1166 fol. 257b-285b (Index 3463. Ms. dated 1115/1703-4); Dorn CCCLV (Dated 1133/1720-1); Dorn CCCLVI (Dated 1234/1818-9); Dorn CCCLVII; and many more copies (see Acad. Index 429-461); **Konya** Mevlâna Müzesi 1460/3 (*Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 229. Ms. dated 867/1462-3); **Istanbul** Topkapı, Koğuşlar 949 (Karatay 493. Copied by

Nūrī b. Ḥusain Shabāngāh Shaikhī and dated Muḥarram 877/1472); **Halet** 234/10 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); **Université** FY 593/4 (Ateş 135. Dated 890/1485); **Nuruosmaniye** 5008/2 (Ateş 136. Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1051/1642); **Topkapı**, Revan 2021/IV (Karatay 924. Dated 1057/1647); **Université** FY 213-214/17. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); **Topkapı**, Ahmet III 1559 (Karatay 485. Dated 1078/1667-8); **Université** FY 378 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 3069. Ateş 137. Dated 1102/1690-1); **Topkapı**, Emanet Hazinesi 1333 (Karatay 489. Dated 1114/1702-3); **Topkapı**, Revan 420 (Karatay 487. Dated 1128/1716); **Topkapı**, Hazine 719 (Karatay 490. Dated 1128/1716); **Topkapı**, Emanet Hazinesi 1320 (Karatay 491. Dated 1151/1738-9); **Université** FY 586 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 3488. Ateş 138. Dated 3 Šafar 1185/1771); **Université** FY 67 (Ateş 139. 18th century?); [312] **Nuruosmaniye** 4993 (Ateş 140. 18th century?); **Topkapı**, Revan 421 (Karatay 488. 18th century?); **Université** FY 95 (Ateş 141. Dated 1220/1805-4); **Topkapı**, Bağdat 98 (Karatay 486); **Topkapı**, Koğuşlar 1021 (Karatay 492); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 409-413; **Bankipore** Suppt. i 1838 in marg. (Ms. dated 15 Dhū l-ḥijjah 910/1505); I 46/XII (17th century?); **Rampore** Saulat 51-52 (recent); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/10 (Ms. dated 1006/1597-8); **Ivanow** 480/2 (Dated 1087/1676-7); **Ivanow** Curzon 204/13 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); **Ivanow** 481 (18th century?); **Bühār** 303 (19th century?); **Princeton** 422 (Modern).

Editions: **London** 1809 (*Pendeh-i Attar*, ed. J.H. Hindley); **Paris** 1819 (*Pend-namēh, ou Le livre des conseils...*, traduit et publié par M. le Bon Silvestre de Sacy); **Constantinople** 1251/1835; 1257/1841; 1260/1844; 1266/1849-50; 1267/1850; 1291/1874-5; (See also translations: Turkish); **Bulaq** 1243/1827-8; 1244/1828-9; 1253/1837-8; 1280/1863; **Kazan** 1845; **Bombay** 1277/1860; **Lucknow** 1264/1848 (30 p. according to Sprenger p. 356); 1872 (in the ‘*Kulliyāt*’); **Tehran** 1290/1873; **Lahore** [ca. 1870]; 1294/1877; 1887; 1888; 1892 (with a commentary); **Bombay** 1887; **Cawnpore** 1290/1873; 1888; and evidently many others.

Translations: (Turkish verse) by Emrī of Adrianople (d. 988/1580) dedicated to Pādshāh Bāyazīd b. Sulaymān (I) Khān. Cf. Gibb, *History of Ottoman poetry* III p. 10-11 and Ritter, *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 237-8. Mss. in Europe: **London** Harleian 5447 II (Rieu p. 580. 17th century?); Add. 6960 I (Rieu p. 580. 19th century copy of the preceding); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. W.9 (Dated 1035/1625-6); **Vienna** Flügel 1937.

Editions: **Constantinople** 1229/1814, 1266/1849-50, 1280/1863-4, 1282/1865-6, (all with the Persian text).

Also in Turkish verse by Maqālī, dedicated to the same Sultan. Mss.: **Leipzig** Fleischer CCCVI [312] fol. 25v-44v. A fragment of one or the other of these translations is found in **Vienna** Krafft CXCI.

(French): see editions. An older French translation by Romain de Paris, dated 1725, is contained in **Munich** 20 Quatr. (Aumer 29. Autograph).

(Arabic): The Persian text was published with a interlinear translation by Aḥmad Rashīd Khalwatī in Alexandria 1289/1872.

(German): *Pendnāmeḥ*, tr. G.H.F. Nesselmann, Königsberg 1871.

(English): *Pund Nameh*, tr. Erachsha F. Karani and Mahumed Gows Abdul Kadir Aga, Bombay 1912.

(Swedish): *Pand-Nāmah*, tr. E. Hermelin, with a reprint of Silvestre's text and a transliteration, Stockholm 1929.

Commentaries:

(a) *Sa'adat-nāmah* by Shem'ī, in Turkish, incorporating (at least part of) the Persian text and a Turkish translation. He also wrote commentaries on *Makhzan al-asrār*, *Manṭiq al-tair*, *Mathnawī i ma'nawī*, *Gulistān*, *Bōstān*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, *Subḥat al-abrār*, *Bahāristān*, and the *dīwāns* of Ḥāfiz and Shāhī.¹ Mss. are common in Turkey (see *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 232-3). Those in European libraries include: **Manchester** Lindesiana 889 (Dated 1077/1666-7); **London** Sloane 3588 II (Rieu p. 580. Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1083/1673); **Cambridge** Dd. 11. 16. (Browne Cat. CCXX. Dated 5 Šafar 1028/1619); **Glasgow** T.7.10 (Weir p. 607 no. 22. Dated 1030/1620-1); **Paris** Anciens fonds 329 (Blochet 1319/Richard. 17th century?); *Supplément turc* 341, 383, 578, 579, 695; **Bologna** Bibl. Universitaria (Piemontese 8-14: several copies); **Hamburg** Orient. 264 fol. 1v-70r (Brockelmann 285. Ms. has an owner's note dated 1051/1641-2); **Wiesbaden** (M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften* II, 1968, no. 632-3); **Leipzig** Fleischer XXIX/2 (Dated Šafar 1078/1667); Fleischer CCCVII/1; **Berlin** Ms. or. oct. 127 [314]

¹ See *Et*² s.v. 'Shem'ī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn, with further literature), where it is suggested that the commentator Shem'ī is not the same person as the 16th-century poet Shem'ī Prizrenī.

(Pertsch 752. Has a note dated 1082/1671-2); **Vienna** Flügel 1938 (Dated 1128/1716); **Leningrad** Dorn CCCLVIII.

(b) *Muḥṭaṭ*, a commentary, also in Turkish, by 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdī, written at the time of Meḥmet IV (1058/1648 to 1099/1687). Mss.: See *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 233-4.

(c) By Shu'ūrī, again in Turkish. Ms.: **Istanbul** Darülmünevi 185 (*Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 234-5. Autograph dated Rabī' I 1083/1672).

(d) By Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī (1063/1653 to 1137/1724-5). Mss.: See *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 235. Also **Manchester** Lindesiana 165 (Cat. p. 244. Dated 1186/1772-3).

Editions: **Constantinople** 1250/1834-5; 1287/1870.

(e) *Barg i darwīshān* (in Turkish) by Muṣṭafā Raft'ā, written in 1143/1730-1 for Mīr Iskandar, the son of the Ottoman governor in Cairo. Ms.: **Vienna** Krafft CXC (Autograph?)

(f) By Ḥāfiz Meḥmed Murād (d. 1264/1848). See *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 236. Editions: **Constantinople** 1252/1836-7; 1260/1844; 1286/1869-70.

For two further anonymous commentaries see *Oriens* XIII-XIV, p. 236-7.

(21) *Rumūz al-'āshiqīn*. Ms.: **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 213-214/21. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650).

(22) *Sī faṣl*. Mss.: **London** Or. 8363 (Meredith-Owens p. 69. Dated 1298/1881); **Tehran** (2 modern Mss. listed by Munz.). Cf. Munz. IV 31286-8.

Edition: **Tehran** 1354/1935-6.

(23) *Ushtur-nāmah* or *Shutur-nāmah* (inc. *ibtidā bar nām i ḥaiy i lā-yazāl * ṣānī' i aṣhyā u ibdā' i jalāl* with variants) contains a rather striking story in which a puppeteer is used as a symbol for the divinity. The figure of Ḥallāj plays a major part in it. See above, p. 274-5. [315]

Mss.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 797d (16th century?); **Oxford** Elliot 207/15 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/13 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/5 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 204/7 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1034/1 (Ms. copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī b. Bābā Ḥājī and completed 1 Dhū l-qa'dah 812/1410); Add. 7736/I (Rieu p. 578-9. Dated

Sha'bān 968/1532); Or. 7987 (Meredith-Owens p. 68, where the title is quoted as 'Astarnāmeḥ'. 17th-18th century?); I.O. 1031/1; I.O. 1033/12; **Cambridge** Or. 1698/2 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); **Paris** Supplément 1795/III (Blochet 1292. Dated Shawwāl 820/1417); Supplément 811 fol. 331v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); **Leyden** 310(2) (Cat. II DCLII. Dated 786/1384); **Basel** Tschudi Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Dated 5 Dhū l-qa'dah 821/1418); **Rome** Vatican Pers. 121/I (Rossi p. 128. 19th century?); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 25a-47b (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); Acad. A 79 fol. 1b-14b (Index 145. Dated 1233/1817-8); Acad. C 1165 fol. 1a-128b (Index 3462. Apparently two different versions); **Istanbul** Atf Efendi 2241/14 (*Oriens* XI p. 31-33. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 828/1425); **Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi** 1992/5 (*olim* Nuruosmaniye 3786. *Oriens* XI p. 12-3. From the library of Shāh-rukh, d. 850/1447. Pictures); **Halet** 234/3 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); **Ayasofya** 1659/1 (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Ms. dated 26 Rabī' II 890/1485); **Üniversite** FY 450/1 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 448. Ateş 149. Dated Ramadān 945/1539); **Üniversite** FY 213-214/15. (Ateş 122; *Oriens* XI p. 20-4. Ms. completed 1060/1650); **Cairo** 9252/2 adab fārisī (*Oriens* XI p. 14. Ms. dated 26 Rajab 877/1472); **Medinah** 'Ārif Hikmat 143 adab fārisī (*Nuskah-hā* V p. 571-2. Ms. dated Jumādā II 844/1440); **Tehran** Aşghar Mahdawī 8/3 (*Nuskah-hā* II p. 94-5. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 809/1407); **Mashhad** Ridāwī VII 769/6 (Has a note dated 1052/1642-3); **Tashkent** Acad. II 855/5 (Dated 6 Jumādā I 827/1424); [316] **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 4 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Bankipore** I 46/XI (17th century?); I 47/III (Dated 27 Şafar 1123/1711); **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 204/8 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); Ivanow 485 (Dated 1180/1766-7). Cf. Munz. IV 27505-21.

Edition: **Tehran** n.d (ed. M. Muḥaqqiq. Part I, with a preface dated 1339sh./1960. More published?).

Epitome: **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 538/6 (Ateş 119. Ms. dated 826/1423).

(24) *Waṣīyat-nāmah* (inc. ai, ba nām-at kār-hā rā iftītāḥ * nēst bē nām i tu dar amr ē falāḥ).

Mss.: **Oxford** Elliot 207/16 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Elliot 208/6 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 1078/1668); **London** I.O. 1032/3 (Dated 1025/1616).

(25) *Waṣlat-nāmah* (inc.: ibtidā auwal ba-nām i kirdigār * khāliq i haft u shash u panj u chahār) is the work of a certain Buhlūl according to the concluding verses in some of the copies (including the Basel manuscript and Calcutta Curzon 206; the verses are quoted by Sprenger and Ivanow). In others the lines mentioning this name have been excised.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 321/I (Ms. copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad and dated Şafar 821/1418); Beatty 153 fol. 528b sqq. (Ms. dated 12 Rabī' II 881/1476); **Oxford** Pers. d. 71 fol. 137b-191b in marg. (Beeston 2564. Ms. completed 16 Ramadān 874/1470); Ouseley 371/5 (Ethé 626. 16th century?); Elliot 207/7 (Ethé 622. Contains a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Ouseley 374/2 (Ethé 623. Ms. dated 23 Jumādā I 1027/1618); Elliot 209/17 (Ethé 624. Ms. dated 4 Dhū l-hijjah 1078/1668); Elliot 204/4 (Ethé 625); **London** I.O. 1034/6 (Copied by Muḥammad Ḥājī b. Bābā Ḥājī and dated 1 Dhū l-qa'dah 812/1410); Or. 2747/VI (Rieu Suppt. 236. Ms. dated 22 Dhū l-hijjah 889/1485); [317] Add. 7736/II (Rieu p. 579. Dated Sha'bān 968/1532); Or. 5415 fol. 54b-65b (Meredith-Owens p. 90. 16th-17th century?); I.O. 1031/10; I.O. 1033/14; **Cambridge** Or. 1698/4 (2nd Suppt. 443. Ms. dated 829/1425-6); Or. 256/2 (Browne Suppt. 1355. Recent copy of one of the Calcutta Mss.); **Paris** Supplément 811 fol. 544v sqq. (Blochet 1291. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 1013/1605); Supplément 654 (Blochet 1293. Dated Ramadān 1110/1699); **Basel** Tschudi Collection (*Oriens* XI p. 10. Ms. completed in Muḥarram 828/1424); **Rome** Vatican Pers. 121/II (Rossi p. 128. 19th century?); **Leningrad** Acad. D 436 fol. 241b-254b (Index 3464. Ms. dated 1001/1592-3); **Konya** Mevlāna Müzesi 1698/2 (*Oriens* XI p. 19. Ms. dated Rabī' I 893/1488); **Istanbul** Nuruosmaniye 4198/2 (Ateş 118. Ms. dated 825/1422); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3059/1 (Karatay 484; *Oriens* XI p. 11-2. Ms. dated 27 Shawwāl 841/1438); **Halet** 234/13 (*Oriens* XI p. 14-7. Ms. dated 889/1484); **Ayasofya** 1659/4 (*Oriens* XI p. 17-9. Dated 26 Rabī' II 890/1485); **Fatih** 4052/9 (Ritter-Reinert p. 129-30; *Oriens* XI p. 24-5. 16th century?); **Cairo** 139 mīm adab fārisī (Tirāzī 1835/5. Dated 20 Muḥarram 858/1454); **Madinah** 'Ārif Hikmat 30 (*Nuskah-hā* V p. 484. Ms. dated 859/1455); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. dated 28 Shawwāl 831/1428); **Lahore** Univ. II/1 p. 175-9 (No. 14 of a Ms. dated 857/1453); **Lucknow** Sprenger 134 and 157; **Bankipore** I 47/VII (Ms. contains dates in 1123/1711 and 1133/1720); **Calcutta** Ivanow 477/9 (Ms. dated 1006

/1597-8); Ivanow Curzon 206 (=Sprenger 157. Dated Ramaḍān 1066/1656 and attributed to 'Shaikh al-shuyūkh Shaikh Buhlūl'); Ivanow Curzon 204/12 (Ms. contains seals dated 1169/1755-6); Būhār 299/III (Dated 1203/1788-9); Ivanow 1st Suppt. 797 (Dated 12 Jumādā II 1259/1843). Cf. Munz. IV 36272-95.

Epitome: Ms. Istanbul Nuruosmaniye 4904/30 (Ateş 150. Dated 840/1436-7). [318]

Literature: 'Aufi II p. 337-9; Shams p. 285; Ibn al-Fuwaḍī, *al-Juz' al-rābi' min talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb ft mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 2554 (also quoted by Ritter, *Oriens* XI, p. 5); Mustaufi p. 661-2, 740; Jājarmī II p. 954-6, and passim in the section devoted to *rubā'iyāt*; Daulat-shāh p. 187-92; Rāzī II p. 226-40 (no. 733); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 367-8; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 110-8.

Modern studies: Apart from the fundamental works by Ritter and Nafīsī (above p. 272) see for example: Qazwīnī's introduction to *Part I of the Tadhkiratu 'l-awliyā... of... Faridu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār* edited... by R.A. Nicholson, London/Leyden 1905; L. Massignon, 'L'oeuvre hallagienne d' 'Aṭṭār', *Revue des études islamiques* 1941-6, p. 117-44; 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, *al-Taṣawwuf wa Farīd al-dīn al-'Aṭṭār*, Cairo 1945; F. Meier, 'Der Geistmensch bei dem persischen Dichter 'Aṭṭār', *Eranos-Jahrbuch* XIII, 1945, p. 286 sqq.; G. Spieß, *Maḥmūd von Gāzna bei Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār*, Basel 1959; Badī' al-zamān Furūzānfar, *Sharḥ i ahwāl wa naqd wa taḥlīl i āthār i Shaikh Farīd al-dīn Muḥammad i 'Aṭṭār i Nishābūrī*, Tehran 1339-40sh./1960-1; W. Lentz, 'Aṭṭār als Allegoriker. Bemerkungen zu Ritter's "Meer der Seele"', *Der Islam* XXXV, 1960, p. 52-96; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 858-71; Khayyām-pūr p. 366; J.A. Boyle, 'Popular literature and folklore in 'Aṭṭār's *mathnavīs*', in *Colloquio italo-iraniano sul poeta mistico Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār*, Rome 1987 p. 57-70 (volume contains also articles by Nasr, Scarcia, Tafazzoli and Bausani); R. Ashraf-zādah, *Farhang i nawādir i lughāt u tarkībāt u ta'bīrāt i āthār i 'Aṭṭār i Nishābūrī*, Mashhad 1367sh./1988, 2nd ed. 1370sh./1991; J.T.P. de Bruijn, 'The preaching poet: three homiletic poems by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār', *Edebiyāt* ix, 1998, p. 85-100; *El'* s.v. 'Aṭṭār' (H. Ritter); *Elr* s.v. 'Aṭṭār' (B. Reinert).

177. **Badī' al-dīn** Turkō al-Sijzī¹ is included [319] in 'Aufi's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157), where he follows two other poets from Sīstān, Farīd al-dīn and Shams al-dīn (below, nos. 190, 291). 'Aufi quotes a *qit'ah* in which the poet defends his decision to remain unmarried, and a number of *rubā'iyāt* (one of them of a decidedly 'Khayyamic' flavour). Saif Harawī quotes four poems by presumably the same author, cited as 'Badī' and as 'Badī' Turkōy (or Turkū'i). Rāzī, otherwise dependent on 'Aufi, adds a *qaṣīdah*, the dedicatee of which is not named.

Some years ago Nazir Ahmad discovered three substantial odes by Badī' al-dīn in the Bankipore manuscript of appendix to Taqī's *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* and published some extracts from them. The first addresses a ruler of Makrān by the name of Tāj al-dīn Abū l-Makārim. The second is dedicated to a ruler in Jand, in Transoxania, by the name of 'Imād al-dīn Tegīn. The third addresses Yamīn al-daulah wa l-dīn Bahrāmshāh, evidently the ruler of his native Sīstān from 610/1213 to 618/1221.²

Hidāyat says that 'some' give him the *nisbah* Tabrīzī; in other words, Hidāyat confused him with the 10th/16th-century poet Badī' Tabrīzī; the fragment that he attributes to our poet beginning *shāhanshāh-ē kih dā'im* ... is in fact quoted by Ādhar (I p. 111-2) as the work of Badī' Tabrīzī.

'Aufi II p. 349-51; Saif Harawī p. 458-9, 459-60 (thrice); Rāzī I p. 297-9 (no. 309); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 168; Khayyām-pūr p. 81 (Badī' i Sīstānī); Nazir Ahmad's English introduction to his edition of the *diwān* of Sirājī Khurāsānī,³ Aligarh 1972, p. 34-45 (with references to unpublished *tadhkirahs*).

¹Thus in 'Aufi, Ms. S, apart from the fact that the last word is apparently pointed s.kh.r.y. Browne, evidently with Ms. E., has al-Sanjari. Rāzī includes this author among the poets of Sīstān. Hidāyat calls him Ḥakīm Badī' al-zamān al-Turkū'i al-Sanjari and says that he was a native of Turkū, a locality in Sīstān; with this he presumably has in mind the citadel trqwn mentioned in the *lhyā' al-mulak* of Malik-shāh Ḥusain Sīstānī (ed. Sitūdāh, Tehran 1344sh./1966) p. 144-5, evidently identical also with the 'Trākun' visited by Tate. I should think it more likely that the poet's name should be read Turk-ō(y), 'little Turk'; the vocalisation of the first syllable is supported by 'Aufi's pun with *turkān*.

²See Bosworth, *Saffarids* p. 404-5.

³See below, no. 301.

178. **Bārānī** is cited as the author of three verses in *LF* ed. Iqbāl p. 16, 49, 394 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.).

179. The first three verses of a poem by one **Dailamī** are quoted by Shams i Qais. A longer version of the same is quoted by Ādhar, who includes its author among the poets of Qazwīn, and by Hidāyat.

Shams p. 224; Ādhar III p. 1166; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 218; Khaiyām-pūr p. 214.

180. Three verses are ascribed to a certain **Ḍamīrī** in *LF* ed. Iqbāl p. 162, 395, 396 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.). [320]

LN s.v. 'Ḍamīrī' p. 68; Khaiyām-pūr p. 346.

181. Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd **Daulat-yār** was a poet in Bukhārā at the end of the 6th/12th and beginning of the 7th/13th century. 'Aufī, who says that his father was a converted Zoroastrian, quotes, among other things, a *rubā'i* which he composed 'at the time when I ('Aufī) was in the service of Tāj al-dīn Ṣadr al-sharī'ah' (i.e. al-Ṣadr al-kabīr 'Umar II b. Mas'ūd, 593/1196-7 to before 603/1206). 'Aufī refers also to an elegy that he had composed for the predecessor of that worthy, al-Ṣadr al-sa'īd, and which some of the wits of Bukhārā saw as a plagiarism of verses by 'Sirājī' (evidently one of the two poets of that name quoted earlier in 'Aufī's book).

'Aufī I p. 178, II p. 385, 387-8; Rāzī III p. 424 (no. 1482); Khaiyām-pūr p. 213.

182. **Dibājī** Samarqandī was, according to Hidāyat, a contemporary of Qaṭrān and Asadī. Hidāyat quotes an ode addressing 'Mīr i fāḍil Faḍlūn', evidently either Qaṭrān's patron or one of the later Shaddādids of the same name. *LF* ed. Iqbāl p. 161 and 397 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.) quotes two different variants of one verse by Dībājī to illustrate two place-names in Georgia.

Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 218; Khaiyām-pūr p. 213.

183. **Ḍiyā'** Pārsī flourished in Khujand during the first part of the 7th/13th century (the poems contain dates ranging between 600/1203-4 and 638/1240-1). His *dtwān* is extant, notably in a very old manuscript

in Tehran, though it has not yet been published,¹ and is of considerable [321] interest for the light that it sheds on the history of a remote corner of Central Asia on the eve of, and just after, the Mongol invasion.

The poet's contemporary Shams al-dīn al-Ḥaddādī, known as Khālāh,² says of him that he was 'by descent a man of Fārs, though brought up in Khujand'.³ Ḍiyā' himself says 'my birthplace and origin are from Fārs, like Salmān', but qualifies this by adding: 'for my words are Persian, (like) pearls of (the sea of) Oman';⁴ it would thus seem possible that the poet is using the word 'birthplace' somewhat freely. Rāzī includes him in his chapter on Shiraz and says that he came from Fārs to Khurāsān in his youth (*dar awān i jawānī*). Of the various patrons who are celebrated in his panegyrics I have so far been able to identify only three with personages known from historical sources: One is the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā' al-dīn Muḥammad to whom Ḍiyā' dedicated an ode in the aftermath of this king's victory over the Qara-Khitāy in 607/1210; the poem is quoted, and the circumstances of its composition mentioned, also by Juwainī. Another is al-malik al-kabīr 'Izz al-dīn Tēmūr Malik-Shāh, to whom several poems are directed, one with the date 615/1218-9;⁵ he is doubtless the Tēmūr Malik whose brave (if futile) defence of Khujand against the Mongols in 617/1220 is known to us, again from Juwainī.⁶ The third is al-shāhib al-a'zam Fakhr al-dunyā wa l-dīn Maḥmūd [322] Ulugh Yalawāch,⁷ the Muslim governor of Khujand dur-

¹In preparing the following notes I have made use of a set of photographs, preserved in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, made from the 'Robertson' Ms., which is dated 20 Rajab 981/1573. This is written in a good, legible *nasta'liq* hand. The poems are not arranged alphabetically; the *qaṣīdahs* and strophic poems are grouped together according to their dedicatee and are followed by the *muqatta'āt*.

²See below, no. 222.

³Shams's poem is included in the *dtwān* of Ḍiyā', fol. 89b-90a, where the verse in question reads: *tu pārst-nasab-i chūn Khujand mansha'-at ast * zihī tafākhur i Salmān i farist ba Khujand*.

⁴Fol. 4a: *ma-rā chu Salmān az Pārs ast maulid u aṣl * kih pārst sukhan-am hast durr i 'ummānī*.

⁵Fol. 107a.

⁶Juwainī I p. 71-2.

⁷Yalawāch is a Turkish word for 'ambassador, messenger'. Our poet treats it, doubtless under the constraints of the metre, as disyllabic. Cf. fol. 5b (metre: *hazaj*): *madār i mulk Fakhr i ḥaqqi wa l-dīn * panāh i khalq Ulugh Yalwāch i a'zam*. The same reading is required also on fol. 3b *paen*.

ing the early part of the reign of Chaghatai.¹ A good number of poems (among them one with the date 603/1206-7,² and an elegy on his death³) are dedicated to al-sultān Mu'izz al-dunyā wa l-dīn Abū l-Ḥārith Muḥammad Qılıch Ṭafghāj (i.e. Tavḡaç) Khān, and another group (again including an elegy⁴) to al-sultān Rukn al-dunyā wa l-dīn Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd Ṭafghāj Khān, presumably his son. Their titulature suggests that these two belonged to the Qarakhanids of Farghānah, but they do not seem to be recorded elsewhere. A large number of poems are dedicated to a potentate in Marghīnān, Ḥusām al-dīn Ḥasan b. 'Alī Yabghū (or Pīghū?)⁵ Malik-shāh al-Marghīnānī. This patron is perhaps identical with al-malik al-mu'azzam Pīghū-Malik whom 'Aufi includes [323] in his chapter on the royal amateur poets.⁶ Other poems evoke al-ispahsālār al-mu'aiyid Nizām al-dīn Yabghū (Pīghū) Malik, who is perhaps the same as the just-mentioned Ḥusām al-dīn, or perhaps rather a relative of his; others evoke al-ispahsālār al-mu'aiyid Nizām al-dīn Ulugh Tūgsīn. A very large number of poems are dedicated to al-malik al-kabīr Ikhtiyār al-dīn Malik-shāh As'ad b. Mas'ūd, of which some explicitly mention Khujand and one contains the date 638/1240-1,⁷ evidently the most recent year mentioned in the *dtwān*; he would thus

¹See the detailed article on Maḥmūd Yalawāch and his family by Th.T. Allsen in *In the service of the Khan*, ed. I. de Rachewiltz (etc.), Wiesbaden 1993, p. 122-31.

²Fol. 9a.

³Fol. 13a sqq.

⁴Fol. 37b sqq.

⁵In the 'Robertson' Ms. the word is consistently written with the points of the first two letters amalgamated into an inverted pyramid of three dots; one can thus equally well read y.b.gh.w or b.y.gh.w (it would be good to know how it is pointed in the Gulistān Ms.). Yabghū is well-known Turkish (or Eastern Iranian) royal title (see Doerfer IV p. 124-36). *Pīghū* occurs in Chaghatai Turkish (and in the Persian lexica) as the name for a kind of falcon, but is not attested in any early texts (id., II p. 427-8, and the Nachtrag, IV p. 438).

⁶'Aufi I p. 52-9; see also Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 173-4; Nafisi's notes to Baihaqī p. 1370-5; *LN* s.v. 'Pīghū' p. 748-9; Khayām-pūr p. 98; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 729-31. Nafisi has correctly noted that the poems quoted by 'Aufi on p. 55-8 are clearly not by this king, but addressed to him, and has surmised that there is a lacuna in the text with the result that the name of their author has dropped out. This is not unlikely, but there is no basis for his assumption that this unknown author is the 'Ḥusām al-dīn Bakhtiyār b. Zangī Saljūqī' with whom Hidāyat arbitrarily identified our Pīghū-Malik. Further confusion is caused by Nafisi's attempts to amalgamate Ḍiyā's various patrons into a single person.

⁷Fol. 127b.

seem to have been one of the governors of Khujand under the Mongols. He is also the dedicatee of an ode by Saif Isfarangī¹ which in turn praises 'Ḍiyā' i Pārsī'. A poem with the date 14 Šafar 633/1235 invokes al-ispahsālār 'Imād al-dīn Maḥmūd b. As'ad, evidently the son of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. A good number of poems eulogise Malik al-islām Nāṣir al-dīn 'Alī b. 'Alī, to whom the poet applies epithets such as *shāh i shart'ah* and *nūr i Khujand*, evidently a high-ranking cleric.

The *dtwān* contains also a poetic compliment to a colleague, Shams al-dīn al-Ḥaddādī, as well as Shams al-dīn's reply (quoted at the beginning of this article). Rāzī quotes a different pair of poems exchanged between these two, and a pair of [324] poems exchanged with one Shihāb al-dīn (presumably Shihābī Khujandī, below no. 299). Badā'ūnī and Hidāyat, misled, no doubt, by the title Malik-Shāh which occurs in so many of his poems, put our poet in the early Seljuq period. Taqī² (followed by Adhar) says that he died in 622/1225, which, though at least in the right century, is still too early.

Mss.: *Tehran* Gulistān/Ātābāy II 299 (Ms. signed by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf and dated 20 Rajab 666/1268, but Ātābāy thinks this scribe is responsible only for the final pages and that the Ms. is possibly an autograph). Another Ms. was at one time in the possession of D.S. Robertson;³ I am not aware of its present location. Cf. *Munz.* III 24275.

Juwainī II p. 79; Rāzī I p. 189-93 (no. 188); Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* I, Calcutta 1868, p. 23-8 (transl. p. 38); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 325-6; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 225; D.S. Robertson, 'A forgotten Persian poet of the thirteenth century', *JRAS* 1951, p. 103 (with an account of the Ms. in the author's possession); M. Ḥasan/D.S. Robertson, 'Ḍiyā-yi Fārsī', *JRAS* 1952, p. 105-7; Nafisi's notes to Baihaqī p. 1362-70 and 1511-29; *LN* s.v. 'Ḍiyā'u l-dīn' p. 78-9; Khayām-pūr p. 327 ('Ḍiyā i Khujandī'); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 827-33.

¹For whom see *PL* VI. The poem is quoted in Nafisi's notes to Baihaqī, p. 1390-2.

²Sprenger p. 16 no. 31.

³See the account of the Ms. at the beginning of this article.

184. al-Ḥakīm **Ḍiyā'** al-dīn Maḥmūd al-Kābulī is the author of a *qit'ah* and four *rubā'iyāt* which he wrote out for 'Aufī when the latter met him in Ghaznah (not long before 607/1210-1).

'Aufī II p. 416-7; Rāzī II p. 105 (no. 592); *LN* s.v. 'Ḍiyā' al-dīn' p. 80-1; Khaiyām-pūr p. 348. [325]

185. al-Ḥakīm Majd al-dīn **Fahīmī** al-Bukhārī was a contemporary of 'Aufī, who tells us that he was illiterate (*ummi*), but none the less an accomplished poet. The samples of his work quoted by 'Aufī contain a *qit'ah* and two *rubā'īs* lampooning Sa'd al-dīn Kāfī (below, no. 277).

'Aufī II p. 386-7; Rāzī III p. 424-5 (no. 1484, 'Fahmī'); Khaiyām-pūr p. 457.

186. A certain **Fakhr al-dīn** composed two poems describing a contest between the pen and the sword of which one (inc. *āhan u nai chūn padīd āmad zi ṣan' i kirdigār * dar miyān i tēgh u kilk uftād jang u kārzār*) has been published by Ethé from the important anthology *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār*. It contains a verse¹ eulogising Malik-shāh (presumably the first king of that name, 465/1072 to 485/1092).

Ms.: Oxford Elliot 37 fol. 221a (Ethé 1333).

See H. Ethé, 'Über persische Tenzonen', *Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Berlin 1882, II/1, p. 48-135 (text of the *munāzarah* on p. 118-20 and a verse translation on p. 120-2).

187. al-Amīr al-'Alim **Falak al-dīn** Ibrāhīm al-Sāmānī is the author of three *ghazals* quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Western Persia after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). 'Aufī says that he was a descendant of the Samanid kings and that he was born in Transoxania but lived in 'Irāq.

'Aufī II p. 401-2; Khaiyām-pūr p. 258 ('Sāmānī i 'Irāqī').

188. **Falakī** Sharwānī flourished at the court of the Sharwān-shāh Manūchihr II, who reigned [326] from 516/1122 (or somewhat later)

¹Namely the penultimate verse of the poem, reading: *sāyah i yazdān Malik-shāh afīab i khusrawān * ān shahansha-y (sic lege) kām-yāb, ān pād-shāh i kām-gār*.

until 555/1160-1 (or not long afterwards),¹ the only king mentioned in his published poems. It is therefore likely that he died before this monarch (the date 577/1181-2 given by Taqī and others is probably a good deal too late). Khāqānī composed an elegy on Falakī's death² in which he indicates that his colleague and compatriot died young. His statement, in the same poem, that Falakī was 'aware of the mysteries of the nine spheres' (*zi rāz i nuh falak āgāh*) has been taken as evidence that our poet was a professional astronomer (which would explain his pen-name, Falakī), but it might just as well be nothing more than a word-play on the part of Khāqānī. From his own poems we know that Falakī's personal name was Muḥammad, that he was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Shābarān, but was later pardoned and set free by Manūchihr.

Several of his poems contain significant data concerning the history of the Caucasus, the most interesting being a long elegy³ commiserating with Manūchihr and, in particular, with his consort Tamar, on the death of her brother, the Georgian king Demetre I. According to the Georgian chronicle⁴ Demetre died in 375 Georgian (A.D. 1155), having abdicated and retired to a monastery one year earlier. It has not, I think, been noticed that Falakī's poem confirms this date with a chronogram in the otherwise rather absurd verse (line 64): *shak nēst kih tārlkh i wafāt-ash khalal e ṣa'b * dar qā'idah i 'ālam u 'adl i 'Umar āwurd*; the numerical value of the letters in the words from *khalal* to *'adl* inclusive is 1467, which is [327] the year of the Seleucid era corresponding to A.D. 1155-6.

The Indian scholar Hādī Ḥasan published his 1929 collection of Falakī's poems on the basis of the Munich anthology (Cod. or. 279), collated with the selections quoted in various *tadhkirahs*. Later the same scholar discovered a number of hitherto unknown poems in the Madras manuscript and he published these, together with the new variants to the poems which he had previously edited, in his monograph of 1958. The

¹See above, p. 248, n. 2.

²See Khāqānī's *dīwān*, ed. Sajjādī, p. 918-9 and Hādī Ḥasan's first monograph, p. 44-5.

³Text (from the Madras Ms.) and translation in Hādī Ḥasan's *Researches*, p. 63-7.

⁴See M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie I* (translation of the Georgian chronicle), St. Petersburg 1849, p. 382.

Tehran edition of Falakī's so-called *dtwān* is essentially a reprint of the older of Hādī Ḥasan's collections. It has not yet been investigated whether the Tehran (Gulistān) manuscript adds anything new to Falakī's oeuvre.

Mss.: **Bologna** Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 3283/I (Piemontese 3. 13th century? Contains one *qaṣīdah*, the 1st in H.H.'s edition); **Munich** Cod. or. 279 fol. 93-133 (Aumer 18. 17th century?); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 355; **Lucknow** Sprenger 199 (two copies, one of which was dated 1015/1606-7 and evidently represented an extract from Taqī); **Aligarh** Subh. p. 34 no. 48; **Madras** I 195/IV (15 poems).

Editions: **London** 1929 (ed. Hādī Ḥasan); **Tehran** 1345sh./1966 (ed. Ṭāhirī Shihāb).

Shams p. 392-3; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Saif Harawī p. 144 (one verse); Mustaufī p. 743; Jājarmī I p. 144+vi-144+vii, 191-5; Yaghmā'ī p. 260-3 (both of these quote poem no. X of H.H.'s edition); Daulat-shāh p. 103-4; Rāzī III p. 287-92 (no. 1386; name misspelt in the edition); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 500a sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105; Paris Supplément 799 fol. 214v sqq. = Blochet 1242); Ādhar I p. 198-204; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 381-2; Hādī Ḥasan, *Falakī-i-Shirwānī: his times, life, and works*, London 1929 (see also his list of mostly un-published *tadhkirahs*, p. 70-4; review by V. Minorsky, *BSOS* V, 1928-30, p. 903-10); id., 'Muḥammad Falakī-i-Shirwānī and his unique *dtwān* [328] in Madras', *Islamic Culture* XXIV/2, 1950, p. 77-107, XXIV/3, 1950, p. 145-86; id., *Researches in Persian literature*, Hyderabad 1958, p. 29-94 (contains the text and translation of the new poems in the Madras Ms.); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 774-6; Khayyām-pūr p. 454; *El*² s.v. 'Falakī Shirwānī' (Hadi Hasan); *Eir* s.v. 'Falakī'.

189. **Faqīhī** Marwazī is credited with four verses in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān.

'Aufī II p. 174-5; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 381; Khayyām-pūr p. 452.

190. **Farīd al-dīn** 'Alī al-Munajjim al-Sijzī,¹ called Jāsūs al-aflāk, 'he who spies on the spheres', astronomer and poet, was a contemporary

¹Browne quotes the *nisbah* (twice) as al-Sanjārī, but this is doubtless a scribal error in his Mss. In his new edition of 'Aufī (p. 487) Nafīsī emends the text (but without quoting the reading of the Mss.) to al-Sijzī.

of 'Aufī, who states that he himself had been 'in his service', evidently during his short stay in Sistan in the early part of the 7th/13th century. 'Aufī says further that Farīd was the brother of al-Šadr al-ajall Našīr <al-dīn> al-Shar'ānī,¹ the wazīr to the king of Nīm-rōz (i.e. the ruler of Sistan), that he had led a dissolute youth, but by the time our author met him he was a pillar of Islam. 'Aufī represents him with a *qit'ah* satirising the *malāhidah* (i.e. the Ismā'īlīs) and two *rubā'īs*.

'Aufī II p. 347-8; Rāzī I p. 295 (no. 306); Khayyām-pūr p. 446 ('Farīd i Sistānī').

191. **Farīd al-dīn al-Kātib** (or, *persice*, Farīd i dabīr) was a scribe in the Seljuq chancery. 'Aufī quotes a *tarjī' band* praising Mas'ūd b. [329] Muḥammad (529/1134 to 547/1152). Ṭāhir al-dīn (followed by Rāwandī and others) quotes a *rubā'ī* which he composed after Sanjar's defeat at the hands of the Qara-Khiṭāy (in 536/1141) and another commenting on the embassy of the Ghaznavid Bahrām-shāh² to the Ghorid Saif al-dīn Sūrī in the year 543/1148-9. Jājarmī (and the *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār*) adds a question and answer poem. An ode to 'Farīd i dabīr' is found in the *dtwān* of Muḥīr al-dīn Balaqānī.³ Daulat-shāh adds the (questionable) information that Farīd was a pupil of Anwarī.

Ṭāhir al-dīn Naisābūrī, *Saljūq-nāmah*, Tehran 1332sh./1953, p. 46-7; Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, Leyden/London 1921, p. 173, 175; 'Aufī I p. 152-4; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol. 184b); Jājarmī II p. 432-4; Daulat-shāh p. 106-7 (quotes from Minhāj i Sirāj); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 377; Browne, *History* II p. 345; Khayyām-pūr p. 446-7.

192. Sharaf al-afāḍil Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Farqadī is represented by a number of poems in 'Aufī's anthology, two of them odes to the Ghorid Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (558/1163 to 599/1203). He is perhaps not identical⁴ with the Farqadī included by 'Abd al-Jalīl Rāzī (ca. 560/1165) in his list of Shiite poets.

¹For whom see also below, no. 291 (Shams al-dīn).

²Both Ṭāhir al-dīn (p. 46) and Rāwandī (p. 175) have, wrongly, 'Mas'ūd'.

³Ed. Ābādī, p. 315-6.

⁴My doubts are fuelled, first, by the early date of 'Abd al-Jalīl's book and, second, by the fact that 'Aufī's Farqadī was the son of a man with the decidedly non-Shiite name 'Umar.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 401 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Abd al-Jalīl Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naqd*, ed. Muḥaddith, p. 252; 'Aufī II p. 312-8; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 380; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 718-20; Khaiyām-pūr p. 443. [320]

193. al-Ḥakīm 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Faṭḥī al-Ghaznawī is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) where we find a religious *qaṣīdah* (mutilated in Browne's manuscript, but a fuller version of it has been published by Nafīsī from an unidentified *saftnah*) as well as two *rubā'īs*.

'Aufī II p. 413-4 (and the note in Nafīsī's edition, p. 760); *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol. 4a); Rāzī I p. 333 (no. 344); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 372 in marg.; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 228; Khaiyām-pūr p. 432.

194. Firdaus Samarqandī, the 'minstrel-girl' (*muṭribah*), is quoted by Juwainī (followed by Mustaufī) as the author of a *rubā'ī* congratulating the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā' al-dīn Muḥammad on his victory over the Ghorids (in 601/1204).

She is presumably not identical with the 'Muṭribah' of Kāshghār whose verses bemoaning the death of a certain Ṭughān-shāh are cited by Ādhar.¹

Juwainī II p. 56; Mustaufī p. 757; Khaiyām-pūr p. 440.

195. Athīr al-dīn al-Futūḥī al-Marwazī was a contemporary and friend of Adīb Šābir, as is evident from the versified compliments exchanged between the two and quoted by 'Aufī. The *diwān* of Anwarī contains a poem² attacking Futūḥī (at least according to the superscription in the edition; the name does not occur in the actual verses) and in the same *diwān* we find another poem³ in which Anwarī addresses his complaints to [331] a certain king and his minister and a reply⁴ with the same rhymes which (again according to the superscription) Futūḥī addressed by royal and ministerial command to Anwarī. The same super-

¹Ādhar (old edition) p. 343; Khaiyām-pūr p. 547; Meier, *Mahsaṭṭ* p. 42-3 (with further discussion).

²Ed. Mudarris i Riḍawī p. 714.

³ibid., p. 752-3.

⁴ibid., p. 753-4.

scriptions identify the addressees of Anwarī's poem as 'Malik-shāh' (III?; 547/1152 to 548/1153) and 'Nizām al-mulk', but the reply supposedly by Futūḥī speaks of fifteen years having passed since the death of Abū l-Ḥasan 'Imrānī. The latter was executed by Sanjar in 545/1147-8;¹ Futūḥī's poem must consequently have been composed around 560/1165, at which time there was no king by the name of Malik-shāh. Anwarī's *diwān* also contains a *qit'ah*² mocking the town of Balkh but which (again according to the superscription in the printed *diwān* and to Hidāyat) was in fact written by Futūḥī and maliciously ascribed by him to his rival. Unfortunately the supposedly critical edition by Mudarris i Riḍawī (who did have a number of very old manuscripts at his disposal) fails to make clear whether the rubrics in question are in fact contained in any of the old copies; the whole question of the relationship between Futūḥī and Anwarī remains thus very much in abeyance.

Hidāyat ascribes to Futūḥī a number of short poems not found in other printed sources and Šafā adds five *ghazals*, again without any indication of their provenance.

'Aufī II p. 148-53; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* (see below, appendix III); Rāzī II p. 16-20 (no. 521); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 372-3; Furūzānfar I p. 389-90; 'A. al-Ḥ. Nawā'ī, '*Anwarī wa Futūḥī i shā'ir*', *Yād-gār* II/9 p. 70-80; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 688-90; Khaiyām-pūr p. 433 (with further references); *LN* s.v. 'Athīr' p. 1022-3; Mudarris i Riḍawī's [332] introduction to his *Diwān i Anwarī* II p. 101.

196. Ghazālī Marwazī is known to us only as the author of five verses quoted in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān.

'Aufī II p. 163; Khaiyām-pūr p. 418.

197. One verse by Mujīr Ghiyāthī is quoted in LF ed. Iqbāl p. 248 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.). He is perhaps identical with the Ghiyāthī to whom two verses are ascribed in *Šihāḥ* p. 42.

198. Ḥamīd al-dīn Tāj al-shu'arā' al-Dihistānī is credited with one *qit'ah* in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157).

¹According to Sam'ānī fol. 398b.

²ibid., p. 569-70.

'Aufi II p. 355-6; *LN* s.vv. 'Tāju l-shu'arā' p. 89 and 'Hamīd al-dīn' p. 808; *Khayyām-pūr* p. 173.

199. **Hamīd al-dīn** (i?) Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Shālī-kōb,¹ ('rice-pounder'),² apparently the son of the famous Mas'ūd i Sa'd, is cited by 'Aufi in his chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore after the time of Sanjar where we find a short poem describing a pen, the last part of which is missing in the Ms. available to Browne. Rāzī, whose copy of 'Aufi was evidently defective in much the same way, ascribes to our poet the verses found in 'Aufi's next entry, that devoted to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.³ [333]

'Aufi II p. 411-2; Rāzī I p. 344-5 (no. 360); *Khayyām-pūr* p. 173; *LN* s.vv. 'Hamīd al-dīn' p. 809 and 'Shālī-kūb' p. 123.

200. **Hamīd Kāzarūnī** is quoted by Shams as the author of a poem with alternating Arabic and Persian verses. The same name occurs as the author of a *ghazal* quoted in Jārmī's *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*.

Shams p. 150; Jārmī II p. 979-80; *Khayyām-pūr* p. 173.

201. **Ḥaḡīqī** (thus p. 18, 403) or Ḥaḡīqī Šūfī (p. 84, 305) is quoted four times in *LF* ed. *Iqbāl* (Ms. *nūn* in marg.).

202. Saiyid Imām Ashraf dhū l-shahādāt al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī⁴, usually quoted as 'Saiyid Ḥasan' or 'Saiyid

¹Thus 'Aufi. In the Tehran edition of Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm* the name appears as Hamīd al-dīn Mas'ūd b. Shālī-kōb, but Ethé quotes it from the London Mss. as Hamīd al-dīn Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Siyālkūfī.

²This is to my knowledge the earliest Persian attestation for the Indian loan-word *shālī* (Sanskrit *śālī*), 'un-husked rice'.

³See above, p. 252-3.

⁴Thus Rāwandī p. 187. Abū l-Ḥasan Baiḥaqī calls him al-imām mafkhar al-lisānain ra'is afādil al-sādah Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī. The anonymous compiler of his *dtwān* calls him Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, which could easily be a misreading for Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. By contrast, 'Aufi (according to Ms. S) calls him Saiyid al-ajall Ashraf al-dīn Fakhr al-sādāt al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-'Alawī (Ms. E, followed by Browne, has '...Abī l-Ḥasan'). It is not entirely impossible that both are correct, i.e. that his father Muḥammad had the *laqab* Nāṣir (al-dīn). That he was a Ḥusainī *saiyid* is confirmed by his *dtwān* p. 26 l. 1: *az pai i ān-kih Ḥasan-nām u ḥusainī-nasab-am* ...

Ashraf', began his career as a eulogist of the Ghaznavid Bahrām-shāh. There are number of poems in his *dtwān* celebrating that king's battles against his rebellious commander in Lahore, Muḥammad b. 'Alī Bāhalīm, in 512-3/1119, events to which the poet was an eye-witness. It appears that he compromised himself in some way with the Ghorid conquerors in Ghaznah and when Bahrām-shāh retook his capital in 544/1149-50 Saiyid Ḥasan felt it safer to depart to Naisābūr, where he penned a poem expressing his apologies [334] and congratulating the king on his victory. In the same year Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baiḥaqī met him in Naisābūr as our poet was getting ready to depart for a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return from the holy places he entered the service of the Seljuqs; he praised Sanjar¹ (who died in 552/1157), wrote an elegy on the death of Ghiyāth al-dīn Mas'ūd II² (who died in 547/1152) and poems celebrating the coronation of Malik-shāh III³ in 547/1152 and that of Sulaimān b. Muḥammad⁴ in 555/1160; the latter appears to be the latest date that can be established in his *dtwān*. He also praised the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız (521/1127 to 551/1156) and the Qarakhanid Maḥmūd II b. Muḥammad, who ruled in Khurāsān until 558/1162-3. The author of the anonymous preface to Saiyid Ḥasan's *dtwān*, who collected the poems shortly after the death of their author, says that Ḥasan bequeathed his books to the afore-mentioned Maḥmūd; this would mean that he died at some time between 555/1160 and 558/1162-3. Strangely, his contemporary Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baiḥaqī, writing in 555/1160, apparently claims that he had died already in 548/1153-4 in Sarakhs.⁵ The biographical sources offer also 535, 536 and 565 as dates for his death.

Mss. of his *dtwān*: Oxford Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/6. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); London Or. 4514/VI (Rieu Suppt. 215. Completed 14 Rabī' II 1023/1614); I.O. 933 (=Robinson 146-51.⁶ Ms. dated 12 Jumādā II 1038/1629); I.O. 932 (Dated 24 Shawwāl

¹Rāwandī p. 193 = *dtwān* p. 49-52.

²Rāwandī p. 245-8 = *dtwān* p. 211-4.

³Rāwandī p. 251-4 = *dtwān* p. 215-8.

⁴Rāwandī p. 275-7 = *dtwān* p. 9-10.

⁵Thus according to Mudarris i Ridāwī, p. xxxix.

⁶Robinson's entry creates the erroneous impression that this copy contains poems by two authors, 'Hasan 'Aznawi' (sic) and 'Sayyid Hasan'. The true situation is made clear in Ethé's description.

1069/1659); Or. 1777/I (Rieu p. 999-1000. [335] 19th century? Apparently only extracts); I.O. 931; Paris Supplément 797 fol. 1v sqq. (Blochet 1990. 16th century?); Istanbul Nuruosmaniye 3810 (Ateş 53. 16th century?); Tehran Bayānī 56/8 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 16. Dated 995/1587. Selection); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 432/II; Mashhad Riḍawī VII 402 (Dated Muḥarram 1012/1603); Riḍawī VII 741/2 (Ms. dated 10 Rabīʿ II 1055/1645); Tashkent Acad. II 783 (Dated 1269/1852-3); Acad. II 784 (Dated 1270/1853-4). Cf. Munz. III 22713-24.

Edition: Tehran 1328sh./1949 (ed. T. Mudarris i Riḍawī).

He also wrote a *Tarjamāt waṣīyat amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, one hundred Arabic sayings ascribed to 'Alī, each translated by a Persian verse, dedicated to Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh.

Mss.: Vienna Flügel 121/4 (Copied by Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Kāshī and dated 7 Jumādā I 753/1352. Wrongly ascribed to Waṭwāt in the catalogue); Istanbul Üniversite FY 1355 (Ateş 54. 16th century?). It would not be surprising if other copies supposedly of Waṭwāt's *Ṣad kalimah* eventually revealed themselves to contain this work.

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baihaqī (Ibn Funduq), *Lubāb al-albāb*;¹ Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, passim; 'Aufī II p. 270-6; Shams passim (quoted once as 'Saiyid Ashraf', otherwise as 'Saiyid Ḥasan i Ghaznavī'); *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Mustaufī p. 727-8; Jājarmī I p. 202-4; Daulat-shāh p. 104-6; Rāzī I p. 318-24 (no. 335); Taqī (quoted in [336] Mudarris i Riḍawī p. xxvi-xxix; also in London Or. 3506 fol. 427b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Adhar II p. 535-44; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 192-6; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 185-6; 'A. Iqbāl, *'Ittilā'āt-i chand dar bārah i Saiyid Ḥasan i Ghaznavī*, *Armaghān* XV, 1313sh. /1934,² p. 81-90; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 586-98; Khaiyām-pūr p. 160; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, passim; *Elr* s.v. 'Aṣraf Ġaznavī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh); *EP* s.v. 'Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznavī' (A.L. Beelaert).

¹Unpublished. An extract from the chapter on the *saiyids* of Ghaznah from a Ms. in the *Āstān i quds i Riḍawī* is in part quoted, in part paraphrased in Persian in a piecemeal fashion, by Mudarris i Riḍawī, p. x, xxx, xxxix of his introduction.

²The *shamsī* date is given in the journal as '1312', evidently in error.

203. Ḥasan Mutakallim is the author of a poem cited by Jājarmī and which has also found its way into the old Tehran edition of the *diwān* of Manūchihri, whence it was reprinted and translated by Kazimirski in his edition of the same poet. It is in fact fairly reminiscent of Manūchihri's style. The author indicates the name of his patron in a verse¹ which reads: *kamāl i duwal Bū Riḍā k-āfarīn-ash * bawad dar khuṭab zain i alfāz i khāṭib*; Dih-khudā identified the latter with Kamāl al-daulah Abū Riḍā Faḍl Allāh, who was chief secretary under Malik-shāh and Nizām al-mulk and lost his post in 478/1083-4. However, the verse just cited says that the poet's patron was praised 'in the Friday sermons', indicating that he was a king, not a middle-ranking bureaucrat. As a possible candidate one could perhaps propose the Ghaznavid Kamāl al-daulah Shēr-zād (508/1115 to 509/1116); unfortunately it is not known whether he bore the *kunya* Abū Riḍā.

Hidāyat quotes the same poem, but attributes it to Ḥasan Mutakallim Naisābūrī, a poet of the 8th/14th century,² but it is hardly in his style. For his part Jājarmī was evidently well aware of [337] the difference between our 'Ḥasan Mutakallim' and 'Saiyid Ḥasan al-Naisābūrī', a *ghazal* of whose he quotes on p. 1074.

Jājarmī II p. 637-41; Hidāyat, *Majma'* II p. 14; Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri* (see above, p. 190), poem no. 5, and notes; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Riḍā' p. 459.

204. Qāḍī Hishām³ (or: Hujaim⁴) is known only from Ibn Isfandiyār (writing in 613/1216-7), who enumerates him among the holy men of Ṭabaristān and then proceeds to quote a long macaronic poem, that is to say a farcical composition in Persian, but with a large admixture of Arabic and pseudo-Arabic (i.e. Persian words with Arabic case-endings pinned on to them), beginning: *ai ba farhang u 'ilm daryā'u * laisa mā-rā ba juz tu hamtā'u*.

Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, I p. 131-5 (the poem is also in Browne's epitome, p. 81-

¹Jājarmī II p. 640 l. 5.

²Cf. Daulat-shāh p. 268-70; Khaiyām-pūr p. 161; *LN* s.v. 'Ḥasan i Mutakallim' p. 606.

³Thus in Browne's Mss.

⁴Iqbāl and Hidāyat give the name as *hjym*, which can hardly be read other than as Hujaim.

5, with variants); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 465 (quoting Ibn Isfandyār); Khaiyām-pūr p. 629 ('Hujaim i Āmulī').

205. A *du-bait* by al-Ḥusām al-Kirmānī - of whom I have found no other mention - is quoted in the *Ta'rikh al-mustabshir* of Ibn al-Mujāwir, ed. Löfgren, p. 84. With the help of the accompanying Arabic translation the corrupt text can be emended as follows:

guftam: rukh i tu chī-st? gul i surkh? yāsmīn?

guftā: gul-ē st rēkhtah bar barg i yāsmīn

*guftam *kih: shakkar ast labān i *tu *yā 'aqlq?*

*guftā *kih: shakkar ast u 'aqlq-ē na az *yamīn*

(I said: 'What is your cheek? A red rose? Jasmine?' He/she said: 'It is a rose spread out on a [338] jasmine leaf.' I said: 'Are your lips sugar or carnelian?' He/she said: 'They are sugar and a carnelian, but not the sort that comes from the Yemen.')¹

206. al-Saiyid al-ajall Kamāl al-dīn Iftikhār al-Hujjāb al-Ḥusain al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥājib is known to us only from 'Aufī, who says that he flourished at the court of 'sulṭān i shahīd', i.e. the last Ghaznavid Khusrau-Malik (555/1160 to 582/1186), and who quotes a poem in which he addressed 'Abd al-Rāfi' al-Harawī.²

'Aufī II p. 413; Khaiyām-pūr p. 145.

207. 'Imādī, or as 'Aufī also calls him, Ustād al-a'immaḥ 'Imād al-dīn al-Ghaznawī, was attached to the court of the rulers of Māzandarān, the land to the south of the Caspian Sea. The greatest part of his surviving poems is dedicated to one Saif al-dīn 'Imād al-daulah Farāmarz; this can hardly be anyone other than the Bāwandid prince Farāmarz b. Rustam, who was one of the rivals for the control of Māzandarān after the death of his grand-father (or great-grand-father) Ḥusām al-daulah Shahryār in ca. 508/1114-5 and who is reported to have submitted to the authority of his (great?-)uncle 'Alā' al-daulah 'Alī in 511/1117 or shortly

¹The Arabic translation has '... lā al-'aqlq alladhī min (bad variant: fī) al-yaman' and adds the evidently spurious gloss: 'ai al-makān alladhī yusammā 'aqlq al-yaman'. I take it that the 'Yamīn' required by the rhyme is used here in the meaning 'Yaman' (which is what the printed text has instead of it).

²For whom see above, p. 243.

afterwards.¹ It would appear that 'Imādī [339] served 'Alī as well, for Ibn Isfandyār implies that 'Imādī addressed his poem to the atabeg 'Abd al-Rahmān Ṭughān-yürek² at the time when the latter had fled from Ardabīl and taken refuge at the court of 'Alā' al-daulah 'Alī; the verse which the historian cites in this context comes from a *tarkīb-band* quoted in its entirety in the old anthology published by Yaghmā'ī.

'Imādī also addressed a number of poems to the Seljuq Rukn al-din Ṭoghrl (II) b. Muḥammad (526 /1132 to 529/1134), two of which are quoted in extenso by Rāwandī, who states unambiguously that they are by the same 'Imādī who otherwise eulogised the *shāh i Māzandarān*. One of these poems can also be found in 'Aufī.³ There is thus no justification for the claim by Taqī Kāshī, and others since, that there were two 'Imādīs, one at Ghaznah ('Aufī's 'Imād al-dīn Ghaznawī, alias 'Imādī) and the other in Māzandarān (supposedly called 'Imādī Shahryārī).

Abū l-Rajā' Qummī quotes from two odes by 'Imād Ghaznawī (as he calls him once), or 'Imādī (as he calls him on two other occasions) in praise of Qiwām al-dīn, who was Ṭoghrl's minister until 528/1133-4, one of them in imitation of an ode to the same minister by Sanā'ī. The same source mentions also 'Imādī's step-son (*pisar-khwāndah*) by the name of Ṣādiq.

A poem by Abū l-'Alā' Ganja'ī dedicated to the Sharwān-shāh Manūchihr II, who died not long after 555/1160 (and in any case before 566/1170),⁴ speaks explicitly of the death of 'Imādī [340] (*chu shud ruwān i 'Imādī* ...); thus the dates given for 'Imādī's death by Taqī (573/1177-8) and Ādhar (582/1186-7) are too late. Rieu (and others since) thought that the words '*shāh Jahān-pahlawān*' which occur in one of the odes in the London manuscript refer to the Ēldügüzid atabeg of

¹For these dates see *Elr* s.v. 'Āl-e Bāvand' (W. Madelung) and for the identity of 'Imādī's patron see the important article by Qazwīnī cited in our bibliography. M.S. Israeli argued (against Qazwīnī) that the patron was one 'Imād al-dīn Farāmarz b. Mardāwīj, of Gurgān, but at the time in question Māzandarān means Ṭabaristān, not Gurgān.

²This seems the most likely reading of the Turkish name ('falcon-heart'), despite the fact that Ibn Isfandyār (and some others) omit the -n- (probably by haplography). This 'Abd al-Rahmān was executed by order of Sultan Mas'ūd in 541/1147; see Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-hā* VI p. 26 and C.E. Bosworth in *CHI* V p. 126, 132 (with further references).

³Rāwandī p. 210-2 = 'Aufī II p. 262-4.

⁴See above, p. 248-9.

Azerbaijan of that name (who ruled from 571/1175 to 582/1186), but here they are evidently not a name, but the epithet of some other ruler.

Mss. containing some of his poems: London Or. 298 (Rieu p. 557-8. 16th century? Only about 1400 verses); Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 3283/II (Piemontese 3. 13th century? Five verses only by 'Abū Muḥammad al-'Imādī al-Ghaznawī'); Tehran Majlis XVII 5976 (17th century? 298 verses in an anthology); Aligarh Subh. p. 36 no. 84; Lucknow Sprenger 282 (two copies). Cf. Munz. III 24874-5.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 249 (one verse by 'Imād 'Azīzī - read Ghaznawī? - in Ms. *nūn* in marg.); Abū l-Rajā' Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 10, 18, 121-2; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* p. 57, 209, 210-4, 372; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh i Tabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, I p. 107 (=Browne's epitome p. 59); 'Aufī II p. 257-67 (and the notes in Nafīsī's edition, p. 722-8); Shams passim; Jājarmī II p. 615-8, 1108-9; Yaghmā'ī p. 103-12 (five poems by 'Imādī i Ghaznawī'); *Shihāh* p. 308 (one verse by 'Imādī i Ghaznawī'); Rāzī III p. 23-31 (no. 1069); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 449b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105; Paris Supplément 799 fol. 252v sqq. = Blochet 1242); Ādhar II p. 574-80, III p. 1093-7; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 350-2; Hādī Ḥasan, *Falākī-i-Shirwānī*, London 1929, p. 96; M. Qazwīnī, 'Mamdūh i 'Imādī' in his *Bīst maqālāh* II, 2nd edition, Tehran 1332sh./1953, p. 343-54; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 743-50; M.S. Israeli, 'Imādī: his life, times and works', *Islamic Culture* XXXIV, 1960, p. 176-94 (contains a list of his patrons, but [341] several of them have been wrongly identified); Khayyām-pūr p. 407; LN s.v. 'Imādī i Shahryārī' p. 300; *EL*² s.v. 'Imādī' (M.S. Israeli); *EL*² Suppt. s.v. 'Imādī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn).

208. Two verses by Abū l-'Abbās (Bul-'Abbās) Imāmī are quoted by Shams, p. 207.

209. Tāj al-dīn Ismā'īl al-Bākhazī is included by 'Aufī (on whom all the other sources listed below are entirely dependent) among the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān. His entry includes two *ghazals* and a number of *rubā'iyāt*, among the latter a elegy on the death of Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭalḥah.¹

¹For whom see no. 304.

'Aufī II p. 156-9; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* (see below, appendix III); Rāzī II p. 168-9 (no. 656); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 692-4; Khayyām-pūr p. 40; LN s.v. 'Tāj al-dīn' p. 72-3.

210. Ḥakīm Jalāl¹ (or Ḥalāl)² is included in 'Aufī's section on the poets in Transoxania during the Seljuq period, where we are told that he wrote satirical verses in the vein of Sōzanī but at the end of his life turned his hand to 'serious' poetry. As a sample of the latter our informant quotes some verses from a 'famous' *qaṣīdah* and one *rubā'ī*.

Furūzānfar, followed by Šafā, maintained that the '*khar i khum-khānah*' ('ass of the wine-shop') who is the victim of so many of Sōzanī's satires and who, if we are to believe Sōzanī, was a Christian, is to be identified with 'Aufī's Ḥakīm Jalāl; the basis for this is a verse in one of [342] these satires which Furūzānfar quoted as: *hamah saudā-sh ān-kih naqsh kunad * ba Jalālī jarīdah i alqāb*. But the now available printed *dīwān* of Sōzanī³ has in the verse in question not 'Jalālī', but '*julāb-e*'; compare '*julāb*' at the end of the previous verse. This reading certainly seems to make better sense, but even with 'Jalālī' the verse is hardly unambiguous.

'Aufī II p. 198-9; Furūzānfar I p. 228 n. 1; LN s.v. 'Jalāl i Māwarā'a-nahrī' p. 72; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 623.

211. al-Imām al-ajall Jalāl al-dīn malik al-kalām Faḍl Allāh al-Khuwārī (Khuwār is a village near Rai) is the subject of an entry in 'Aufī's chapter on the amateur poets of 'Irāq, where we find, among other things, an ode of eleven verses which, still according to 'Aufī, he addressed to Sultan Tekish (the Khwārazm-shāh) at the time when his troops were outside the gates of Rai (i.e. evidently in 588/1192). Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī quotes a slightly different version of the same poem,⁴ gives its author the same name (al-Jalāl al-Khuwārī), but says

¹Thus the first words of 'Aufī's entry. In both the Mss. available to Browne the correct heading for the article is missing, having been replaced by that of the previous entry: '...Sōzanī'.

²Thus Ms. S.

³Ed. Shāh-Ḥusainī p. 12, last verse; in the other Ms. used by the editor the verse is missing altogether. Despite this, the editor (on p. 20 of his introduction) maintains the equation of '*khar i khum-khānah*' with Ḥakīm Jalāl, but offers no arguments to support it.

⁴Z(akarīyā') 1-3 = 'A(ufī) 1-3; Z.4 is not in 'A.; Z.5 = 'A.8; Z.6 = 'A.11.

that the verses were addressed to Tekish's opponent, the Seljuq Toghrii (III) b. Arslān, when he had drawn up his troops outside Rai. Jalāl al-dīn, we are told, went to the sultan together with Šadr al-dīn al-Wazzān to complain of the damage that the king's horses were doing to the crops; after listening to the verses Toghrii ordered his men to leave the fields alone.

Daulat-shāh tells (on the authority of the supposed *Tārīkh i āl i Saljūq* of Abū Ṭāhir Khātūnī)¹ [343] exactly the same story about a poet's successful intercession with a king on behalf of the peasants and quotes five verses of which the last two are virtually identical with the last two in Zakariyā's version, but he gives the name of the poet as Abū l-Mafākhir Rāzī and that of the king as Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (529/1134 to 547/1152), and says that the incident took place 'at the time when he set out from Māzandarān'.² The reference to Māzandarān seems meaningless in connection with Mas'ūd, but fits in with 'Aufī's version: Tekish did in fact approach Rai from Māzandarān.

Qazwīnī drew attention to the similarity between the verses which 'Aufī ascribes to Jalāl al-dīn and those which Daulat-shāh gives to Abū l-Mafākhir and suspected that Jalāl al-dīn plagiarised the earlier poet; unfortunately he seems to have overlooked the parallel passage in Zakariyā. In the light of the latter it now seems more likely that Daulat-shāh (or his supposed source) has garbled both the name of the poet and that of the king and, moreover, in quoting the verses off the top of his head, has re-composed the first three of them.

I can find no reference to a poet by the name of Abū l-Mafākhir Rāzī before Daulat-shāh.³ This [344] authority states also (this time without reference to Khātūnī) that the same Abū l-Mafākhir composed 'several' odes in praise of the Shiite imam 'Alī al-Riḍā and proceeds to

¹For which see below, no. 225 (Khātūnī).

²I suppose that this is what 'ba waqt i 'azīmat i Māzandarān' means.

³Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, p. 213 n. 1 says (apparently on the authority of Mustaufī's *Nuz'hat al-qulūb*, but I have failed to find this information in that book) that the village of Khuwār was the birth-place of two poets, Malik al-kalām Faḍl Allāh, who flourished at the time of Tekish, and Abū l-Mafākhir, who lived at the time of the Seljuq Mas'ūd. If this information is in fact contained in a source anterior to Daulat-shāh it would be easy to explain his attribution of these verses to Abū l-Mafākhir as the result of a confusion between the two compatriots.

quote the first verse of one of these (beginning *bāl i muraṣṣa'* ...). More or less extended versions of this poem are quoted by later sources, but in some of these the poem is attributed to Fakhr al-dīn Rāzī. In at least one version it ends with a verse in which the author gives his name as 'Mafākhir' or, perhaps better, 'Mufākhir'.

See (for Jalāl al-dīn): 'Aufī I p. 276-8 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 243-4; Rāzī III p. 32-3 (no. 1071); Khayyām-pūr p. 132; and (for Abū l-Mafākhir): Daulat-shāh p. 76-7; Rāzī III p. 33-4 (no. 1072); Ādhar III p. 1101-6 (and Nāṣirī's notes, with further information on the ode to 'Alī al-Riḍā); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 376 ('Fākhirī i Rāzī'); 'A. Āl i Dā'ūd, *Qaṣṣdah i Abū l-Mufākhir i Rāzī i mansūb ba imām Fakhr i Rāzī* [i.e. 'bāl i muraṣṣa' ...], with a quasi-critical edition of the poem], *Ma'ārif* XVIII/1, 1380sh./2001, p. 95-107; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Mafākhir' p. 857; Khayyām-pūr p. 24 ('Abū l-Mafākhir') and 425 ('Fākhirī').

212. **Jamāl Ashharī** and the already discussed Athīr Akhsīkatī were, according to 'Aufī, two poets whom the atabeg Qızıl Arslān (582/1186 to 587/1191) summoned to his court when he grew tired of the lax services of Muḥjir Bailaqānī; in the mocking verses by Muḥjir which 'Aufī quotes in this connection he is referred to merely as 'Ashharī'. A substantial *qaṣṣdah* by presumably the same malik al-shu'arā' Jamāl al-dīn al-Ashharī is quoted by Jājarmī.

'Aufī II p. 223; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Jājarmī II p. 497-9. [345]

213. **Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Iṣfahānī**,¹ the father of Kamāl al-dīn,² flourished in Isfahan during the second half of

¹The name is quoted thus by Rāwandī (p. 33); similarly 'Aufī and Shams, who call him Jamāl al-dīn (or Jamāl) Muḥammad (i) 'Abd al-Razzāq. The evidence of these three independent early sources (Rāwandī was a contemporary of the poet) clearly outweighs that of Ibn al-Fuwaṣī (see the reference below, p. 354) who refers to our poet's son as Kamāl al-dīn Abū l-Faḍl Ismā'īl b. *Abī Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Iṣfahānī*. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, like many others after him, calls our poet Jamāl (al-dīn) 'Abd al-Razzāq and Ādhar even expressly states that his given name was 'Abd al-Razzāq, but this only reflects the fact that from about the middle of the 13th century readers were no longer familiar with the use of the *kasrah i idāfah* to indicate filiation.

²For whom see below, no. 217.

the 6th/12th century. 'Aufi seems to imply that he was by profession a goldsmith and in one of his own verses Jamāl speaks of how 'the clouds and the wind, in two seasons, are always like me: in spring the one is a painter and in autumn the other a goldsmith',¹ though it could be that here *zar-gar* means not 'goldsmith' but 'illuminator of manuscripts' (Arabic *mudhahhib*), or indeed that the verse is merely a metaphorical allusion to its author's poetic prowess. If our poet was indeed a painter of miniatures it is then possible (though hardly certain) that he is identical with the 'Jamāl i naqqāsh i Isfahānī' who, according to Rāwandī, illustrated a book of poetry for Sultan Toghril (III) b. Arslān in 580/1184-5.² [346]

Jamāl's *dtwān* contains a small number of odes to the Seljuqs Arslān (556/1161 to 571/1176) and Toghril III (571/1176 to 590/1194), and a larger number to the Bāwandid ruler of Māzandarān, Ḥusām al-dīn Ardashīr b. Ḥasan (560/1165 to 568/1173), but most of his poems eulogise local dignitaries of Isfahan. In Jamāl's lifetime (and in that of his son) the political and religious life in that town was dominated by the bitter and often bloody rivalry of the Ḥanafīs (led by the Āl i Šā'id) and the Shāfi'īs (led by the Banū l-Khujandī). The largest number of Jamāl's odes are addressed to the Ḥanafī *qādis* Rukn al-dīn Mas'ūd and his son Rukn al-dīn Šā'id. We know from the *dtwān* of Kamāl al-dīn that Jamāl died before Šā'id and the latter lived perhaps until 600/1203-4.³ But Jamāl also served the rival Shāfi'ī faction: his *dtwān* contains a good number of poems addressing one 'Šadr al-dīn', but without personal

¹*Diwān*, ed. Dastgirdī, p. 335, l. 3: *tā chu man bāshand abr u bād dā'im dar du faṣl * dar rabī' in naqsh-band-ē, dar khazān an zar-gar-ē.*

²Rāwandī p. 57. What speaks against the identity of the two is the fact that when Rāwandī quotes Jamāl's poetry he refers to him not as 'Jamāl i naqqāsh' but with the names cited above. There is a poem in Jamāl's *dtwān* (p. 295) addressing 'Jamāl i naqqāsh' (thus in the third verse), but it is not really clear whether it is by our poet (as M. Iqbāl maintained in his notes to Rāwandī, p. 477), or rather directed to him (as Dastgirdī claims in his introduction, p. vii-ix). Sharwānī's *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* apparently quotes both 'Jamāl al-dīn i 'Abd al-Razzāq' and 'Jamāl i Naqqāsh' which, if confirmed, would be a further argument against identifying these with one another. Ibn Isfandiyār (*Tartkh i Tabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, II p. 129) quotes a verse from a poem by 'Naqqāshī i shā'ir' in praise of the Bāwandid Ḥusām al-daulah Ardashīr; the latter was in fact one of Jamāl's patrons, but I have not found the verse in his *dtwān*.

³See below, no. 217.

names, making it difficult to say which one of the Shāfi'ī *ṣadrs* is intended.¹ There is also an elegy on the death of one Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd,² who, if the text is correct, is presumably Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Khujandī, [347] who died after (but probably not long after) 551/1156.³

The *dtwān* contains poems which Jamāl sent to his colleagues Khāqānī,⁴ Mujīr Balaqānī⁵ and Waṭwāt.⁶ Taqī Kāshī⁷ puts our poet's death in 588/1192, which seems possible, but, like virtually all the dates in Taqī's book, is quite likely to be without foundation.

Mss.: London Or. 2880/IV (Rieu Suppt. 224. Completed Jumādā I 1245/1829); Paris Supplément 735 (Blochet 1321. 16th century?); Supplément 783 fol. 7r sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century? Selections); Istanbul Ayasofya 2051/12 (*Mikrūflm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330); Tehran Aṣghar Mahdawī 113/III (*Nuskhah-hā* II p. 95. Dated 1006/1597-8); Adabiyāt II 156/II (Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1007/1599); Bayānī 11 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 9. 16th century?); Millī (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 196. Copied by Muḥammad b. Mullā-mīr Ḥusainī and dated Dhū l-hijjah 1010/1602); Lucknow Sprenger 295; Madras I 195/II (Selections). Cf. Munz. III 22247-68.

Editions: Tehran [1318sh./1939] (ed. Adīb Nīshābūrī); 1320sh./1941 (ed. W. Dastgirdī); reprinted 1362sh./1983.

Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921 (see the index); 'Aufī II p. 402-4; Shams p. 288, 372-8; Zakariyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 197; Mustaufī p. 724; *Daqā'iḳ al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol. 12b, 27b, 142b); Jājarmī I p. 46-9, 79-80; Daulat-shāh p. 141-8; Rāzī II p. 366-73 (no. 869); [348] Ādhar III p. 929-39; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 177-83; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 174-6; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-hā* II p. 167; S. Nafīsī,

¹For these see the detailed account below, no. 227 (Khujandī).

²*Diwān*, p. 259-61. Seven verses from this poem are quoted (anonymously, and without the verse naming the deceased) by Rāwandī, p. 373.

³See below no. 227. But we must await a critical edition of Jamāl's *dtwān* before ruling out the possibility that the poem really commemorates Maḥmūd's younger relative Jamāl al-dīn Mas'ūd.

⁴p. 85-8.

⁵p. 124-8.

⁶p. 146-8.

⁷Apud Sprenger p. 16 no. 29.

'Jamāl al-dīn i 'Abd al-Razzāq', *Armaghān* VI/1-2, 1304sh./1925, p. 109-18, VI/3-4, 1304sh./1925, p. 153-63; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 731-40; Khaiyām-pūr p. 134-5; *ET*² Suppt. s.v. 'Djamāl al-dīn' (A.H. Zarinkoob).

213a. **Jannatī** b.y. (Bannā?) of Nakhshab, a panegyrist of the minister 'Alā' al-mulk Sharaf al-dīn Amīrak, is quoted by 'Aufī II p. 394-6 as the author of a *tarjīl-band*, a *qaṣīdah* and a *rubāʿī*. For his patron, see also 'Aufī I p. 148-9.

214. Mustaufī i mashriq Ḥamīd al-dīn al-Jauharī is the addressee of a comical poem by Sōzanī which has been preserved by Shams.¹ 'Aufī quotes the opening words of Sōzanī's poem (albeit in a somewhat different form) and proceeds to quote three *rubāʿīs* and two *qitʿas* by Jauharī himself. Rāzī, who cites a number of verses not found in 'Aufī, includes Jauharī among the poets of Samarqand. It is perhaps he, and not al-Jauharī al-Šāʿigh al-Harawī,² who should be identified [349] with the Jauharī whom 'Arūḍī includes among the poets of the Qarakhanids.

'Arūḍī p. 28; 'Aufī II p. 208-9; Rāzī III p. 354-6 (no. 1427); *LN* s.v. 'Ḥamīd al-dīn' p. 808; Khaiyām-pūr p. 141.

215. **Kāfī** (i) Abū l-Faraj al-Rūnī, evidently the son of the celebrated Abū l-Faraj al-Rūnī³ is given as the author of two fragments quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Western [350] Persia during the Seljuq period, one of them addressed to Laṭīf Zakī Marāghī.⁴

'Aufī II p. 238 (and the notes in Nafīsī's edition p. 707-8); *Hidāyat*, *Majmaʿ* I p. 481; Khaiyām-pūr p. 481.

216. Jamāl al-dīn Nāṣir i Shams, known as **Kāfirak i Ghaznīn** ('the little heathen of Ghaznah') is the author of ten satirical verses quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore at the time of the Seljuqs.

¹Shams p. 260-1; for the attribution see below, no. 302 (Sōzanī).

²See above, p. 171 (no. 77).

³For whom see below, no. 275.

⁴Below, no. 233.

'Aufī II p. 297; Rāzī I p. 333 (no. 345); *Hidāyat*, *Majmaʿ* I p. 485; Khaiyām-pūr p. 480.

217. **Kamāl al-dīn** Ismāʿīl b. Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Isfahānī,¹ also called Khallāq al-maʿānī, succeeded his father first of all as the eulogist of the Ḥanafī *qāḍī* Rukn al-dīn Šāʿid b. Masʿūd. One of his odes to this worthy contains the date Ramaḍān 585/1189² and must consequently be one of his earliest compositions. In another *qaṣīdah* directed to the same patron he recalls the services of his deceased father and gives his own age 'not more than twenty'³ and in yet another he bewails the death of Rukn al-dīn Šāʿid and congratulates his son Rukn al-dīn Masʿūd on his succession as *qāḍī*. This poem appears to imply that the events in question occurred in the year 600/1203-4,⁴ though the convoluted phrasing and the roundness of the number both suggest that we should use this information with caution. The poems to Šāʿid and Masʿūd together make up by far the greatest part of the *dīwān*. However, like his father, Kamāl also [351] directed a small number of poems to the leaders of the rival Shāfiʿī faction, which in Kamāl's lifetime was led by Šadr al-dīn 'Umar al-Khujandī, who presumably took over the leadership of the Shāfiʿīs after the death of Šadr al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf in 592/1196.⁵ He also sent one poem to the leader of the twelver Shiites in Qum, Rai and Āmul, 'Izz al-dīn Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.

There is one poem to the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā' al-dīn Tekish, who defeated the Seljuqs in 590/1194 and became the effective overlord of Isfahan, and one to his successor Jalāl al-dīn Meng-burnī⁶ (617/1220 to 628/1231). The *dīwān* also includes poems to one of the Bāwandid kings

¹For the names see above, p. 345 fn.

²*Dīwān*, verse 2624.

³v. 2232.

⁴v. 3510.

⁵See below, no. 227.

⁶This poem is quoted also by Juwainī II p. 165-6 and contains the king's much discussed Turkish name in a verse the metre of which is at least reconcilable with the still most plausible reading 'Meng-burnī' (from *meṇ*, 'mole', and *burun*, 'nose'): *jalāl i dunyā u dīn Meng-burnī ān shāh-e *kih izād-ash ba sazā kard bar jahān sulṭān*. The reading *Meng-irīnī recently proposed by P. Jackson (*Iran* XXVIII, 1990, p. 45 and 51 n. 1) does not fit the metre and rests, moreover, on an untenable argument involving the name of an entirely different person.

of Māzandarān, to two of the Salghurids of Fārs, Sa'd b. Zangī (601/1203 to 628/1231) and his successor Abū Bakr, and others. He exchanged poems with Athīr al-dīn Aumānī¹ and is himself the addressee of an Arabic letter from the well-known mystic al-Suhrawardī.²

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that Kamāl al-dīn 'was martyred by the Tatars in Isfahan in the year 635'; Daulat-shāh specifies that it was on 2 Jumādā I of that year (i.e. December 1237, two years after the fall of Isfahan to the Mongols) and tells an elaborate story of how Kamāl was living as a sufi outside the town, how the Mongols [352] tried to force him to reveal the location of treasures hidden by the townsfolk and thereby tortured him to death. If Kamāl really died some time after the Mongol invasion he must have completed his *diwān* before the cataclysm, for there seem to be no allusions to it in the poems.

Apart from the panegyrics, which constitute the largest portion of his *diwān*, Kamāl also wrote a good number of poems of religious inspiration. We also have a short treatise in Arabic, *Risālat al-qaus*.³

Mss. of his *diwān* (in some copies styled *Kulliyat*):⁴ **Dublin** Beatty 103/I (Ms. completed Dhū l-hijjah 699/1300. End missing); Beatty 337 (16th century? Defective. Presumably Baḥr al-'ulūmī's *chīm-bā*, '124 pp.'). **Manchester** Lindesiana 217 (Dated 1029/1620); **Oxford** Elliot 66 (Ethé 639. Dated 12 Muḥarram 981/1573); Elliot 68 (Ethé 641. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1000/1592. Lacunae); Elliot 65 (Ethé 638. Dated Jumādā I 1023/1614); Elliot 229 (Ethé 640); Elliot 69 (Ethé 642); Elliot 67 (Ethé 643); **London** I.O. 1055 (Copied by Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī in 905/1499-1500); Or. 473 (Rieu p. 580-1. Dated Rabī' II 1007/1598); Add. 18,414 (Rieu p. 581. Dated Ramaḍān 1029/1620); Add. 7092 (Rieu p. 581. Dated Shawwāl 1036/1627); I.O. 1056 (Dated 27 Dhū l-qa'dah 1036/1627); Add. 7748 (Rieu p. 581. 17th century? First page missing); I.O. 1057; **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.9 ('The spelling as well as the writing is archaic'); Christ's, Dd.3.4 (Browne Suppt. 601); King's, No. 171 (Browne Suppt. 602); **Paris** Supplément 795 fol. 78v

¹For whom see PL VI.

²Published in Baḥr al-'ulūmī's introduction, p. ix-x.

³Published in Baḥr al-'ulūmī's introduction, p. cv-cxvi.

⁴See also the list of Mss. (some of them unfortunately not adequately identified) in Baḥr al-'ulūmī's introduction p. xciii-xcvii.

sqq. (Blochet 1969. Dated 29 Dhū l-qa'dah 848/1445); Supplément 1821 (Blochet 1323. 16th century?); [353] Supplément 1117 (Blochet 1324. Dated 28 Jumādā I 1010/1601); Supplément 1312 (Blochet 1325. 17th century? Pictures); **Parma** Bibl. Palatina Ms. 2789 (Piemontese 239. Copied by Mīrẓā 'Abd al-Laṭīf. 16th century?); **Hamburg** Orient. 232 (Brockelmann 162. Dated 15 Muḥarram 1025/1616); **Halle** D.M.G. 26 (Dated 999/1590-1); **Berlin** Sprenger 1427 (Pertsch 762. 'Old and correct' according to Spr.); **Leningrad** Dorn CCCLIX; Dorn CCCLX fol. 1-425; Acad. A 1240 (Index 1613); Acad. C 77 (Index 1614); **Konya** İzzet Koyunoğlu Kütüphanesi (*Mikrāflm-hā* I p. 97. Copied by 'Alī b. Ḥusain Maghribī and dated 17 Dhū l-qa'dah 682/1284. Baḥr al-'ulūmī's *'ain*); **Istanbul** Bağdatlı Vehbi 1758 (*Mikrāflm-hā* I p. 97. 13th century? Baḥr al-'ulūmī's *kāf*); Ayasofya 2051/14 (*Mikrāflm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330); Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1950/3,9 (*olim* Fatih 3753. Ritter-Reinert p. 244-5. Ms. copied by Manşūr b. Muḥammad b. Warāqah Bihbihānī and dated Muḥarram 801/1398); Topkapı, Ahmet III 2488 (Karatay 502. Copied by Maḥmūd Pīrbūdākī and dated Rajab 866/1462); Üniversite FY 768 (*olim* Halis Efendi 4061. Ateş 151. Dated Ramaḍān 992/1584); Üniversite FY 59 (Ateş 152. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 678 (Ateş 153. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 1464 (Ateş 154. Dated 3 Ramaḍān 1081/1671); **Ankara** İsmail Sâib¹ 3775 (*Mikrāflm-hā* I p. 449. Anthology dated 27 Jumādā II 681/1282); **Tehran** Malik 5246 (Munz. 25503. 13th century?); Bayānī 59 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 17. 13th century? The marginalia - in a second hand - are dated 988/1580. These two Mss. are presumably Baḥr al-'ulūmī's *lām* and *mīm*); Majlis 4029 (Munz. 25506. Dated 17 Sha'bān 721/1321. Baḥr al-'ulūmī's *mīm-jīm*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 314 (Copied by Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-İsfahānī and dated 1 Shawwāl 722/1322. First 23 pages added later); Majlis III 1049 (With the possibly forged date 725/1325); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 315 (Copied by Ḥusain b. 'Alī [354] b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb and dated 14 Shawwāl 732/1332); Sipah-sālār II 1255 (15th century?); Univ. XV 5121 (Copied by Shaikh 'Alī Dargāhī and dated 8 Rabī' I 975/1567); Sipah-sālār II 1256 (16th century?); Majlis III 1050 (Copied by Muḥammad Mīrah Ghāzī and dated 1012/1603-4); Bayānī 17 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 10. 16th

¹The İsmail Sâib collection is part of the University Library in Ankara (see *World survey* III p. 298-9).

century?); Majlis II 380 (Dated 1015/1606-7); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 316 (Copied by 'Abd al-Ghanī Jāmī Lankarī and dated Jumādā I 1021/1612); Majlis II 379 (Dated 1036/1626-7); Sipah-sālār II 1254 (Dated 1071/1660-1); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 436/II (not before 16th century); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 317-9; etc. **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 523 (Dated 1 Šafar 1019/1610); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 142 no. 60 (Dated 9<8?>6/1578); Rehatsek p. 162 no. 125 (Dated 1024/1615); **Lucknow** Sprenger 306; **Bankipore** I 54 (15th century?); I 55 (16th century? Has a seal dated 1044/1634-5); **Hyderabad** Āsafiyah I p. 746 no. 246 (Dated 991/1583); **Aligarh** Subh. Mss. p. 37 no. 5 (Dated 992/1584); **Calcutta** Ivanow 488 (18th century?); Būhār 304 (18th century?). Cf. Munz. III 25500-63.

Editions: **Bombay** 1307/1889-90 ('Kulliyāt'); **Tehran** 1348sh./1969 (ed. Ḥ. Baḥr al-'ulūmī).

Translations (English): *The hundred love songs of Kamāl ad-dīn of Isfahan* (i.e. his quatrains), 'translated' by L.H. Gray and 'done into English verse' by E.W. Mumford, London 1903.

Shams passim; Juwainī II p. 153, 165-7; III p. 20; Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 197; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-adāb ft mu'jam al-alqāb*, in OCM Suppl. to vol. XV/4, 1939, p. 149-50; Mustaufī p. 746; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ūr* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Jāarmī passim; Jāmī, *Bahāristān*; Daulat-shāh p. 148-54; Rāzī II p. 373-83 (no. 870); Ādhar III p. 980; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 489-94; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 229-30; Ḥ. Masrūr, 'Sharḥ i ḥāl i Kamāl al-dīn Ismā'īl i Isfahānī', *Armaghān* VII, 1305sh./1926, p. 19-23, 104-17, 301-12; 'A. Iqbāl, [355] 'Tārīkh i wafāt i Kamāl al-dīn Ismā'īl', *Armaghān* XIV, 1312sh./1933, p. 8-13; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 871-7; Khaiyām-pūr p. 487-8; Z.N. Vorozheykina, Исфаханская школа поэтов и литературная жизнь Ирана в премонольское время, Moscow 1984; M. Glünz, 'Der zerfall der ordnung aus der sicht des isfahaner dichters Kamāl od-dīn Esmā'īl', in Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Transition periods in Iranian history*, Paris 1987, p. 73-81; id., *Die panegyrische qaṣida bei Kamāl ud-dīn Ismā'īl aus Isfahan*, Beirut 1993 (a very detailed work of literary criticism); *LN* s.v. 'Ismā'īl' p. 2526; *EL*² s.v. 'Kamāl al-dīn' (A.H. Zarrinkoob).

218. al-Imām al-'ālim **Kamāl al-dīn Ziyād** al-Isfahānī is quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poeticising clerics, where we find a poem of

religious content (quoted also, with some variants, by Jāarmī) and two *rubā'īs*. Quatrains of his are cited also by Abū l-Rajā' al-Qummī and by Sharwānī.

Abū l-Rajā' Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 256; 'Aufī I p. 274-5; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 197; Jāarmī II p. 1062; Rāzī II p. 395 (no. 875); Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 229; Khaiyām-pūr p. 488.

219. Bahā' al-dīn al-Karīmī al-Samarqandī¹ is included by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Transoxania after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) where we are told that, though a native of Samarqand, he entered the service of the ruler of Sīstān, Malik Shams al-dīn, evidently Shams al-dīn Muḥammad - or Aḥmad - b. Tāj al-dīn Naṣr, [356] (559/1164 to 564/1169).² 'Aufī has also poems dedicated to one Qādī Isfarā'inī and to a personage whom the poet addresses as Malik al-sādah Niẓām al-dīn Shāh.

'Aufī II p. 367-71; Rāzī III p. 361-2 (no. 1430; follows 'Aufī); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 481-2 (has one poem not in 'Aufī); Khaiyām-pūr p. 485.

220. Abū l-Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaiyāmī,³ also (and perhaps wrongly) called Khaiyām,⁴ [357] the celebrated astronomer and

¹Thus 'Aufī. Hidāyat gives his name as Bahā' al-dīn 'Abd al-Karīm.

²Identification proposed by C.E. Bosworth, *in litteris*.

³The name is cited thus on two occasions by his contemporary al-Khāzinī and is probably correct, although the *kunya* Abū l-Ḥafṣ is not mentioned by any other source (in the manuscripts of some of his treatises the *kunya* appears rather as Abū l-Faṭḥ). His father's name (Ibrāhīm) is mentioned also by Ibn Funduq and Ibn al-Athīr. Both Ibn Funduq and 'Arūḍī give him the *laqab* Ḥujjat al-ḥaqq.

⁴Is it (al-)Khayāmī or (al-)Khayām? The former is used in most of the early sources both in Arabic (al-Khāzinī, al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn al-Athīr) and in Persian ('Arūḍī); compare also the verse by Khāqānī (*Diwān*, ed. Sajjādī p. 58) mentioning 'Ummār i Khayāmī. But 'Umar al-Khayām is found often enough to make it difficult (though not, perhaps, impossible) to dismiss it as a mere graphic error, thus in Mss. of al-Kātib, Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Qifṭī, Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī; in the Mss. of Ibn Funduq (and those dependent on him) 'al-Khayāmī and 'al-Khayāmī both occur (see p. 97 l. 2; p. 110 l. 10; p. 112 l. 1; p. 117 l. 6; p. 119 l. 6; p. 126 l. 10; p. 163 l. 3 of the Arabic section, with the critical apparatus; according to my collation London Or. 9033 always has 'al-Khayāmī except in the passage corresponding to p. 117 of the edition, where it too has 'al-Khayāmī). It is tempting to speculate that 'Khayām' ('tent-maker') was the nick-name of a more or less remote ancestor and that

mathematician, and reputed author of a large number of Persian *rubā'iyāt*. The facts of his life and scientific achievement are well attested through his own writings (in Arabic) and the testimony of his contemporaries (al-Khāzinī, al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn Funduq, 'Arūḍī)¹ and of other early historical and biographical sources. Ibn Funduq, who, still a child, was presented by his father to Khaiyāmī in 507/1113-4, tells us, among other things, that 'Umar, his father and his ancestors were natives of Naisābūr and quotes his horoscope, from which it has been calculated that 'Umar was born on 18 May 1048 (which would correspond to a date in Dhū l-qa'dah or Dhū l-ḥijjah 439). 'Arūḍī, who met Khaiyāmī in 506/1112-3 in Balkh, states that he made a pilgrimage to the master's grave in Naisābūr in 530/1135-6, 'four years' (thus in the best manuscript; the others have 'some years') after his death; if the former reading is accepted it can be concluded that 'Umar died in 526/1131-2.

Ibn Funduq tells us further that 'Umar enjoyed the intimacy of the Qarakhanid Shams al-mulūk [358] (i.e. Naṣr I b. Ibrāhīm, 460/1068 to 472/1080) and the Seljuq Malik-shāh I (465/1072 to 485/1092), but that Sanjar disliked him. The same author says also that Khaiyāmī was of bad character and mean spirit (*saiyī' al-khuluq wa ḍaiyiq al-aṭan*). Ibn al-

his progeny consequently bore the *nisbah* al-Khaiyāmī; the usual Persian form 'Umar i Khaiyām would then mean not 'Umar the tent-maker' but 'Umar the son (i.e. descendant) of the tent-maker', while the Arabic 'Umar al-Khaiyām' would represent a misunderstanding of the ambiguous Persian form. M.M. Ṭabāṭabā'ī has argued that we should distinguish between the scientist Khaiyāmī and the (Persian and Arabic) poet Khaiyām, but the sources do not bear this out. Even more untenable is Ṭabāṭabā'ī's attempt to identify the author of the *rubā'iyāt* with one 'Alā' al-dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khalaf al-Khurāsānī *al-ma'rāf bi l-Khaiyām* of whom Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (*Majma' al-ādab fī mu'jam al-aqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 1571) says that 'he wrote a *diwān* in Persian and his poems are many and famous in Khurāsān and Azerbaijan. Of the verses which I have translated [*naqaltu* can hardly mean anything else] from his handwriting are these' (there follow two verses in Arabic). (In his footnote the Arab editor also expresses the opinion that 'Alī, and not the scientist 'Umar, is the 'famous poet'.) This 'Alī b. Muḥammad appears to be otherwise unknown. The verses quoted are of the usual sort of homoerotic *taghazzul* and have no affinity either with the 'Khayamic' quatrains or with the (in my judgement) authentic Arabic poems of Khaiyāmī.

¹For the supposed letter from Sanā'ī to 'Umar see de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry*, Leyden 1983, p. 77-8, with further literature. Even if the letter were to be accepted at face value it would still add nothing to what we know about Khaiyāmī.

Athīr says that 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khaiyāmī, Abū l-Muẓaffar al-Isfizarī¹ (who was with 'Umar when 'Arūḍī met him) and Maimūn b. al-Najīb al-Wāsiṭī were among the 'leading astronomers' whom Malik-shāh employed to set up an astronomical observatory (*raṣād*) in 467/1074-5.² 'Arūḍī tells an anecdote about 'Umar's services as an astrologer to 'the king' (i.e. evidently Muḥammad I b. Malik-shāh) in 508/1114-5.

Several of 'Umar's scientific and philosophical writings survive and have been published and translated into several European languages,³ the most important being his treatise on algebra (*Risālah fī l-barāhīn 'alā masā'il al-jabr wa l-muqābilah*) which the competent specialists regard as a major landmark in the history of mathematics. [359] But his interests ranged also over other fields. The famous grammarian al-Zamakhsharī reports on a discussion that he had with Khaiyāmī on a moot point of Arabic lexicography and Ibn Funduq tells an anecdote about 'Umar's intervention in a scholarly debate about variant readings of the Qur'ān.

Two treatises in Persian prose have been published as the work of Khaiyāmī, but both are of very questionable authenticity. One, the *Naurōz-nāmah*,⁴ was published by Mīnuwī on the basis of a single manuscript in Berlin. There is, however, a second, shorter, copy of the work in London⁵ and in this manuscript the introductory section, and with it

¹Evidently a scribal error for Abū <Hātim> al-Muẓaffar, for whom see PL II p. 446-7 (with further references).

²In his entry for that year Ibn al-Athīr refers to two events of astronomical interest: first the calendar reform which fixed Nau-rōz to the point where the sun enters Aries and second the establishment of the observatory; Khaiyāmī and the others are mentioned only in connection with the second of these. The fact that he mentions the two events in succession is evidently the sole basis for the claim by later authors that Khaiyāmī was involved in (or indeed the principal architect of) the reform of the calendar. But Ibn al-Athīr does not actually say this. Moreover, it is well known that the Jalālī era does not begin in 467/1075 but in 471/1079 (15 March); from the fact that the observatory was built in 467 Ibn al-Athīr has evidently wrongly extrapolated the conclusion that the calendar reform was effected in the same year.

³They are most conveniently accessible in the edition (facsimiles from Mss.) and Russian translation by B.A. Rozenfel'd and A.P. Yushkevich, 'Омар Хайям Трактаты, Moscow 1961.

⁴Edited from the Berlin Ms. by M. Mīnuwī, Tehran 1933, and reprinted several times. A facsimile of the Ms. and a Russian translation can be found in Rozenfel'd/Yushkevich. See also the remarks by T. Gandjei in *Der Islam* 42, 1966, p. 235-7.

⁵London Add. 23,568 fol. 86-101 (Rieu p. 853).

the attribution to Khayyāmī, is missing. The book, which is clearly not the work of a professional astronomer, is written from the standpoint of a Persian chauvinism of which there seems to be no trace in Khayyāmī's authentic writings. The other is a little and quite elementary compendium on philosophy titled either *Risālah fi kulliyat al-wujūd* or *Silsilat al-tarīb*,¹ and which appears to claim 'Umar's authorship in all the recorded copies. Its first section gives the impression of having been copied from some Ismā'īlī theosophical tract (it expounds the theory of the 'ten intelligences'), but at the end the compiler tries to cover his traces by quoting (without attribution) the well-known passage from al-Ghazālī's *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl* in which the [360] author declares that the road to truth has been found neither by the speculative theologians (*mutakallimān*), nor by the philosophers, nor by the Ismā'īlīs, but only by Sufis.

Like many Persian intellectuals of his time Khayyāmī dabbled in Arabic poetry and some samples of his verses in that language are quoted by al-Kātib al-Isfahānī,² Ibn al-Qiftī, the unidentified author of the 'appendix' (*al-Risālah al-mulḥaqah*)³ to Ibn Funduq's 'continuation' (*Tatimmat*) to al-Sijistānī's *Siwān al-ḥikmah*, and finally by al-Shahrazūrī.⁴ Ibn al-Qiftī (likewise apparently al-Kātib) quotes four verses from a poem with a double rhyme in *-ā'idī* and the two other sources quote six verses from the same poem (of which three overlap with Ibn al-Qiftī, giving us a total of seven verses) and add four verses

¹Published in Rozenfel'd/Yushkevich p. 108-15 of the Arabic/Persian section and also in Yaghmā'i p. 35-42, with variants from the Hyderabad edition of 1941. There is a French translation by A. Christensen, 'Un traité de métaphysique de 'Omar Ḥayyām', *Le Monde Oriental* (Uppsala) I, 1906, p. 1-16.

²His *Khartdat al-qasr* is not accessible to me, but from the secondary literature one gains the impression that he quotes the same four verses as Ibn al-Qiftī.

³For this work see D.M. Dunlop's introduction to his edition of *The Muntakhab Siwān al-ḥikmah of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī*, The Hague (etc.) 1979, p. xxiv-xxv, followed by an account of the manuscripts. I have worked with London Or. 9033 (not in the published catalogues), where the *Risālah* occupies fol. 129a to 149b and the section on al-Khayyāmī is on fol. 144b-145a. The *Risālah* obviously predates 639/1241, the date of the oldest Ms. (Istanbul Murat Mulla 1408).

⁴al-Shahrazūrī quotes some (not all) of the verses found in *al-Risālah al-mulḥaqah*, on which he is evidently dependent. The verses contained in the last three sources are quoted (not always correctly) and translated in A.S. Tritton, 'Umar Khayyām as an Arabic poet', *BSOAS* XXVII, 1964, p. 431-3, evidently in total ignorance of the previous literature on the subject.

from another poem with a double rhyme in *-ā'irī*. In using this highly unusual rhyming technique 'Umar was doubtless consciously copying the famous *luzūmiyyāt* of Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī. The imagery at least in the second one these poems is in fact rather like [361] Ma'arrī's,¹ despite the fact that the decidedly religious tone of Khayyāmī's piece contrasts strikingly with the scepticism which runs through Ma'arrī's work (and also the Persian *rubā'iyāt* ascribed to Khayyāmī).² One has thus the impression [362] that in his Arabic poems Khayyāmī imitated Ma'arrī's poetic technique, but did not emulate his unorthodox ideas.

al-Risālah al-mulḥaqah (followed by al-Shahrazūrī) adds a few more *qit'ahs* with ordinary (single) rhymes; one of these, however, is quoted already by al-Tha'alibī (who died two decades before Khayyāmī

¹Compare, for example, Khayyāmī's:

asūmu mina l-fahshā'i jahran wa khufyatan
'afāfan wa iftār bi taqdtsi fā'irī

('I fast from vile conduct abstaining both publicly and secretly and my fast-breaking is to bless my creator'), with Ma'arrī's much finer line (*Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, ed. 'Azīz Zand, Cairo 1891-2, I p. 262):

ana ṣā'imun ṭāla l-ḥayātī wa innama

fīrt l-ḥimāmu wa yauma dhāka u'aiyidu

('I am fasting for the whole of my life and only death will be my fast-breaking; on that day I shall celebrate my feast').

²A good number of authors have quite rightly drawn attention to parallels between the content of the *rubā'iyāt* and that of Ma'arrī's *Luzūmiyyāt*. Whoever wrote:

but-khānah u ka'bah khānah i bandagī ast,

nāqūs zadan tarānah i bandagī ast,

zunnār u kalīsiyā u tasbīḥ u ṣaltb

ḥaqqan ki hamah nishānah i bandagī ast.

('The idol-temple and the Ka'bah are houses of bondage. Beating the wooden bell [of the Christians] is the song of bondage. The girdle, the synagogue, the prayer-beads and the cross, in truth all of them are signs of bondage') could hardly have been ignorant of Ma'arrī's notorious verses (*Luzūm mā lā yalzam* II p. 201):

hafat al-ḥanīfatu wa l-naṣārā mā ḥadāt

wa yahūdū ḥārat wa l-majūsū muḍallalah,

ithnāni ahlu l-arḍi: dha 'aqlin bi-lā

dtin wa ākharu daiyinun lā 'aqla lah

('The true believers are in error, the Christians are not on the right path, Judaea is confused, the Magians are led astray. The people of the earth are of two kinds: the one with reason but without religion, the other religious but devoid of reason.') But this similarity is in itself no argument for the attribution of the *rubā'iyāt* to Khayyāmī. What the author (or authors) of the *rubā'iyāt* have in common with Ma'arrī is their clear rejection of Islamic orthodoxy. But at the same time the hedonism of the *rubā'iyāt* contrasts very strongly with the austere asceticism and moralism of Ma'arrī's outlook.

was born) and ascribed by him to Abū Sahl al-Nūī.¹ Even if this attribution is not necessarily correct the verses are in any case older than Khaiyāmī.

None of the 12th-century sources say anything to suggest that 'Umar wrote poetry in Persian. 'Arūfī, who has a lot to say about Khaiyāmī the astrologer, makes no reference to him in his chapter on Persian poetry, and even in the 13th century he remains unknown to 'Aufī and Shams. It is particularly striking that 'Aufī, who not only anthologised virtually all of the Persian professional poets down to his own time, but also really scraped the bottom of the barrel to immortalise the largest possible number of amateur rhyme-smiths, has absolutely nothing to say about him. However, a small number of Persian quatrains are ascribed to 'Umar in works by some of 'Aufī's contemporaries. Thus, one Persian *rubā'ī* by 'Ibn al-Khaiyām', or, as another manuscript has it, 'Umar al-Khaiyām', is quoted in an Arabic treatise by Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209-10). Then the mystic Najm al-dīn Dāyah, writing (in ca. 619/1222) of how many a miserable philosopher, atheist (*dahrī*) and materialist (*ṭabā'ī*) denies the resurrection, singles out 'one of the most distinguished of them', 'Umar i Khaiyām, and quotes two quatrains ridiculing the Muslim belief [363] in the hereafter, among them the one quoted by Fakhr al-dīn. Another *rubā'ī* is attributed to 'Umar i Khaiyām by Juwainī in his history of the Mongol conquests (658/1260). And no fewer than 31 quatrains are ascribed to 'Umar in the *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* of Jamāl al-dīn al-Sharwānī, an anthology assembled around the middle of the 13th century.² A few more are added by Jājarmī in the 14th century. The earliest substantial manuscripts of the *rubā'īyāt* ascribed to Khaiyām belong to the 15th century and in 867/1462-3 Yār-Aḥmad b. Ḥusain Rashīdī Tabrīzī put together a collection of 554 *rubā'īyāt* with the title *Ṭarab-khānah*. In some later manuscripts the number of quatrains is even greater.

It is accepted now, I should think, by everyone that the great majority of the quatrains that have come to be ascribed to 'Umar could not possibly be his. To begin with, a good number of them have been attributed to other authors as well. Moreover the language, style and

¹The verses 11-3 of Tritton's collection correspond to the first, second and last lines of the four-verse *qir'ah* quoted in Tha'ālībī, *Yatimmah* IV p. 309, l. 5-8. See also Qazwīnī's edition of 'Arūfī, p. 214 note 1.

²See below, appendix III.

content of the poems show them to be the product of different periods and authors. It is clear that by the 15th century at the latest the name of the famous philosopher and scientist had become a collective pseudonym for authors of *rubā'īyāt*, especially those of hedonistic, fatalistic and more or less overtly anti-Islamic content, in the same way that that of Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair had become the point of crystallisation for a whole corpus of mystical quatrains. In the Mongol period 'Khayām' is no longer a historical person but a genre. It must be said that we have to do with an important genre and one that says much about the intellectual climate in those times.

To be sure, some of the quatrains are doubtless of considerable antiquity. Five of the *rubā'īyāt* that are eventually attributed to 'Umar [364] are already quoted (anonymously) in Zahrī's *Sindbād-nāmah*,¹ a book written some 30 years after 'Umar's death. This does not prove that they are his, but it does show that they were in circulation during 'Umar's lifetime, or shortly afterwards. It is also clear that a certain number of quatrains were explicitly attributed to 'Umar within a century of his death. Of course, it is not impossible that 'Umar did compose the odd poem in Persian (though they cannot have been many) and that at least some of those quoted by 13th and 14th-century authors really are his, but as long as it is not possible to say when and under what circumstances the mythification of 'Umar began it remains quite plausible that this process was already under way by the early part of the 13th century and that consequently none of the *rubā'īyāt* are authentic.

It is tempting to think that the mythical 'Umar first emerged in a novel, perhaps involving (among other motives) the famous anachronistic story of how the philosopher 'Umar i Khaiyām, the minister Nizām al-mulk and the leader of the 'Assassins' Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ had been friends as school-boys and then set out, each in his own way, to make his mark in the world. Of the three protagonists the scholar 'Umar is intrinsically the least colourful and thus the one most in need of amplification. In the light of the general stereotyped view in the Islamic world of the philosopher as the enemy of religion and morals 'Umar could very conveniently have been built up into an atheistic bogey. This hypothetical romance, like all such works in Persian (compare *Sindbād-nāmah*, *Marzbān-nāmah*, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, etc.), would have been

¹Zahrī p. 33, 39, 157, 284, 340 (one verse).

adorned with a rich collection of interspersed *rubā'iyāt* and other poetic snippets, in part composed by the author, in part [365] salvaged from other works, and readers could consequently easily have come to the conclusion that these verses were the actual words of the characters in the novel. A parallel to this would be, once again, Abū Sa'īd, who very soon was declared the author of the quatrains quoted in the romantic accounts of his holy deeds (and this despite the fact that the authors of the earliest such accounts expressly denied that Abū Sa'īd was a poet)¹ and much the same thing could well have happened with Mahsaī as well. [See now also appendix III.]

The existence of such a novel, say towards the end of the 12th century, would explain for one thing the relatively consistent style, content and quality of the oldest stratum of 'Khayyamic' quatrains; these quatrains reflect the taste of the unknown author. Literati knew that they had to do with a work of fiction and did not confuse the fictionalised characters in the novel with their historic prototypes. Less discerning readers failed to make this distinction. With time the historical 'Umar falls into oblivion and his romanticised double slips into his shoes.

This is not the place to discuss Edward FitzGerald's famous poem 'Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām' of 1859, which belongs to the history of English and not of Persian literature.² We should not, however, fail to mention that the immense popularity of FitzGerald's creation played a decisive role in instigating a large amount of scholarly interest in the *rubā'iyāt* or that the fascination of the West for these little poems rubbed off with time in Persia as well. 'Khayyām' exerted a tremendous [366] influence on such major figures of 20th-century Persian literature as Ṣādiq Hidāyat and his name continues to be invoked with passion in the ideological debates that have so shaken the country in the last hundred years.³

The serious study of Khayyāmī and the *rubā'iyāt* begins with Zhukovskiy's article on the 'wandering quatrains' from 1897; it was

¹See above, p. 70-2.

²See in particular A.J. Arberry, *The romance of the Rubaiyat*, London 1959. The older printings of FitzGerald's poem are listed below. For the relationship between this poem and the Persian sources see the meticulous study by Heron-Allen (below, under Editions: London 1899).

³Cf. R. Gelpke, *Die iranische Prosaliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert I*, Wiesbaden 1962 p. 21-37.

here for the first time that the possibility was discussed that some of these poems might not really be the work of the famous scientist. During the first half of the 20th century research was dominated by attempts at a critical philological analysis of the manuscripts of the *rubā'iyāt* (Christensen, Csillik, Rempis), but these attempts remained largely fruitless due to the relative lateness and general unreliability of all the manuscripts. By contrast, some Iranian scholars (notably Furūghī and Dashtī) left the manuscripts largely out of consideration and attempted to assemble a small corpus of 'authentic' quatrains from those quoted by 13th and 14th-century authorities. These researches led to interesting results, but suffer from an insufficiently critical approach to the sources. After the Second World War work was diverted for a few decades by the appearance of two quite cleverly forged manuscripts in Dublin and Cambridge which led many scholars to believe that the true Khayyām had at long last come to light. Major contributions to unmasking these forgeries came from Mīnuwī, Minorsky and Humā'ī. As for the present, it would seem doubtful whether we have really come very much beyond the position expressed in Schaefer's famous dictum of 1934 that the name of 'Umar i Khayyām is one which 'is to be struck out from the history of Persian literature'. [367]

Mss. of the *rubā'iyāt*:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 178 fol. 67-105 in marg. (16th century?); Beatty 303 (modern forgery 'dated' 658/1259-60); T.C.D. 1571; T.C.D. 1572; **Oxford** Ouseley 140 (Ethé 525. Copied by Maḥmūd Pīrbūdāqī and dated Ṣafar 865/1460);² Ind. Inst. Pers. 111 (Beeston 2547. Dated 24 Rabī' I 1179/1765. 625 quatrains); Whinfield 33 (Beeston 2548. E. FitzGerald's copy of a copy of Ouseley 140); Bodl. 367 (Ethé 524); **London** Or. 5966 fol. 1b-35b (Meredith-Owens p. 50. 16th century?); Or. 331 (Rieu p. 547. Dated Ramaḍān 1033/1624 and attributed on the fly-leaf to Sarmad. Beginning missing. 540 quatrains); Or. 5011 fol. 1b-43 (Meredith-Owens p. 49. Dated 1079/1668-9); Or. 330 (Rieu p. 546-7. 18th century? 423 quatrains); I.O. 906 (Dated 1811); Or. 9857 fol. 136b-155a (Meredith-Owens p. 83. Dated 1277/1860-1); I.O. 907; **Cambridge** Add. 1055 fol. 174b-220b

¹116 Mss., many in private collections in India and elsewhere, are listed in chronological order in the appendix to Rempis's book from 1935 (see below: Translations, German). Only a small sample has been reproduced here.

²For a facsimile of this important early Ms. see editions: London 1898.

(Browne Cat. CCII. Has an owner's note dated 1195/1781. More than 800 quatrains); Or. 1724 (Modern forgery 'dated' Rajab 604/1208. See the facsimile published in Moscow);¹ **Paris**² Supplément 1777 fol. 314v-320r in marg., 326r-328v (Blochet 1645. Ms. dated 852/1448); Supplément 1417 fol. 59b-80a (Blochet 1662. Dated Ramaḍān 879/1475); Supplément 1817 fol. 17-18 (Blochet 1247. Before 913/1506-7); Supplément 823 fol. 92v sqq. (Blochet 1968. Dated 15 Jumādā II 934/1528. 175 quatrains); [368] Supplément 1481 (Blochet 1211. 16th century? 34 quatrains. Pictures); Supplément 793 fol. 104r sqq. (Blochet 1984. 16th century?); Supplément 1366 fol. 393 sqq. (Blochet 1993. Ms. contains dates between 1009/1600 and 1010/1602); Supplément 1458 (Blochet 1212. Dated 1268/1851-2. 95 quatrains); **Gotha** 9/14 (Ms. dated 5 Rabī' I 1131/1719); **Berlin** Ms. or. fol. 246/49 (Pertsch 674. Ms. contains a note dated 1796. 380 quatrains); **Bratislava** 579; **Vienna** Flügel 645 fol. 249r-253v (Ms. dated 855/1451-2); Flügel 507 (Dated 15 Jumādā II 957/1550); **Leningrad** Acad. B 2290 (Index 1717. Dated 991/1583); Acad. C 112 fol. 292a-314a (Index 1718. Dated 1060/1650); Acad. A 877 (Index 1715. Dated 1097/1685-6); Acad. A 67 fol. 73b-104a (Index 1714. Dated 1204/1789-90); Acad. A 18 (Index 1713. Apparently dated 1221/1806-7); Acad. B 253 (Index 1716); also Acad. (Index) 1721-4; **Istanbul** Ayasofya 2032 fol. 194b-206b (Rempis p. 180. Anthology dated 861/1456-7); Nuruosmaniye 3892 fol. 1b-66b (Ateş 22. Dated 865/1460-1); Esat 2882/2 (*Mikraflm-hā* I p. 497. Dated 19 Dhū l-qa'dah 876 /1472); Topkapı, Mehmet Reşat 541 (Karatay 389. Copied by Hamd Allāh Shaikh-zādah, 15th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 811 (Karatay 388. Copied by 'Alī al-Ḥusainī and dated 924/1518. One picture signed by Bihzād); Nuruosmaniye 4904/33 (Ateş 23. Dated 940/1533-4); Nuruosmaniye 3894/2 (Ateş 24. 16th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 1093 fol. 75b sqq. (Karatay 894); **Tehran** Aşghar Mahdawī 589 in marg. (*Nuskhah-hā* II p. 71-2. Dated 1 Rajab 821/1417); Majlis 8421/3 (Munz. 29984. In an anthology dated 868/1463-4); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 194 (15th century? Copied by Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī); etc. **Tashkent** Acad. II 766-780; **Dushanbe** Acad. II 337 (15th-16th century?); Acad. II 338-342 (5 late copies);

¹The Cambridge Ms. contains several other *diwāns*, including that of Azraqī, as noted above, p. 94.

²A detailed description of the Mss. in Paris can be found in Csillik's two books (see editions, Szeged 1933 and 1934).

Pakistan (see Munz. Pak. VII p. 22-24 for various copies in Lahore, Karachi etc., the oldest dated 12 Sha'bān 975/1568); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 149 no. 78; [369] **Bankipore** I 16 (16th century?); Suppt. i 1971 (Dated 21 Dhū l-qa'dah 1139/1727); Suppt. i 1804 (19th century); **Lucknow** Sprenger 324; an anthology in the Guri Praśad Saksena dated 826/1423, with 206 quatrains ascribed to Kh., is mentioned by Rempis; **Calcutta** Nadvī Collection (Dated 911/1605; see the facsimile edition by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, Calcutta 1939); **Princeton** 6 (Copied by Faraj Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ and dated 868/1463-4). Cf. Munz. IV 29980-30061.

Mss. of the collection of 554 *rubā'iyāt* with the title *Ṭarab-khānah*, put together by Yār-Aḥmad b. Ḥusain Rashīdī Tabrizī in 867/1462-3: **Paris** Supplément 1637 fol. 1b-47a (Blochet 1213. 17th century? Pictures); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 593 fol. 55b-114a (Ateş 25. Dated Ramaḍān 890/1485); Üniversite FY 1194 fol. 1b-56a (Ateş 26. Copied by Muḥammad-Jān al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī and dated Jumādā I 949/1542); Nuruosmaniye 3895 (Ateş 27. 16th century?); Üniversite FY 1370 (Ateş 28. 16th century?); **Hyderabad** Collection of V.M. Dātār (Rempis p. 180. Before 970/1562-3).

Editions: **Istanbul** 1953 (ed. A. Gölpınarlı); **Tehran** n.d. (Introduction dated 1342sh./1963. Critical edition by J. al-d. Humā'ī, with a valuable introduction), 2nd edition 1367sh./1988.

Editions of the quatrains: [**Calcutta**] 1252/1836 (492 quatrains); **Tehran** 1274/1857 (230 quatrains, followed by others ascribed to Bābā Ṭāhir, 'Aṭṭār and Inṣāf, and two *tarjī*'s ascribed to Shams i Tabriz and to Nāṣir i Khusrau); 1274/1857 (454 quatrains, again followed by Bābā Ṭāhir etc.); 1278/1861 (460 quatrains); 1279/1862 (The *Munājāt* ascribed to Anṣārī, followed by quatrains supposedly by Abū Sa'īd, Bābā Ṭāhir and Khaiyām); 1313/1895 (128 pages, with Bābā Ṭāhir etc.); 1318/1900; 1321-2/1904 (129 pages. Contains quatrains ascribed to Khaiyām, Bābā Ṭāhir and various other poems); [370] 1341/1922 (396 quatrains); 1342/1923 (selection of 201 quatrains by Ş. Hidāyat); 1342/1923 (ed. M. Ramaḍānī), reprinted with pictures 1315sh./1926; 1305sh./1926 (ed. S. Nafisī, 445 quatrains), reprinted 1306sh./1928; 1306sh./1927 (364 quatrains), reprinted 1307sh./1928, 1308sh./1929; 1310sh./1931 (*Les rubaiyat d'Omar Khayyam. Texte persan et traduction en vers français par A.G. E'tessam-Zadeh* [Abū l-Qāsim I'tiṣām-zādah], with a Persian introduction by S. Nafisī. I'tiṣām-zādah's trans-

lation was reprinted in Paris, 1934); 1313sh./1934 (*Tarānah-hā i Khaiyām*, ed. Š. Hidāyat. Pictures); 1321sh./1942 (ed. M. 'A. Furūghī and Q. Ghanī); 1338sh./1959-60 (*Kulliyāt i āthār i pārsī i ḥakīm 'Umar i Khaiyām*, ed. M. 'Abbāsī from the forged Cambridge Ms.; contains also the Persian prose writings ascribed to Kh. and an extensive essay); 1348sh./1969 (*Quatrains Khayyamiens. Nouvelle traduction ... accompagnée du texte persan par Mahdy Foulavand [Fūlādward]*); 1971 (*The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. A new translation in verse by Abbas Aryanpur-Kashani and Manoochehr Aryanpur*, with the Persian text and pictures); 1378sh./1999 (*Šad u yak rubā'ī i Khaiyām*, selection and French translation by G. Lazard); and many more, some multilingual, and many with pictures generally in the worst possible taste; **Paris** 1867 (*Les quatrains de Khèyam*, [édités et] traduits du persan par J.B. Nicolas. 464 quatrains, based on the Tehran edition of 1278); 1983 (*Omar Khayyām Quatrains, Hāfez Ballades, introduction et choix de poèmes traduits du persan par Vincent Monteil*; with the Persian text); **Tabriz** 1285/1868-9 (453 quatrains); **Lucknow** 1285/1868 (716 quatrains), reprinted 1287/1870; 1295/1878 (with notes. 763 quatrains), reprinted 1298/1880 (763 quatrains); 1300/1882 (764 quatrains); 1301/1883 (762 quatrains); 1312/1894 (770 quatrains); 1322/1904; 1342/1924 (described as 7th edition); **Calcutta** 1870 (ed. H. Blochmann. 62 quatrains); 1939 (*The Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām. Persian text edited from a manuscript dated 911 A.H. (1605 A.D.)* [371] in the collection of Professor S. Najīb Ashraf Nadvī with a facsimile of the manuscript by M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq); **Muradabad** 1291/1874 (87 quatrains); **Bombay** 1296/1878 (756 quatrains, with others ascribed to Bābā Ṭāhir etc.), reprinted 1297/1879, 1298/1880; 1308/1890 (The same 756 quatrains ascribed to Khaiyām, plus Bābā Ṭāhir, Abū Sa'īd and Anšārī, together with the latter's *Munājāt*) reprinted 1309/1891; 1311/1893; 1312/1894; 1320/1902 (140 pages, with Bābā Ṭāhir etc.); 1321/1903 (751 quatrains); 1324/1906 (120 pages, with Bābā Ṭāhir etc.); **London** 1883 (*The Quatrains of Omar Khayyām. The Persian text with an English verse translation by E.H. Whinfield*. 500 quatrains, mainly after Nicolas), 2nd edition 1901 (508 quatrains); 1898 (*The Rubā'iyat of Omar Khayyām, being a facsimile of the manuscript in the Bodleian Library ... with a transcript into modern Persian characters, translated with an introduction and notes, and a bibliography, by E. Heron-Allen*. 158 quatrains), second enlarged edition the same year; 1899 (*Edward Fitzgerald's Rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyām with their original Persian*

sources collated from his own Mss., and literally translated by Edward Heron-Allen); 1928 (*The Quatrains of 'Omar-i-Khayyām. Persian text taken from the two newly discovered oldest manuscripts with an English prose version by F. Rosen*. Printed Berlin); 1931 (... *The Persian text with paraphrase, and the first and fourth editions of FitzGerald's translation by Brigadier-General E.H. Rodwell*); 1949 (*The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam*. Ed. and trans. by A.J. Arberry from the forged Chester Beatty Ms.); **St. Petersburg** 1888 (based on the edition Tabriz 1285); **Hyderabad** 1893; **Constantinople** 1319/1901 (*Diwān i Shāhī bā Naṣā'ih i ḥadrat i Luqmān wa Rubā'iyāt i 'Umar i Khaiyām*, 755 in number, followed also by *rubā'iyāt* ascribed to Bābā Ṭāhir), reprinted 1324/1906, 1326/1908; 1332/1914 (with a Turkish translation by 'Abd Allāh Jaudat [Cevdet]. [372] 531 quatrains), reprinted with pictures 1926; 1340/1922 (With Turkish translation and introduction by Huseini Daniş. Pictures), reprinted 1340/1927; [**Worcester, Mass.**] 1907 (*Edward Fitzgerald's Rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyām. With a Persian text, a transliteration and a close prose and verse translation by Eben Francis Thompson*); **Amritsar** 1325/1907 (914 quatrains, with an introduction in Urdu by Imām al-dīn); **Delhi** 1910 (*Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Part I. Ghafil-nāmah. Commentary by Hafiz Anwar Ali Siddiqi...*); **Lahore** 1923 (Urdu introduction by Shaikh Allāh-bakhsh); 1924 (*Ka's al-kirām ya'nī sharḥ i rubā'iyāt ... Persian text with an Urdu commentary by Mīr Walī Allāh*); [1934] (*Mai-khānah i Khaiyām*. With a metrical Urdu translation by Qizilbāsh Dihlawī); 1353/1934 (*Mai-khānah i Khaiyām*. With an Urdu paraphrase and commentary by M. Maḥmūd Shādānī); **Isfahan** 1343/1925; **Berlin** 1304sh./1925 (*The Quatrains of the learned 'Omar-i-Khayyām*, ed. F. Rosen; cf. London 1928); 2nd edition 1928; **Damascus** 1926 (ed. Aḥmad al-Šāfi al-Najafī); **Copenhagen** 1927 (*Critical studies in the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i-Khayyām. A revised text with English translation by A. Christensen*); **Baghdad** 1928 (With Arabic translations in prose and verse by Jamāl Šidqī al-Zahāwī), reprinted 1928; 1350/1931 (*'Umar al-Khayyām, 'asruḥ, stratuḥ ...*, with introduction and literal Arabic translation by Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Šarrāf); 2nd edition 1949 (reviewed by H. Ritter, *Oriens* III, 1950, p. 157-8); **Khairpur** 1930 (*Rubā'iyāt i khum-kadah i Khaiyām*. With a Sindhi verse translation by Mīr 'Alī-nawāz Khān, called Ḥakīm Lisān al-Ghaib); **Allahabad** [ca. 1930] (with Urdu introduction, literal translation and notes by Jalāl al-dīn Aḥmad Ja'farī); 1933 (with a preface in Urdu by Mahēsh-prasād); **Damascus** 1350/1931 (With Arabic verse translation by Aḥmad al-Šāfi

al-Najafī and introductory notes by M. al-Qazwīnī and Adīb al-Taqī; **Szeged** 1933 (*Les manuscrits [373] mineurs des Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Khayyām dans la Bibliothèque Nationale. Textes originaux ... publiés avec une introduction écrite en langue hongroise et un abrégé français par Dr. Barthélemy Csillik*); **London/Szeged** 1934 (*The principal manuscripts of the Rubā'iyāt of 'Omar-i-Khayyām in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Volume I ... Transcribed and edited with introductory notes by Dr. B. Cs. No more published*); **Azamgarh** 1933 (*Khayyām aur us-kē sawānīh u taṣānīf par nāqīdānah nazar*, by S. Sulaimān Nadwī); **Moscow** 1935 (With a Russian translation and introduction by A. Bolotnikov); 1959 (ed. R.M. Aliyev and M.N. Osmanov; the first volume contains a facsimile of the Cambridge Ms. 'dated' 604, the second the text and translation); **Stalinabad** 1955 (ed. M. Zand, based on the Mss. supposedly dated 604 and 658); **Delmar (N.Y.)** 1977 (*The Rubā'iyāt of 'Omar Khayyām translated with an introduction by Parichehr Kasra*; with the Persian text, indication of the source for each quatrain and references to previous English versions); **Berkeley** 1991 (*Rubā'iyat of Omar Khayyam translated and annotated by Ahmad Saidi*; with the Persian text, English verse translation and references to sources and other translations).

Fitzgerald's translation in English verse: More than three hundred editions of this version are listed in Potter's *Bibliography* of 1929, and there have been many more since. In the following we can restrict ourselves to a few of the older printings (mainly from Storey's notes):

(i) The first edition (75 stanzas): **London** 1859 (*Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām, the astronomer poet of Persia. Translated into English verse*); reprinted **Madras** 1862 (*Rubāiyāt ... , reprinted privately from the London edition (1859); with an extract from the Calcutta Review, no. lix; a note by M. Garcin de Tassy, and a few additional quatrains. 3 pts.*); **London** 1898; 1901 (twice); 1909 [374] (*The FitzGerald Centenary edition. Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām and Salāmān and Absāl. Rendered into English verse by Edward FitzGerald and an essay on Persian poetry by Ralph Waldo Emerson*); 1909 (*Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām. Translated by E. F. Edited, with introduction and notes, by R.A. Nicholson*); 1931 (*The Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām. With an introduction by J.V.S. Wilkinson. Pictures*).

(ii) The second edition (110 stanzas): **London** 1868; reprinted **Columbus (Ohio)** [1870]; **London** 1905; 1908 (with introduction and notes by E. Heron-Allen); 1928.

(iii) The third edition (101 stanzas): **London** 1872; reprinted **Boston (Mass.)** 1878; **London** 1905.

(iv) The fourth and 'fifth' editions (101 strophes):¹ **London** 1879 (*Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām; and the Salāmān and Ábsāl of Jāmī; rendered into English verse*); reprinted **New York** 1885 (without the Jāmī); **New York/Boston** [1896]; **Los Angeles** 1899 ('With a prose translation from the French of J.B. Nicolas and an introduction by James B. Scott'); **London** 1900 ('With a commentary by H.M. Batson and a biographical introduction by E.D. Ross'); 1901 (ditto); 1905.

(v) Several of the above: **New York/Boston** 1887 (*Works of Edward FitzGerald ... Vol. I, p. 19-75: text of 1st and 4th editions*); **London/New York** 1889 (*Letters and literary remains of Edward FitzGerald*, ed. W. Aldis Wright, Vol. III, p. 349-95: texts of 1st and 5th editions with variants from the others); **Philadelphia** 1898 (*The Rubaiyat ... [375] The text of the fourth edition followed by that of the first, with notes shewing the extent of his indebtedness to the Persian original, a biographical preface [by M. Kerney], Fitzgerald's sketch of the life of Omar, and a foreword by Talcott Williams*); **London** 1899 ('The four editions with the original prefaces and notes', edited by W[illiam] A[ldis] W[right]); 1903 (*Letters and literary remains of Edward FitzGerald. In seven volumes ... Vol. VII, containing the four editions*); **Leipzig** 1910 (based on Wright's edition, London 1899).

Other translations: In the following we have tried to restrict ourselves to the versions which appear to be based on Persian originals and have omitted obvious meta-translations from Fitzgerald (for the older of which, once again, Potter's *Bibliography* can be consulted). However, as it has not been feasible to check all of these books, it is possible that a few of the latter have slipped in as well.

¹The variations between the text of this Fifth Ed. [contained in the 1889 edition of the *Letters and literary remains of Edward FitzGerald*] and that of the Fourth Ed. consist in some 18 words and punctuation marks only. They are taken from a copy of the Fourth Ed. which contained them, in FitzGerald's hand-writing... (Potter p. 51). 'Most reprints of the so-called Fourth version follow the revised text which constitutes the Fifth version.' (Potter p. 45).

(French verse): See editions Tehran 1310sh./1931; also: *Rubaiyât d'Omar Khâyyâm. Mis en rimes françaises d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford par Jules de Marthold*, Paris 1901; *Les robâi ... Étude suivie d'une traduction française en décalque rythmique avec rimes à la persane*, by Arthur Guy, Paris 1935 (with indication of the sources for each rubâ'î).

(French prose): See editions Paris 1867, 1983, Tehran 1348sh./1969, 1378sh./1999; also: *Les 144 quatrains d'Omar Khayyam, traduits littéralement par Claude Anet & Mirza Muhammad*, Paris 1920.

(French, unspecified): *Les quatrains d'Omar Khâyyâm [sic] traduits du persan sur le manuscrit conservé à la Bodleian Library ... avec une introduction et des notes par C. Grolleau*, Paris 1902, reprinted 1922, 1978 [from FitzG.]; *Robaiyat de Omar Khayyam*, tr. F. Tous-saint, 11th edition, Paris 1924. [376]

(English verse): See editions London 1883, 1931, Worcester (Mass.) 1907, Tehran 1971, Berkeley 1991; also: A.J. Arberry, *Omar Khayyam - a new version based on recent discoveries*, London 1952 (from the forged Cambridge Ms.); R. Graves and O. Ali-Shah, *The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayyam*, London 1967, reprinted (as *The original Rubaiyyat...*) New York 1968;¹ J.C.E. Bowen, *A new selection from the rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam rendered into English verse*, Warminster 1976 (from the forged Dublin Ms., with the Persian text, Arberry's prose version and FitzGerald's rendering[s] of each quatrain).

(English prose): See editions London 1898, 1899, 1928, 1931, 1949, Worcester (Mass.) 1907, Copenhagen 1927, Delmar (N.Y.) 1977; also: F. Rosen, *The quatrains of 'Omar Khayyam newly translated*, London 1930; P. Avery and J. Heath-Stubbs, *The ruba'iyat of O. Kh.*, London 1979, reprinted Harmondsworth 1981 and frequently.

(German verse): F. Rosen, *Die Sinnsprüche Omars des Zelt-machers*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart/Berlin 1912; 5th ed., Stuttgart 1922; W. von Porten, *Die Vierzeiler des 'Omar Chajjâm*, Hamburg 1927; M. Sommer, *Omar Chajjâm und seine Rubaiyat. Nach alten und neuesten persischen*

¹This translation, concerning which the most generous verdict would be that it is an attempt to send up the world of scholarship, has provoked a large amount of polemical literature. It might suffice to mention: J.C.E. Bowen, *Translation or travesty? An enquiry into Robert Graves's version of some Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, Abingdon 1973.

Handschriftenfunden, Wiesbaden 1974; B. Alavi, *Durchblättert ist des Lebens Buch: Vierzeiler von O. Ch.*, Berlin 1983.

(German prose and verse): Chr.H. Rempis, *'Omar Chajjâm und seine Vierzeiler*, Tübingen 1935 (two translations, with indication of the sources, introduction and list of Mss. and editions).

(Turkish): See editions Constantinople 1332/1914, 1340/1922. [377]

(Arabic verse): See editions Baghdad 1928, Damascus 1350/1931, and compare also *EF* s.v. 'Rubā'ī (in Arabic)' (W. Stoetzer).

(Arabic prose): See editions Baghdad 1928, 1350/1931.

(Sindhi verse): See editions Khairpur 1930.

(Polish): *Wybrane Czerowiersze Omara Chajjama przełożył z oryginału perskiego Andrzej Gawroński*, Lwów 1933.

(Urdu prose and verse): See editions Lahore 1353/1934 (two translations), Allahabad ca. 1930.

(Italian): *Le Rubaiyyat*, tr. F. Gabrieli, Florence 1944 (reviewed by H. Ritter, *Oriens* I, 1948, p. 362-3); *Quartine*, tr. A. Bausani, Turin 1979.

(Dutch verse): *Kwatrijnen*, tr. Frits Pijl (pseudonym of J. Slik-boer), with an introduction by J.H. Kramers, Baarn 1947 [reference from J.T.P. de Bruijn].

(Hindi): Tr. R.L. Gupta, Allahabad 1947;

(Russian verse): Рубаи, tr. V. Derzhavin, Moscow 1972; Рубайят, tr. V. Derzhavin, Dushanbe 1965; Рубайят, tr. G. Plisetskiy (with a long essay by M.-N. Osmanov), Moscow 1972.

Bibliography:¹ *'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khāzinī, *Kitāb mizān al-hikmah* [515/1121], Hyderabad 1359/1940, p. 8, 87, 151; *al-Zamakhsharī [d. 538/1143-4], *al-Zājir li l-shighār 'an mu'arīdat al-kibār* (unpublished; the short passage mentioning Kh. was edited and discussed by Furūzānfar in *NDAT* I/8-9, 1327sh./1948, p. 1-29); *'Alī b. Zaid al-Baihaqī (Ibn Funduq) [d. 565/1169-70], *Tatimmat shiwan al-hikmah*, ed. M. Shafī', Lahore 1935, p. 112-7 of the Arabic text and 82-5 of the Persian translation (English translation by E.D. Ross and H.A.R. Gibb, *BSOS* V, 1928-30, p. 467-73, and by M. Shafī' in *Islamic culture* VI,

¹The biographical sources which do not mention Khaiyāmī as a Persian poet are marked with a star.

1932, p. 586-623); *Arūdī [552/1157] p. 62-4 (with Qazwīnī's extensive notes, and those by Browne in his translation, p. 134-40); *al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* [572/1176-7] (see Leyden Cat. II p. 237); Fakhr al-dīn Rāzī [d. 606/1209-10], [378] *Risālat al-tanbīh 'alā ba'd al-asrār al-mūda'ah fī ba'd suwar al-qur'ān al-'aẓīm* (unpublished. The section mentioning '[ibn] al-Khayyām', with one quatrain, is printed in Mīnuwī's article of 1957, see below); *Aṭṭār [d. 617/1220], *Ilāh-nāmah*, ed. Ritter, p. 272; Najm al-dīn Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, called Dāyah, *Mirṣād al-'ibād* [ca. 619/1222], ed. M.A. Riyāhī, Tehran 1352sh./1973, p. 31 (two quatrains); *Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh* [628/1230-1], ed. Tornberg, X p. 67-8; 'Abd al-Qādir Aharī, *al-Aqṭāb al-quṭbīyah* [629/1232, Ms. dated 666/1268] (the relevant section published by M.T. Dānish-pazhūh and Ī. Afshār, *FIZ* XII, 1344sh./1965-6, p. 311-22. Only one quatrain specifically ascribed to Kh.); *al-Risālah al-mulḥaqah [before 639/1241] (see our article); *Ibn al-Qifī [d. 646/1248-9], *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'* (or rather al-Zauzani's epitome published under this title), ed. A. Müller and J. Lippert, Leipzig 1902, p. 243-4; Jamāl al-dīn al-Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* [mid 7th/13th century; Ms. dated 731/1331] (31 quatrains, published by Rempis, Dashtī and others; see the article); Juwainī [658/1260] I p. 128 (one quatrain); *Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād* [674/1275-6], ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 318; Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūrī [alive in 680/1282],¹ *Nuz'hat al-arwāḥ wa raudat al-afrah*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm Abū Shuwairab, n.p. [Libya? Tunisia?] 1398 /1988 p. 324-6 (no. 81);² *Rashīd al-dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* [completed 710/1310-11], *qismat i ismā'īliyyān*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh and M. Mudarris Zanjānī, Tehran 1338sh./1960, p. 110-1 (see [379] E.G. Browne, 'Yet more light on 'Umar-i-Khayyām', *JRAS* 1899, p. 409-11); Mustaufī [730/1329-30] p. 728 (with one or two quatrains, depending on the Ms.); Jājarmī [autograph 741/1341] II p. 1144-6 (13 quatrains); Daulat-shāh p. 138-9; Rāzī II p. 256-9 (no. 750); Ādhar II p. 674-85; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 200; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 191-2.

¹See *PL* I p. 1107; Brockelmann I p. 468-9, Suppt. I p. 850-1.

²The early 17th-century Persian translation by Maḥsūd-'Alī Tabrizī (see *PL* I p. 1107) has now also been published (ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh and M. Surūr-Maulā'ī, Tehran 1365sh./1987; the entry on Khayyām can be found on p. 394-7). The translation substitutes two Persian *rubā'īs* for the Arabic verses quoted in the original work.

A selection of the modern literature: V. Zhukovskiy, «Омар Хайям и странствующие четверостишия», in *al-Muẓaffariyah* (Festschrift for V. Rosen), St Petersburg 1897 (English abridged translation by E.D. Ross in *JRAS* XXX, 1898, p. 349-66); A. Christensen, *Omar Khayyām rubā'iyāt en litterærhistorisk undersøgelse*, Copenhagen 1903; id., *Recherches sur les Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Ḥayyām*, Heidelberg 1905; Browne, *History* II p. 246-59; M. Iqbāl, '*Rubā'iyāt i Khayyām kā ek aur qadīm nuskhah*', *OCM* II/3, 1926, p. 14-20; P. Salet, *Omar Khayyām savant et philosophe*, Paris 1927; H. Ritter, 'Zur Frage der Echtheit der Vierzeiler 'Omar Chajjāms'', *OLZ* 32, 1929, col. 156-63 (review of Christensen's *Critical studies*); A.G. Potter, *A bibliography of the Rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyām*, London 1929; M. Qazwīnī, '*Takmilah dar khuṣṣ i Khayyām*', in his *Bīst maqālāh*, 2nd ed., Tehran 1332/1953-4, II p. 118-27 (article written in 1348/1930); H.H. Schaefer, 'Der geschichtliche und der mythische Omar Chajjam', *ZDMG* 88, 1934, p. *25*-28*; Chr. Rempis, *Beiträge zur Ḥayyām-Forschung (=Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes XXII/1)*, Leipzig 1937; Swami Govinda Tirtha, *The nectar of grace. 'Omar Khayyām's life and works*, Allahabad 1941; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 523-35; S.B. Morochnik and B.A. Rozenfel'd, Омар Хайям - поэт, мыслитель, учёный, Сталинабад 1957; M. Mīnuwī, '*Az khazā'in i Turkīyah 5: 'Umar i Khayyām i shā'ir*', *MDAT* IV/2, 1335sh./1957, p. 70-5 (also as an off-print); Khayyām-pūr p. 200 (with much further literature); I. Yakānī, *Nādirah i aiyām, ḥakīm 'Umar i Khayyām wa rubā'iyāt i ū*, Tehran 1342sh./1963-4 [380] (with the biographical sources, a Persian translation of those in Arabic and his selection of the quatrains); B.A. Rozenfel'd and A.P. Yushkevich, Омар Хайям, Moscow 1965; V. Minorsky, 'The earliest collections of O. Khayyām', *Yādname-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague 1967, p. 107-18; 'A. Dashtī, *Damī bā Khayyām*, Tehran 1345sh./1966; 2nd ed. 1348sh./1969; English translation by L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *In search of Omar Khayyām*, London 1971 (with an introduction by E.-S.); M.M. Fūlādward, *Khayyām-shināstī*, I, Tehran 1347sh./1968 (reprinted in his edition, Tehran 1348sh./1969); M. Farzānah, *Mard-i az Nishābūr 'Umar i Khayyām*, Tehran 1349sh./1970; id., *Khayyām shinākht*, Tehran 1353sh./1975-6; J.A. Boyle, 'Umar Khayyām: astronomer, mathematician and poet', in *CHI* IV, Cambridge 1975, p. 658-64; M.'A. Muwaḥḥid, '*Khayyām dar nīmah i awwal i qarn i haftum*', *Rāh-nimā i Kitāb* XX/3-4, 1356sh./1977, p. 204-15; M.T. Ja'farī, *Tahṭil i shakhṣīyat i Khayyām*, Tehran 1368sh./1989; D. Ber-

tucci, 'Le quatraine di 'Omar Khayyām nei manoscritti persiani conservati in Italia' [with an edition of 18 quatrains], *Rendiconti*, ser. IX, vol. II, 1991, p. 179-90; M.M. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Khayyāmī yā Khayyām*, Tehran 1370sh./1991 (a collection of articles, mostly published some time ago); F. Mujāhir Shīrwānī and Ḥ. Shāyagān, *Nigāh ba Khayyām ham-rāh ba rubā'iyāt*, Tehran 1370sh./1991; S. 'A. Mīr-Afḍālī, 'Rubā'iyāt i Khayyām dar shash jung i kuhan i fārsī', *Ma'ārif* X, 1372sh./1994, p. 131-48; id., 'Rubā'iyāt i aṣl i Khayyām kudām ast?' *Nashr i Dānish* XV/5, 1374sh./1995, p. 4-16; *EI* s.v. 'Omar Khayyām' (V. Minorsky).¹

221. Jamāl al-dīn Abū Bakr **Khāl** al-Tirmidhī is credited with eight verses in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān.

'Aufī II p. 164; Khayyām-pūr p. 135 ('Jamāl i Tirmidhī'). [381]

222. Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Ḥaddādī *al-ma'rūf bi Khālah*² merits a very brief entry in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Transoxania after the time of Sanjar; elsewhere 'Aufī quotes two verses addressed by Shams al-dīn to 'Aufī's own contemporary Shihābī Ghaz(z)āl Khujandī.³ His presence in Khujand in the first part of the 7th/13th century is confirmed by the two poems that he addressed to Diyā' Pārsī.⁴

Jājarmī quotes a *ghazal* by (presumably the same) malik al-muḥaqqiqīn Ḥaddādī and with the poetic signature 'Ḥaddādī' in the last verse. Rāzī, besides repeating two of the *rubā'iyāt* quoted already by 'Aufī, adds a few other poems, one of them a *qaṣīdah* to Sanjar (511/1118 to 552/1157), and claims that this poet was a relative of Nizām al-mulk Tūsī. Nafīsī quotes six odes from unidentified *saftnahs*, but at least three of these are in fact by the above-mentioned Diyā'

¹Since the completion of this article the new edition of the *EI* has published two entries s.v. 'Umar Khayyām'. Both fail to reflect the present state of research and both also contain an excessive number of factual errors. Undoubtedly, the old article by Minorsky is a better point of departure.

²Thus 'Aufī. Rāzī, followed by Ādhar, omits 'al-Ḥaddādī' and includes this poet in his chapter devoted to Baghdad. There is thus evidently, somewhere along the line, a scribal confusion between 'ḥaddādī' and 'Baghdādī'.

³See below, no. 299.

⁴For which see above, p. 321, 323-4.

pārsī.¹ Of those which I have not found in the *diwān* of Diyā' two address one of Diyā's patrons, sipah-sālār Ulugh Tūgsīn, the other a certain Shams al-mulk Aḥmad b. Arslān, whom Nafīsī identified with the Qarakhanid Aḥmad (II) b. Arslān-khān Muḥammad (who ruled on and off in Samarqand from about 523/1129 to about 526/1132), but if the poem is really by Khālah its dedicatee must be someone who lived about a century later. [382]

'Aufī II p. 382-3, 393; Jājarmī II p. 1078; Rāzī I p. 108-10 (no. 68); Ādhar III p. 916; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 309; Nafīsī's notes to Baihaqī III p. 1355-62; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 824-7 (follows Nafīsī in the wrong attribution of Diyā's poems and patrons to Khālah); Khayyām-pūr p. 184 ('Khālah i Baghdādī') and 305 ('Shams i Baghdādī').

223. Fakhr al-dīn **Khālid** b. al-Rabī' al-Makkī al-Ṭulānī was a contemporary and friend of Anwarī. 'Aufī prefixes his significant selection from Khālid's verse with the story (repeated by Jāmī and others), of how the Ghorid king, 'Alā' al-dīn Ḥusain (544/1149 to 556/1161), on hearing that Anwarī had made him the object of some satirical verses, tried to coax the famous poet to his court and how Anwarī was warned of the king's true intentions by an elusively formulated letter from Khālid.

'Aufī II p. 138-45; Yaghma'ī p. 180 (three verses by 'Fakhr al-dīn Khālah'); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 376-7; Browne, *History* II p. 381; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 604-7; Khayyām-pūr p. 183; Mudarris i Rīdāwī's introduction to his *Diwān i Anwarī* II p. 103-4.

224. Afḍal al-dīn **Khāqānī**,² who also called himself Ḥaqā'iqī and Ḥassān al-'ajam, was a native of Sharwān.³ The date of his birth is indi-

¹The poem quoted by Nafīsī on p. 1357-8 (with the *radīf* 'gtrad') is in the *diwān* of Diyā', fol. 18b-19b; that on p. 1358-9 (rhyming in -al) is in the same *diwān*, fol. 23b-25a (the verse where Nafīsī reads 'pārsī-zādah' is however different in the *diwān*); that on p. 1360 (*radīf* 'chashm') is in the same *diwān*, fol. 15b-16b.

²Khāqānī's personal name is not indicated unambiguously in the poems, nor is it mentioned by the early biographical sources. Mustaufī, and most of the those after him, give it as Ibrāhīm. For his supposed name 'Badīl' see presently. [Many aspects of Khāqānī's life and work, in part assessed differently, are discussed in the important book by A.L.F.A. Beelaert, *A cure for grieving. Studies on the poetry of the 12th-century Persian court poet Khāqānī Shīrwānī*, Leiden 2000. It was unfortunately not possible to incorporate the new finding in the present revised edition.]

³As he says quite clearly in *Tuhfat al-'irāqīn*, p. 34: *mīlād i man az bilād i Sharwān*, and elsewhere. Khanikov erroneously made him a native of Ganjah.

cated in the *qit'ah* beginning:¹ [383]

chūn zamān 'ahd i Sanā'ī dar nawasht
āsmān chūn man sukhan-gustar bi-zād
chūn ba Ghaznīn sāhir-ē shud zēr i khāk
khāk i Sharwān sāhir-ē dīgar bi-zād

('When time rolled up the life-span of Sanā'ī heaven gave birth to a word-smith like me. When in Ghaznah one sorcerer² departed under the soil, the soil of Sharwān gave birth to another sorcerer'). The poet then proceeds to list a number of parallels from the past, some legendary, (the death of Joseph coincides with the birth of Moses, etc.), but one is historic (the death of Abū Ḥanīfah and the birth of al-Shāfi'ī both occurred, according to the standard sources, in 150/767). In another poem Khāqānī states:³

badal man āmadam andar jahān Sanā'ī rā
bad-līn dalīl pidar nām i man badlīl nihād

('I came into the world as a substitute for Sanā'ī; the proof for this is the fact that my father called me *badlīl*', i.e. 'replacement'.)⁴ It is thus clear that Khāqānī was born in the year that Sanā'ī died. Unfortunately (and typically) the precise date of Sanā'ī's death is not certain, but it was clearly after 511/1117 (the ascension of Bahrām-shāh) and quite probably 525/1130-1.⁵ [384]

In his versified travelogue, *Tuhfat al-irāqain*, Khāqānī tells us, among other things, that his grandfather had been a weaver and his father 'Alī a carpenter; his mother was a cook who had been born a Nestorian Christian (i.e. clearly not an Armenian or Georgian, unless the

¹*Diwān*, ed. Sajjādī, p. 808-9. Surprisingly, this very famous poem appears to be missing in the ancient London manuscript.

²Poetry is 'permitted sorcery' (*sihr ḥalāl*).

³ed. Sajjādī p. 850.

⁴This verse has been much belaboured to prove that Khāqānī's personal name was Badīl, but it must be observed that Badīl is not a Muslim name. I understand it to mean that the boy was known within the family as 'Badīl' because he was the 'replacement' for a recently deceased elder brother.

⁵See below no. 284. Some scholars have understood the words in Khāqānī's ode to Isfahan (ed. Sajjādī p. 357): *pānsad i hijrat chu man na-zād yagānah* to mean that Khāqānī was born in the year 500/1106-7, but in fact they evidently mean: 'the first five centuries of the hijrah did not give birth to anyone as unique as I (the child of the 6th century)'. He says the same thing about himself again on p. 24, l. 14, and also about Akhsatān on p. 461 l. 3. Plausible arguments for putting Khāqānī's birth in 521/1127-8 are adduced in Reinert's article of 1965 (see below, bibliography).

reference to Nestorius is a mere show of book-learning) but had converted to Islam. Khāqānī lost his father at an early age and was brought up by his uncle, the doctor Kāfi l-dīn 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, who instructed him in the sciences and of whom Khāqānī speaks in many places with great tenderness. His problematic relationship with the older poet, Abū l-'Alā' Ganja'ī has been discussed above.¹ Khāqānī's first patron was the ruler of Sharwān Manūchīhr (II) b. Farēdūn, the patron also of Abū l-'Alā' and of Falakī. In Dhū l-qa'dah,² evidently of the year 550 (November-December 1155),³ Khāqānī set out on a pilgrimage the description of which occupies the greater part of his *Tuhfat al-irāqain*.⁴ This took him first to the camp (*lashkar-gāh*) of Seljuq sultan Muḥammad (II) b. Maḥmūd.⁵ He then continued his journey to Hama-dān, Baghdad (an encomium on the Abbasid caliph is inserted here) [385] and Kūfah and visited the tomb of 'Alī. After crossing the desert he arrived at 'Arafāt, Minā and Mecca. After performing the pilgrimage the poet visited Madīnah and proceeded to Mosul. In the final section the poet tells about his childhood and praises extensively Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Isfahānī (the wazīr of the atabeg of Mosul) but also the Shāfi'ī leader Muḥammad (II) al-Khujandī and his brother.⁶

Shortly after his return to Sharwān Khāqānī was thrown into gaol; we have a poem which he sent from prison to the ruler of Darband, Saif al-dīn Muẓaffar, in which he reminds the latter that the two had met 'last year' in Mecca. After the death of Manūchīhr (probably not long after

¹p. 247-8.

²*Tuhfat* p. 84.

³In his ode to the city of Isfahan (ed. Sajjādī p. 355) he says that he was in Mosul in 551 (*thā nān alif*). We know from the *Tuhfat* that he visited that town on his way back from Mecca; he must therefore have been in Mecca in Dhū l-hijjah 550 (January-February 1156). In the same poem he says that he was in Baghdad 'last year' (*pār*). In the *Tuhfat* he says that he visited Baghdad on the way to Mecca, which would put the composition of the ode to Isfahan also in 551/1156. For the supposed reference in this poem to Mujīr Balaqānī see below, no. 248.

⁴The first part of the *Tuhfat* describes an earlier visit to 'Irāq and the hunting-reserve (*shikār-gāh*) of the Seljuq sultan, where he made the acquaintance of the sultan's wazīr. The latter gave Khāqānī a precious ring which the poet, on his return to Sharwān, was forced to surrender to his master.

⁵Mentioned by name on p. 85.

⁶For whom see below, no. 227 (Khujandī).

555/1160 and certainly before 566/1170), an event which Khāqānī commemorated in an elegy,¹ our poet entered the service of his son and successor Akhsatān,² his principal patron. Khāqānī did not fare better at his hands than he had at those of his father. A few years later we find him in prison again airing his complaints in a poem ostensibly directed to a Byzantine prince who, as Minorsky has shown, seems to have been the future emperor Andronicus Comnenus, who is known to have been in Sharwān as a guest of the Georgian king at some time in the 1170s. (The Muslim kings of Sharwān were de facto vassals of the Georgians, though there is of course nothing in Khāqānī's panegyrics to suggest that they were anything other than mighty and independent rulers). [386]

Khāqānī made the pilgrimage to Mecca at least one more time and ultimately settled in Tabrīz, as he indicates quite clearly in a number of his poems.³ The *diwān* contains a few poems praising the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız (521/1127 to 551/1156), the Seljuq Arslān b. Toghrl (556/1161 to 571/1176), and the atabeg of Azerbaijan Qızıl-Arslān b. Ēldügüz (582/1186 to 587/1191). Juwainī quotes a *qit'ah* which he says Khāqānī composed for the Khwārazm-shāh Tekish when the latter entered Isfahan (in 592/1196)⁴ and this appears to be the most recent date that can be established in the poet's biography. Mustaufī says he died in 582/1186-7 (which is too early, if we are to believe Juwainī) and was buried in Surkhāb (near Tabrīz), but Soviet archaeologists claim to have found his tomb in the Republic of Azerbaijan, with an inscription giving the date of his death as 595/1198-9.⁵

Apart from his panegyrics Khāqānī composed a good number of poems of religious content, a large portion of them evidently after his withdrawal from the court in Sharwān. Many of the poems are of a per-

¹For Khāqānī's elegy and its significance for determining the dates of Manūchihr's reign see above p. 248 n. 2.

²The name Akhsatān (in Georgian Aghsartan) is apparently of Ossetic origin (see Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 130). He was still alive in 584/1188 (when Nizāmī dedicated his *Lailē-Majnūn* to him) and died before 600/1203-4 (from which year we have an inscription of his successor Farrukh-zād b. Manūchihr).

³See the references to that town in Sajjādī's index geographicus.

⁴The poem is not in the manuscripts of the *diwān*, but this might mean merely that the *diwān* was assembled before that date. 'Abd al-Rasūlī (p. viii of the introduction to his edition), followed by Sajjādī and others, claims that the verses are from an ode by Kamāl al-dīn, but there is no such poem in Kamāl's *diwān* either.

⁵See below, p. 447 fn.

sonal nature, several regretting the deaths of his wife, son and daughter. There are also some poems with savage attacks on Rashīd al-dīn Waṭwāṭ.

Khāqānī's *diwān*, which is notorious for its obscurity, is fortunately preserved in a number of old manuscripts, notably in London Or. 7942, which was copied in Khujand in 664/1266 and apparently [387] derives from a codex apparently written in the poet's lifetime.¹ This and three other copies form the basis for the careful critical edition by Sajjādī.²

Mss.:³ **Manchester** Lindesiana 290 (17th century?); Lindesiana 208 (17th century? '*Qaṣā'id*'); Lindesiana 522 (18th century? Imperfect); Lindesiana 513 (18th century?); Lindesiana 200 (18th century? '*Ghazaliyāt*'); **Oxford** Elliot 74 (Ethé 561. Dated 999/1590-1); Ouseley 192 (Ethé 562. Dated 12 Jumādā II 1006/1598); Elliot 73 (Ethé 563. Dated 27 Jumādā I 1011/1602); Ouseley 382 (Ethé 564. Dated 17 Jumādā II 1011/1602); Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/3. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); Fraser 61 (Ethé 560. Dated 7 Sha'bān 1015/1606); Elliot 75 (Ethé 565. Dated Sha'bān 1040/1631); Pers. d. 92 (Beeston 2554. A number of leaves were restored by a second hand which added the date 29 Rajab 34 [sc. of 'Ālamgīr] = <1> 100/1689); Ouseley Add. 133 (Ethé 566. Dated 5 Rabī' I 1109/1697); Walker 74 (Ethé 570. Dated 26 Jumādā II 1129/1717. *qaṣīdahs* only); Walker 99 (Ethé 567. Many glosses); Elliot 76 (Ethé 568); Elliot 77 [388] (Ethé

¹The London Ms. Or. 7942 concludes with a colophon giving the name of the scribe as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Sāmānī and the date of completion as 8 Shawwāl 664; the year is spelt out very clearly. However, the first half (or 'volume') of the Ms. ends on fol. 223a with a finely gilded medallion reading: *bi rasm khiznat al-amīr al-a'zam al-'ādil Yahyā b. Ḥamid al-Khuwārazmī ft sanat arba' wa tis'in wa khams-mi'ah min al-hijrah al-nabawiyah*, indicating that it was completed as early as 594/1197-8. Since both 'volumes' of the Ms. are all in the same quite characteristic handwriting and are on the same batch of paper I would assume that the date given in the panel is that of the manuscript and that the 'colophon' with the date 664/1266 was added by a later owner. I understand from A.L.F.A. Beelaert that M. Shafī'ī-Kadkanī maintains that the 'outer pages' of this Ms. are the work of 'a, to him, well-known forger'. To this one must reply that the Ms. has actually been in the British Museum since 1913.

²I have re-collated a few poems with the London Ms. and have nothing adverse to report. Sajjādī's long introduction is less satisfactory, mainly because of his excessive reliance on secondary sources, especially Furūzānfar.

³Mss. containing both the *diwān* and *Tuḥfat al-'irāqain*, generally styled '*Kulliyāt i Khāqānī*', are listed here and again below, for the latter work.

569. Incomplete); Bodl. 748 (Ethé 571. Many glosses); **London** Or. 7942 (Meredith-Owens p. 53. 'Dated' 8 Shawwāl 664/1266;¹ Sajjādī's *lām*); I.O. 961 (Dated 7 Rabī' II 1004/1595); I.O. 962 (Dated 10 Šafar 1006/1597); I.O. 950/II (Dated 13 Šafar 1007/1598); Add. 25,808 (Rieu p. 558-9. 16th century?); Add. 16,773 (Rieu p. 559. 16th century?); Add. 7726 (Rieu p. 559. 16th century?); Add. 25,018 (Rieu p. 560. 16th century?); Or. 7042 (Meredith-Owens p. 51. 16th century?); Or. 9872 (Meredith-Owens p. 59. 16th century?); I.O. 951/I (=Robinson 146-51. Dated 12 Jumādā II 1038/1629. '*Intikhab i diwān*'); I.O. 966 (Dated 16 Rabī' I 1101/1689); Add. 7727 (Rieu p. 559. 17th century?); Add. 25,809 (Rieu p. 559-60. 17th century?); Or. 10922 (Meredith-Owens p. 60. 17th century?); I.O. 963 (Has an owner's note dated 1183/1769-70); Add. 16,772 (Rieu p. 560. 18th century); I.O. 965 (17th or 18th century?); I.O. 964; I.O. 967; I.O. 3028; RAS 297; **Cambridge** Or. 1350 (2nd Suppt. 170. Dated 30 Jumādā I 1035/1626); Or. 1349/2 (2nd Suppt. 169. 17th century?); Oo. 6. 28. (Browne Cat. CCVIII); King's, No. 167 (Browne Suppt. 542); Or. 255 (Browne Suppt. 1061); Jesus, No. 6 (Browne Suppt. 1062); **Edinburgh** Univ. 275 (16th century?); Univ. 274 (17th century?); Univ. 99 (Has an owner's mark dated 1172/1757-8); Univ. 100 (88 *qasīdahs*); Univ. 276; New Coll. Or. 26; **Paris** Supplément 1771 (Blochet 1237. Two hands, attributed by Blochet to the 13th and 15th centuries respectively); Ancien fonds 133 fol. 182v-186v. (Richard. Ms. contains a note dated Jumādā I 752/1351. A few poems only); Supplément 1816 (Blochet 1232. 14th century? Contains also *Tuhfah* and letters. Sajjādī's '*pā*'); Supplément 623 (Blochet 1233. 16th century?); Supplément 620 (Blochet 1234. Dated 1009/1600-1); Supplément 621 (Blochet 1235. 17th century?); Supplément 622 [389] (Blochet 1236. Dated 2 Dhū l-qa'dah 1081/1671); Supplément 626 (Blochet 1238. 17th century?); Supplément 624 (Blochet 1239. 17th century? Fragment); **Berlin** Ms. or. quart. 2023/1 (Heinz 303. Dated 942/1535-6); Ms. or. fol. 299 (Pertsch 739); Minutoli 197 (Pertsch 740); Petermann 463 (Pertsch 741); Sprenger 1431 (Pertsch 743); Petermann 716/1 (Pertsch 682. Selections); **Vienna** Flügel 514/1; **Leningrad** Acad. C 1424 (Index 1489. 14th century? Lacunae); Acad. C 63/II (Index 3439. Dated 1029/1620); Acad. D 3 (Index 1490. Dated 1047/1637-8); Dorn CCCLIII; Chanykov 51; Acad. B 137 (Index 1487);

¹See above, p. 387 fn.

Acad. C 61 (Index 1488); Acad. B 136 (Index 3437); Acad. C 62 (Index 3438); **Istanbul** Fatih 3810 (Ritter-Reinert p. 122-3. Copied by Arslān b. Aitughdī and dated 1 Muḥarram 702/1302); Ayasofya 2051/15 (*Mikrūfīm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330); Topkapı, Ahmet III 2363 (Karatay 395. Dated Ramaḍān 867/1463); Topkapı, Revan 1016 (Karatay 396. Copied by Muḥammad Raḥīm and dated Muḥarram 1005/1596); Üniversite FY 258 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 246. Ateş 77. 16th century?); Esat 2633/1 (Duda p. 52. Dated Ramaḍān 1025/1616); Üniversite FY 699 (*olim* Halis Efendi 6672. Ateş 78. Dated 1031/1621-2); Üniversite FY 534 (Ateş 79. Dated 12 Shawwāl 1048/1639); Nuruosmaniye 4182 (Ateş 80. 17th century?); **Cairo** Dār al-kutub 153 mīm adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī I 677. Anthology dated 823/1419); 85 mīm adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī I 675. Dated Jumādā I 858/1454); 86 mīm adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī I 676. Dated 1009/1600-1); 144 adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī I 674. Dated Sha'bān 1012/1604); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. apparently dated 6 Shawwāl 1017/1609); **Tehran** Majlis III 976 (12th century? Some leaves replaced later. Sajjādī's *mīm-jīm*); Šādiq Anšārī (Sajjādī's *šād*. 13th century?); Adabiyāt I p. 253 (13th-14th century?); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 188 (Dated 16 Šafar 950/1543); Majlis III 977 (Copied by Majd al-dīn 'Alī in 999/1590-1); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 190 (Copied by Ibn Shams al-dīn [390] Muḥammad Mu'jizī al-Yazdī and dated Rajab 1001/1593); Sipah-sālār II 1188 (Dated 1002/1593-4); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 191 (Dated 1006/1597-8); Bayānī 10 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 9. Copied by Quṭb al-dīn b. Ḥasan Tūnī and dated 1013/1604-5); Sipah-sālār II 1189 (Dated 1013/1604-5); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 187 (Copied for Akbar, regn. 1556-1605); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 189 (Copied by Muḥammad Laṭīf al-mashhūr bi Shōkhī al-Bukhārī and dated Rajab 1018/1609); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 183 (Copied by Mu'izz al-dīn Ḥusain Lankarī and dated Šafar 1019/1610); Majlis III 978 (Dated 1038/1628-9); Majlis III 979 (17th century?); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 182 (Dated 9 Dhū l-qa'dah 1206/1792); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 186; etc.; **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 407 (Copied by Ḥājji 'Alī Samarqandī and dated 2 Rabī' I 847/1443); Riḍawī VII 413 (Dated 898/1492-3); Riḍawī VII 406 (Dated 950/1543-4); Riḍawī VII 405 (Dated Ramaḍān 1007/1599); Riḍawī VII 412 (Dated 7 Jumādā II 1016/1607); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 370 (Dated 956/1549); 369 (Dated 1054/1644-5); 371-372; **Pakistan** (see Munz. Pak. VII p. 52-7: numerous copies of which the oldest is dated 15 Rabī' I 963/1556); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 158 no. 113-114;

Brelvi p. xxx; **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 89 no. 55 (Dated 1005/1596-7); **Lucknow** Sprenger 318 (several copies); **Bankipore** I 31 ('beautiful Nasta'liq ... apparently 14th century'); I 32 (Copied by Qāsim Shīrāzī and dated 1027/1618); **Hyderabad** Āṣafīyah I p. 722 no. 436; I p. 742 no. 261, 583; II p. 1254 no. 72; **Madras** I 82-87; II 587; **Calcutta** Būhār 291 (16th century?); Ivanow 456 (16th century?); Ivanow Curzon 196 (Dated 1086/1675); Ivanow 457 (17th century?); Ivanow 458 (18th century?); Ivanow 2nd Suppt. 976 (18th century?); Būhār 292 (19th century? Incomplete); **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. 60 (16th century? Pictures). Cf. Munz. III 22816-924.

Editions: [**Lucknow**] 1294/1878 (2 vols.); **Lucknow** 1309/1892; 1908; **Tehran** 1316sh./1937 (ed. 'Alī 'Abd-al-Rasūlī); 1336sh./1957 (ed. M. 'Abbāsī); 1338sh./1959 [391] (ed. D. Sajjādī. Quotes the variants from four Mss.).

Partial editions: **Tehran** 1351sh./1972 (*Guzīdah i as'ār i Kh. i Sh.*, ed. D. Sajjādī).

Edition and (Russian) translation of the *rubā'iyāt*: K. Salemann, Четверостишия Хакани, St. Petersburg 1875.

Translations of selected poems (Russian verse): Хагани, Лирика, Moscow 1980; Хагани, Ветер в руке, перевод ... М. Синельникова, Moscow 1986; Хагани Ширвани: Рубан, tr. B. Aslanov, Baku 1981.

Commentaries:¹

(1) A commentary on the *qaṣā'id* of Khāqānī, ascribed (implausibly) to Jāmī, is reported in **Hyderabad** Āṣafīyah II p. 1252 no. 93.

(2) *Sharḥ i dīwān* (or *qaṣā'id*) *i Khāqānī* by Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad 'Alawī Shādī-ābādī (see above, p. 263), for sultan Nāṣir al-dīn Khaljī, who reigned from 906/1500 to 916/1510. It elucidates only a selection of the *qaṣā'id*. Mss.: **Oxford** Fraser 63 (Ethé 572. Dated Shawwāl 1042/1633); Ouseley Add. 181 (Ethé 573); **London** I.O. 968 (Two hands, the later dated Dhū l-qa'dah 995/1587); Add. 25,811 (Rieu p. 561. Dated Shawwāl 1080/1670); Add. 27,315 (Rieu p. 561-2. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1107/1696. With an introduction dedicated to Jahāngīr by 'Alawī Lāhijī in which the latter appears to claim the author-

ship of the commentary);¹ Add. 10,579 II (Rieu p. 820. Dated Sha'bān 1149/1736. 34 *qaṣīdahs* only); Or. 363 (Rieu p. 561. 17th century?); I.O. 969 (defective); I.O. 970 (fragment); I.O. Delhi 1283A-B; **Edinburgh** Univ. 277 (Dated 1045/1635-6); **Paris** Supplément 1036 (Blochet 1240. 19th century); [392] **Tehran** Sipah-sālar V p. 188 (Dated 4 Muḥarram 1000/1591); Millī I 20 (Dated Jumādā II 1032/1623); Majlis II 412 (Dated 1238/1822-3); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 661 (17th century?); **Tashkent** Univ. 49 (Dated 1142/1730); **Pakistan** (Various copies, the oldest dated 7 Ramaḍān 1014/1606, are listed in Munz. Pak. VII p. 57-8); **Lucknow** Sprenger 319 (Dated 1062/1652); **Bankipore** I 34 (Dated 1036/1626-7); I 35 (Dated 1223/1808-9); **Hyderabad** Āṣafīyah II p. 1252 no. 110, 112; **Madras** 267; **Calcutta** Būhār 293 (18th century?); Ivanow 459-460 (2 copies, 18th century?); Ivanow Curzon 196 (18th century? Fragment). Cf. Munz. V 37402-25.

(3) *Sharḥ i mushkilāt i dīwān i Khāqānī* (as it is called in the Istanbul Mss.) or *Maḥabbat-nāmah* by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Ḥasanī al-Ma'mūrī, called Ghanā'ī (Ghinā'ī?). Pertsch (followed by Ethé ad I.O. 968 and by Minorsky) tentatively equated this commentator with the scribe Abū Turāb 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusainī who completed his copy of Khāqānī's *Tuḥfat al-'irāqain* (=Berlin Pertsch no. 744) on 23 Rajab 1090/1679, but the identification seems unlikely if the dates in the Istanbul Mss. are correct. 'Abd al-Rasūlī, who used this commentary in preparing his edition of the *dīwān*, says that it was written in 1018.² Mss.: **London** Or. 7910 (Meredith-Owens p. 53. 18th-19th century?); 'and probably also I.O. Delhi 1287A' (Sto.); **Cambridge** Or. 250 (Browne Suppt. 1060. Dated 1235/1819-20); **Berlin** Sprenger 1432 (Pertsch 742. Dated 17 Muḥarram '32', which Pertsch, on the basis of the above-quoted hypothesis concerning the authorship of this commentary, interpreted as 1132/1719); **Vienna** Flügel 515 (Dated 18 Rabī' I 1141/1728); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 489 (Ateş 81. Dated 22 Shawwāl 1025/1616); **Nuruosmaniye** 3972 (Ateş 82. Dated 22 Muḥarram 1041/1631); **Topkapı**, Hazine 883 [393] (Karatay 397. Copied by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Ḥasan al-Sarā'ī and dated Jumādā II 1060/1650); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah 58 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 343.

¹This version is perhaps also contained in Bombay Rehatsek p. 138 (see below: unidentified commentaries). (Sto.)

²See his introduction, p. x.

¹See also Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 120-1.

Dated 16 Šafar 1044/1634); **Tehran** Univ. II 28 (Dated 10 Jumādā I 1037/1628); **Ma'arif** I 138 (Dated 1232/1817); **Majlis** II 411; **Lahore** Univ. (Munz. Pak. VII p. 58-9. Dated 7 Dhū l-qa'dah 1104/1693); **Hyderabad** Āsafiyah II p. 1252 no. 114; **Madras** II 588 (Dated 1241/1825). Cf. Munz. V 37392-400.

(4) *Farah-afzā* by Qabūl Muḥammad, the author of *Haft Qulzum*, comments on ten *qaṣīdahs* of Khāqānī. Mss.: **Bankipore** Suppt. ii 2336; **Lucknow** Sprenger 320.

(5) *Miftāḥ al-kunūz fī sharḥ ash'ar Khāqānī* by Ridā Qulī Khān, called Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871-2). Mss.: **London** Or. 3401/II (Rieu Suppt. 221. Dated Jumādā II 1259/1843); Cf. Munz. V 37964-6.

Edited by Diyā' al-dīn Sajjādī in *Nām-wārah i Duktur Mahmūd i Afshār* VI, Tehran 1370sh./1991, p. 3422-3560.

(6) Unidentified commentaries. **Cambridge** Oo. 6. 33. (Browne Cat. CCIX); **Leningrad** Acad. C 1426 fol. 140a-170b (Index 2577. Ms. dated 1095/1684); Acad. C 1520 (Index 2578. Incomplete); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 138 no. 41 (Dated 1068/1657-8. 'Composed during the reign of Jehāngyār'); **Aligarh** Subh. Mss. p. 48 no. 1 (Dated 1026/1617); See also Munz. V 37429-33.

Tuḥfat al-irāqain, or rather, as it is called in the oldest Ms. (Vienna mixt. 845), *Khatm al-gharā'ib*, describes Khāqānī's first pilgrimage to Mecca; for its contents and date see above p. 384-5. (Begins, after a preface in prose, with the verse: *mā-ēm nazāragān i gham-nāk * z-īn huqqah i sabz u muhrah i khāk*).

Mss.: **Dublin** T.C.D. 1586; **Manchester** Lindesiana 558 (Dated 1083/1672-3); Lindesiana 136 (Dated 1130/1718); Lindesiana 92 (Dated 1170/1756-7); **Oxford** Fraser 61 (Ethé 560. Dated 7 Sha'bān 1015/1606); Ouseley 69 (Ethé 574. Dated Muḥarram 1063/1652); Ouseley 383 (Ethé 575. Dated 16 Jumādā II 3rd year of Aḥmad Shāh/1750); [394] Ouseley Add. 107 (Ethé 578. Dated 1201/1786-7); Elliot 384 (Ethé 579. Dated 16 Rabī' II 1209/1794); Pers. d. 49 (Beeston 2555. Dated 1284/1867-8); Fraser 62 (Ethé 576); Ouseley Add. 91 (Ethé 577); **London** I.O. 950/I (Dated 13 Šafar 1007/1598); Add. 25,018/IV-V (Rieu p. 560. 16th century? With the author's prose preface); Add. 7728 (Rieu p. 560. 16th century?); Add. 25,018 (Rieu p. 560. 16th century?); Or. 9872 (Meredith-Owens p. 59. 16th century?); Add. 7732 fol. 126-217 (Rieu p. 555. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 1011/1603. Contains also 'some other poems by Kh.'). Add. 7667/I (Rieu p. 809.

Dated 1022/1613); I.O. 951/II (=Robinson 146-51. Dated 12 Jumādā II 1038/1629. 1 extraneous picture); I.O. 955 (Dated 14 Muḥarram 1058/1648); I.O. 954 (Dated, 'as it seems', 1078/1667-8, and followed by a prose summary. Slightly defective); I.O. 2866 (Dated 12 Dhū l-qa'dah '8010' - for 1080/1670? -); Add. 25,810 (Rieu p. 560. Dated Muḥarram 1088/1677. With marginal annotations); SOAS 46725/I (Dated 21 Šafar 1094/1683); Add. 23,553 (Rieu p. 561. Dated 1096/1685. With variant readings and glosses); I.O. 956 (Dated 24 Rabī' I 1099/1688); Add. 16,776 (Rieu p. 561. 17th century? Incomplete); Add. 16,775 (Rieu p. 561. 17th century? With the preface); Add. 16,774 (Rieu p. 561. 17th century? With preface and marginal notes); Ross and Browne CLXII (17th century?); I.O. 957 (Dated 1134/1721-2. Copious glosses); Or. 3401/I (Rieu Suppt. 221. Dated Jumādā II 1259/1843. With the preface. Imperfect at end); I.O. 952; I.O. 953 (copious glosses); I.O. 958; I.O. 959; I.O. Delhi 1223 (two copies); RAS 295-296; **Cambridge** Or. 1348/1 (2nd Suppt. 168. Ms. dated 5 Rabī' I 1023/1614); Or. 1350 (2nd Suppt. 170. Dated 30 Jumādā I 1035/1626); King's, No. 115 (Browne Suppt. 279. Dated 1072/1661-2); Or. 277 (Browne Suppt. 278. Dated 1100/1688-9); Or. 1349/1 (2nd Suppt. 169. 17th century?); Or. 1568 (2nd Suppt. 355. 18th century?); [395] Or. 255 (Browne Suppt. 1061); Jesus, No. 6 (Browne Suppt. 1062); **Edinburgh** Univ. 278; **Paris** Supplément 1816 (Blochet 1232. 14th century?); Supplément 623 (Blochet 1233. 16th century?); Supplément 620 (Blochet 1234. Dated 1009/1600-1); Supplément 621 (Blochet 1235. 17th century?); Supplément 622 (Blochet 1236. Dated 2 Dhū l-qa'dah 1081/1671); Supplément 1366 fol. 161v seqq. (Blochet 1993. Ms. contains dates between 1009/1600 and 1010/1602); Supplément 625 (Blochet 1241. Dated Ramaḍān 1093/1682); Supplément 317 fol. 98 sqq. (Blochet 2179. 18th century?); **Berlin** Ms. or. quart. 2023/2 (Heinz 303. Dated 942/1535-6); Sprenger 1433 (Pertsch 744. Copied by Abū Turāb 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusainī and dated 23 Rajab 1090/1679); Sprenger 1434 (Pertsch 745); Sprenger 1435 (Pertsch 746); **Vienna** Mixt. 843 (uncatalogued. Dated 12 Jumādā I 593/1197. See the detailed description by Ī. Afshār, *Ma'arif* XVI, 1375/1999, p. 3-38); Flügel 513 (Dated Jumādā I 1028/1619); Flügel 514/2; **Copenhagen** Mehren CIV/2; **Leningrad** Acad. C 63/I (Index 3439. Dated 1029/1620); Acad. A 26 (Index 644. Dated 1054/1644-5); Acad. 25 (Index 643. Dated 1222/1807); Acad. B 139 (Index 645); Acad. B 3974 (Index 646);

Acad. C 62 fol. 1b-84b (Index 3438); Dorn CCCLII; Chanykov 50; **Istanbul** Ayasofya 1762/2 (Ateş 83. Copied by Mas'ud b. Manşūr al-Mutaṭabbib and dated Rabī' I 791/1389); Topkapı, Ahmet III 2363 (Karatay 395. Dated Ramaḍān 867/1463); Nuruosmaniye 4964/19 (Ateş 84 and 371. 15th century?); Üniversite FY 877 (*olim* Halis Efendi 8637. Ateş 85. 17th century?); Esat 2633/2 (Duda p. 52. Added by a second hand to a Ms. dated Ramaḍān 1025/1616); Üniversite FY 880 (*olim* Halis Efendi 4262. Ateş 86. Dated 1 Dhū l-qa'dah 1287/1872); **Cairo** 6 mīm majāmī' fārisī (Tirāzī I 269. Dated Şafar 1106/1694); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy I 190 (Ms. copied by Ibn Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Mu'jizī al-Yazdī and dated Rajab 1001/1593); Sipah-sālār II 1106 (Dated 1013/1604-5); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 191 (Dated Rabī' II 1006/1597); Bayānī 9 (*Nuskhah-hā* I p. 9. 16th century?); [396] Gulistān/Ātābāy I 187 (Copied for Akbar, regn. 1556-1605); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 178 (Dated 1 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1015/1607. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 189 (Copied by 'al-Bukhārī' and dated Sha'bān 1015/1606 or 1025/1616);¹ Sipah-sālār II 1108 (Dated 1032/1622-3); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 180 (Copied in 1035/1625-6 by Muḥammad b. Mullā Mīr al-Ḥusainī al-Ustādī); Majlis II 326 (Dated 1053/1643-4); Sipah-sālār II 1107 (Copied by Muḥammad Masīḥ Shīrāzī in 1063/1653); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 181 (*Intikhāb*. Copied by 'the famous calligrapher' 'Abd al-Rashīd, presumably the person of that name who died in India in 1081/1670; see *Elr* s.v. 'Abd-al-Rašīd Daylamī' by P.P. Soucek); Shūrā i Islāmī I 351 (copied by Mīr 'Alī Harawī); **Arak** Bayāt (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 65. Dated 993/1585); **Mashhad** Ridāwī VII 407 (Copied by Ḥājji 'Alī Samarqandī and dated 2 Rabī' I 847/1443); Ridāwī VII 406 (Dated 950/1543-4); Ridāwī VII 412 (Dated 7 Jumādā II 1016/1607); Ridāwī VII 198 (Dated 1029/1620); Ridāwī VII 199 (Dated 1140/1727-8); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 369 (Dated 1054/1644-5); 373; **Pakistan** (various copies listed in Munz. Pak. VII p. 46-51); **Bombay** Univ. 108; Rehatsek p. 187 no. 19-20 (2 Mss., one dated 24 Rabī' II 1063/1653); Rehatsek p. 129 no. 12; **Lucknow** Sprenger 321 (several copies, one - evidently the one now in Berlin - of which was dated 1090/1679); **Bankipore** I 33 (Copied by Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Bukhārī in 1014/1605-6); Suppt. i 1806

¹The date is given - according to the catalogue - in figures as '1015' but in words as *alf wa khamsat 'ishrīn*. The Ms. contains after the *dtwān* a second colophon in which the scribe calls himself 'Muḥammad Latīf al-mashhūr bi Shōkhī al-Bukhārī' (Ātābāy reads 'al-Najjārī') with the date Rajab 1018/1609.

(Dated 1024/1615); I 32/I, VI (Copied by Qāsim Shīrāzī and dated 1027/1618. Pictures); Suppt. i 1807 (Dated (9 Dhū l-qa'dah 1092/1681. Beginning missing); **Hyderabad** Āsafiyah II p. 1476 no. 98, 107, 165; **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 197 (Dated 7 Rabī' II 1042/1632); Ivanow 461 (18th century?); [397] Ivanow Curzon 198 (Dated 17 Sha'bān 12th year of Muḥammad-Akbar/1232/1817); Ivanow 462; **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. 60 (16th century?). Cf. Munz. IV 28514-606.

Editions: **Agra** 1855 (with a commentary); **Cawnpore** 1284/1867 (Abridged, with marginal notes based on 'Abd al-Salām's commentary); **Lahore** 1867 (*Intikhāb ... Tuhfat al-'irāqain*, followed by a commentary compiled once again from that of 'Abd al-Salām); **Lucknow** 1876; 1930 (*Sharḥ Tuhfat al-'irāqain*. Text with an Urdu commentary by 'Abd al-Bārī Āsī); **Tehran** 1333sh./1954 (ed. Y. Qarīb from various, mostly late, Mss., with an introduction).

Commentaries:

(1) *Sharḥ i tuhfāt al-'irāqain* by Shaikh 'Abd al-Salām, written in 1057/1647. Mss.: **London** I.O. 960 (Dated 17 Dhū l-qa'dah 1059/1649); I.O. Delhi 1242; **Lucknow** Sprenger 322; 'Probably' the same commentary is found also in **Oxford** Walker 90 (Ethé 581. Dated 1076/1665-6); **Pakistan** (Several copies listed in Munz. Pak. VII p. 51-2).

(2) (same title) by Ghulām-Muḥammad N.ḥ.w.sh.y (?). Ms.: **Oxford** Ouseley 61 (Ethé 580. Dated 5 Şafar 1124/1712).

(3) (same title), anonymous, but (according to Ethé) different from the two preceding works. Begins at once with the first verse of the poem. Ms.: **London** I.O. 2867.

(4) (same title) by 'Abd al-Ghanī bhkry. Ms.: **Lahore** Shērānī III p. 442 (acc. to Munz. Pak. VII p. 54. Dated 7 Shawwāl 1146/1734).

(5) (same title) by Saiyid Ismā'īl Abjadī,¹ begun in 1200/1786. Mss.: **Madras** II 612 (Dated 1249/1833-4).

Edition: in *Kulliyāt i Abjadī* IV, Madras 1954.

(6) *Tuhfat al-āfāq* by Khwājah Muḥammad b. Walī Muḥammad. Ms.: **London** I.O. Delhi 1240 (Dated 1214/1799-1800). [398]

¹For whom see *PL* I p. 778, 1334.

Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, passim; 'Aufi II p. 221-21 (and Nafīsī's notes p. 705-7); id., *Jawāmi'* III p. 79; Shams passim; Juwainī II p. 38-9; Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 404; Mustaufī p. 665-6, 728-30; *Daqā'iḡ al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Jārmī I p. 149-58, II p. 876, 883; Daulat-shāh p. 78-83; Rāzī III p. 269-87 (no. 1385); Ādhar I p. 149-94; N. de Khanikof, 'Mémoire sur Khāqānī, poète persan du XII^e siècle', *JA* sér. 6, tome 4, 1863, p. 137-200; sér. 6, tome 5, 1865, p. 296-367 (with text and prose translation of several poems); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 200-13; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 188-91; Furūzānfar II p. 300-52; M. Iqbāl, 'Tadhkirah i Khāqānī' (in Urdu), *OCM* XIII/1, 1936, p. 3-42; V. Minorsky, 'Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus', *BSOAS* XI, 1945, p. 550-78, reprinted with addenda in his *Iranica* p. 120-50 (Persian translation in *FIZ* I/2, 1332sh./1953); O.L. Vil'chevskiy, Хакани, *Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye* 1957/iv, p. 63-76; id., «Хронограммы Хакани», *Epigrafika Vostoka* XIII, 1960, p. 59-68 (translated by J.W. Clinton in *Iranian studies* II/2-3, 1969, p. 97-105); Hādī Ḥasan, 'Khāqānī: his times, life and poetry', in his *Researches in Persian literature*, Hyderabad 1958, p. 13-28; M. Rifaqatullah Khan, 'Life of Khaqani', *Indo-Iranica* XII/2, 1959, p. 24-44; Khaiyām-pūr p. 181-2 (with further references); A. Ateş, 'Hāqānī'nin mektupları dergisi', *Belleten* XXV, 1961, p. 239-47; B. Reinert, 'Mas'alah i tajdīd i maṭla' dar qaṣā'id i Khāqānī', *MDAT* XII/2, 1343/1964, p. 126-49; idem, *Hāqānī als Dichter, poetische Logik und Phantasie*, Berlin 1972; 'A. Dashtī, *Khāqānī, shā'ir-i dīr-āshnā*, Tehran 1341sh./1962, 2nd. ed. 2535sh.sh./1976; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 776-94; Rypka p. 202-8 (summarises the - largely fantastic - reconstruction of his biography by Vil'chevskiy); J.W. Clinton, 'The *Madāen Qasida* of Xāqānī [399] Sharvānī, I (II)', *Edebiyāt* I, 1976, p. 153-70, II, 1977, p. 191-206; A.M. Anvar, 'The arch of Madaen from the point of view of the famous Arabic and Persian poets Khaghany and Bohtory', *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 14/i-ii, 1979, p. 1-31; M. Mu'īn, *Hawāshī ... bar ash'ar i Khāqānī i Sharvānī*, ed. with additional notes by D. Sajjādī, Tehran 1358sh./1979; A.L.F.A. Beelaert, 'The function of the *mamdūḡs* in the 7th *maqāla* of the *Tuhfat al-ʿIrāqayn* by Khāqānī Šīrwānī', *Manuscripts of the Middle*

¹There is a lacuna in the text evidently after p. 222 l. 16; the end of the article on Khāqānī is missing and what follows is the last part of the entry on Mujīr Balaqānī (see Nafīsī's edition, p. 406).

East III, 1988, p. 16-22; eadem, 'La qaṣide en honneur d'Ispahan de Xāqānī et la recherche du *Xatm al-qarā'eb*', in *Pand-o sokhan, Mélanges offerts à Charles-Henri de Fouchécour*, Tehran 1995, p. 53-63; *El'* s.v. 'Khāqānī' (B. Reinert).

225. al-Ustādh al-Muwaffaq Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī is mentioned a number of times in al-Bundārī's abridgment of 'Imād al-dīn's expanded Arabic translation of Anōsharwān b. Khālīd's history of the Seljuqs, where we read that he was one of the foremost wits at the time of Muḥammad (I) b. Malik-shāh (498/1105 to 511/1118) and the *mustaufi* to the Khātūn, i.e. the sultan's queen. The text speaks of him as deceased;¹ since al-Bundārī habitually draws attention to his own additions it would appear that Khātūnī must have died before 'Imād al-dīn (d. 597/1183) and possibly before Anōsharwān (d. 532/1138 or shortly afterwards). The same source tells us that he satirised several of the sultan's ministers and officials, in prose and in verse, and quotes (in 'Imād al-dīn's Arabic verse translation) a number of his epigrams.² A few short Persian poems, largely of satirical content, are preserved in other sources. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī says that in the mosque in Sāwah there is 'a library which [400] takes its name from the wazīr (sic) Abū Ṭāhir al-Khātūnī containing all the fine books which existed in his time' as well as astronomical instruments and the like.³ Rāwandī says that he himself saw Malik-shāh's *Shikār-nāmah* (hunting journal) 'in the handwriting of Abū Ṭāhir Khātūnī', but it is not clear to me whether this implies that Khātūnī wrote such a work during the reign of Malik-shāh (i.e. that he was already attached to the court before 485/1092), or merely that he copied a manuscript of such a work at a later date.

On two occasions⁴ Daulat-shāh quotes the *Tārīkh i āl i Saljūq* of Abū Ṭāhir Khātūnī, one time for an anecdote referring to the reign of

¹*Zubdah* p. 102: *wa ilā ākhir 'umrihi*.

²Qazwīnī has noted that the Persian original of the epigram translated in *Zubdah* p. 106 l. 13-4 is preserved in 'Aufi I p. 68 l. 10-11, where, however, it is attributed to Mu'īn al-mulk al-Aṣamm.

³Yāqūt (*Buldān* III p. 24), writing about half a century before Zakariyā', also speaks of a library in Sāwah, 'of which none was larger in the world', but he adds that it was burned by the Mongols during their sack of the town in 617/1220-1. It is thus clear that Zakariyā', though writing in the present tense, is in fact copying his information from an old book.

⁴Daulat-shāh p. 64, 76-7.

Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-shāh (529/1134 to 547/1152) and another in connection with the death of Sanjar's daughter in 524/1130. However, if Khātūnī had really written a history of the Seljuqs and if it was still accessible (directly or indirectly) to Daulat-shāh more than 300 years later, then it would seem most astonishing that none of the historians who wrote about that dynasty betray any knowledge of such a work. Besides this, both of the stories which Daulat-shāh claims to have from this history are in their own right extremely dubious, as we have shown in the appropriate entries.¹ One should therefore perhaps not give too much credence to another passage² in which Daulat-shāh claims to be [401] quoting Khātūnī's book on the lives of the poets (*Kitāb manāqib al-shu'arā'*).

LF ed. Horn p. 31 (one verse by 'ustād Muwaffaq al-dīn Abū Ṭāhir Ḥānūfī' - or thus at least Horn's reading - in the Vatican Ms.);³ *Yawāqūt al-ʿulūm* (anon., mid-6th/12th century), ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1345sh./1966, p. 261 (quotes a riddle of two verses); Ṭāhir al-dīn Naisābūrī, *Saljūq-nāmāh*, Tehran 1332sh./1953, p. 34; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, p. 131, 136; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣrah wa nukhbat al-ʿuṣrah*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma (= his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes* II), Leyden 1889, p. 89, 105-8, 110, 113; Shams p. 94-5, 256; Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 259; *Ṣiḥāḥ* p. 225; Daulat-shāh p. 29, 58, 64, 76-7; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 66-7; Qazwīnī's introduction to 'Aufī I p. vii-viii n. 1, his note on p. 317, and his *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* V p. 280-1; Browne, *History* II p. 326-7; *LN* s.v. 'Abū Ṭāhir' p. 556-7; Khayyām-pūr p. 19 (with further references); *EIr* s.v. 'Abū Ṭāher Khātūnī' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

226. Two verses by Ṣārim al-dīn Khīrah referring to Qiwām al-dīn (who was minister to Toghril II until 528/1133-4) are quoted by Abū l-Rajā' Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 12.

¹ See above, p. 255 ('Am'āq) and 342-3 (Jalāl al-dīn).

² Daulat-shāh p. 58.

³ As pointed out above, p. 59, this verse is an early interpolation in Asadī's hook.

227. al-Ṣadr al-imām al-ajall Ṣadr al-millah wa l-dīn al-Khujandī and al-Ṣadr al-ajall Jamāl al-dīn al-Khujandī are the subjects of two successive entries in 'Aufī's chapter on the religious dignitaries who dabbled in poetry and 'Aufī quotes a number of pieces by each of them.¹ We have to do with two members (not sufficiently identified by 'Aufī) of a distinguished family of Shāfi'ī [402] clerics, originally from Khujand (in Central Asia), but who gained prominence in Isfahan, the *banū l-Khujandī* (or, in Persian, *Khujandiyān*). Though for their own sake they do not merit a place in the history of Persian belles-lettres they were the patrons of several major poets of our period (Athīr, Jamāl al-dīn, Kamāl al-dīn, Khāqānī, Rafī' Lunbānī, Qamar, Ṣāḥib Fāryābī). For this reason, but also because of the confusion which has surrounded them in the secondary literature, we find it expedient to enumerate here the most important members of this family.²

Abū Bakr Muḥammad (I) b. Thābit b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Khujandī, the founder of the Khujandī lineage in Isfahan, was sent from Marw to Isfahan by Niẓām al-mulk and died in 483/1090-1.³

His son, 'Abd al-Laṭīf (I) succeeded him as the *ra'īs* of the Shāfi'īs in Isfahan and was assassinated by the Ismā'īlīs in 523/1129.⁴ His brother Aḥmad died on 1 Shā'bān 531/1137.⁵ [403] Ibn al-Athīr says

¹ 'Aufī I p. 265-8.

² For the *banū l-Khujandī* see (apart from the primary sources listed in following footnotes): Qazwīnī's notes in his edition of 'Aufī I p. 355; his *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* IV p. 191; Nafīsī's *takmilah* to his edition of 'Aufī, p. 798-9; Humāyūn-Farrukh's introduction to his edition of the *dīwān* of Athīr Akhsikātī p. xcvi-xcviii (lists eleven members of the family, some of them fictitious or doublets of others in the same list); the chapter on Isfahan in H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfi'itischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 146-50 (very incomplete). [See now also the comprehensive article 'Āl i Khujand' in *DMBI* (Saiyid 'Alī Āl i Dā'ūd), with in part different conclusions.]

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, X p. 251-2; 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah al-kubrā*, ed. A. al-Qādirī, Cairo 1324/1906, III p. 50-1.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr X p. 464. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 198, likewise says that 'Ṣadr al-dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Khujandī' died in Shawwāl 523; however he also tells an anecdote about this *ṣadr* and the atabeg Muḥammad b. Ēldügüz (who reigned half a century later), quoting three Persian verses with which Ṣadr al-dīn admonished that ruler. It is thus clear that Zakariyā' has confused 'Abd al-Laṭīf I with his grandson 'Aḥd al-Laṭīf II.

⁵ al-Subkī IV p. 50.

that Abū l-Muẓaffar b. al-Khujandī (presumably a brother of these two) was assassinated by a Shiite ('*alawī*') while descending from the preacher's chair in the mosque at Rai in 496/1102-3.¹

'Abd al-Laṭīf I was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad (II). According to 'Imād al-dīn al-Kātib² he fell foul of Sultan Mas'ūd in 542/1147-8 and had to flee from Isfahan together with his brother Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd and other members of the family, whereupon the local mob sacked the Shāfi'ī *madrasah* and burned its library. The fugitives were received graciously by Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad al-Jawād, the wazīr to the atabeg of Mosul, but soon afterwards they made peace with the sultan and returned to Isfahan. 'Imād al-dīn says further that he himself met Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd in Baghdad in Ṣafar 543/1148. In his *Tuhfat al-irāqain* (written ca. 551/1156)³ Khāqānī praises Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad⁴ and his brother Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd.⁵ al-Subkī⁶ says that Muḥammad II became (evidently after these events) the *wālī* of the Madrasah Niẓāmiyah in Baghdad and that he died while travelling between Baghdad and Isfahan on 22 Shawwāl 552/1157. Ibn al-Athīr⁷ says that at the time of his death a great riot (*fitnah* '*azīmah*') broke out in Isfahan in which many people were [404] killed. There is an elegy on the death of his brother Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd in the *diwān* of Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq.⁸

The just-mentioned Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd is not to be confused with Jamāl al-dīn Mas'ūd al-Khujandī, whose relationship with the other members of the family is not clear, but who evidently belonged to the next generation. A number of his letters (one of them addressed to the atabeg Muḥammad Jahān-Pahlawān b. Ēldügüz, 570/1175 to 582/1186)

¹Ibn al-Athīr X p. 251.

²See *Zubdat al-nuṣrah wa nukhbat al-uṣrah*, abridged by al-Bundārī from the original of 'Imād al-dīn al-Iṣfahānī, ed. M.Th. Houtsma (= his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides* II), Leyden 1889, p. 220-1.

³See above, p. 384.

⁴Ed. Qarīb p. 238-40. The verses mention 'Ṣadr al-dīn' and 'Muḥammad al-Khujandī'.

⁵Id. p. 241.

⁶al-Subkī IV p. 80 (new edition VI p. 134). Similarly al-Ṣafadī, *al-Waḥf bi l-wafayāt*, ed. Ritter et al., 1931 sqq., III no. 1330.

⁷Ibn al-Athīr XI p. 150.

⁸Ed. Dastgirdī p. 259-61. *Laqab* and name occur on p. 260 l. 5, but see above, p. 346-7.

and several of his Persian poems are preserved in a 13th-century anthology;¹ the fact that he wrote poetry in Persian suggests that he might also be the 'Jamāl al-dīn' cited by 'Aufī. There is an ode to him in the *diwān* of Athīr Akhsikātī.²

This Mas'ūd is perhaps the brother of Ṣadr al-dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Laṭīf (II), the son of Muḥammad II. He was born in Rajab 535/1141, assumed the leadership of the Shāfi'īs of Isfahan after (though presumably not right after) his father and died in Jumādā I 588/1184.³

He was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad (III). He was killed by the military governor [405] (*shihnah*) of Isfahan, Falak al-dīn Sunqur al-Ṭawīl, in Jumādā II 592/1196.⁴

Muḥammad III is the last of the *ṣadrs* to be mentioned by al-Subkī, who, although he died almost two centuries later (in 771/1370), evidently derived his knowledge of the Shāfi'īs of Isfahan from a source written at the end of the 12th century. Muḥammad would appear to have been succeeded by Ṣadr al-dīn 'Umar al-Khujandī (perhaps his son), whom we seem to know only from the panegyrics of Kamāl al-dīn and Rafī'

¹*al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il*, ed. Ī. Afshār, Tehran 2535sh.sh./1976-7, p. 70-1, 71-2 (the letter to Jahān-Pahlawān), 87, 88 (the poems), 110. There is also a letter addressed to him on p. 62-5.

²Ed. Humāyūn-Farrukh p. 298-301. His name is very clearly mentioned, and used as the basis for a pun, on p. 300 l. 3; see also the reference to Khujand in the next line. But the editor has allowed himself to be misled by the superscription according to which the *qaṣṣdah* is dedicated to Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd.

³Ibn al-Athīr XI p. 336; al-Subkī IV p. 261 (new edition VII p. 186). al-Ṣafadī XIX no. 96 says he died in 580, evidently a scribal error.

⁴See Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, p. 381; Ibn al-Athīr XII p. 81; al-Subkī IV p. 80. al-Subkī gives his name as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf (including him among the other Muḥammads of the relevant *ṭabaqah*) and specifies that he was the grandson of Abū Bakr Muḥammad (II) b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Ibn al-Athīr calls him Ṣadr al-dīn Maḥmūd (sic) b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Muḥammad b. Thābit *ra'īs al-shāfi'īyah bi Isfahān*, with an obvious lacuna at the place indicated. (Qazwīnī, misled by Ibn al-Athīr, regarded him as the uncle, rather than the son, of his predecessor). Ibn al-Athīr includes his death at the hands of Sunqur in the events of 592 and this date is confirmed by Rāwandī; the old edition of al-Subkī has him die in Jumādā I or II 572, but in the new edition (ed. 'A. al-F. M. Ḥulw and M.M. al-Tanāhī, Cairo 1964-76, VI p. 134-5) this has been corrected to 592. A letter of 'Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf' dated Jumādā I <5>85 can be found in *al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il* p. 283.

Lunbānī, and who was presumably the last of the *ṣadrs* before the Mongol invasion. The family, however, survived the conquest. Juwainī (III p. 79-80) mentions one *qāḍī l-quḍāh* Jamāl al-millāh wa l-dīn Maḥmūd al-Khujandī in connection with the events of the year 650/1252-3.

228. A single verse by one **Khurshēdī** is quoted in two different places (p. 12 and 115-6) by Shams i Qais. [406]

229. al-Shaikh al-ʿAmīd Jamāl al-dīn Iftikhār al-shuʿarāʾ Abū Bakr b. al-Musāʿid al-Khusrawī¹ flourished, as ʿAufī tells us, under the last Ghaznavid, Abū l-Muẓaffar Khusrau-Malik (555/1160 to 582/1186), but also served his successor, the Ghorid Muʿizz al-dīn Muḥammad.² ʿAufī quotes an ode to Khusrau-Malik³ and several *ghazals*.

ʿAufī II p. 407-11; Rāzī I p. 332-3 (no. 343); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 199; Khaiyām-pūr p. 191 (ʿKhusrawī i Bukhārāʾī); C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, p. 128.

230. Masʿūd **Kinānī**⁴ (ʿroof-makerʼ) Jarbādhaqānī, a satirical poet at the time of the Seljuqs Toghril II and Masʿūd, appears to be known only from Abū l-Rajāʾ Qummī, who quotes four of his quatrains, one of them mocking ʿImād al-dīn, Masʿūdʼs wazīr from 530/1136 to 532/1138, another directed against Muʿaiyad al-dīn Marzbān, who occupied the same position from 539/1144-5 to 540/1145-6.

Abū l-Rajāʾ Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 12-3, 90, 128-9. [407]

¹Thus ʿAufī. Rāzī calls him Abū Bakr b. al-Musāʿid al-Khusrawī, but in Hidāyat this is garbled to Shaikh Jamāl al-dīn Abū al-Mushāhid, alias Khusrawī Bukhārāʾī.

²ʿAufīʼs precise words are: *dar daulat i Khusrau-Malik iqbal-hā dīd wa dar awāʾil i aiyyām i salānat i muʿizzī qabūl yāftah*.

³ʿAufī refers to the dedicatee of the poem as *ʿsultān i shahīd*; the poem itself contains in a verse that is mutilated in the only Ms. available to the editor (p. 408, l. 13) the name *ʿBū l-Muẓaffar*. Hidāyat quotes a few verses from this poem (the variants are recorded in Browneʼs apparatus criticus) and reads instead of the mutilated half-verse: *wārith i takht i shahī Khusrau-Malik, khwarshēd i mulk*, but this is perhaps merely Hidāyatʼs own emendation.

⁴Thus three times in Abū l-Rajāʾ. On p. 128: *kyʼny*.

231. **Kōhyārī**¹ Ṭabarī, a citizen of Āmul, is credited with two *rubāʿīs* in ʿAufīʼs chapter on the poets of Western Persia during the Seljuq period.

ʿAufī II p. 240; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 487 (follows ʿAufī); Khaiyām-pūr p. 493.

232. **Kōshkakī**² al-Qāʾinī was a poet at the court of Sanjar. ʿAufī says that he specialised in invectives and quotes two samples of his satirical verse. Abū l-Rajāʾ Qummī quotes a *rubāʿī* referring to Sanjarʼs defeat at the hands of the Ghuzz (in 548/1154) and Rāzī adds two different poems about that same event.

Abū l-Rajāʾ Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 175; ʿAufī II p. 174-5, 358; Rāzī II p. 323-4 (no. 824); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 488; Khaiyām-pūr p. 492.

233. **Laṭīf** al-dīn Zakī Marāghaʾī is included in ʿAufīʼs chapter on the poets of Transoxania after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). ʿAufī tells us that, although his family was from Marāghah, Laṭīf was born and raised in Kāshghar, and quotes two long *qaṣīdahs*, both apparently dedicated to the same ruler who, in the first is called *ʿKhusrau Muʿizz i dunyā wa dīn* (who is said to be a descendant of Sanjar), in the second *ʿKhusrau i sharq Muʿizz al-dīn wa l-dunyā*. Elsewhere (II p. 238) the same authority quotes a laudatory verse that *ʿLaṭīf al-dīn Dhakī* (sic) Marāghīʼ addressed to Kāfī b. Abī l-Faraj Rūnī, together with the flattering reply of the latter.

ʿAufī II p. 238, 371-7; Rāzī III p. 264-5 (no. 1384); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 241-2; *LN* s.vv. [408] *ʿLaṭīf al-dīn* p. 213-4 and *ʿLaṭīf* p. 214; Khaiyām-pūr p. 248.

234. **Luʾluʾī** is the first name in ʿArūḍīʼs list of the poets of the *ʿhouse of the Khāqān*, i.e. the Qarakhanids. Two verses are ascribed to a poet of this name in the marginal additions to Ms. *nūn* of Asadīʼs *Lughat i furs*. Another two verses are quoted by Shams and four

¹Thus ʿAufī; Hidāyat has *Kōhsārī*.

²Thus ʿAufī II p. 174 (in the text), p. 358 (in Ms. E) and the other sources. The evidently erroneous variant *Kōshkī* is found in ʿAufī II p. 174 (in the superscription) and p. 358 (in Ms. S).

rubā'iyāt are ascribed to Lu'lu'ī in the *Nuz'hat al-majālis* of Jamāl al-dīn Sharwānī. To these Nafīsī has added another two verses from 'other dictionaries' - one of them can be found in Surūrī's *Majma' al-furs*;¹ the other (Nafīsī's first verse on p. 39) I have not located - and another *rubā'ī* from an unidentified anthology. But Nafīsī unnecessarily complicates things by raising the question of whether some or all of these verses might belong not to 'Arūdī's Lu'lu'ī but to the '*kad-khudā*' (variant: *dih-khudā*) Lu'lu'ī mentioned by Asadī in his *Karshāsp-nāmah*.² In fact, Asadī refers to this person only as a *dabīr* and gives no indication that he was a poet. The marginal additions in Ms. *nūn* of LF have, of course, nothing to do with Asadī; the connection that Nafīsī draws between the verses quoted there and the passage in the *Karshāsp-nāmah* is thus without foundation.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 333 and 530 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Arūdī p. 28; Shams p. 359 (1 verse in Qazwīnī's edition, two in the new edition p. 381); Sharwānī (see below, appendix III); Nafīsī's *Diwān i 'Am'āq* (see above, p. 255) p. 36-9. [409]

235. The poetess Mahsatī³ is, with Abū Sa'īd and Khayyāmī, the third of the great semi-legendary figures associated with the early Persian *rubā'ī*. We have no information whatsoever about the historical person who (apparently) lurks behind the legend. 'Aṭṭār, in one of the stories in his *Ilāhī-nāmah*, depicts Mahsatī as a singing-girl at the court of Sanjar (511/1118 to 552/1157), but Mustaufī and his successors situate her at the court of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī (388/998 to 421/1030).

The Vatican manuscript of Asadī's *Lughat i furs* ascribes one verse to Mahsatī, but in other copies of that dictionary the same verse is attributed to Rōdakī. Consequently one cannot be certain whether or not this name was known already to Asadī. A single quatrain by 'Mahsatī the scribe' (*dabīr*) is quoted by Shams to illustrate a bad rhyme. Only with the great anthologies of Sharwānī and Jārmī do we begin to have a substantial selection of her *rubā'iyāt*, exactly as is the case with Khayyāmī.

¹Dabīr-Siyāqī's edition, p. 309, but in some of the Mss. it is ascribed not to 'Lu'lu'ī' but to 'Maulawī'.

²Ed. Huart vs. 294; ed. Yaghmā'ī p. 21 vs. 31.

³The name Mahsatī (metrical variant: Mahastī) is discussed at length by Meier, p. 43-57, with the plausible conclusion that it is a compound of *mah*, 'moon', and the early Indian loan-word *sati*, 'virtuous lady'.

Mahsatī and her lover Amīr Aḥmad are the protagonists of a novel which cannot be dated precisely, but of which the oldest copy appears to be a London manuscript dated 867/1462-3.¹ This situates their story in the timeless past, in the exotic, semi-foreign town of Ganjah and the prose narrative is interspersed with the quatrains which the two lovers are supposed to have addressed to one another. 257 *rubā'iyāt* (and a few poems in other metres) attested in anthologies and other sources, but without those found exclusively in manuscripts of the novel, were collected (together [410] with a German translation) by the late Fritz Meier in *Die schöne Mahsatī. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers, I* (no more published), Wiesbaden 1963, in which all the available sources are critically assessed, the fundamental work for the study of this author. A smaller collection of poems had previously been published by Ṭ. Shihāb under the title *Diwān i Mahsatī i Ganjawi*, Tehran 1335sh./1956, 2nd edition 1336sh./1957 (and reprints). The poems ascribed to Mahsatī are all of amatory, and generally decidedly sentimental content, though a small number (among them the half-quatrain quoted in LF) are pornographic.²

Translation of 257 quatrains (Italian): *Mahsati Ganjavi, La luna e le perle*, trans. R. Bargigli with introduction and notes by D. Meneghini, Milan 1999.

LF, ed. Horn, p. 45; 'Aṭṭār, *Ilāhī-nāmah*, ed. Ritter, p. 233-5; Shams p. 219; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see Meier, and below, appendix III); Mustaufī p. 757; Jārmī II p. 1151-5, 1162-4, 1211-2, 1213; Yaghmā'ī p. 180; Daulat-shāh p. 65; Rāzī III p. 304-5 (no. 1399); F. Bagherzadeh, 'Mahsati Ganjavi et les potiers de Rey', in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin* (=Varia Turcica XIX), Paris 1992, p. 161-76; *EP* s.v. 'Mahsatī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn). A large number of other, mostly unpublished, sources are listed by Meier, p. 117-124.

236. Majd al-dīn Abū l-Barakāt is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157)

¹London Or. 8755 fol. 22b-108a (Meredith-Owens p. 69). This will be discussed, together with other works of narrative prose, in PL III/3.

²I suspect now that Mahsatī is a fictitious personage and that all of the quatrains attributed to her and her various lovers are extracted from some early form of the novel. See the discussion in appendix III, especially p. 594.

where he is represented by a long ode, evidently in imitation of one by Lāmi'ī (whose name is mentioned in the 13th verse),¹ dedicated to a ruler whom 'Aufī calls 'Tāj al-dīn ra'īs i Khurāsān', and to whom the poet applies the grander title of *saiyid i Ērān*. Hidāyat quotes the same poem, but calls its author Abū l-Barakāt Baihaqī, evidently identifying him with the person included by Ibn Funduq in his history of his native town (p. 246) as Majd al-dīn Abū l-Barakāt al-Faḍl b. 'Alī al-'Alawī (with a genealogy reaching back to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib). Ibn Funduq proceeds to tell us that this [411] man was a poet and prose-writer in Persian and Arabic and illustrates his talents with five Arabic verses. But 'Aufī's failure to refer to his Majd al-dīn as a *saiyid* or an *'alawī* speaks rather against the identification.

'Aufī II p. 318-23; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 85-6; Khaiyām-pūr p. 15 ('Abū l-Barakāt i Baihaqī').

237. **Majd al-dīn** Muḥammad al-Pāyēzī² al-Nasawī is also cited in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar, where we find five of his *rubā'iyāt*. 'Aufī says that he was one of the poets of 'Sulṭān Sikandar', i.e. the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā' al-dīn Muḥammad b. Tekish (596/1200 to 617/1220),³ that he himself saw him in Nasā in the year 600/1203-4 and that Majd al-dīn was the author of a poetical account of the deeds of the Khwārazm-shāhs with the title *Shāhanshāh-nāmāh*.

'Aufī II p. 345-6; Rāzī II p. 35 (no. 540); Khaiyām-pūr p. 101 ('Pāyēzī i Nasawī').

238. Three verses by one **Malaqābādī** (??) are quoted by Shams p. 236.

239. al-Qāḍī al-imām Shams al-dīn **Manṣūr** b. Maḥmūd al-Ūzjandī was, according to 'Aufī, a religious scholar and physician who entered the services of the Khitāy. 'Aufī quotes two of his odes, the first of which praises a commander of the Khitāy with the name Aḥmad and the

¹See Muṣaffā's remarks in his edition of Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 217 note 5.

²Thus Browne's reading, on the basis of one of the two Mss. of 'Aufī's book. The two Mss. of Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm* consulted by Ethé have 'al-Bānīrī' or 'b. al-Bānīrī'.

³See above, p. 249 (Abū 'Alī).

title *tayangū*.¹ The opening verse of this *qaṣīdah* is [412] quoted also by Shams, who calls its author Qāḍī Manṣūr Farghānī. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī quotes the first three verses of the same poem, but calls its author 'qāḍī madīnat Bukhārā ṣadr al-sharī'ah', apparently confusing him with one of the Āl i Burhān; Zakariyā' is, however, evidently correct in seeing this poem as the model for another with the same unusual rhyme by Shams Ṭabasī.²

'Aufī I p. 194-8 (and Qazwīnī's notes); Shams p. 273; Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 272-3; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 306; Khaiyām-pūr p. 305 ('Shams i Ūzjandī').

240. **Mas'ūd** b. Sa'd b. Salmān has left us with a substantial *dīwān* that is not only very rich in autobiographical data, but which also contains much information on the history of North-Western India during the last quarter of the 5th/11th century.³ He was born, as he indicates quite clearly in a number of poems, in Lahore, and not, as 'Aufī maintains, in Hamadān, nor in any of the other improbable places claimed by the authors of later *tadhkirahs*. His father Sa'd was a rich landowner and an official in the Ghaznavid administration⁴ and Mas'ūd followed in his footsteps, serving five successive sultans, from Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd (451/1059 to 492/1099) down to Bahrām-shāh (511/1117 to 552/1157), all of whom are mentioned in his poems. The earliest piece which can be dated precisely is his ode celebrating the appointment by Sultan Ibrāhīm of his son Saif al-daulah Maḥmūd as the governor of the Ghaznavid possessions in India; the poem fixes this event to [413] the year 469 (*tai u stn u sih jīm*), i.e. 1076-7, and roughly the same date would appear to be implied in another ode to Maḥmūd alluding to the fact that Nau-rōz fell in the Muslim month of Rajab.⁵ His poems describe in some detail Maḥ-

¹For which see Doerfer II p. 651-2, with further literature. It does not seem possible to say whether or not this Aḥmad is identical with any of the *tayangūs* mentioned in the historical sources.

²For which see below, no. 292.

³The following notes are based almost entirely on Qazwīnī's classic study of 1905-6, where the reader can find the verses that attest the data summarised here.

⁴He is evidently the Sa'd i Salmān mentioned by Baihaqī (p. 501) in his account of the events of the year 427/1036.

⁵The Zoroastrian New Year fell on 26 February in 1075 and 1076 and on 25 February in 1077, each of which would correspond to a date in Rajab. The calculations in Qazwīnī/Browne, *JRAS* 1905, p. 714-5, which put the poem earlier, involve the false assumption that Nau-rōz was fixed to the vernal equinox.

mūd's military campaigns against the Hindus, in which the poet appears to have participated personally, and are of especial interest since Maḥmūd's governorship is not mentioned by any of the mediaeval historians. But after a while he was imprisoned by order of the sultan for a total of ten years; since Ibrāhīm was still on the throne after the poet's release the date of his imprisonment cannot have been later than 482/1089-90).¹ In the poems written during his incarceration the poet gives no real indication of the cause of his misfortune, but it is possible, as 'Arūdī claims, that this was the result of the deposition and imprisonment of Maḥmūd by his father, Ibrāhīm, who suspected that his son was plotting to defect to the Seljuqs.

Mas'ūd was eventually pardoned by Ibrāhīm and he subsequently returned to Lahore. When Ibrāhīm died, probably shortly afterwards, he was succeeded by his son Mas'ūd III, who appointed his own son, the future sultan Shēr-zād, as his governor in Lahore. Our poet enjoyed the favour of the new governor and especially that of his deputy, Abū Naṣr Fārisī, who had him appointed viceroy of Chālandar (or Jā-). But later he was imprisoned for a second time, evidently in the wake of the disgrace of his patron Abū Naṣr, [414] though some of the verses composed during his second imprisonment seem to imply that Mas'ūd had been accused (wrongly, he says) of misappropriation of funds. He was eventually pardoned by Sultan Mas'ūd, i.e. before the death of the latter in 508/1115. The rest of his life seems to have been uneventful. He certainly lived until after the accession of Bahrām-shāh. Hidāyat and others state, on the authority of Niẓāmī 'Arūdī, that our poet died in 515/1121-2. Although this date is not mentioned in the published text of the *Chahār maqālah*, it is possible that it was contained in some manuscript of that work and is in any event not implausible.

'Aufī says Mas'ūd left three *dīwāns*, in Persian, Arabic and 'Hindū'ī (i.e. some Indian vernacular). Only the first of these has come down to us, but Waṭwāṭ does cite a good number of Mas'ūd's Arabic

verses in his *Ḥadā'iq al-sihr*. There is no trace of his Indian *dīwān*.¹ For his supposed epitome of the *Shāh-nāmah* see above p. 152-3.

Mss. of his *dīwān*: **Manchester** Lindesiana 95 (16th century?); **Oxford** Elliot 37 fol. 69a (Ethé 1333 = *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār*. 4 *tasmīṭs*); **Whinfield** 54 (Beeston 2662/5. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); **Elliot** 109 (Ethé 526. Dated 27 Muḥarram 1018/1609); **London** Add. 7793/I (fol. 1-164. Rieu p. 549. Dated Ramaḍān 1005/1597. Apparently Nūriyān's *bā'*); [415] **Egerton** 701 (Rieu p. 548-9. Dated Ramaḍān 1008/1600. Nūriyān's *qāf*); I.O. 2862 (Dated 26 Dhū l-qa'dah 1023/1614); I.O. 908; **Paris** Supplément 798 (Blochet 1210. 16th century?); **Munich** Cod. or. 279 fol. 1-91 (Aumer 18. 17th century? Selections); **Leningrad** Acad. D 187 (Index 1628. Dated 1012/1603-4); **Salemann** 15; **Romaskewicz** 8; **Konya** İzzet Koyunoğlu Kütüphanesi FY 1006 (Ateş, Istanbul Üniversitesi Cat. 21. Dated Shawwāl 1011/1603); **Istanbul** Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/6 (*Mikrāflm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 430/I (Bayānī apparently attributes the Ms. to the 16th century); Aṣghar Maḥdawī (*Nuskah-hā* II p. 78. Dated 12 Rabī' I 1045/1635); **Mashhad** Faculty of Theology (ex-Maulawī collection. *Nuskah-hā* V p. 29 no. 197. Dated 1009/1600-1. Nūriyān's *sin*); **Tashkent** Acad. 160/1 (Semenov 763. Dated 1268/1851-2); Acad. 238/IX (Semenov 764. 19th century); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 336 (18th century?); **Lahore** Univ. (Munz. Pak. VII p. 22. 16th century?); **Hyderabad (Sindh)** (Munz. Pak. VII p. 22. 15th-16th century?); **Aligarh** Subh p. 33 no. 32; **Calcutta** Ivanow 435 (=Sprenger 353. 18th century?). Cf. Munz. III 25913-41.

Editions: **Persia** 1296/1879; **Tehran** 1318sh./1939 (Ed. R. Yāsimī; with an extensive introduction) and reprints; 1362sh./1983 (again reprinted from Yāsimī, with a new introduction); 1364-5sh./1986 (ed. M. Nūriyān in 2 vols., with variants from six Mss. in the second volume).

¹Qazwīnī has taken perhaps a too sceptical view of the alleged Indian *dīwān*. He points to various passages where Mas'ūd parades his proficiency in Arabic and Persian but says nothing of 'Indian'. 'It would be absurd', Qazwīnī writes, 'for anyone to boast of knowing two languages while concealing the fact that he was acquainted with a third.' But this argument overlooks the fact that in Ghaznavid India Arabic and Persian were prestige languages, while the native tongues were not. It would seem most likely that Mas'ūd, as the scion of a family long established - as he himself states - in Lahore, did know the local language and it is thus not impossible that he might have composed the odd poem in it.

¹The date given by 'Arūdī, namely 472/1079-80, is much too early.

Glossary: *Farhang i lughāt u kināyāt i dtwān i Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān*, by M. Mahyār, Tehran 1377sh./1998.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 30, 396 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Arūdī p. 28, 45-6 (and Qazwīnī's notes); Waṭwāt passim; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qasr* (see Leyden Cat. II p. 240); 'Aufī II p. 246-52; Shams passim; Jājarmī II p. 618-24; Daulat-shāh p. 47-9; Rāzī II p. 542-54 (no. 1032); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 152b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Ādhar II p. 817-34; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 514-41; M. Qazwīnī (tr. E.G. Browne), 'Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salman', *JRAS* 1905, p. 693-740; 1906, p. 11-51; [416] S. Khwānsārī, *Hiṣār i Nāy, Sharḥ i ḥāl i Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān*, n.p. 1317sh./1938 (reprinted from *Armaghān* XIX-XX); Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 483-501; Khaiyām-pūr p. 538; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, passim; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 229-30; N. Ahmad, 'A reference to the Agra Fort in an 11th century Persian codex', *Indo-Iranica* XLI, 1988, p. 1-23; *El*² s.v. 'Mas'ūd i Sa'd' (J.W. Clinton).

241. Fakhr al-dīn Mas'ūdī, of Marw, is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān, where we read that he was a leading religious authority who also produced poetry. He is evidently not identical with the earlier Mas'ūdī Marwazī,² of whom 'Aufī knows nothing.

'Aufī II p. 163-4; Khaiyām-pūr p. 539.

242. Mu'ayyad al-dīn al-Nasafī is the author of two didactic *mathnawīs*, *Nasīm al-ṣabā ilā l-ṣibā* (inc.: *ai maṣābīḥ i āsmān i hudā * w-ai maṣābīḥ i jannatī l-ma'wā*, and dedicated to one Majd al-dīn³), and *Pahlawān-nāmah* (inc.: *marḥabā ai raftq i ham-dam i man * bi-shnau tn sar-gudhasht i pur-gham i man*); both are preserved in a 13th-century London manuscript, but neither has been published or studied. If he is in fact (as seems likely) the father of Shihāb al-dīn b. Mu'ayyad al-

¹The distinguished Pakistani scholar did not, of course, really have access to an 11th-century manuscript of Mas'ūd's poems; here 'codex' means 'text'.

²Above, p. 191-2.

³J.T.P. de Bruijn, who has studied the two *mathnawīs*, tells me that he thinks the dedicatee of the *Nasīm al-ṣabā* is Anwarī's patron Majd al-dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Imrānī, for whom see above p. 331; Mudarris's edition of Anwarī's *dtwān* II p. 76-7; Nafīsī's edition of the same *dtwān* p. xlv-xlv.

Samarqandī¹ then he must have flourished in Samarqand around the middle of the 6th/12th century. 'Aufī, who mentions the *Pahlawān-nāmah*, puts its author at the very beginning of his chapter on the poets of Transoxania after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) and quotes, among [417] other things, a *qaṣīdah* and a *qit'ah* in which the poet addresses a ruler by the name of Jalāl i dīn; the latter is presumably identical with the 'pahlawān i jahān Jalāl al-dīn' to whom the *Pahlawān-nāmah* is dedicated.² The *laqab* Jalāl al-dīn was used by several of the Qarakhanids, notably al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (524/1130 to 526/1132)³ and 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (551/1156 to ca. 556/1160),⁴ either one of whom could conceivably have been Mu'ayyad's patron. Two poems are attributed to 'Mu'ayyad i Nasafī' in the *Tārīkh-nāmah i Harāt* and a further *qit'ah* of five verses is added by Hidāyat.

Ms. of the two *mathnawīs*: London I.O. 929 (Dated Jumādā I 637/1239). (Neither poem is in Munz.).

'Aufī II p. 359-62; Rāzī III p. 356 (no. 1428); Saif b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, *Tārīkh-nāmah i Harāt*, Calcutta 1944, p. 77-8; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 509-10; Nafīsī's notes to Baihaqī, III p. 1547-9; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 767-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 579.

243. Fakhr al-dīn Abū Sa'īd⁵ Mubārak-shāh b. al-Ḥusain⁶ al-Marwarrūdī (Persian: Marw-i-rūdī) died, according to Ibn al-Athīr,⁷ in Shawwāl 602/1206.⁸ He was, the historian assures us, a [418] fine poet in Persian and in Arabic and had enjoyed a high position with the ruler of Ghaznah and Herat, Ghiyāth al-dīn al-Kabīr (i.e. the Ghorid

¹See below, no. 298.

²Fol. 96a.

³See O. Pritsak, *Der Islam* XXXI, 1953-4, p. 52.

⁴Cf. Pritsak, op. cit. p. 54 and (specifically for his *laqab*) Ateş's Turkish introduction to Zahirī, p. 65-70.

⁵The *kunya* is mentioned only by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

⁶His father's name is given thus by 'Aufī and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī. The published text of Ibn al-Athīr has 'al-Ḥasan', presumably a scribal error.

⁷XII p. 160-1. The same author, XII p. 101, mentions 'al-Fakhr Mubārak-Shāh' in connection with Ghiyāth al-dīn's conversion to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, but I suspect that here the author has confused our Mubārak-shāh with Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī.

⁸The same date is given by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, who claims that Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī 'told me' it, but given the fact that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's whole entry agrees more or less literally with Ibn al-Athīr the claim has to be taken with a grain of salt.

Muḥammad¹ b. Sām, 558/1163 to 599/1203). 'Aufī quotes, among other verses of his, a long *qaṣīdah* in praise of that king's predecessor Saif al-dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥusain (556/1161 to 558/1163), while Minhāj i Sirāj says that he himself had seen in the private quarters of the daughter of the afore-mentioned Ghiyāth al-dīn a manuscript of a history (or of a *Nisbat-nāmah*, as he calls it) of the Ghorid kings, in verse, composed by Mubārak-shāh and originally dedicated to 'Alā' al-dīn Ḥusain Jahān-sōz (544/1149 to 556/1161), but later re-dedicated to Ghiyāth al-dīn. The six *mathnawī* verses in *mutaqārib* metre by 'Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Marwazī' which are quoted in the *Rauḍāt al-jannāt* of Mu'īn al-dīn Isfizārī² in his account of that dynasty evidently belong to the work in question.

Mustaufī (followed by Khwānd-mīr and Hājji Khalīfah) says that Mubārak-shāh is the author of the *Madkhal i manẓūm i nujūm*,³ presumably the well-known versified treatise on astrology which is ascribed in some manuscripts to Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī.⁴ [419]

Extant, but unpublished, is the didactic *mathnawī Raḥīq al-tahqīq* (inc.: *bādah i 'ishq dar diḥ, ai sāqī, * tā shawad lāf i 'aql dar bāqī*) by an author who, in the superscription to the Ayasofya manuscript, is identified as Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Ghūrī and who indicates in the final verse that he completed the work in Muḥarram 584/1188. (*būd māh i Muḥarram, awwal i sāl * sāl i hijrat ba ḥarf i thā fā dāl*). Mss.: *Istan-*

¹In Ibn al-Fuwaṭī wrongly 'Mahmūd'.

²For this work, which has since been published (see our bibliography), cf. *PL* I p. 355, where (line 14) '1648' is an error for '1468'.

³With variants in the Mss. Khwānd-mīr and Hājji Khalīfah both quote the title in the Arabic form *al-Madkhal al-manẓūm fī baḥr al-nujūm*.

⁴See *PL* II p. 55. The work is also contained (but not attributed to any author) in an old anthology in Tehran from which it was published, with variants from four other Mss., in Yaghmā'ī p. 15-32. One of these copies (Yaghmā'ī's *min-dāl*) contains a dedication to a certain Jalāl al-dīn bar (read: Bū) Maḥmūd Muḥammad i Ahmad and concludes with verses giving the date of composition as 1 Jumādā II 616/1219. (Cf. Calcutta, Ivanow Curzon 645, where the name of the patron is garbled and the date altered to 816). The same date (616) is found also in a manuscript of a work with the same title (presumably the same poem) in Isfahan, *Kitāb-khānah i Ridāwīyah i Madrasah i Sadr* (see *Nuskah-hā* V p. 313, no. 22/1) ascribed there to 'Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Ghaznawī Bukhārī (sic)'. If this date is correct the poem cannot be the work of Mubārak-shāh (who died 14 years earlier). See further S. Nafīsī, '*Ash'ār i fārsī i Khwājah*', in *Yād-nāmah i Khwājah Naṣīr al-dīn i Ṭūsī* I, Tehran 1336sh./1957, p. 34-44, where Ṭūsī's authorship is upheld.

bul Ayasofya 4792 fol. 767a-788a (see *BSOAS* VI p. 856-8. Copied by As'ad b. Muḥammad al-Kātib and dated 816/1413-4); Ünersite FY 538/14 (Ateş 94. Dated 826/1423); Lâleli 2010/5 (*Mikrâfîlm-hā* I 403). Cf. *Munz.* IV 30111-2.

Storey has shown (contra Ross) that this author is not identical with his near contemporary the genealogist (in prose) Mubārak-shāh Muḥammad b. Manşūr al-Qurashī.¹ More recently Munzawī has confused him with the lexicographer Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Qawwās, who lived a century later.²

'Aufī I p. 125-33 (and Qazwīnī ad loc. as well as his *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* VI p. 95-9); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, XII p. 160 ult.-161; Shams p. 356-7; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Minhāj i Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1864, p. 28-9, 81; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Juz' al-rābi' min talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb fī [420] mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 2301; Mustaufī p. 749; Mu'īn al-dīn Muḥammad Isfizārī, *Rauḍāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf madīnat Harāt*, ed. M. Kāẓim Imām, Tehran 1338sh./1959, p. 355-7; Khwānd-mīr, Bombay ed., II p. 155; Rāzī II p. 11-2 (no. 516); Hājji Khalīfah V p. 472 no. 11680 ('Mubārak 'Ūdhī'); Ādhar II p. 656-7; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 373-4 ('Fakhr al-dīn i Khwārazmī', sic!); E. Denison Ross, 'The genealogies of Fakhr-ud-dīn, Mubārak Shāh', *A volume of oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 392-413; Ahmet-Zeki Validi, 'On Mubarakshah Ghuri', *BSOS* VI, 1930-2, p. 846-8; *PL* I p. 1164-7; Khayyām-pūr p. 433 ('Fakhrī i Khwārazmī').

244. al-Saiyid Sharaf al-dīn³ Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-'Alawī was, according to 'Aufī, the elder brother of Saiyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī; this information is in so far problematic as those authorities who are not dependent on 'Aufī give Saiyid Ḥasan's father the name Muḥammad, not

¹For whom see also *EJ*² Suppt. s.v. 'Fakhr-i Mudabbir' (C.E. Bosworth).

²Qawwās flourished under 'Alā' al-dīn Khaljī, at the end of the 7th/13th or the beginning of 8th/14th century; cf. *PL* III p. 5.

³His *laqab* is quoted thus by Sanā'ī in his *Kar-nāmah*; 'Aufī gives it as Jamāl al-dīn.

Nāṣir.¹ His contemporary Sanā'ī extols him in his *Kār-nāmah i Balkhī* as well as in a *qaṣīdah* in which he uses the same *radīf* (*ātash u āb*) that Saiyid Muḥammad employed in his *qaṣīdah* quoted by 'Aufī and dedicated (according to the same authority) to Sultan 'Alā' al-daulah (i.e. Mas'ūd III, 492/1099 to 508/1115). [421] Mas'ūd i Sa'd composed a *qīṭ'ah* praising the poetry of 'Saiyid Muḥammad i Nāṣir' and another bewailing the death of 'Muḥammad i 'Alawī'. 'Aufī quotes two more of his poems, one of which Rāzī (followed by Hidāyat) claims to have been dedicated to Bahrām-Shāh (512/1118 to 547/1152).

Mas'ūd i Sa'd, *Diwān*, ed. Yāsimī, p. 599, 604; Sanā'ī, *Mathnawī-hā*, ed. Mudarris i Riḍawī, vs. 255 sqq.; id., *Diwān*, ed. Mudarris i Riḍawī, *qaṣīdah* no. 22; 'Arūḍī p. 28; 'Aufī II p. 267-70; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Rāzī I p. 324 (no. 336); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 510-11; Qazwīnī/Browne, *JRAS* 1906 p. 40-2; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 608-10; Khayyām-pūr p. 521; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, p. 109; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry*, Leyden 1983, p. 56.

245. The *diwān* of a certain Muḥyī, who, in the manuscripts, is generally, but almost certainly wrongly, identified with Muḥyī l-dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādirī order (died 561/1166), and which is not apparently attestable before the 11th/17th century, will be discussed in a later volume of this survey.

246. The *diwān* of one Mu'īn, supposedly the work of the Indian saint Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī (died 633/1236), but preserved only in very late copies, has been discussed in *PL* I p. 943 n. 3.

247. Amīr al-shu'arā' Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Mu'izzī al-Naisābūrī² was the leading poet at the courts of the

Seljuqs Malik-shāh (465/1072 to 485/1092), Berk-yāruq (487/1094 to 498/1105), Muḥammad (498/1105 to 511/1118) and Sanjar (511/1118 to 552/1157). He also addressed poems to their ministers (especially Nizām al-mulk), [422] the Ghaznavid Bahrām-shāh (Sanjar's contemporary and vassal) the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız (521/1127 to 551/1156) and others. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī met the famous poet, as he tells us, in 510/1116-7 when Sanjar and his court were encamped on the outskirts of Tōs, and again in 514/1120-1 in Naisābūr, and at the first of these encounters Mu'izzī told our informant the story of the beginning of his career, namely of how he had inherited the post of poet-laureate from his father Burhānī¹ 'in the early part of the reign of Malik-shāh' but for a year failed to gain admittance to the king's presence or to draw his salary, how he was eventually introduced to the sultan by the amīr 'Alī b. Farāmarz and ingratiated himself with the ruler by means of two extemporised *rubā'īs*, and how he was awarded the title 'Amīr Mu'izzī' with reference to Malik-shāh's *laqab* Mu'izz al-dunyā wa l-dīn. According to 'Aufī Mu'izzī was killed by a stray arrow shot by Sanjar during target practice and an 'arrow' is mentioned also in two *qīṭ'ahs* that Sanā'ī composed lamenting Mu'izzī's death.² However, there is a poem by Mu'izzī³ recounting how he had been wounded by the sultan's arrow, spent twelve months convalescing, but in the end recovered and returned to the court. It would seem thus that Mu'izzī's long absence from the court gave rise to rumours that [423] he had died and that Sanā'ī took these false reports at face value. But in this event one cannot use Sanā'ī's verses as evidence that he necessarily outlived Mu'izzī. Taqī puts Mu'izzī's death in 542/1147-8. It is striking that 'Arūḍī consistently mentions Mu'izzī's name without any of the usual eulogies that one would expect him to apply to a deceased contemporary; this might seem to indicate that the latter was still alive when 'Arūḍī completed his book in 552/1157.

¹See above, p. 104.

²See Sanā'ī's *diwān*, ed. Mudarris i Riḍawī, p. 1051, 1057.

³*Diwān* p. 575-7. The discrepancy was noted by Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 571, Hādī Ḥasan, *Falākī-i Shirwānī* p. 96 and in Iqbāl's introduction to Mu'izzī's *diwān*, p. ix-x. Iqbāl discusses in this context also another poem (*diwān* p. 378-9) addressed to Qiwām al-mulk Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-mulk, who was wazīr from 500/1106 to 511/1118, but the 'arrow' mentioned in this poem is evidently to be understood metaphorically. Thus one cannot accept the very early date which Iqbāl assigns to Mu'izzī's accident.

¹See above p. 333 n. 1, where the possibility of reconciling the two traditions is discussed. Qazwīnī accepted that the two were brothers, but Mudarris i Riḍawī (in his introduction to Saiyid Ḥasan's *diwān*) and Gh. M. Khan (in *Islamic Culture* XXIII, 1949, p. 220-1) both claimed, apparently independently, that Saiyid Muḥammad was the brother of a different Saiyid Ḥasan (namely the one whose death is lamented in the *diwān* of Mas'ūd i Sa'd, ed. Yāsimī, p. 62-3; the name of this Saiyid's father is, however, not indicated in the poem) and that 'Aufī consequently confused the two Ḥasans.

²Thus 'Aufī.

Mu'izzī was greatly admired by men of letters of his own time and of several generations afterwards; in the eyes of 'Aufī he joins Rōdakī and 'Unsurī to complete the trinity of preeminent panegyrists. His *diwān*, which Iqbāl has edited on the basis of late manuscripts, deserves a critical edition using the 14th-century London codex and exploiting the copious quotations from his verse contained in early anthologies.

Mss.: **London** I.O. 913 (Ms. copied by 'Abd al-Mu'min al-'Alawī al-Kāshī in 713-4/1314-5. Pictures);¹ I.O. 3027 (Dated 19 Shawwāl 1018/1610); [424] I.O. 912 (Dated 1 Dhū l-hijjah 1046/1637); Add. 10,588 (Rieu p. 552-3. 17th century? Ca. 8000 verses); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.65 no. 15 (Anthology dated 27 Ramadān 827/1424); Browne Coll V.5 (Dated 19 Jumādā II 1252/1836); **Paris** Supplément 783 fol. 21v sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century?); Supplément 1035 (Blochet 1222. Dated 17 Šafar 1242/1826); **Vienna** Flügel 508 (Dated 14 Rajab 1241/1826); **Leningrad** Salemann 15; **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 335 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 1180. Ateş 29. 17th century?); Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/8 (*Mikrūfīlm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); **Najaf** Amīr al-mu'minīn 1660 (Munz. 26066. 18th century?); **Tehran** Univ. VIII 2116

¹This is the famous India Office 'Six *diwāns*', containing a selection of poems by (1) Mu'izzī, (2) Athīr Akhsikātī, (3) Adīb Šābir, (4) Qamar Isfahānī, (5) Shams Ṭabasī and (6) Nāṣir i Khusrau, of which nos. 3, 5 and 6 are signed and dated. For the miniatures see Robinson 1-53. The first picture illustrates 'Arūḍī's story of Mu'izzī's first meeting with Malik-shāh (but the king is identified in the accompanying text as Sanjar). Most of the other pictures show a poet (with turban and more or less pronounced Persian physiognomy) in the presence of a king and his courtiers (usually Mongol in features, dress and hair-style). According to Robinson the poet is in each case 'presenting or reading a scroll of verse' to the ruler, but this is hardly correct. For one thing, Persians do not write their poems on scrolls, but in codices, and for another, what is depicted is clearly not a scroll but a rolled-up piece of fabric. It seems to me that what the pictures show is the receipt by the poet of a 'robe of honour' (*khiṣṭ*) as a reward for his panegyrics, a situation very well known to readers of Persian and Arabic texts. The Ms. now in the India Office was at one time in the possession of the Safavid royal family and has in many places the seal of one Ismā'īl (certainly not Ismā'īl I, probably Ismā'īl III, according to A.H. Morton). There is in Mashhad (Riḍawī VII 965) a Ms. containing the same six *diwāns*, plus those of two poets from the 13th century (Rukn al-dīn Da'wā-dār and Farīd i Aḥwāl, both to be discussed in PL VI) copied by Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad b. Ja'far Isfahānī with dates between 1039/1629-30 and 1041/1631-2; it seems likely that the Mashhad Ms. was copied (or excerpted) from the one now in the India Office (see also Binīsh's introduction to his edition of the *diwān* of Shams Ṭabasī, p. xlvi-xlvii).

(Ascribed by the cataloguer to the 13th or 14th century. Ms. contains an evidently forged note with the date 16 Dhū l-qa'dah 553/1158); Univ. IX 2122 (15th-16th century? Again with a forged date Rajab 662/1264); Majlis 6228/4 (Munz. 26059. Dated 12 Rabī' II 996/1588); Univ. XV 5266 (17th century?); Malik 5579 (Munz. 26064. 18th century?); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 432/I; **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 965/6 (Ms. dated 1041/1631-2);¹ **Tashkent** Acad. 238/II (Semenov 785. Dated 1270/1853-4); **Lucknow** Sprenger 387 (Two copies); **Calcutta** Ivanow 437 (17th century?); Ivanow 927 fol. 253v-268, 412v-425v (Modern); Būhār 287 (19th century?). Cf. Munz. III 26056-26129.

Editions: **Tehran** 1318sh./1939 (Ed. 'A. Iqbāl, with biography); 1362sh./1983 (Ed. N. Ḥayirī. Non vidi). [425]

LF ed. Horn, passim (all quotations, some of them anonymous, are found only in the Vatican and India Office Mss.);² also ed. Iqbāl p. 187 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Arūḍī p. 28, 33, 40-2, 50; Abū l-Rajā' Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 14; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, passim; 'Aufī II p. 69-86; Shams passim; Mustaufī p. 748-9; *Daqā'iḳ al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 fol. 62b, 110b, 139a, 181a, 187a, 190a, 201a = Ethé 1333); Jājarmī I p. 131-4, 144+xliv-144+xl, 216-8, II p. 1056; Daulat-shāh p. 57-60; Rāzī II p. 250-6 (no. 747); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 236b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 570-93; Browne, *History* II p. 327-30; M. Qazwīnī, *Qaṣīdah i Mu'izzī* in his *Biṣṭ maqālāh*, 2nd edition, Tehran 1332sh./1954, I p. 75-84 (article written in 1343/1924); id., *Yād-dāshṭ-hā* VII p. 111-2; 'Alī Riḍā Khusrawānī Ṭurfah, *Sharḥ i ḥāl i Amīr Mu'izzī*, *Armaghān* IV p. 529-48; V p. 15-30; Nafīsī's notes on Baihaqī III p. 1279-94; J. Marek, 'Amīr Mu'izzī (Einige Verse im Vergleich zweier Traditionen)', *Archiv Orientalní* 24, 1956, p. 252-71; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 508-23; Khayyām-pūr p. 552; Fouchécour, *Nature* p. 201-26; *EP* s.v. 'Mu'izzī' (J.S. Meisami).

248. **Mujīr** al-dīn Bailaqānī was, as his *nisbah* indicates, a native of the town of Bailaqān, in Transcaucasia, to the south of Sharwān, a compatriot and contemporary of Khāqānī, whom he addressed in his

¹See p. 423 fn.

²For these interpolated quotations see above, p. 59.

poems.¹ During the 12th century Balaqān stood on the boundary between the sphere of influence of the Sharwān-shāhs and Georgians, on the one hand, and that of the Seljuqs and [426] Ēldügüzids, on the other,² and this situation is reflected in Mujīr's *dtwān*. This contains a few poems to the Sharwān-shāh Manūchīhr II,³ who died not long after 555/1160-1,⁴ and these must consequently belong to the earliest part of his career. The majority of his odes are addressed to the atabegs Nuṣrat al-dīn Jahān-pahlawān b. Ēldügüz (571/1175 to 582/1186) and his successor Qızıl Arslān (d. 587/1191)⁵ and to the Seljuq Arslān b. Toghril (556/1161 to 571/1176), nominally the master, but in fact the puppet of Jahān-pahlawān. 'Aufī tells an anecdote about his rivalry with Athīr Akhsīkathī for the ear of Qızıl Arslān.⁶ Taqī⁷ puts his death in the year 594/1197-8, which (for once) must be roughly correct.

In his famous ode in praise of the town of Isfahan, Khāqānī speaks of how an 'accursed devil' (*dēw i rajīm*) had mocked that city and how the Isfahanis had in some way held Khāqānī responsible for the attack, an accusation which he rejects energetically. The commentators⁸ have identified this 'devil' with Khāqānī's supposed pupil Mujīr (*rajīm* being an anagram for the latter's name). There is in fact a (by Persian standards) decidedly [427] restrained *rubāʿī* in Mujīr's *dtwān*⁹ poking fun at the people of Isfahan. Abū l-Rajā Qummī, a nearly contemporary source, cites one verse from this quatrain and then a verse with which

¹There is an ode praising Khāqānī in Mujīr's *dtwān*, ed. Ābādī, p. 20-2, and a *qitʿah* attacking him on p. 302; see also p. 393.

²See C. Cahen and V. Minorsky, 'Le recueil transcaucasien de Masʿūd b. Nāmdār (début du VIe/XIIe siècle)', *JA* CCXXXVII, 1949, p. 93-142.

³*dtwān* p. 87-9, 112-6.

⁴See above, p. 248 n. 2.

⁵Rieu says that Mujīr wrote an elegy on the death of Qızıl Arslān (and consequently outlived him), referring to 'fol. 27' of the London Ms. There are indeed some elegiac verses on fol. 27b of that copy, but they are in fact a short extract from the poem on p. 43-8 of Ābādī's edition. When the verses are read in context it becomes clear that Mujīr is in fact consoling Qızıl Arslān on the demise of his father. Daulat-shāh says that Mujīr addressed poems to Ēldügüz, but this too I have been unable to confirm.

⁶The poem quoted by 'Aufī in this context is in the *dtwān*, p. 295-6.

⁷Apud Sprenger p. 16 no. 28.

⁸E.g. the 17th-century commentary by Ghanāʾī (see above p. 392), whose gloss is reproduced in F. Spiegel, *Chrestomathia Persica*, Leipzig 1846, p. 100-1.

⁹p. 396.

the 'people of Isfahan' replied to Mujīr's attack. The story is expanded in later sources. Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī alludes to this same epigram and says that the *raʾīs* of Isfahan ordered all the local poets to respond to it, collected their efforts in a volume and sent it to Mujīr. Daulat-shāh says that Mujīr composed the quatrain when the atabeg sent him to that town as a tax-collector and he adds a *rubāʿī* supposedly by the Isfahani poet Sharaf al-dīn i *Shafrūh replying to it (and which contains the verse already quoted, anonymously, by Abū l-Rajā), but he too has nothing to say of Khāqānī in this context. Rāzī quotes the same two *rubāʿīs* and adds an obscene *qitʿah* supposedly by Jamāl al-dīn¹ attacking both Mujīr and Khāqānī, though Rāzī himself leaves Khāqānī out of the business. Rāzī then goes on to say that Mujīr was subsequently murdered in a bath-house by the Isfahan mob. But this is perhaps merely a fanciful elaboration of the old story.

Mujīr's *dtwān* contains several highly artificial poems (for example one in which he uses only the letters that do not take diacritical points) and a fair number in Arabic or with alternating Arabic and Persian verses.

Mss.: Oxford Elliot 86 (Ethé 559. Dated 28 Dhū l-qaʿdah 1005/1597. Ābādī's *bā*); Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/12. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); London Add. 8993 (Rieu p. 562. Dated 12 Shaʿbān 1016/1607. Evidently only a short extract. Ābādī's *fā*); [428] Paris Supplément 783 fol. 42r sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century? Selections); Berlin Petermann 716/4 (Pertsch 682. Selections); Istanbul Lâlâ İsmail 487/14 (*Mikrūftlm-hā* I p. 500-1. Selected poems in a Ms. dated 741/1340-1. Ābādī's *lām*); Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/4 (*Mikrūftlm-hā* I p. 420-1. Has a *waqf*-notice dated 1097/1685-6, but is apparently a good deal older. Ābādī's *ʿain*); Tehran Univ VIII 1883/1 (16th century? Ābādī's *mīm*); Dih-khudā (*Nuskhah-hā* III p. 19. Dated 1009/1600-1); Majlis 87150 (Dated 1020/1611-2. Ābādī's *mīm-jīm*); Lucknow Sprenger 388. Cf. Munz. III 25759-66.

Editions: Tehran 1323sh./1945 (ed. T. Bīnīsh from the incomplete London Ms.); 1358sh./1979 (critical edition by M. Ābādī, with an introduction).²

¹The poem is in Dastgirdī's uncritical edition of Jamāl's *dtwān*, p. 400-1, but this proves nothing.

²Ābādī's introduction deals extensively with stylistic and linguistic features of the poems but has next to nothing to say about the poet's life.

Abū l-Rajā' Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānīsh-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 200-1; Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, passim (quotes five of his *qaṣīdahs* on p. 301-27); 'Aufī II p. 222-4;¹ Shams p. 201, 406-7; Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 345; Mustaufī p. 749; Jāarmī I p. 144+xlīi-xlīii, 195-9, 362-4, II p. 530-42; Daulat-shāh 115-7; Rāzī III p. 306-13 (no. 1400); Ādhar I p. 105-8; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 511-4; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 721-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 513-4; A.L.F.A. Beelaert, 'La *qaṣīde* en honneur d'Ispahan de Xāqānī', in *Pand-o sokhan, Mélanges offerts à Charles-Henri de Fouchécour*, Tehran 1995, p. 53-63 (discusses also Mujīr's attack on the people of Isfahan).

249. 'Uthmān Mukhtārī² Ghaznavī, who has left us with a very substantial *diwān*, flourished at [429] the time of the Ghaznavids Mas'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm (492/1099 to 508/1115) and Abū l-Mulūk Malik-Arslān b. Mas'ūd (509/1116 to 511/1117) and survived into the reign of the latter's successor, Bahrām-shāh. The first period of his career is represented by one poem written for Mas'ūd during the lifetime of his father (i.e. before 492/1099) and apparently also by six *qaṣīdahs*³ and one *tarkīb*⁴ addressed to a ruler whom the poet calls by the name Fanā-khusrau and by the titles 'Aḍud al-daulah, Mughīth al-dīn and Shāhanshāh i Bōyī. Of the three Buyids (*āl i Bōyah*) known to history as Fanā-khusrau⁵ the only one who lived in the time of Mukhtārī is Abū 'Alī Fanā-khusrau b. Abī Kālījār, who ruled Naubandajān, in Fārs, as a vassal of the Seljuqs and is reported to have died in 487/1094.⁶

¹ See above, p. 398 n. 1 (Khāqānī).

² Thus 'Arūdī, and Mukhtārī himself, *diwān*, ed. Humā'ī, p. 247. Rāzī, and others after him, call him Ḥakīm 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Mukhtārī. Taqī (quoted by Humā'ī, *Mukhtārī-nāmah* p. 111) calls him Ḥakīm Sirāj al-dīn Abū l-Majd 'Uthmān Mukhtārī, while Humā'ī (op. cit. p. 133-7) ascribes to him (with unconvincing arguments) the *kunyah* Abū 'Umar or Abū 'Amr and proposes that his father was likewise named 'Umar.

³ *Diwān* p. 43-7, 76-7, 105-14, 541-63, 474-5, 521-4; in the last 'Bōyī' rhymes with *nikōṭ* etc.

⁴ p. 541-57.

⁵ The other two are the celebrated *amīr al-umārā'* 'Aḍud al-daulah Fanā-khusrau (338/949 to 372/983) and the ruler of Rai, Fanā-khusrau b. Majd al-daulah Rustam (succeeded his father in 420/1029).

⁶ See H. Bowen, 'The last Buwayhids', *JRAS* 1929 p. 225-45, especially p. 242-5.

Although the titles used by Mukhtārī do not seem to be mentioned in other sources, the identity of his patron with this Fanā-khusrau would appear to be supported by a verse¹ implying that the former was a contemporary (and opponent) of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, who also died in 487/1094.

It appears that Mukhtārī was out of favour, or even in exile from Ghaznah, for most of Mas'ūd's reign, during which he attended the courts of various other rulers, notably the Seljuq ruler of Kirmān, Arslān-shāh I (495/1101 to 537/1142), the dedicatee of a large number of his poems, and also visited India. But he returned to Ghaznah with the [430] ascension of Malik-Arslān, his principal patron. Only two poems in the *diwān* are addressed to Malik-Arslān's successor, his brother Bahrām-shāh.²

In the last part of his life Mukhtārī paid what was apparently a short visit to Samarqand, where he dedicated a good number of poems to the Qarakhanid Arslān-khān Muḥammad (II) b. Sulaimān (495/1102 to ca. 523/1130) and various persons of his court. One of these appears to speak of seventeen years having passed in the reign of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān,³ and would thus imply that Mukhtārī was in Samarqand in 512/1118-9, and another poem,⁴ dedicated to one Khwājah Sa'd al-mulk, evidently a dignitary at the court of Muḥammad, would appear to have been written on the occasion of the beginning of Ramaḍān 513/1119.⁵ [431] This is the last identifiable date in the *diwān*. Taqī Kāshī, followed

¹ p. 108 l. 1.

² *Diwān* p. 82-5 and 500-1. The latter poem, consisting of six verses, is quoted *in extenso*, but anonymously, in Naṣr Allāh's translation of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* (ed. Mīnuwī p. 306) as well as by Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabsir* (ed. Löfgren, Leyden 1951-4, p. 178), where it is attributed (at least in the available Mss.) to 'al-Ḥakīm Faḍl Allāh al-Ghaznavī'; this is apparently a scribal error for '... Naṣr Allāh ...', whom Ibn al-Mujāwir evidently mistook for the author of the verses.

³ *Diwān* p. 79 l. 3.

⁴ p. 472-3.

⁵ The poem speaks of the coincidence of the first day of Dai with the first of Ramaḍān. Humā'ī (*Mukhtārī-nāmah* p. 98-101) pointed out that 1 Dai of the Zoroastrian calendar corresponded approximately to 1 Ramaḍān in 514/1120 and 515/1121, but elsewhere (op. cit., p. 301-2) he rejected this date, as it is in contradiction with the date he had adduced from the above-cited verse on p. 79. The first of Dai has, however, no particular importance in the Zoroastrian calendar so that it would seem rather pointless for the poet to draw attention to its coincidence with the beginning of the Muslim fast. I think it thus more likely that Mukhtārī is referring here to the Jalālī calendar, in which Dai is the first of the three winter months. 1 Ramaḍān 513 corresponds (roughly, i.e. according to the tables) to 6 December 1119; in that year 1 Dai

by others, puts his death in 544/1149-50 or 554/1159¹ but these dates are, as usual, worthless.

Mukhtārī was a younger contemporary of Mas'ūd i Sa'd, whom he praised, and an older contemporary of Sanā'ī, by whom he was praised.

Mukhtārī's *diwān* is preserved notably in the 13th-century London manuscript Or. 3713, which forms the basis for the careful and richly annotated edition by Jalāl al-dīn Humā'ī. As already mentioned,² the London manuscript also contains (apparently in the same hand) the *diwān* of Azraqī and at least one poem is attributed by its scribe to both poets. Thus the occurrence of a given poem even in this oldest manuscript does not absolutely guarantee its authenticity. This codex (and some of the others) also contains a didactic *mathnawī*, *Hunar-nāmah i Yamīnī*, (inc.: *gunbad i lājward i dā'irah-gard * sāl-khwardah sipihr i sāl-naward*) dedicated to the ruler of Ṭabas, Yamīn al-daulah Ismā'īl i Gīlakī, but also containing an epilogue praising the Ghaznavid Malik-Arslān. The former is known to have been alive in 493/1099-1100 and is reported to have been an Ismā'īlī. Although the *Hunar-nāmah* does deal with matters close to the hearts of the Ismā'īlīs (astrology, cosmology etc.) there is nothing in the text that would reveal any attachment of the poet to their specific doctrines. [432]

Mss. of the *Diwān*: Oxford Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/4. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selection); Laud 295 (Ethé 527); London Or. 3713/VI (Rieu Suppt. 211. Copied by Muḥammad-Shāh b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd Isfahānī and dated 6 Rabī' II 692/1293);³ Or. 4514/VII (Rieu Suppt. 215. Completed 14 Rabī' II 1023/1614); Or. 3374 (Rieu Suppt. 216. Dated 1287/1870-1); Paris Supplément 744 (Blochet 1209. 16th century?); Supplément 783 fol. 14r sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century?)

Jalālī corresponds to 9 December.

¹Mukhtārī-nāmah p. 317, with references also to other *tadhkirahs*. Sprenger, p. 16 no. 15, quotes only the later date.

²Above, p. 93 n. 5. I should like to add now that the poem dedicated to Abū l-Mulūk Arslān-Shāh ascribed to Azraqī in Nafīsī's edition of his *diwān* (where it is no. 25; see above, p. 92) - but not in the London Ms. - is in fact by Mukhtārī (see his *diwān*, p. 85-90); pseudo-Azraqī/Nafīsī no. 23 (likewise missing in the section of Or. 3712 devoted to Azraqī) is also by Mukhtārī (see his *diwān*, p. 157-9).

³Thus Rieu Suppt. p. 142, beginning of first column, and Humā'ī p. 12 of his edition. Rieu Suppt. p. 143, end of the first column, misquotes the date as '693'. As noted above, p. 93 n. 5, Humā'ī gives this Ms. - his 'šād' - the wrong call-number.

Selection); Leningrad Salemann 15; Romaskewicz 7; Tehran Sipah-sālār II 1265 (16th century?); Majlis III 1059 (Dated 1010/1601-2); Shūrā i Islāmī I 35 (16th-17th century?); Qum Mar'ashī XVI 4813 fol. 1-87 (Dated 1259/1843); Tashkent Acad. 160/III (Semenov 799. Dated 1269/1852-3); Acad. 238/VII (Semenov 800. Ms. Dated 1270/1853-4); Lahore Shērānī (Munz. Pak. VII p. 59. 16th century?); Bankipore I 24 (16th century?). Cf. Munz III 25840-73.

Editions: Tehran 1336sh./1957 (Ed. Rukn al-dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh); 1341sh./1962 (Fine critical edition by Jalāl al-dīn Humā'ī).

The *Shahryār-nāmah* attributed to Mukhtārī presents its own problems. The existence of such a poem was first adduced by Rieu in his detailed description of the manuscript London Add. 24,095 (Rieu p. 542-3. 17th century? Pictures; the contents of the manuscript are published in Humā'ī's edition of Mukhtārī's *diwān*, p. 797-843). This codex contains five disconnected fragments: Frag. I (fol. 1a-11a) tells the story of the battles of Shahryār with Farāmarz and with Queen Farāng of Sarandīb and of those of the Dēw Arhang with [433] Arjāsp and Zawārah. Frag. II (fol. 12-3) tells of a meeting between Zāl and Solomon. Frag. III (fol. 14) is the most important. It contains what are clearly the closing verses of a poem which calls itself '*Nāmah i Shahryār*', which the author, 'Mukhtārī' versified in the course of three years and dedicated to 'Mas'ūd-shāh', who is described as being '*gul i bāgh u bustān i Maḥmūd-shāh*', i.e. a flower from the garden of king Maḥmūd, evidently the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd III. A transitional verse then leads directly into Frag. IV and V (fol. 15-6), two extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah* dealing with the adventures of Isfandyār.

A second manuscript supposedly containing Mukhtārī's *Shahryār-nāmah* was acquired in Persia by the Russian scholar Chaykin and is now in Dushanbe Acad. II 352. An edition of this has been published by Ghulām-Ḥusain Bīgdilī under the title *Shahryār-nāmah i 'Uthmān i Mukhtārī i Ghaznawī*, Tehran 1358sh./1979. The attribution of this poem, the beginning and end of which are missing in the unique manuscript, to Mukhtārī evidently rests on the fact that it includes in very much the same form the contents of the first fragment in the London manuscript (p. 116-40 of the edition). The question, however, is whether the first three fragments in the London manuscript really all belong to the same poem.

Humā'ī, when he first published the London fragments, without having access to the Dushanbe manuscript, pointed out quite rightly that they contain a large number of linguistic irregularities, in particular bad rhymes (e.g. rhymes between *majhāl* and *ma'rūf* vowels and between *dāl* and *dhāl*). Nonetheless, he was inclined to think that they do represent an authentic, if youthful and immature, work by Mukhtārī. But in his posthumous *Mukhtārī-nāmah* the same scholar came to the conclusion that the poem, by then more familiar to him from the Dushanbe manuscript, could not [434] possibly be by Mukhtārī Ghaznavī, the study of whose *dtwān* had occupied so many years of his life, but was the work of another Mukhtārī, dedicated to another Mas'ūd, himself the son or descendant of some Maḥmūd (not him of Ghaznah), probably in India.

I think that the objections raised by Humā'ī against the attribution of the Dushanbe *Shahryār-nāmah* to Mukhtārī, or indeed to any Persian poet of the 11th or 12th century, are valid. At the same time the idea that the history of Persian literature should have known two Mukhtārīs, both of whom had a patron by the name of Mas'ūd, and that both Mas'ūds should have been descendants of a king by the name of Maḥmūd, is quite a far-fetched one. I should think it more likely that fragment III of the London manuscript (a fragment unaffected, it seems, by the above-mentioned linguistic deficiencies) is indeed the conclusion of an epic poem by our Mukhtārī on the adventures of Shahryār, but that the compiler of the London manuscript combined this text (which he found, presumably, on a loose leaf from an old copy) with material from a later version of the story of Shahryār (namely that contained in the Dushanbe manuscript) as well as with two extracts from the *Shāh-nāmah*. In short, Mukhtārī did compose a *Shahryār-nāmah*, but all that we have of it are its final verses.

The one question that remains is that of the relationship between the Dushanbe *Shahryār-nāmah*, wrongly ascribed (by its modern editor) to Mukhtārī, and the *Shahryār-nāmah* contained in a Bankipore manuscript and ascribed there to Farrukhī.¹ An examination of the latter work shows that the two are indeed quite different poems, although they do tell very much the same story. Here and there I have even found stray verses that are identical or virtually identical in the two, though the preceding and following [435] verses are different. It would thus seem

¹See above, p. 111.

likely either that the author of the Dushanbe *Shahryār-nāmah* was familiar with the poem ascribed to Farrukhī, or else that both versifications are based on the same source in prose.

'Arūdī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī's notes p. 150-1); 'Aufī II p. 412;¹ Shams p. 330, 381-2, 442; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333 fol. 97a, 108a, 149a, 243a, 246a); Jā'armī I p. 116-8, 218-9; Daulat-shāh p. 93-4; Rāzī I p. 324-31 (no. 337); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 325a sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 598-607; Qazwīnī/Browne, *JRAS* 1906 p. 44-6; Ṣafā, *Tārkh* II p. 501-7; id., *Hamāsah* p. 311-5; Khayyām-pūr p. 528-9; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977 (see index. s.v. 'Uthmān); J. Humā'ī, *Mukhtārī-nāmah*, Tehran n.d. (published posthumously; the preface is dated 1360sh./1981. Fundamental); Gh.-H. Bīgdilī, '*Shahryār-nāmah* i 'Uthmān i Mukhtārī i Ghaznavī', *Āyandah* VI/1-2, 1359sh./1980, p. 77-86; *EI*² s.v. 'Mukhtārī' (J.S. Meisami).

250. **Muẓaffarī**, 'a poet from Khurāsān', (evidently not identical with the Muẓaffarī Panjdihī cited above, p. 200) composed an ode to the Bāwandid Nuṣrat al-dīn Rustam b. 'Alī (ca. 536/1142 to 560/1165) the first verse of which is quoted by Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārkh i Tabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, I p. 113, and again II p. 84.

251. Mu'izz al-Islām **Najīb** al-dīn Abū Bakr al-Tirmidhī al-Khaṭṭā'ī is represented by three *rubā'īs* [436] in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157), but all but the last of them are mutilated in Browne's manuscript. 'Aufī says that he excelled both in serious and in frivolous poetry.

'Aufī II p. 415-6; Khayyām-pūr p. 597.

252. A *qaṣīdah* by Ḥakīm Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Najībī al-Bāshṭīnī is quoted by Ibn Funduq with words that imply that the two were contemporaries; i.e. he lived in the first half of the 6th/12th century.

Ibn Funduq p. 259; Khayyām-pūr p. 597.

¹'Aufī mentions Mukhtārī in passing in connection with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (above p. 252). His actual entry on Mukhtārī has dropped out of the Mss. used by Browne, but it is quoted explicitly by Rāzī.

253. No fewer than ten verses by a certain **Najībī** are quoted in the marginal additions to Ms. *nūn* of Asadī's *Lughat i furs*. Their author could be identical with the **Najībī** Farghānī whom 'Arūḍī (p. 28 and 46) mentions among the poets of the Qarakhanids and the contemporaries of 'Am'āq; the fragment on p. 157 in fact mentions Farghānah.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 18, 156, 157, 242, 249, 402, 502, 502-3, 509, 529 (all verses from Ms. *nūn* in marg.); Nafīsī's *Dīwān i 'Am'āq*, p. 39-43.

254. Sa'd al-dīn As'ad al-Najjārī al-Samarqandī¹ is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Transoxania after the time of Sanjar, where we are told that he specialised in the composition of *rubā'iyāt*, a number of which are quoted. From the verses addressed to him by Aṣīl Samarqandī² it is evident that he lived at the end of the 6th/12th or the very beginning of the 7th/13th century. He can thus hardly be identical [437] with the 'Najjār i Sāgharchī' (Sāgharch is a village near Samarqand) whom 'Arūḍī lists among the poets at the court of the Qarakhanid Khidr b. Ibrāhīm (ruled briefly from 472/1080).³

'Aufī II p. 383-4, 396; Rāzī III p. 422 (no. 1478); Khayām-pūr p. 268 ('Sa'd i Samarqandī').

255. A *rubā'ī* by Nāṣir al-dīn Rōzbihān lamenting the death of the Bāwandid 'Alā' al-daulah Ḥasan (in 568/1173) is quoted by Ibn Isfand-yār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, II p. 118 (also in Browne's epitome, p. 251).

256. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm al-Naṭanzī al-Adīb, who died in Muḥarram 497/1103, according to Sam'ānī, has been mentioned briefly in *PL* III (Lexicography) p. 61,⁴ 81. A few fragments of

¹Thus 'Aufī in both passages in which he is mentioned. Rāzī, who is evidently entirely dependent on 'Aufī, omits 'Najjārī' and includes this poet in his chapter on Bukhārā; i.e. he read 'Najjārī' as 'Bukhārī'.

²See above, p. 267.

³'Arūḍī p. 28, 46 (and Qazwīnī's notes, p. 152). For an earlier *Najjār* see above, p. 200.

⁴The *Mirqāt* discussed there has been published (ed. Sajjādī, Tehran 13426sh./1967). It is my intention to return to these works in the planned final fascicle of *PL* III.

his Persian verse are quoted by Waṭwāt and Shams and some samples of contrived poetry in Arabic and Persian, among them the one verse quoted by Waṭwāt, can be found in the anonymous *Yawāqūt al-'ulūm*.

A poem by 'Adīb al-Ṭabarī¹ is included in Jāarmī's anthology (I p. 144+ii to 144+iii). From the fact that the poet mentions '*sulṭān i a'zam*' and '*Ghaznīn*' the editor has concluded that he was a contemporary of Maḥmūd, but this is far from certain. I wonder whether 'al-Ṭabarī' is not a scribal error for 'al-Naṭanzī', as the two words are very similar in Arabic script. [438]

Sam'ānī fol. 564a; Waṭwāt p. 17 (one verse); *Yawāqūt al-'ulūm*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1345sh./1966, p. 177, 179; Shams p. 317-8, 353, 402-3; Khayām-pūr p. 35-6; *Elr.* s.v. 'Adīb Naṭanzī' ('A.N. Monzawī).

257. Sa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd al-Naukī is the author of three poems cited by 'Aufī, one of which expressly mentions the Ghaznavid Bahrām-shāh as his patron. Saif Harawī quotes two verses by 'Mas'ūd Naukī' and one by 'Naukī'. Rāzī includes him among the poets of Junābād.

'Aufī II p. 291-5; Saif Harawī p. 50, 92; Rāzī II p. 311 (no. 808); Khayām-pūr p. 621.

258. Nizāmī Ganja'ī, whose personal name was Ilyās,² is the most celebrated narrative poet of the Persians after Firdausī. His *nisbah* designates him as a native of Ganjah (Elizavetpol, Kirovabad) in Azerbaijan, then still a country with an Iranian population, and he spent the whole of his life in Transcaucasia; the verse in some copies of his poetic works

¹The same name - and presumably the same poem - is recorded also in the anonymous *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol 192b). This anthology (which I have not seen myself) evidently shares quite a bit of its material with Jāarmī. The most recent poet quoted therein appears to be Jāarmī's father, Badr al-dīn.

²As the poet tells us in his *Lailē-Majnūn*, Moscow edition, p. 77 (IX 46). In the same poem, p. 87 (XII 9), he says: *gar shud pidar-am ba sunnat* (var.: *nisbat*) *i jad * Yūsuf pīsar i Zakī Mu'ayyad*, but it is not entirely clear to me whether this means that Yūsuf was the name of his father or rather of his grandfather. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī (and others after him) gives his *kunya* as Abū Muḥammad. Daulat-shāh and his successors call him Nizām al-dīn Abū Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Mu'ayyad Muṭarrizī; for the names given on his (supposed) tomb see below. p. 447.

which makes him a native of the hinterland of Qum is a spurious interpolation.¹

In the prologue to his *Lailē-Majnūn*, which, as we shall see in a moment, was written in 584/1188, [439] the author says that he was then 49 (*haft sab*),² indicating that he was born in 535/1140-1. His earliest work is the didactic poem *Makhzan al-asrār* (=M.A.), which he dedicated to Fakhr al-dīn Bahrām-shāh b. Dā'ūd, the ruler of Arzinjān from about 550/1155 to about 615/1218.³ From the dates of his subsequent poems it is clear that the M.A. must belong to the early part of Bahrām-shāh's reign. The possibility of a more precise dating is suggested by a verse in which Nizāmī speaks of how the prophet Muḥammad has already 'slept' for a certain number of 'days'; the oldest and best manuscript (London I.O. 989, copied in 637/1239) gives this number as '550'.⁴ Muslim tradition puts the death of the prophet in A.H. 11; the verse thus seems to imply that the poem was composed in 561/1165-6. On the other hand, some of the manuscripts of M.A. end with verses stating that the poem was written in 552/1157, 559/1164, or 582/1186, but no such date is mentioned in the oldest copy, nor in other early man-

uscripts, and it is thus most likely that all of them are [440] spurious.¹

His second work, *Khusrau-Shīrīn* (Kh.Sh.),² contains eulogies to the Seljuq sultan Toghriq (III) b. Arslān (571/1176 to 590/1194), to his nominal vassal (but actual master) the atabeg of Azerbaijan, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Jahān-pahlawān b. Ēldügüz (571/1175 to 582/1186), and to one Qızıl-shāh, evidently the latter's brother, Qızıl-Arslān, who was to succeed his brother and rule from 582/1186 to 587/1191. Towards the end we find once again verses ostensibly giving the date of completion of the poem, but differing from copy to copy (556/1160, 571/1175-6, 576/1180-1,³ not all of which are reconcilable with the dedications). Some, but not all, of the manuscripts also have an epilogue,⁴ evidently added by the poet at a later date, in which he refers to the death of his patron, the atabeg Muḥammad (in 582/1186), and praises his successor, Qızıl-Arslān, and the heir-apparent, Nuṣrat al-dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad.

His third poem, *Lailē-Majnūn* (L.M.), was written, as we read in the prologue, after the completion of his *Khusrau-Shīrīn*⁵ at the invitation [441] of the ruler of Sharwān, Jalāl al-daulah wa l-dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Akhsatān, whom we have already encountered as the patron of Khāqānī. The date of completion of the work is given (for once quite unambiguously)⁶ as the end (*salkh*) of Rajab 584/September 1188.

¹ *Chu dur gar-chih dar baḥr i Ganjah gum am * walē az quhistān i shahr i Qum am.* The verse is quoted by Ādhar (who says that Nizāmī's father came from Tafrish, near Qum) and also quoted (and rejected) in a foot-note in Dastgirdī's edition of the second part of the *Iskandar-nāmah*, p. 29. The corresponding section in the Baku edition (p. 19) has no trace of the verse, from which one must conclude that it is not found in any of the manuscripts on which that edition is based.

² Moscow edition p. 72 (IX 4).

³ Zambaur p. 145.

⁴ See the Baku edition, p. 26 (X 17). The I.O. Ms. (fol. 4a, followed by Bland's edition; see below p. 480) has: '550 are (too) many days of slumber' (*pānšad u panjāh bas aiyām i khwāb*), but the Baku apparatus quotes the variants '570' (*pānšad u haftād*) or '580' (*pānšad u hashtād*); the reading adopted by the editor (evidently from the Paris Ms.) is *panjah nah* (or *nuh?*) *bas aiyām i khwāb*, but this does not seem to make any sense, nor can I scan it. The dates implied by the three first-mentioned variants are 561, 581 and 591, only the first of which seems possible; the last would put this poem later than *Lailē-Majnūn* (composed in 584/1188), the second would leave only one year for the composition of *Khusrau-Shīrīn* (which was at least begun before 582/1186).

¹ See the apparatus in the Baku edition, p. 248-9, and Rieu p. 565. None of the Mss. used in preparing the Baku edition have these verses in the first hand (in 't' they were added by a second hand; 'r' is Dastgirdī's printed edition). In any event, the verses do not speak expressly of the composition, but only of the 'writing' of the poem. I think it possible that they go back to an early rhymed colophon recording the copying of the poem in 582 and that the earlier dates in some Mss. represent attempts by subsequent copyists to 'emend' the supposed date of composition.

² For the title, see presently.

³ These are the dates recorded in the Baku edition, p. 773 l. 55 and apparatus. The catalogues mention others as well.

⁴ Begins on p. 783 of the Baku edition.

⁵ Moscow edition p. 44 l. 43-4. The forms quoted for the two titles, which are assured by the metre, are copulative compounds (*dvandvas*); see, with further examples of Persian book-titles of this sort, de Blois, *Burzōy* p. 96-7.

⁶ See the Moscow edition p. 49 (V 94-5) where the date is given (without significant variants) in the first verse in letters (*thai wa fai dāl*), in the second in words (*hashtād u chahār ba'd pānšad*).

The next poem in most of the copies of Nizāmī's opus is *Haft paikar* (H.P.). This is the only one of his works that is available in critical edition worthy of that name, thanks to the efforts of Ritter and Rypka, who distinguished two families of manuscripts. In the superior 'b' recension H.P. is dedicated to the ruler of Marāghah, 'Alā' al-dīn b. Āq-Sunqur, whose Turkish name Nizāmī quotes as Kōrp(e)-Arslān,¹ and the date of composition is given (in words) as 14 Ramaḍān 593/1197.² But in the 'a' recension the name of the dedicatee is miscopied as 'Qızıl-Arslān', while the verse indicating the year of composition has been altered, apparently to read 598/1202.³

Finally we have his retelling of the adventures of Alexander in two poems in the same metre, but with separate *dībajahs*; we shall refer to them as the first and second parts of the *Iskandar-nāmah* (Isk.N. i and ii). In many copies the two parts are styled *Sharaf-nāmah* and *Iqbāl-nāmah* [442] respectively, but in others the two names are reversed, which is reason enough to avoid both of them.⁴ One also finds for the two parts *Iskandar-* (or *Sikandar-*)*nāmah i barri* and *bahrī* respectively, and for the second also *Khirad-nāmah*. There are some problems involved both with the absolute chronology of these poems and with

¹See the Prague edition p. 18 (V 12). The text has 'shāh Kurp-Arsalān' (the vocalisation given by the editors is wrong), presumably an elided form, or poetic licence, for *Kōrpe-Arslān, 'late-born lion'. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī refers to this ruler as 'Alā' al-dīn Arslān b. kr̥bh b. Nuṣrat al-dīn Abah Arslān b. atābeg Qara-Sunqur, which is garbled (the first 'ibn' is certainly wrong). al-Nasawī calls him 'Alā' al-dīn kr̥bh (unpointed). He died, according to Ibn al-Athīr (who gives the year) and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (year and month) in Dhū l-qa'dah 604/1208. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, XII p. 182; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Juz' al-rābi' min talkhīṣ majma' al-ādāb fī mu'jam al-aqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 1598; Shihāb al-dīn al-Nasawī, *Strat al-sulṭān Jalāl al-dīn Meng-burnī*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1891, p. 129; Qazwīnī, *Yad-dasht-hā* VI p. 45-6; *El²* s.v. 'Marāgha' (V. Minorsky); *Elr.* s.v. 'Atābakān-e Marāgha' (K.A. Luther).

²Prague edition p. 302 (LIII 63-4).

³The apparatus in the Prague and Moscow editions indicates a number of different variants, but the intended date seems to be *thā u ṣād u ḥē*. I am preparing an article on this question and, in general, on the two recensions of H.P. and limit myself for the moment to saying that the testimony of the manuscripts of the 'a' recension has no authority in this matter.

⁴The title *Sharaf-nāmah* is mentioned by the poet himself in Isk.N. i (Baku edition) p. 39 (VIII 124), and the name *Iqbāl(-nāmah)* is alluded to in Isk.N. ii p. 225 (XLI 41). But it is not clear from either passage that these names refer specifically to the first and second parts, rather than to the Isk.N. as a whole.

their relative chronology within Nizāmī's opus. In Isk.N. i, p. 63 of the Baku edition, the poet lists his previous creations as: *Makhzan al-asrār* (l. 38), *Khusrau-Shīrīn* (l. 39), *Lailē-Majnūn* (l. 40) and *Haft paikar* (l. 41), but the last verse is missing in a number of manuscripts, including the two ancient codices in Oxford and Paris. Moreover, in an earlier passage in the same poem¹ the author says explicitly that he has already created 'three pearls' before undertaking this 'new ornament', i.e. the *Iskandar-nāmah*. It would thus appear that at least the first part of the *Iskandar-nāmah* was written before *Haft paikar* (i.e. before 593/1197), but that after the composition of the latter someone (either Nizāmī or perhaps more probably a later interpolator) added the verse referring to *Haft paikar*, but neglected to alter the one giving the number of the earlier poems as three.²

The prologue to Isk.N. i contains a dedication to a king whose *laqab* is given³ as 'Nuṣrat al-dīn'. The superscription in some of the manuscripts identifies this patron as Nuṣrat al-dīn Abū Bakr, i.e. the man whom we have already met, [443] as crown-prince, in the (secondary) epilogue to *Khusrau-Shīrīn*, and who succeeded his uncle and ruled from 587/1191 until 607/1210. However, other copies have the apparently fictitious name Nuṣrat al-dīn Abū l-Faḥ and quite a few have only Nuṣrat al-dīn or 'the late king' and the like. But if we look not at the rubrics but at the actual text we see a verse in which the poet makes a rather elaborate pun on the name Bēshkīn;⁴ the poet's patron is thus evidently not the atābeg Nuṣrat al-dīn Abū Bakr but his contemporary

¹p. 43 (IX 49-51).

²In some Mss. H.P. actually comes at the end (after Isk.N. i and ii), as it evidently did in the copies known to Amīr Khusrau, who completed his own *Khamsah* in 701/1301-2 (before the date of any of the surviving Mss. of Nizāmī's *Khamsah*). The order of Khusrau's five poems (clearly indicated by the author at various points in the text) is (1) *Maṭla' al-anwār*, (2) *Shīrīn-Khusrau*, (3) *Majnūn-Lailē*, (4) *Ā'inah i Sikan-darī*, (5) *Hasht bihisht*.

³Baku edition p. 46 (X 11).

⁴p. 46 (X 12). As the apparatus informs us, this verse is missing in some copies.

Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn, the ruler of Ahar.¹ The name Nuṣrat al-dīn [444] occurs also in most copies in the epilogue.²

Many of the manuscripts of *Isk.N.* ii also have a passage in their prologue praising 'Malik Nuṣrat al-dīn'³ and twice mentioning his name Bēshkīn.⁴ This dedication goes on to speak of an earthquake which (evidently in the recent past) had struck Ganjah. The historical sources

¹There is a fairly large corpus of coins of 'Malik al-umarā' Bēshkīn b. Muḥammad' naming also the atabeg Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad and the caliph al-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh, some with the mint-name Ahar and the date 594/1197-8. Coins of 'Nuṣrat al-dīn Maḥmūd b. Bēshkīn b. Muḥammad' (i.e. his son) bear dates from 610/1213-4 up to 623/1226. The name Bēshkīn ('whose hatred is more') is confirmed by Nizāmī's pun and by the Armenian spelling Bēšk'ēn; the Muslim literary sources have also byṣtkyn. 'Amīr sipāh-sālār i ajall i kabīr Nuṣrat al-dīn byṣtkyn' is mentioned in a letter from the atabeg Muḥammad b. Ēldügüz dated 20 Muḥarram 578/1182 preserved in *al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il*. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī speaks of a battle near Tabriz in 605/1208-9 between Nuṣrat al-dīn byṣtkyn and 'Izz al-dīn Arslān Abah, the (otherwise unknown) ruler of Marāghah (evidently a relative of the dedicatee of *H.P.*), in which the latter was killed; elsewhere the same author quotes the *Ta'rikh Bēshkīn* by a certain al-qāḍī Afḍal al-dīn. Bēshkīn's *laqab* Nuṣrat al-dīn is consequently well attested in the historical sources and it occurs also in poems of Zāhir Fāryābī (see below p. 557). His son is mentioned repeatedly in Nasawī's biography of the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn Meng-burnī, though both in the Arabic original and in the Persian translation his name is cited consistently as Nuṣrat al-dīn Muḥammad (sic) b. byṣtkyn (sic). Thus Nizāmī's patron is attested as an amīr from 578/1182 and as a malik from 594/1197-8 onwards. He died at some time between 605/1208-9 and 610/1213-4. There is no support in any source for the claim that the atabeg Abū Bakr used the name Bēshkīn. References: Sbiḥāb al-dīn al-Nasawī, *Strat al-sultān Jalāl al-dīn Meng-burnī*, ed. Houdas, Paris 1891, passim; the anonymous Persian translation of the same, ed. M. Mīnuwī, Tehran 1344sh./1965, passim, and the editor's notes p. 295-6, 407-8; Yāqūt, *Buldān* 1 p. 409; *al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il*, ed. Ī. Afshār, Tehran 2535sh.sh./1977, p. 140-1; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Juz' al-rābi' min talkhṣ majma' al-adāb ft mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 18, 1598; V. Minorsky, 'Caucasica II', *BSOAS* XIII/4, 1951, p. 868-77; D.K. Kouymjian, *A numismatic history of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān based on Islamic coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries* (Microfilm), Ann Arbor 1969, p. 369-409. - I am very grateful to A.H. Morton who set me on the path to the correct identification of Nizāmī's patron and who supplied me with practically all of these references. I see now that the great Persian scholar M. Qazwīnī already suggested this identification (if tentatively) in his posthumously published *Yad-dāsh-ta* IV p. 73.

²P. 500 (LXI 4), though in at least one copy (London Or. 2834) Nuṣrat al-dīn is replaced by 'Izz al-dīn.

³Baku edition p. 19 (VI 10); thus in all the manuscripts consulted by the editors. The edition by Wahīd Dastgirdī (cited in the Baku apparatus as 'W') has 'malik 'Izz i dīn', but this is evidently a wild conjecture by the Persian editor.

⁴P. 20 (VI 27-8).

record earthquakes in northern Iraq in Rabī' I 590/1194 and in Sha'bān 597/1201.¹ If both parts of the *Isk.N.* were composed before *H.P.* (i.e. before 593/1197), then the first of these would seem to be intended; if, however, Nizāmī returned to the Alexander story after writing *H.P.* then he is perhaps more likely to have had the latter in mind. One would naturally like to have confirmation that one or [445] the other of the earthquakes was actually perceptible in Ganjah.

Other copies of *Isk.N.* ii (among them the ancient Paris manuscript) replace this dedication by a eulogy to a king called 'Izz al-dīn and Abū l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd b. Nūr al-dīn, doubtless the atabeg of Mosul Mas'ūd II b. Nūr al-dīn Arslān-shāh (607/1211 to 615/1218). However, the text of this eulogy is, apart from the names, almost entirely identical with the dedication in *Isk.N.* i² and it can thus hardly be doubted that it is spurious. If Nizāmī had really (as has often been claimed) re-dedicated his poem to another ruler he would surely have taken the trouble of composing a new dedication rather than merely recycling the one he had composed for *Isk.N.* i.

The narrative of *Isk.N.* ii concludes with a series of chapters describing the circumstances of the death of a number of Greek sages. The last of these (the death of Socrates) is followed by a section on the death of Nizāmī³ at the age of 63 (which, if this and the date suggested above for his birth are both correct, would mean that he died in 598/1201-2). And after this there follows in many of the manuscripts (including some of those which have the name Nuṣrat al-dīn in the prologue) an evocation of 'Malik 'Izz i dīn',⁴ though a few have here too 'Malik Nuṣratu l-dīn',⁵ and, some [446] verses later, we find again the name 'Mas'ūd'.⁶ An explanation for these discrepancies and a suggestion for the chronol-

¹See Ibn al-Athīr XII p. 72, 113. The first of these only is mentioned in N.N. Ambraseys and C.P. Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes*, Cambridge (etc.) 1982, p. 42.

²In these Mss. *Isk.N.* ii chap. VI is replaced by *Isk.N.* i chap. X-XI with the following alterations: X 10 is replaced by *Isk.N.* ii VI 11 (the verse mentioning Mosul); X 11-12 are replaced by the five verses printed in the apparatus to *Isk.N.* ii p. 19; after XI 5 the Mss. consulted by me all insert the verse quoted in the apparatus (mentioning Alp Arslān).

³P. 221-2.

⁴P. 222, l. 5.

⁵See the apparatus in the Baku edition and Rieu, p. 570a.

⁶P. 230, l. 62.

ogy of Nizāmī's works can be found below in appendix II (p. 585-591).

For the death of the poet the *tadhkirahs* give, as usual, a vast array of dates, many of them clearly impossible, and it has also been the subject of much debate among modern scholars. The question was reopened, but not solved, by the discovery in Azerbaijan of what purports to be Nizāmī's grave. The Arabic inscription thereon is known to me from the only partially intelligible [447] hand-copy published by Bertel's¹ without indication of the place where the inscription was found (presumably Ganjah?) nor of the nature of the monument to which it appertains; it is also unclear whether the inscription is supposed to belong to the original tombstone or to a later replacement. What can be read is the name Nizām al-dīn Abū Muḥammad b. (sic) Ilyās b. Yūsuf b. Dhakī (hardly Zakī). This is followed by what looks like *fi rābi' al-siyām*, which would be a decidedly strange way of saying 'on 4 Ramaḍān', then by two words that I cannot read, and finally by what appears to be *sanat khams wa sitt-mi'ah*, i.e. 605/1208-9. But one really needs some words to the effect that 'he died' or 'he was buried' for the whole to make sense. The date given here would fit with the chronology suggested above, but one must hesitate to accept it without access to a proper publication of the grave-inscription.

Apart from the narrative poems Nizāmī also composed a small number of lyrical pieces, mostly *ghazals*, and almost entirely of religious content. In his *Lailē-Majnūn*² he speaks of having put together a *diwān*; it is thus clear that at least one collection of his shorter poems was in circulation by 584/1188. 'Aufī quotes a few of them. Copies of Nizāmī's *diwān* are astonishingly rare.

Mss.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 247 (16th century? Selections); **Oxford** Elliot 88 (Ethé 618); Ouseley Add. 114 (Ethé 619); [448] **Cam-**

bridge Or. 13 (Browne Suppt. 1110. Contains selections from his *ghazaliyāt*); **Berlin** Sprenger 1486 (Pertsch 691/2 and Sprenger 428); **Istanbul** Ayasofya 2051/10 (*Mikrāflm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated¹ Shawwāl 730/1330); **Tehran** Ilāhīyāt I p. 61 (Dated 896/1490-1); **Rampore** State Library (Nadhīr Aḥmad 188); **Calcutta** Būhār 294 (18th century?). Cf. Munz. III 26644-7.²

Editions of the *diwān*: **Tehran** 1318sh./1929 (*Ganjnah i ganjawī*, ed. W. Dastgirdī. Contains also a biography and glossary); 1334sh./1954-6 (ed. M. Ṭabāṭabā'i; non vidi); 1337sh./1958 (ed. S. Nafīsī; non vidi); **Baku** 1981 (*Ghazaliyāt*, ed. M. Sulṭān-zādah, alias Sultanov; from Nafīsī). The edition ostensibly of the *diwān* of Nizāmī published in **Agra** 1283/1866-7 contains the poems of someone else; according to Ethé its text 'differs entirely' from that of the Oxford Mss. 'in which not a single *kašīdah* or *ghazal* of that edition can be found'.

Translations: (Russian verse) Лирика, trans. Y.E. Bertel's and K.A. Lipskerov, Moscow 1947; Лирика (various translators), Moscow 1960; also in Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, Moscow 1985 (reprint Baku 1991). [449]

(Czech verse): *Chvály*, trans. J. Rypka and P. Eisner, Prague 1953.

Cf. M. Th. Houtsma, 'Some remarks on the *Diwān* of Nizāmī', *A volume of oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge 1933, p. 224-7; J. Rypka, 'Chand ghazal i tāzah az Nizāmī i Ganja'ī', *Armaghān* XVI, 1314sh./1935, p. 9-31; Nafīsī in his edition of 'Aufī p. 746-60.

The *mathnawīs* of Nizāmī were assembled and edited, evidently some time after the author's death, in a collection generally known as

¹Ye. E. Bertel's, Низами. Творческий путь поэта, Moscow 1956, p. 243. Bertel's refers to the publication of the inscription by A.A. Alesker-zade in the volume Архитектура Азербайджана. Эпоха Низами, edited by S.A. Dadashov and M.A. Useynov, Moscow/Baku 1947, p. 280, which I have not been able to find. See also the review by M. D'yakov, Вопросы Истории, 1948/IX, p. 119-22, according to whom the book in question also includes a publication of Khāqānī's grave-inscription, with the date 595/1198-9.

²Moscow edition p. 39 (V 2).

¹According to the description in *Mikrāflm-hā* this *majmū'ah* was copied by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Tabrizī Sirāj and contains three colophons with a date in Shawwāl 730; this year is mentioned also by Ritter (*Der Islam* XXI, 1933, p. 96; XXII, 1934, p. 104, etc.). However, the Ms. contains towards the end the *diwān* of Nāṣir Bukhārā'ī, who was still alive in 767/1365-6 (see below, chap. IV) and is thus unlikely to have completed his *diwān* more than 30 years earlier. It remains thus to be examined whether Nāṣir's *diwān* is a later addition to the Ms., or whether the date '730' (assuming that is written out in Arabic) cannot be read as '930'.

²The Strasbourg Ms. listed by Munzawī is not of the *diwān* but of the *Khamsah* and can be found below in its proper place.

the *Khamsah* ('five'), less commonly as the *Sittah* ('six') - the count depends on whether the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāmah* are reckoned as one poem or as two - or else as *Panj ganj* ('five treasures'). There are also some manuscripts containing one or more of the individual poems (most, though not all, of these are in fact truncated copies of the *Khamsah*) and quite rarely we find one of Nizāmī's poems in a collection with other *mathnawīs*. The oldest recorded copy of any of the poems in a public (and thus accessible) collection¹ is the London *Makhzan al-asrār* in just such a miscellaneous manuscript dated 637/1239² and it is followed by the Leningrad copy of the same poem from 710/1310-1 in a similar collection of religious writings in prose and verse. The earliest more-or-less complete manuscripts of the *Khamsah* are from the middle of the 14th century, namely the Paris copies of 763/1362 and 767/1366, [450] the Berlin and Lahore manuscripts of 765/1363-4 and the Oxford copy of 767/1365 (by the same scribe as the older Paris codex), but there are also a few fragmentary *Khamsahs* dated to the first half of the same century.³

A pioneering attempt at a critical evaluation of the text of Nizāmī was made by Ritter and Rypka in their edition of *Haft paikar* from 1934. In his introduction Ritter divided the consulted manuscripts into two families: 'a', represented mainly by the two copies made by Ahmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Sānah (Paris Supplément 1817 and Oxford Ouseley 274-275), and 'b', the chief representative of which is the contemporaneous Berlin manuscript Minutoli 35. Only those verses that appear in both families are regarded as genuine. Those found only in 'b' are printed in square brackets, those particular to 'a' are relegated to the foot-notes. In other words, Ritter and Rypka thought that in the first century and a half

¹A copy of one (or both?) of the parts of the *Iskandar-nāmah*, supposedly dated 631/1234, has been reported in a private collection in Tehran (see below, p. 474), but this needs to be checked before any conclusions can be drawn.

²This copy contains also the two *mathnawīs* by Mu'ayyad al-Nasafī (see above, p. 416-7) and the three authentic *mathnawīs* of Sanā'ī (below, p. 520-4). It is evidently the basis for Bland's edition of *M.A.* (see below, p. 480).

³The dates found in *Khamsah* Mss. from before the year 800 of the hijrah are: 712/1312-3 (Tehran, incomplete); 718/1318 (Tehran, incomplete); 763/1362 (Paris); 765/1363-4 (Berlin, Lahore); 767/1365-6 (Oxford, Paris); 773/1371-2 (Arak); 776/1374-5 (Istanbul); 778/1376-7 (Leningrad); 786/1384 (Paris); 788/1386 (Tehran); 790/1388 (London); 791/1389 (Cambridge, incomplete); 793/1391 (Tehran); 794/1392 (Istanbul). Details of all of these Mss. are given below.

after the poet's death two independent interpolated texts had come into existence; by paring away the supernumerary verses particular to each of these recensions it would be possible to restore the poet's original words. This approach, which, despite the small number of copies used, certainly produced a plausible reading of the *Haft paikar*, has not been followed by more recent scholars.¹

Since the 1940s useful critical editions of all six poems have been prepared by a team of [451] Azeri scholars following a general plan laid down by Bertel's. These are based on for the most part the same selection of *Khamsah* manuscripts and mainly follow the above-mentioned Paris and Oxford copies; the editors did not use the Berlin manuscript and made no attempt to divide the codices into families. Nonetheless, their full critical apparatus makes these the only editions (apart from the Ritter/Rypka *H.P.*) that are likely to be of any use to serious students.² By contrast, Dastgirdī's editions of the six poems published in Tehran in the 1930s, though supposedly based on a large number of manuscripts, quote hardly any variants and the editor's choice of readings and his distinction between 'authentic' and 'spurious' verses seem to be largely arbitrary.³ It is astonishing that even some Western scholars have designated Dastgirdī's editions as the 'best' or used them as the basis for translations into European languages. His explanatory notes are, however, often quite useful.

In the list that follows the manuscripts which contain one, several or all of the poems are assembled in a single sequence; where nothing else is noted the codices can be assumed to contain all the poems.

¹I have reexamined the question of the two recensions of *H.P.*, with conclusions slightly different from Ritter's, in the article announced above, p. 441, fn.

²More recently, copiously annotated new editions of some (or all?) of the poems have been published by B. Tharwatyān; I have seen only his *Kh.Sh.* and his *Isk.N.* i (*Sharaf-nāmah*), but editions of *M.A.* and *L.M.* are mentioned in the publisher's advertisement accompanying the latter. The text in the two volumes that have been seen is largely identical with that of the Baku editions and Tharwatyān reproduces (it seems faithfully) the Baku critical apparatus, but he also adds further variants from two Mss. (one Ms. in each volume) in Tabriz, one of them dated 754/1353 (see below, p. 474 fn.). I have not seen Zanjānī's editions of *L.M.* and *H.P.*

³Dastgirdī's drastically truncated version of *L.M.* is an extreme example of his method.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** Beatty 124 vol. I (Colophons dated 20 Jumādā II 838/1435 and 25 Rabīʿ II 839/1435. Pictures); Beatty 162 (Dated 886/1481-2. Pictures); Beatty 171 (Dated 8 Dhū l-qa'dah 897/1492. Pictures); Beatty 137 (15th century? Without *Isk.N.* ii. Pictures); Beatty 141 (15th century? Pictures); [452] Beatty 182 (Dated Sha'bān 915/1509. Pictures); Beatty 195 (Copied in 936/1529-30 by Murshid 'Aṭṭār al-Shīrāzī. Pictures); Beatty 196 (Same year and scribe as Beatty 195. Pictures); Beatty 222 (Dated Šafar 959/1552. Without *M.A.* Pictures); Beatty 224 (*M.A.*, with a miniature containing the date Dhū l-hijjah 96<0>/1553); Beatty 276 (Copied by Mullā Barqī and Mullā 'Arab-Shāh and dated 1081/1671. Pictures); Beatty 283 (18th century?); T.C.D. 1567 ('*Isk.N.*'); **Manchester** Lindesiana 6 (=Robinson p. 148-50. Dated 24 Rabīʿ II 824/1421, but the colophon is possibly forged. *Kh.Sh.* only. Pictures attributed to the 16th century); Lindesiana 36 (=Robinson p. 70-88. Dated Šafar 849/1445. Pictures); Lindesiana 9 (15th century?); Lindesiana 856 (16th century?); Rylands Pers. 856 (Robinson p. 203-20. Pictures ascribed to 16th century); Lindesiana 198 (Dated 1012/1603-4); Lindesiana 186 (Dated 1012/1603-4. *H.P.* only); Lindesiana 61 (Dated 1023/1614. *M.A.* only); Lindesiana 35 (=Robinson p. 227-8. Dated 3 Dhū l-qa'dah 1037/1628. Pictures); Lindesiana 246 (Dated 1087/1676-7. *H.P.* and *L.M.*); Lindesiana 101b (Dated 1104/1692-3. *M.A.* only); Lindesiana 100 (Dated 1111/1699-1700. '*Isk.N.*'); Lindesiana 216 (18th century? *L.M.* only); Lindesiana 796 (Dated 1240/1824-5); **Oxford** Ouseley 274-275 (Ethé 585. Copied by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Sānah² and completed in Rabīʿ I 767/1365); Ouseley 304 (Ethé 586. Dated 14 Dhū l-hijjah 841/1438); Ouseley Add. 137 (Ethé 605. Dated [9?]/81/1573-4 or [8?]/81/1476-7. *L.M.* Pictures.); Elliot 194 (Ethé 594; Robinson 134-45, 676-9, 898-903. 15th century? Pictures, some of which were added later); Elliot 192 (Ethé 587; Robinson 564-605. Dated 22 Muḥarram 907/1501. Pictures); Ouseley

¹Compare Munz. IV 27352-493 ('*Iskandar-nāmah*'); 28033-253 ('*Panj ganj*'); 29504-620 ('*Khusrau u Shīrīn*'); 33682-819 ('*Lailā u Majnūn*'); 34730-869 ('*Makhzan al-asrār*'); 36498-36603 ('*Haft paikar*'); Munz. Pak. VII p. 65-130. Our list is intended mainly to complement those compiled by Munzawī, rather than to reproduce them. See also Fozila Sulaimonova, Низомий «Хамса»-сига Ишланган Расмлар, Tashkent 1985 (in Uzbek, Russian and 'English'; descriptions of and illustrations from 22 Mss. in various collections, some not otherwise catalogued).

²Cf. Paris Supplément 1817.

205 (Ethé 607. Contains a seal dated 934/1527-8. *H.P.* and *Isk.N.* i); Marsh. 579 (Ethé 588; Robinson 710-25. Dated 956/1549. Pictures); [453] Pers. d. 102 (Beeston 2845. Contains a seal dated 971/1563-4. *L.M.* Pictures);¹ Douce 348 (Ethé 596. Dated 980/1572-3. Pictures. *L.M.*, *H.P.* and *Isk.N.* i); Elliot 196 (Ethé 595. Dated 999/1590-1. *M.A.* missing); Ouseley 316 (Ethé 589; Robinson 1046-9. The copyist is given in one place as Mīr 'Alī and in another as Bābā-shāh; Ethé remarks that 'the handwriting is the same throughout', which would imply that the two names belong to the same person, but Robinson identifies the latter with the Bābā-shāh who signed the Cambridge Fitzwilliam *Haft paikar* in 979/1571-2 and suggests that the former might be Mīr 'Alī of Herat, who 'died in 1550'. Pictures); Elliot 239 in marg. (Ethé 604; Robinson 904-14. Dated Shawwāl 990/1582 according to Ethé, but Robinson says only that the Ms. contains the dates Rabīʿ II 979/1571 - which he believes to be an error for 989/1581 - and, in another place, 989/1581. Pictures. *Kh.Sh.* and, according to Robinson, also *L.M.*); Elliot 193 (Ethé 590. Dated 1010/1601-2); Whinfield 70 (Beeston 2558. Dated 1 Muḥarram 1014/1605. *L.M.*); Whinfield 69 (Beeston 2557. Dated 10 Šafar 1014/1605. *Kh.Sh.*); Elliot 197 (G.O.) (Ethé 591. Dated Ramaḍān 1021/1612. Lacunae. Pictures); Pers. c. 28 (Beeston 2661/1. Dated 14 Muḥarram 1029/1619. Pictures added later. *Isk.N.* i); Pers. c. 28 (Beeston 2661/3. Dated 9 Rabīʿ I 1031/1621. *Isk.N.* ii); Laud 128 (Ethé 615. Dated 14 Rabīʿ I 1037/1627. *Isk.N.* ii); Marsh. 654 (Ethé 608. Dated 1042/1632-3. Lacunae. *Isk.N.* i); Elliot 336 (Ethé 616. Rabīʿ I 1052/1642. *Isk.N.* ii); Ouseley 317 (Ethé 592; Robinson 1064-71. Dated Šafar to Ramaḍān 1056/1646. Pictures); Ouseley 302 (Ethé 600. Dated 16 Muḥarram 1059/1649. *M.A.* only); Ouseley 155 (Ethé 609. Dated 26 Dhū l-qa'dah 1101/1690. *Isk.N.* i with Glosses); Walker 80 (Ethé 617. Dated 6 Sha'bān 1104/1693. *Isk.N.* ii); [454] Ms. Pers. c. 1 (Ethé 1981. 16th-17th century? *Isk.N.* ii missing); Whinfield 71 (Beeston 2559. 17th century. *H.P.*); Walker 68 (Ethé 610. Dated 12 Dhū l-hijjah 1136/1724. *Isk.N.* i); Fraser 69 (Ethé 611. Contains a seal dated 1148/1735-6. *Isk.N.* i); Bodl. 761 (Ethé 613. Contains a seal dated 1198/1783-4. *Isk.N.* i); Ouseley Add. 107 (Ethé 601. Dated 1201/1786-7. *M.A.*); Ouseley 277 (Ethé 612. 18th century? *Isk.N.* i); Walker 79 (Ethé 614.

¹Cf. A.F.L. Beeston, 'The Atkinson *Lailā Majnūn*', *Bodleian Library Record* iv, pp. 63-6.

Dated 25 Ramaḍān 1224/1809. *Isk.N.* i); Whinfield 61 (Beeston 2462. Dated 25 Muḥarram 1230/1815. *Isk.N.* i); Elliot 195 (Ethé 595. Dated 23 Ramaḍān 1230/1815); Pers. f. 11 (Beeston 2561. Dated 12 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1247/1832. Last part of *H.P.* only); Ind. Inst. Pers. 89 fol. 153. 76 (Beeston 2563. 19th century. Selections from *Isk.N.* i); Marsh. 369 (Ethé 602. *M.A.* only); Sale 29 (Ethé 603. *M.A.* only); Elliot 124 (Ethé 606. Substantial fragments of *L.M.*); Ind. Inst. Pers. 69 (Beeston 2556. *L.M.* and *Isk.N.* ii, here styled '*Sharaf-nāmah*'); Pers. d. 56 (Beeston 2560. *H.P.*); Eton¹ 122 (Dated 1033/1623-4. *M.A.*); Richmond Keir III.7-27 (14th century? *H.P.*, *L.M.*, *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.* Pictures); Keir III.82-1000 (Dated Šafar 848/1444. Pictures); Keir III.180-192 (15th century? *L.M.* and parts of *H.P.* and '*Isk.N.*' Pictures); Keir V.7-41 (Dated 10 Rabī' I 912/1506. Pictures added later); Keir III.296 (Dated Shawwāl 917/1511. One picture); London² I.O. 989 (Dated Rabī' II 637/1239. *M.A.* only); Or. 13297 (Titley 324A. Dated 790/1388. Inspexi. Pictures);³ Add. 7729 (Rieu p. 564-70. Dated Shawwāl 802/1400); Or. 13529 (Titley 308. '*Isk.N.*' With pictures attributed to 'ca. 1400'. Inspexi);⁴ [455] Khalilī⁵ 564 (Copied by Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qārī and dated 20 Ramaḍān 804/1402. Fragment of *M.A.*, the other poems more or less complete. 3 extraneous pictures pasted over the text); Add. 27,261/I (Rieu p. 868-71; Titley 98. Ms. dated Jumādā II 814/1411. Pictures); Khalilī 709 (Dated 14 Ramaḍān 819/1416. *M.A.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i-ii, all incomplete. Extraneous pictures painted over the text); Or. 7534 (Meredith-Owens p. 68. Dated 821/1418. *Isk.N.* i); Add. 27,259/I (Rieu p. 866-7. Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 821/1419); Or. 12087 (lacks *Isk.N.* i.

¹I learn from C. Melville that the Eton manuscripts are now kept in the University Library at Cambridge.

²Apart from the catalogues listed above, p. 31-2, see also N.M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian manuscripts ... in the British Library and the British Museum*, London 1977 (quoted as 'Titley'). The book also contains descriptions of a number of detached miniatures (not included here).

³*M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.* and *H.P.* are all followed by colophons with dates in 788, with the name of the scribe effaced in all three (... Maḥmūd b. Maḥmūd ... is legible in the last); *L.M.* is dated 790; *Isk.N.* i is undated; *Isk.N.* ii is missing.

⁴Or. 13529 is a fragment of a beautiful old Ms. of *Isk.N.* i (called in the superscription to the epilogue '*jild i auwal az Sharaf-nāmah i Iskandarī*'), interspersed with new pages (now separated) in *shikastah* script.

⁵The Mss. in the Khalilī collection (which also contains a number of loose leaves, not listed here) are being catalogued by the present author.

Meredith-Owens p. 75; Titley 322. Copied by Ja'far al-Ḥāfiẓ in 823/1420. Pictures. Inspexi); Or. 11919 (Meredith-Owens p. 74. Dated 838/1434-5. *M.A.*); Or. 12856 (Meredith-Owens p. 75; Titley 324. Dated 839/1435-6. Imperfect at beginning. Pictures); Khalilī 880 (Dated 840/1436-7); Add. 25,900 (Rieu p. 570; Titley 311. Dated 846/1442-3. Pictures, mostly later); Add. 25,801 (Rieu p. 572-3; Titley 338. Dated Jumādā II 865/1461. *M.A.* Pictures 'inserted' later); Or. 2931 (Rieu Suppt. 226; Titley 317. Dated 3 Dhū l-qa'dah 878/1474. Pictures); S.O.A.S. 24952 (Dated 880/1475-6. *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); R.A.S. 248a (Dated 10 Dhū l-qa'dah 882 /1478. *M.A.*, *L.M.* Pictures. Inspexi); I.O. 972 (=Robinson 81-5. Dated 21 Muḥarram 894/1488. Pictures); Or. 2834 (Rieu Suppt. 225; Titley 316. Dated Shawwāl 895/1490. Pictures); Or. 6810 (Meredith-Owens p. 66; Titley 319. Dated 900/1494-5. Pictures); Add. 25,800 (Rieu p. 572. 15th century? *M.A.* and *Kh.Sh.* Has a seal dated 934/1527-8); I.O. 976 (=Robinson 86-133. 15th century? Pictures, apparently from different periods); R.A.S. 246 (15th century? Pictures); R.A.S. 246a (Dated last of Ramaḍān 927/1521. Pictures. Inspexi); R.A.S. 249a (Dated 932/1525. *Isk.N.* i and ii. Pictures. Inspexi); Add. 16,780 (Rieu p. 570-1; Titley 310. Dated Muḥarram 936/1529. Pictures); [456] Or. 2265 (Rieu p. 1072; Titley 315. Completed Dhū l-ḥijjah 949/1543. Pictures);¹ Or. 1578 (Rieu p. 574; Titley 301. Dated 952/1545-6. 11 leaves were replaced in 1264/1848. *H.P.* Pictures); I.O. 985 (=Robinson 136-9. Dated 1 Šafar 955/1548. *M.A.* and *Isk.N.* i and ii. Pictures); Khalilī 710 (Dated 956/1549. *M.A.* Pictures); Or. 9869 (Meredith-Owens p. 70. Dated 960/1553. Last folio missing); Or. 1216 (Rieu p. 571; Titley 313. Dated Ramaḍān 961/1554. Pictures); Khalilī 455 (Dated Rabī' I 964/1557. Pictures); I.O. 1000 (Copied by Muḥammad Bāqir b. Mullā Mīr 'Alī and dated Rabī' I 965/1557. *L.M.* Pictures); Add. 26,144 (Rieu p. 571. Dated Jumādā II 968/1561. Does not contain *H.P.*); I.O. 973 (=Robinson 303-20. Dated Rabī' II 975/1567. Pictures); I.O. 990 (Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 976/1569. *M.A.* only); I.O. 986 (Dated 976/1568-9. *M.A.*, *L.M.*, *Kh.Sh.*); I.O. 991 (Dated 989/1581. *M.A.* only); Add. 17,329 (Rieu p. 571. Dated Muḥarram 994/1585-6); I.O. 1008 (Dated 7 Rabī' II 994/1586. *Isk.N.* i); Or. 7045 (Meredith-Owens p. 67; Titley 320. Dated 994/1586. Pic-

¹The pictures are described and reproduced in *The poems of Nizami described by Laurence Binyon*, London 1928.

tures much later); I.O. 1004 (Dated 998/1589-90. *H.P.* only); Ross and Browne XXX (Contains the date 21 Ramaḍān 1000/1592); Or. 4385 (Rieu Suppt. no. 228. Completed Sha'bān 1006/1598); Or. 12208 (Meredith-Owens p. 75; Titley 323. Dated 40 Ilāhī/1595-6. Pictures);¹ Harleian 503 (Rieu p. 574. 16th century? *Isk.N.* i); Add. 27,260 (Rieu p. 571-2; Titley 312. 16th century? Pictures); Or. 1363 (Rieu p. 572; Titley 314. 16th century? Pictures); Or. 2932 (Rieu Suppt. 227; Titley 318. 16th century? Pictures, some later); Ross and Browne XXXI (=Robinson 324-41. Pictures, which Robinson ascribes to the 16th century); I.O. 974 (=Robinson 1068-77. Dated 22 Rabī' II 1014/1605. Pictures); I.O. 1022 (Dated 25 Sha'bān 1016/1607. *Isk.N.* ii); [457] I.O. 1007 (Dated 6 Ramaḍān 1017/1608. *Isk.N.* i); I.O. 992 (Dated 1017/1608-9. *M.A.*, with copious glosses); Ross and Browne XXXII (Dated 4 Šafar 1018/1609. *M.A.* only); I.O. 983 (Dated 1024/1615. *Isk.N.* i, *H.P.*, *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*); Or. 7046 (Meredith-Owens p. 68. Dated 1027/1618. Without *L.M.*); Add. 16,781 (Rieu p. 573. Dated Rabī' I 1028/1619. *M.A.* only); R.A.S. 249 (Dated Muḥarram 1036/1626. *Isk.N.* i. Inspeci); Add. 26,145 (Rieu p. 572. Dated Rabī' II 1042/1632. Imperfect at the end); I.O. 979 (Dated 1049/1639-40. *Isk.N.* ii missing); I.O. 1009 (Dated 11 Jumādā II 1053/1643. *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); I.O. 975 (Dated Rajab 1054/1644); I.O. 980 (Has a dedication dated 12 Ramaḍān 1061/1651. *Isk.N.* ii missing); I.O. 1765/7 (Ms. contains the date 28 Dhū l-qa'dah 1066/1656, but not all parts are in the same hand. *M.A.* only); I.O. 2870 (Dated 27 Muḥarram 1070/1659. *M.A.* only); I.O. 977 (Dated 1072/1661-2. Pictures); Add. 6613 (Rieu p. 572; Titley 309. Dated Rabī' II 1076/1665. Pictures); Or. 12066 (Meredith-Owens p. 74; Titley 321. Dated 1076/1665-6. Imperfect at both ends. Pictures); R.A.S. 247 (Dated 1077/1666-7); I.O. 993 (Dated 5 Rabī' I 1079/1668. *M.A.* only); Add. 26,147 (Rieu p. 574. *Isk.N.* i with a few pages missing at the beginning. The last 3 folios, which contain verses giving the date of composition as 597/1200-1, are dated 7 Rabī' I 1090/1679); I.O. 988 (Dated <10>92/1681. *L.M.* and *Kh.Sh.*, the latter incomplete); Add. 19,500 (Rieu p. 573. Dated Muḥarram 1097/1686. *M.A.* with copious marginal notes); Add. 23,547 (Rieu p. 572. 17th century?); Add. 6614 (Rieu p. 574. 17th century? Some leaves at both ends

replaced by a second hand. *Isk.N.* i); Khalili 543 (17th century? Pictures); I.O. 1023 (Dated 16 Muḥarram 1117/1705. *Isk.N.* ii only); Add. 26,146 (Rieu p. 574. Dated Jumādā I 1117/1705. *Isk.N.* i); I.O. 1001 (Dated 19 Rajab of year 49 <of 'Ālamgīr? /1705>. *L.M.*); I.O. 994 (Dated 13 Sha'bān 1134 /1722. *M.A.* only, with glosses); I.O. 1027 (Dated 15 Šafar 1139/1726. *Isk.N.* ii, defective); [458] I.O. 995 (Dated 18 Šafar 1150/1737. *M.A.* only, with glosses); Ross and Browne CLXIII (Possibly dated 1150/1737-8. *Isk.N.* i only); I.O. 2869 (Dated 27 Jumādā II 22nd year of Muḥammad-Shāh/1153/1740. *M.A.* and *Kh.Sh.*); I.O. 1010 (Dated in the reign of Muḥammad-Shāh [1131/1719 to 1161/1748]. *Isk.N.* i only); Or. 10940 fol. 1b-70b in marg. (Meredith-Owens p. 71. Ms. dated 1181/1767-8. *M.A.*); I.O. 1011 (Dated 27 Muḥarram 1187/1773. *Isk.N.* i only); I.O. 1005 (Dated 1195/1781. *H.P.* only); I.O. 987 (Completed 25 Jumādā I 1200/1786. *M.A.*, *H.P.*, *Kh.Sh.*); I.O. Delhi 1259 (Dated 1204/1789-90. *L.M.*); R.A.S. 250 (Dated 1212/1797-8. *Isk.N.* ii); Add. 23,548 (Rieu p. 573. 18th century? *M.A.*); Or. 4730 (Rieu Suppt. 230; Titley 302. 18th century? *H.P.* in Hebrew script. Imperfect. Pictures); Add. 16,783 (Rieu p. 574. 18th century? Some leaves missing at end. *Isk.N.* i); Add. 26,148 (Rieu p. 574. 18th century? Some leaves missing at beginning. *Isk.N.* i); Add.: 16,782 (Rieu p. 575. 18th century? *Isk.N.* ii); I.O. 1003 (Dated 26 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1222/1808. *L.M.* only); Ross and Browne CLXIV (18th century? *Isk.N.* ii only); I.O. 1024 (Dated 4 Šafar 1223/1808. *Isk.N.* ii only); Add. 25,799 (Rieu p. 575. Dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 1227/1816. *Isk.N.* i); Or. 4386 (Rieu Suppt. no. 229. dated 1 Sha'bān 1237/1822); Or. 8756 (Meredith-Owens p. 69. Dated 1252/1836-7. *Isk.N.* ii); Or. 7047 (Meredith-Owens p. 68. Dated 1253/1837-8. *L.M.* and *H.P.*); Or. 4730 (Meredith-Owens p. 39. 18th-19th century? *H.P.* in Hebrew script. Imperfect); I.O. 978; I.O. 981 (without *Isk.N.* ii); I.O. 984 (without *Isk.N.* i and ii. Pictures); I.O. 996 and 997 (both *M.A.*, incomplete); I.O. 999 (*Kh.Sh.* Pictures); I.O. 1002 (*L.M.*); I.O. 1006 ('Modern copy' of *H.P.*); I.O. 1012-1017 (All *Isk.N.* i only, the last two defective); I.O. 1025-1026 (Both *Isk.N.* ii only); I.O. 2868 (without *Isk.N.* i and ii); I.O. 2871 (*M.A.* only); I.O. 2873 (*Kh.Sh.* only); [459] I.O. 3061 (*M.A.* only); I.O. Delhi 1234 (four late or un-dated copies of 'Isk.N.'); I.O. Delhi 1279 (*H.P.*); R.A.S. 245 (*Kh.Sh.*), 248 (*M.A.*); S.O.A.S. (many copies, almost all very late); Cambridge Or. 964 (Browne Suppt. 451. Copied by Ṭaifūr b. Ḥājī Kamāl and dated

¹The miniatures in Or. 12208 are reproduced and discussed in B. Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizāmī*, London 1995.

791/1389. End of *Kh.Sh.* and whole of *H.P.*); Or. 421 (Browne Suppt. 448. Dated 846/1442-3); Add. 3408 (Browne Hand-list 354. The first four poems were copied by Tūrān-shāh b. Tāj al-dīn b. Bahā' al-dīn and dated between 848/1444-5 and 850/1446-7, '*Isk.N.*' was added in 1240/1824-5); Or. 245 (Browne Suppt. 447. Dated 853/1449); Fitzwilliam 1-1969 (Cat. p. 540-3. 15th century? Pictures); St John's, No. 30 (Browne Suppt. 456. Dated 947/1540-1. Pictures); Fitzwilliam 373 (Cat. p. 379-80. Copied by Muḥammad Muḥsin Tabrīzī in 949/1542-3. Pictures); Fitzwilliam 18-1948 (Cat. p. 403-4. Copied by Bābā-shāh al-Iṣfahānī in 969/1561-2. *H.P.* Pictures); Oo. 6. 11. (Browne Cat. CCXI. Contains various dates in 992/1584. Pictures); Oo. 6. 29. (Browne Cat. CCXII. Completed 5 Jumādā I 993/1585); Or. 244 (Browne Suppt. 446. Dated 996/1588); Corpus, No. 209 (Browne Suppt. 428. 16th century? *Kh.Sh.*); Or. 805 (Browne Suppt. 450. 16th century?); Or. 1572 (2nd Suppt. 359. Dated 1019/1610-1); Corpus, No. 161 (Browne Suppt. 1171. 'About 1023/1614-5'. *M.A.*); Add. 3139 (Browne Cat. CCXIII. 'Not older than the 17th century'. Pictures); Add. 586 (Browne Cat. CCXIV. Dated 25 Dhū l-hijjah 31st year of 'Ālamgīr/1687. *M.A.*); Ff. 5. 9. (Browne Cat. CCXV/II. Dated 27 Dhū l-hijjah 1036/1627. *M.A.*); Add. 207 (Browne Cat. CCXVI. 16th or 17th century? *Kh.Sh.* Pictures); Corpus, No. 212 (Browne Suppt. 765. Dated 1247/1831-2. '*Isk.N.*'); Or. 243 (Browne Suppt. 445); Christ's College, Dd.4.13 (Browne Suppt. 452); King's, No. 152 (Browne Suppt. 453); Corpus, No. 234 (Browne Suppt. 1172. *M.A.*); King's, No. 257 (Browne Suppt. 455. *Kh.Sh.*); Or. 13 (Browne Suppt. 1110. *L.M.* and selections from *Kh.Sh.*, *H.P.* and *ghazaliyāt*); [460] Corpus, No. 229 (Browne Suppt. 1372. *H.P.*); Add. 3736 (Browne Suppt. 763. '*Isk.N.*'); Christ's, Dd.5.12 (Browne Suppt. 764. '*Isk.N.*'); Glasgow S.7 (Weir 12. Dated 1102/1690-1. *Isk.N.* ii); Edinburgh Univ. 280 (Dated 1104/1692-3. *L.M.*); Univ. 279 (Dated 8th year of Shāh-'Ālam/1180/1766-7. *Isk.N.* i); New Coll. Or. 38; Univ. 101-3 (*M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*, *Isk.N.* i); Paris Supplément 1817 (Blochet 1247. Copied by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Sānah¹ with various dates during 763/1362); Supplément 580 (Blochet 1248. Dated 1 Dhū l-hijjah 767/1366. First leaf missing. Pictures); Supplément 816 in marg. (Blochet 1382. Dated <7>86/1384. A second hand has added the text of the *Majma' al-bahrain* to this Ms. and dated his work 1

Dhū l-hijjah 811/1409); Supplément 584/I-II (Blochet 1535. Ms. dated 8 Sha'bān 800/1398. *M.A.* and *Kh.Sh.*, both incomplete); Supplément 2040 (Blochet 2454. Completed Ramaḍān 820/1417); Supplément 579 (Blochet 1249. Dated Thursday 21 Jumādā II 840, i.e. 27 December 1436 or 3 January 1437); Supplément 1777 fol. 243 sqq. (Blochet 1645. Dated 25 Ṣafar 852/1448. *M.A.*); Supplément 591 (Blochet 1274. Dated 3 Dhū l-hijjah 870/1466. *L.M.*, with *Kh.Sh.* in marg.); Supplément 781 fol. 3v sqq. (Blochet 1971. Ms. dated Rabī' I 892/1487. Without *Isk.N.* ii); Ancien fonds 280 (Blochet 1276/Richard. Dated 19 Muḥarram 900/1494. *Isk.N.* i and ii); Supplément 1112 (Blochet 1260. 15th century? Without *M.A.*. Pictures); Supplément 582 (Blochet 1262. 15th century? *M.A.*, *H.P.* and *Kh.Sh.*); Ancien fonds 362 (Blochet 1268/Richard. 15th century? *Kh.Sh.* Pictures); Supplément 578 (Blochet 1250. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 909/1504. Pictures); Ancien fonds 281 (Blochet 1277/Richard. Dated 5 Jumādā II 933/1527. *Isk.N.* i and ii); Supplément 985 (Blochet 1264. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 944/1538 by Mīr 'Alī Mashhadī. *M.A.* Pictures); Supplément 794 fol. 226v sqq. (Blochet 1536. Dated 10 Ramaḍān 978/1572. *Isk.N.* ii); [461] Ancien fonds 370 (Blochet 1269/Richard. Dated 7 Jumādā I 960/1553. First 8 folios added later. *Kh.Sh.*); Decourdemanche 1896 (Blochet 1251. Completed 966/1558-9. Pictures); Supplément 1956 (Blochet 1252. Dated 22 Jumādā II 968/1561. Pictures); Supplément 575 (Blochet 1253. Completed 22 Shawwāl 972/1565); Supplément 581 (Blochet 1254. Completed 976/1568-9. Pictures); Supplément 794 fol. 1v sqq. (Blochet 1536. Dated 1 Sha'bān 978/1570. *Isk.N.* i); Supplément 794 fol. 202-358 in marg. and 342-359 (Blochet 1536. Dated 20 Jumādā II 979/1571. *H.P.*); Supplément 576 (Blochet 1255. Dated 989/1581); Supplément 1303 (Blochet 1275. Dated 1004/1595-6. Pictures. *H.P.*); Supplément 2026 (Blochet 2455. 16th century? Fragment containing *H.P.* and parts of *Kh.Sh.* and *Isk.N.* i); Supplément 585 (Blochet 1273. 16th century? *L.M.*, beginning missing); Supplément 1454 (Blochet 1263. 16th century? *M.A.*); Supplément 574 (Blochet 1256. Dated 1021/1612-3); Supplément 1029 (Blochet 1257. Various dates ranging from 1029 to Ṣafar 1034/1624. Pictures); Supplément 1980 (Blochet 1258. Various dates, the most recent of which is 1 Sha'bān 1034/1625. Pictures); Ancien fonds 230 (Blochet 1278/Richard. Dated with a chronogram to the year 1035/1625-6. *Isk.N.* i and ii); Ancien fonds 363 (Blochet 1270/Richard. Dated 1039/1629-30. *Kh.Sh.*); Supplément 1111 (Blochet

¹Cf. Oxford Ouseley 274-275.

1259. Dated Šafar 1060/1650. Pictures); Supplément 973 (Blochet 1279. Dated Rabīʿ II 1061/1651, later altered to 1073/1663. *Isk.N.* i and ii); Supplément 1897 (Blochet 1261. 17th century? Without *Kh.Sh.* or *Isk.N.* ii); Supplément 586 (Blochet 1265. 17th century? *M.A.*); Supplément 958 (Blochet 1266. 17th century? *M.A.*); Supplément 588 (Blochet 1271. 17th century? *Kh.Sh.*); Supplément 1898 (Blochet 1280. 17th century? *Isk.N.* i); Supplément 1198 (Blochet 1281. 17th century? *Isk.N.* i, end missing); Supplément 964 (Blochet 1272. Dated 12 Dhū l-hijjah <1> 162/1749. *Kh.Sh.*); [462] Supplément 583 (Blochet 1282. 18th century? *Isk.N.* i); Supplément 1899 (Blochet 1283. 18th century? *Isk.N.* i); Supplément 1617 (Blochet 1284. 18th century? *Isk.N.* i); Supplément 1900 (Blochet 1285. 18th century? *Isk.N.* i); Richard p. 365 mentions also Smith-Lesouëf 216, 225 and 227 (all for *Kh.Sh.*); Supplément 2074 (Uncatalogued. Cf. Richard p. 237, 365); **Strasbourg** Hoghughi 4 (Dated 889/1484. Pictures); **Florence** Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Or. 338 (Piemontese 82. Copied by Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl and dated 15 Dhū l-qaʿdah 773/1372.¹ *Isk.N.*); Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Or. 435 (Piemontese 81. 15th century? *M.A.*); Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana Ms. Or. 11 (Piemontese 80. 16th century? Pictures); **Milan** Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, Ms. fondo Castiglioni 22 (Piemontese 211. 16th century? Pictures); **Rome** Bibl. dell' Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Ms. Caetani 36 (Piemontese 286. 15th century? Pictures); Vatican Pers. 32 (Rossi p. 59. 15th century? *M.A.*, incomplete. 1 picture); Bibl. dell' Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Ms. Caetani 82 (Piemontese 288. 15th or 16th century? *L.M.* Pictures added later); Bibl. dell' Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Ms. Caetani 58 (Piemontese 287. Copied by Hidāyat al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī, who flourished at the end of the 16th century. Pictures); Vatican Pers. 27 (Rossi p. 54-5. 16th century? *Kh.Sh.* only); Vatican Pers. 76 (Rossi p. 97-8. 16th century? *M.A.* and *Kh.Sh.*, both incomplete); Vatican Pers. 107/III (Rossi p. 117. Ms. dated 27 Rajab 1063/1653. *Kh.Sh.*, incomplete); Vatican Pers. 110 (Rossi p. 119-20. Copied by Nūr al-dīn b. Abū Turāb al-Iṣfahānī in 1071/1660-1); [463] Vatican Pers. 155 (Rossi p. 150. Dated 1254/1838-9. *L.M.*); **Leyden** Cat. DCXXXIV-IX, MMDLXXX, MMDCCCXIV (late or

¹The *hijri* and Christian years are quoted thus in Piemontese's description; in the older catalogue Pizzi had read the date as '793'. Piemontese quotes the colophon as saying *sanat thalāth wa sabʿ-^{mi}ʿah*, but this is evidently a misprint.

undated copies of individual poems); **Heidelberg** P. 328 (Berenbach II p. 100. Completed 907/1501-2); **Hamburg** Orient. 215 in marg. (Brockelmann 179. Has an owner's note dated 12 Muḥarram 1014/1605. *Isk.N.* i incomplete); Orient. 225 (Brockelmann 160. Dated 12 Rajab 1029/1620. *Kh.Sh.* only); Orient. 199 (Brockelmann 158. Dated 27 Muḥarram 1059/1649. *Isk.N.* i only); Orient. 200 (Brockelmann 159. *Isk.N.* ii only); **Tübingen** Ma. III b. 32 (Heinz 384. Dated 2 Muḥarram 1232/1816. *Isk.N.* i); **Halle** D.M.G. 20 (Dated 1152/1739-40); D.M.G. 21 (16th century? *Isk.N.* i missing. Pictures); D.M.G. 23 (16th century? *Kh.Sh.* only, incomplete. Pictures); D.M.G. 22 (18th century? *L.M.* only. Pictures); D.M.G. 24 (19th century? *Kh.Sh.* only, incomplete); **Leipzig** Vollers 920-1 (both *Isk.N.*); **Munich** 205 Quatr. (Aumer 24. Dated 1044/1634-5. *M.A.*); Cim. 37 (Aumer 21. Pictures); 46 Quatr. (Aumer 22); Cod. or. 264 (Aumer 23. *L.M.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i-ii); 91 Quatr. (Aumer 25. 'Ziemlich neu'. *H.P.*); 138 Quatr. (Aumer 26. *Isk.N.* i); **Berlin** Minutoli 35 (Pertsch 724. Various dates in 764/1362-3 and 765/1363-4); Diez fol. 74/5 (Pertsch 699^a. Copied by Jaʿfar al-Hāfiẓ al-Tabrīzī and dated 14 Rabīʿ II 820/1417. *M.A.*, beginning missing); Ms. or. quart. 1970 (Heinz 334. Dated 20 Dhū l-hijjah 849/1446. *Isk.N.* ii. Pictures); Ms. or. oct. 1259 (Heinz 86. Completed 867/1462-3); Ms. or. quart. 1665 (Stchoukine 9. Copied by Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Sulṭān ʿAlī and dated 1 Jumādā II 890/1485. Pictures); Ms. or. oct. 2076 (Heinz 385. Dated 5 Ramaḍān 890/1485); Minutoli 5 (Pertsch 730. Dated 897/1491-2. *H.P.* only); Diez A. fol. 7 (Pertsch 719; Stchoukine 4. Pictures ascribed to mid 15th century. The Ms. has a seal of Sulṭān Salīm Khān, i.e. presumably Selim I, 918/1512 to 926/1520); [464] Sprenger 1475 (Pertsch 728; Stchoukine 6. Without *Isk.N.* i-ii. Pictures ascribed to mid 15th century, but altered later); Ms. or. oct. 3749 (Heinz 160; Stchoukine 12. 48 separate leaves, some with pictures, ascribed to the late 15th century); Ms. Diez. A. oct. 2 (Pertsch 689; Stchoukine 38. *L.M.* only. Pictures, possibly late 15th century, but later repainted); Ms. or. oct. 2050 (Heinz 162; Stchoukine 21. Copied by Ḥasan b. Kamāl al-dīn al-Hādī al-Yazdī and dated 7 Šafar 910/1504. Pictures); Ms. or. fol. 192 (Pertsch 723; Stchoukine 16. Dated Ramaḍān 956/1549. Incomplete. Pictures); Ms. or. quart. 1940 (Stchoukine 20. Dated Shaʿbān 975/1568. Pictures); Minutoli 1 (Pertsch 725; Stchoukine 23.

¹For whom see Robinson, *Paintings* p. 48.

Dated 981/1573-4. Pictures, some of which were added later); Petermann II, 698 (Pertsch 727; Stchoukine 25. Copied by Dōst Muḥammad b. 'Alī Dōst al-Maddāḥ al-Bajīstānī and dated 10 Ramaḍān 994/1586. Without *Isk.N.* ii. Pictures); Ms. or. oct. 1583 (Heinz 237. Copied by Shihāb al-dīn i Maṣṣūr and dated 20 Rabī' I 1000/1592); Ms. or. fol. 193 (Pertsch 726. Copied by Ibrāhīm al-Kashmīrī in 998/1589. Without *Isk.N.* ii); Ms. or. quart. 1938 (Heinz 307. 16th century? *L.M.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i); Ms. or. fol. 107 (Pertsch 720; Stchoukine 31. Dated Sha'bān 1041/1632. Pictures added later); Petermann II, 112 (Pertsch 721. Copied by Bahā' al-dīn i 'Alī Ridā in 1052/1642-3); Sprenger 1484 (Pertsch 732. Dated 24 Dhū l-qa'dah 1068/1658. *Isk.N.* ii only); Ms. or. fol. 209 (Pertsch 18. Dated 12 Šafar 1077/1666. This *Ganjīnah* contains, among other things: [no. 8a] *Isk.N.* i, [9b] *Kh.Sh.*, [10d] *M.A.*); Ms. or. quart. 1981 (Stchoukine 58. Copied by Šadr al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Īsā Muḥammad al-'Uryānī and dated Jumādā II 1083/1672. Pictures added later); Sprenger 1485 (Pertsch 737. Dated 25 Dhū l-hijjah of 41st year of an un-named ruler [presumably Aurangzēb], which is equated with 1008 [presumably an error for 1108/1697]. *M.A.* only); [465] Ms. or. oct. 4048 (Stchoukine 81. Dated 16 Dhū l-qa'dah 1178/1765. *Kh.Sh.* Pictures apparently later); Sprenger 1483 (Pertsch 733. Dated 1212/1797-8. *Isk.N.* ii only); Minutoli 154 (Pertsch 722; Stchoukine 45. Dated 14 Dhū l-qa'dah 1247/1832. Pictures); Ms. or. oct. 1977 (Heinz 277; Stchoukine 75. *Isk.N.* ii. Pictures ascribed to 19th century); Sprenger 1513/4 (Pertsch 684. *M.A.* only); Petermann 453 (Pertsch 729. *H.P.* only.); Ms. or. fol. 298 (Pertsch 731. *Isk.N.* i only, with the verses dating the poem to 597); **Gotha** 41 (fragments of a Ms. of *M.A.*); **Dresden** 1 (Dated 985/1577-8); **Bratislava** 556 (Copied by Ni'mat Allāh b. 'Alī-shāh al-Khurāsānī and dated 12 Ramaḍān 893/1488. Some leaves replaced in 19th century); **Wroclaw** Brockelmann Pers. 1 (Dated 12 Rajab 1011/1603); Brockelmann Pers. 2 (*H.P.* only); **Vienna** Flügel 512 (see also Duda p. 33-7. Contains the dates Ramaḍān 905/1500 and 3 Sha'bān - acc. to Duda 3 Šafar - 906/1500 or 1501. *Isk.N.* ii missing. Pictures); **Copenhagen** Mehren XCIX (Dated 1096/1685. *Isk.N.* i); Mehren XCVIII (Dated Muḥarram 1235/1819); Mehren C-CI (Two late copies of *Isk.N.* i); **Uppsala** Tornberg CLII (Dated 1 Muḥarram 842/1438); Tornberg CLI (Dated 843/1439-40. Pictures);¹ Tornberg

¹For the pictures see K. Ådahl, *A Khamsa of Nizami of 1439*, Uppsala 1981.

CLIII (Dated 17 Shawwāl 984/1577. *M.A.*); Zettersteen 421 (Dated Shawwāl 1029/1620); Tornberg CLXXXII fol. 145a-152a (Fragment of *H.P.*);¹ **Helsinki** 88b (Contains various dates in 1171/1757-8. Pictures); 85 (*Isk.N.* i); **Leningrad** Acad. C 1102 fol. 124b-210b (Index 3987. Dated 710/1310-1. *M.A.* only); Univ. 354 (Salemman-Rosen p. 14. Dated 778/1376-7 according to the Moscow edition of *H.P.*); Acad. B 1006 fol. 70a-111a (Index 121. Dated 847/1443-4. *Isk.N.* i); Univ. 1229* a-b (Romaskewicz p. 6, 15. Dated 856/1452. *Kh.Sh.*, *HP.*); [466] Acad. D 408 (Index 125. Dated 883/1478-9. *Isk.N.* ii. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXXVII (Dated 884/1479-80. Pictures); Dorn CCCXXXVIII (Copied by Darwīsh Muḥammad Tāqī and dated 886/1481-2. Pictures); Acad. A 19 (Index 1190. Dated 896/1490-1. Lacunae. Pictures); Acad. C 1735 (Index 1197. Dated 899/1493-4. Pictures); Acad. C 57 (Index 1192. Dated 901/1495-6); Dorn CCCXXXIX (Dated 908/1502-3. Pictures); Dorn CCCXL (Copied by Mun'im al-dīn al-Auḥādī in 913/1507-8. Lacunae. Pictures); Dorn CCCXLIX (Dated 936/1529-30. *M.A.*); Dorn CCCXLVI (Copied by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in 937/1530-1. *Kh.Sh.* only); Acad. D 212 (Index 1199. Dated 950/1543-4. Pictures); Dorn CCCXLI (Copied by Muḥammad Qāsim b. Shēr 'Alī in 979/1571-2. Pictures); Acad. C 818 (Index 1195. Dated 982/1574-4); Dorn CCCXLVII (Dated 990/1582-3, last leaves added in the 19th century. *Isk.N.* i-ii. Pictures); Acad. C 2409 (Index 1198. Dated 1041/1631-2); Acad. C 855/I (Index 3986. Dated 1109/1697-8. *M.A.*); Acad. B 1167 (Index 122. Dated 1127/1715. *Isk.N.* i); Acad. C 1148 (Index 4625. Dated 1134/1721-2. *H.P.*); Dorn CCCXLVIII (Dated 1189/1775-6. *Kh.Sh.*); Acad. B 1985 (Index 123. Dated 1206/1791-2. *Isk.N.* i); Acad. C 1138 (Index 124. Dated 1214/1799-1800. *Isk.N.* i); Acad. C 58 (Index 1193. Dated 1236/1820-1); Dorn CCCXLII; Dorn CCCXLIII; Dorn CCCXLIV (Copied by Aḥmad al-Ḥusainī. *Isk.N.* [i and ii?] and beginning of *H.P.* only. Pictures); Dorn CCCXLV (End of *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i); Acad. B 129 (Index 120. *Isk.N.* i-ii); Acad. A 22 (Index 1148. *Kh.Sh.*, incomplete); Acad. A 23 (Index 1149. *Kh.Sh.*, incomplete); Acad. B 132 (Index 1150. *Kh.Sh.*); Acad. C 1685 (Index 1151. *Kh.Sh.*, incomplete. Pictures); Acad. C 1919 fol. 192b-250a (Index 1152. *Kh.Sh.*); Acad. D 654 (Index 1153. *Kh.Sh.* Pictures); Acad. B 2486 (Index 1191. *H.P.* and '*Isk.N.*' only. Pictures); Acad.

¹See below, p. 582 fn.

C 59 (Index 1194. Large lacunae. Pictures); Acad. C 1674 (Index 1196. Lacunae. Pictures); [467] Acad. D 367 (Index 1200. Large lacunae. Pictures); Acad. A 20 (Index 3678. *L.M.* Pictures); Acad. B 130 (Index 3679. *L.M.*); Acad. C 1919 fol. 3a-25b, 250a-289b (Index 3680, 4626. *L.M.*, *H.P.*); **Istanbul**¹ Ayasofya 2051/1 (*Mikrūfilm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated² Shawwāl 730/1330. *M.A.* only); Fatih 3747, 3748, 3752 (Ritter-Reinert p. 125; Duda, *Ferhād* p. 193. 3 volumes, copied by 'Imād and dated Rajab 776/1374-5);³ Topkapı, Hazine 690 (Karatay 474. Copied by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-mulaqqab bi Jalāl and dated Šafar 788/1386. *H.P.* only); Halet Efendi mulḥaq 137 (*Mikrūfilm-hā* I p. 10. Dated 788/1386. '*Isk.N.*' only); Topkapı, Revan 861 (Karatay 460. Apparently contains the date Jumādā II 794/1392);⁴ Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1950/1 (*olim* Fatih 3753. Ritter-Reinert p. 244-5. Ms. copied by Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Warāqah Bihbihānī and dated Muḥarram 801/1398. Pictures); Üniversite FY 308 (Ateş 112. 14th century? *M.A.* only); Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1459 (Duda, *Ferhād* p. 194. Latest colophon dated Muḥarram 816/1413); Nuruosmaniye 3783 (Ateş 96. Dated 10 Muḥarram 831/1427); Fatih 4057/1 (Ritter-Reinert p. 245. Ms. copied by three scribes, with various dates in 830-1/1426-8); [468] Topkapı, Hazine 789 (Karatay 399. Dated Ramaḍān 842/1439); Topkapı, Hazine 779 (Karatay 400; Stchoukine i. Copied by 'Imād Khabbāz Abr-kūhī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khwārazmī, who dated their work Sha'bān 843/1440 and 857/1453 respectively. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 774⁵ (Karatay 401; Stchoukine ii. Dated Sha'bān 844/1440-1. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 862 (Karatay 402; Stchoukine iii. Dated Rabī' I 846/1442. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 870

¹Besides the sources listed above, p. 27-8, see also I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la «Khamseh» de Nizāmī au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul*, Paris 1977 (quoted as 'Stchoukine').

²See above p. 448 (*dtwān*).

³This is the oldest recorded dated Ms. of the *Khamseh* in Istanbul. For Hazine 750, supposedly copied in 779, see below s.a. 979.

⁴Thus Ritter in the introduction to his edition of *Haft paikar*, p. viii, with the remark that the last digit of '794' is 'unsicher'. Ritter gives the name of the scribe as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Sānā and identifies him with the son of the copyist of the 14th-century Oxford and Paris Mss., Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Sānā (note the different spelling). Karatay, however, gives the date of the Ms. as Jumādā I 990/1582 and the scribe's name as M. b. A. b. al-Ḥ. Sāsān.

⁵Stchoukine gives the call-number as 'H. 724'.

(Karatay 403; Stchoukine iv. Copied by Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Fārūqī and dated Rabī' I 848/1444. Pictures); Fatih 3749 (Ritter-Reinert p. 126. Dated 4 Ramaḍān 849/1445); Topkapı, Hazine 781 (Karatay 404; Stchoukine v. Copied by Yūsuf al-Jāmī in 849/1445-6. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 855 (Karatay 406; Stchoukine vi. Dated Rabī' I 850/1446. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 786 (Karatay 405; Stchoukine vii. Copied by Ibn Iskandar Quhistānī and dated Shawwāl 850/1446-7. Pictures signed by Sulṭān 'Alī al-Bāwardī); Topkapı, Revan 866 (Karatay 407; Stchoukine viii. Copied by 'Alī b. Nizām al-Damghānī in 850/1446-7. Pictures); Ayasofya 3861/2 (Ateş 97. Copied by Shaikh al-Islām b. Ḥusain al-Šiddiqī and dated 857/1452); Topkapı, Hazine 773 (Karatay 408; Stchoukine x. Copied by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ismā'īl and dated Rabī' I 865/1460-1. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 872 (Karatay 409. Copied by 'Abd Ilāh and dated Rajab 879/1474); Topkapı, Revan 874 (Karatay 411; Stchoukine xii. Dated Rabī' II 881/1476. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 761 (Karatay 410; Stchoukine xi. Copied by Shaikh Maḥmūd Pīr-Budāqī and Fakhr al-dīn Aḥmad, who dated their segments 20 Rabī' I 866/1461 and Sha'bān 881/1476 respectively. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 880 (Karatay 475. Copied by Riyādī and dated 885/1480-1. *M.A.* only); [469] Topkapı, Hazine 762 (Karatay 412; Stchoukine xiii. Copied by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ya'qūbī and dated Muḥarram 886/1481. Pictures); Fatih 3750 (Ritter-Reinert p. 126-7. Copied by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr Allāh Ḥusain Amīr and dated Dhū l-hijjah 888/1484); Topkapı, Hazine 754 (Karatay 413; Stchoukine xiv. Copied by Murshid al-dīn Muḥammad al-Kātib in 888/1483-4. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 768 (Karatay 414; Stchoukine xv. Copied by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd and dated Dhū l-qa'dah 890/1485. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 731 (Karatay 477. Copied by Mīr Shaikh b. Qutlugh Khwājah Samarqandī and dated Rabī' II 894/1489. *L.M.* only); Topkapı, Hazine 771 (Karatay 415; Stchoukine xvi. Copied by Ḥusain Kulūyah and dated Muḥarram 895/1489. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 1008 (Karatay 416; Stchoukine xvii. Copied by Shaikh Murshid al-dīn and dated Rabī' II 895/1490.¹ Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 876 (Karatay 417. Copied by 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh Kātib in 897/1491-2); Topkapı, Hazine 787 (Karatay 418; Stchoukine xviii. Copied by 'Alī b. Ḥājī

¹Thus Stchoukine. Karatay has 'Rabī' I 796 (1491)' but this is clearly an error for 896/1491.

al-Mudhahhib and dated Dhū l-ḥijjah 899/1494. Pictures); Nuruosmaniye 3781 (Ateş 98. Copied by Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Qummī and dated 6 Shawwāl 899/1494); Topkapı, Hazine 759 (Karatay 425; Stchoukine xxiii. Dated Sha'bān 900/1495. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 778 (Karatay 426; Stchoukine xxiv. Dated Shawwāl 900/1495. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 792 (Karatay 427; Stchoukine xxv. Dated 902/1496-7. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 775 (Karatay 428; Stchoukine xxvii. Dated Muḥarram 903/1497. Pictures); Topkapı, Bağdat 145 (Karatay 429; Stchoukine lxiii. Copied by Mithālī Kāshānī and dated Muḥarram 904/1498. Pictures ascribed to the 16th century); Üniversite FY 286 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 2901. Ateş 102. Dated 26 Jumādā II 905/1500); Topkapı, Hazine 769 (Karatay 430; Stchoukine xxviii. Dated Rajab 905/1500. Pictures); [470] Topkapı, Revan 873 (Karatay 433; Stchoukine liv. Copied by Maḥmūd b. Jalāl b. Maḥmūd al-Qummī and dated Rabī' II 906/1500. Pictures added later); Nuruosmaniye 3780 (Ateş 99. 15th century?); Üniversite FY 1313 (Ateş 100; Edhem/Stchoukine XXV. 15th century? Pictures); Üniversite FY 539 (Ateş 101; Edhem/Stchoukine XXXIX. Attributed by Ateş to 15th, by Edhem/Stchoukine to 17th century. Apparently without *Isk.N.* ii. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 858 (Karatay 419; Stchoukine lxix. 15th century? 1 damaged picture); Topkapı, Hazine 776 (Karatay 420; Stchoukine xx. Copied by Pīr Ḥasan al-Kātib. 15th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 857 (Karatay 421; Stchoukine xxi. Copied by Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī. 15th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Bağdat 147 (Karatay 422; Stchoukine p. 92. 15th century?); Topkapı, Bağdat 146 (Karatay 423; Stchoukine liii. 15th century? Pictures ascribed to 16th century); Topkapı, Revan 859 (Karatay 424; Stchoukine xxii. 15th century? Pictures); Nuruosmaniye 3784 fol. 1b-70a (Ateş 113. 15th century? *M.A.* only); Fatih 3751 (Ritter-Reinert p. 127. 15th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 1510/II (Karatay 348; Stchoukine lxv. Copied by Luṭf Allāh b. Yaḥyā al-Tabrīzī and dated Rajab 906/1501. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 863 (Karatay 431; Stchoukine xxx. Dated Sha'bān 906/1501. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 874¹ (Karatay 434; Stchoukine xxix. Copied by Murshid al-dīn in 909/1503-4. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 791 (Karatay 435. Copied by Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī in 911/1505-6. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 770 (Karatay 437; Stchoukine xxxii. Copied by Murshid al-dīn Muḥammad

in 918/1512-3. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 788 (Karatay 438; Stchoukine xxxiii. Copied by Shaikh Muḥammad Aṣīl and dated Rabī' II 919/1513. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 753 (Karatay 470; Stchoukine ix. One picture is dated 919/1513, others are ascribed by Stchoukine to various dates between the mid 15th to the mid 16th century); [471] Topkapı, Hazine 783 (Karatay 439; Stchoukine xxxiv. Copied by Mun'im al-dīn Muḥammad al-Auḥādī al-Ḥusainī in 919/1513. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 766 (Karatay 440; Stchoukine xxxv. Copied by Ḥājji 'Alī Kātib and dated Rajab 922/1516. Pictures); Üniversite FY 1309 (Ateş 103; Edhem/Stchoukine XXVI. Copied by Yār-Muḥammad Harawī and dated Ramaḍān 923/1517. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 860 (Karatay 441; Stchoukine xxxvi. Copied by Murshid Kātib 'Aṭṭār in 927/1521. Pictures); Topkapı, Ahmet III 3559 (Karatay 432; Stchoukine li. Copied by Shāh Maḥmūd Naishābūrī for the Safavid Ismā'īl I, d. 930/1524. Pictures added later); Topkapı, Revan 877 (Karatay 442; Stchoukine lviii. Copied by Muḥammad Qāsim b. Sulṭān Maḥmūd 'Ishqābādī and dated Ramaḍān 933/1527. Pictures later); Topkapı, Hazine 785 (Karatay 443; Stchoukine xxxvii. Copied by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in 934/1527-8. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 871 (Karatay 444; Stchoukine lxvi. Copied by Yār-Muḥammad al-Harawī and dated Ramaḍān 934/1528. Pictures of various dates); Topkapı, Revan 865 (Karatay 446; Stchoukine xxxviii. Dated 17 Jumādā II 935/1529. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 856 (Karatay 445; Stchoukine lxvii. Dated Ramaḍān 935/1529. Pictures, repainted later); Topkapı, Hazine 760 (Karatay 447; Stchoukine xl. Copied by Murshid al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī and dated Jumādā I 941/1534. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 758 (Karatay 448; Stchoukine xlii. Copied by Murshid al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī and dated Rabī' II 945/1538. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 765 (Karatay 449; Stchoukine xliii. Dated Rabī' II 945/1538. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 755 (Karatay 450; Stchoukine xlv. Dated Rajab 947/1540. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 756 (Karatay 451; Stchoukine xlv. Copied by Muḥammad Qiwām Shīrāzī and dated Rabī' II 951/1544. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 867 (Karatay 452; Stchoukine xlvi. Dated Rabī' II 956/1549. Pictures); [472] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1990 (*olim* Fatih 3752bis. Ritter-Reinert p. 127. Copied by Salīm and dated 959/1552 and 961/1554. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 870 (Karatay 454; Stchoukine xlvii. Copied by 'Alī-Qulī b. Qāra and dated Muḥarram 963/1555. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 793 (Karatay 453. Copied by Muḥammad Riḍā'ī and dated Rajab 963/1556); Topkapı, Hazine 780

¹Stchoukine: 'H. 784'.

(Karatay 455; Stchoukine xlix. Copied by Muḥsin b. Luṭf Allāh Ma'ād al-Ḥasanī al-Sabzwārī and dated Dhū l-qa'dah 968/1561. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 794 (Karatay 456; Stchoukine l. Dated 970/1562-3. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 864 (Karatay 457. Copied by Khalīl b. Darwīsh Muḥammad al-Jāmī and dated Muḥarram 979/1571); Topkapı, Hazine 750 (Karatay 398 and his corrigenda; Stchoukine lii; Duda, *Ferhad* p. 193 no. 31. Copied by Shāh Muḥammad and apparently dated 1 Ramaḍān 979/1572, but subsequently altered to '779'. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 752 (Karatay 458. Copied by Murshid b. 'Alī b. Murshid and dated Muḥarram 980/1572. Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 883 (Karatay 481; Stchoukine lxviii. Copied by Aḥmad b. Sulṭān 'Alī al-Harawī in 980/1572-3. *Isk.N.* i only. Pictures added later); Topkapı, Revan 875 (Karatay 459. Copied by Malik Muḥammad Tabrīzī and dated Muḥarram 987/1579); Üniversite FY 1384 (Ateş 104; Edhem/Stchoukine XXXVI. Copied by Amīr b. Muḥammad 'Alī Ardistanī and dated 3 Jumādā II 994/1586. *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*, *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 7491 (Karatay 471; Stchoukine lvii. Dated 1000/1591-2. Pictures, some of which are later); Üniversite FY 249 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 3028. Ateş 105. Dated 9 Rabī' II 1002/1594); Nuruosmaniye 3782 (Ateş 106. Copied by Shams b. Şadr Futūḥī and dated 9 Sha'bān 1005/1596); [473] Topkapı, Hazine 1572 (Karatay 436; Stchoukine lxiv. 16th century?³ Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 751 (Karatay 461. Copied by Hidāyat Allāh Shīrāzī. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 869 (Karatay 462. 16th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 763 (Karatay 463; Stchoukine lvi. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 868 (Karatay 464. 16th century?); Topkapı, Hazine 764 (Karatay 465; Stchoukine lxii. Copied by 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Qurashī. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 772 (Karatay 466. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 767 (Karatay 467; Stchoukine xxvi. Copied by Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī. Pictures attributed to late 15th century); Topkapı, Hazine 777 (Karatay 468; Stchoukine lix. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Hazine 790 (Karatay 469; Stchoukine xli. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 879

(Karatay 476; Stchoukine xlvi. Copied by Sulṭān Muḥammad. 16th century? *L.M.* only. Pictures by three artists); Topkapı, Revan 881 (Karatay 479; Stchoukine lxi. 16th century? *Isk.N.* ii and *L.M.* Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 882 (Karatay 480; Stchoukine xxxix. Copied by 'Imād b. Muḥammad al-Harawī. 16th century? *H.P.*?¹ Pictures); Üniversite FY 141 (Ateş 115; Edhem/Stchoukine XL. 16th century? Pictures); Topkapı, Revan 878 (Karatay 472. Copied by Muḥammad 'Alī b. 'Izz al-dīn and dated Rabī' I 1051/1641); Topkapı, Hazine 730 (Karatay 478; Stchoukine xix. Copied by 'Abd Allāh Mirzā and dated 1067/1656-7, but Stchoukine thinks that the date has been altered and that the pictures belong to the late 15th century. *L.M.* only); [474] Topkapı, Hazine 782 (Karatay 473. 17th century?); Revan köşkü 1896/I-II (Karatay 904. *M.A.* and *Kh.Sh.*); **Cairo** 143 mīm adab fārisī (Tīrāzī I 548. Copied by Zain al-'Abidīn al-Ḥusainī al-Mashhadī and dated 895/1489-90); 167 mīm adab fārisī (Tīrāzī I 549. Dated Jumādā II 935/1529); 142 mīm adab fārisī (Tīrāzī I 547. Dated 983/1575-6. Pictures); 137 mīm adab fārisī (Tīrāzī I 545. Dated 1 Shawwāl 1042/1633. Pictures); 141 mīm adab fārisī (Tīrāzī I 546. Dated 1249/1833-4. Pictures); 120 adab fārisī (Tīrāzī I 544. Pictures); **Madinah** 'Arif Ḥikmat 129 (*Nuskhah-hā* V p. 483, 490. Dated 853/1449. *M.A.*, *Isk.N.* i, *Kh.Sh.*); **Najaf** Amīr al-mu'minīn 1355 (Munz. 28065. Dated 863/1458-9); **Tabriz** Millī 405 (Cat. I p. 475; 13th century?);² **Arak** Bayāt (*Nuskhah-hā* VI p. 65. Dated 773/1371-2); **Tehran** Shūrā i Islāmī I 301 (Ascribed to the 6th/12th century?! *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i and ii, beginning and end missing); **Mahdawī** 418 (*Nuskhah-hā* II p. 63. Copied by Maḥmūd b. Najm al-dīn Tabrīzī and supposedly dated 27 Jumādā II 631/1234. '*Isk.N.*' only); **Shūrā** i Islāmī I 420 (Dated 712/1312-3. Without *H.P.* and with various

¹Stchoukine: 'H. 479'.

²Stchoukine: 'H. 757'.

³Ostensibly copied by Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī, illuminated by Maulānā Yār in 916/1510-1 and illustrated by Bihzād in 918/1512-3, but Stchoukine says that the colophon is a fake and that the Ms. was produced in Istanbul, ca. 1560.

¹Stchoukine says that this Ms. contains Nizāmī's *H.P.* Karatay says it is the '*Iqbal-nāmāh*', but the incipit which he quotes (*ai jahān-āfrīn, khudāy i jahān * sāni' u mubdi' i makān u zamān*) belongs to none of Nizāmī's poems, though it is in the metre of *H.P.*

²The supposedly old Ms. Tabriz Millī 405 was consulted by Tharwātiyān for his edition of *Kh.Sh.* (see above p. 451 fn.). He remarks (p. 64 of the introduction) that it is much 'altered' and definitely inferior to the old Paris and Oxford Mss. Tabriz Millī 45 was used by the same scholar in his edition of *Isk.N.* i, where we are told that it contains *H.P.* and *Isk.N.* i-ii, is signed by Ismā'īl Maḥmūd and was completed in Rabī' II 754/1353.

lacunae); Univ. XV 5179 (Dated 718/1318. Pictures);¹ Univ. XV 5134 (Copied by 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. 'Arab-shāh Ḥusainī and dated Dhū l-qa'dah 788/1386. *L.M.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i, *Kh.Sh.*); Adabīyāt I p. 53 (Dated 793/1391. Beginning and end missing); Adabīyāt I p. 53 (Dated 816/1413-4); Majlis III 921 (Dated 824/1421); Malik 5122 (Munz. 28051. Dated Dhū l-hijjah 832/1429); Majlis VIII 2360 (Copied by Mīr 'Alī and dated 839/1435-6. *Isk.N.* i-ii. Pictures); Bayānī 5 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 8. Copied by Ḥasan Qārī and dated 840/1436-7. *L.M.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i-ii); Majlis VIII 2359 (Dated 842/1438-9); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 522 (Copied by Mun'im al-dīn al-Auḥādī and dated 5 Dhū l-hijjah 897/1492); Majlis III 928 (Dated 902/1496-7. *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*, *H.P.*, *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); Majlis VIII 2361 (Dated 899/1493-4. Fragment of *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*, '*Isk.N.*'); [475] Bayānī 6 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 8. 15th century? *L.M.*, *H.P.*, '*Isk.N.*'); Bayānī 35/I (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 15. 15th century?); Sipah-sālār II 1148 (15th century? *H.P.*); Shūrā i Islāmī I 151 (Completed in 910/1504-5); Majlis III 929 (Dated 918/1512-3. Without *Isk.N.* ii); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 512 (Dated 954/1547-8. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 513 (Copied by Muḥammad al-Qiwām al-Shīrāzī, who copied Istanbul, Topkapı, Hazine 756 in 951/1544. Pictures); Sipah-sālār II 1142 (Copied by Murshid Shīrāzī and dated 956/1549. Pictures); Majlis VIII 2362 (Dated 970/1562-3. *Isk.N.* i); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 508 (Dated 15 Jumādā I 984/1576. Pictures added later); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 518 (Copied by Shādī b. Luṭf Allāh with dates in 992-3/1584-5. Pictures, apparently added later); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 434 (Dated 994/1586. Pictures); Sipah-sālār II 1143 (16th century. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 528 (Copied by Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī, 16th century. *M.A.* 1 picture); Adabīyāt I p. 54 (16th century?); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 501 (Copied by Rūzbih al-Shīrāzī with the dates 23 Rabī' I <10>11/1602 and Dhū l-

¹Univ. 5179, containing *L.M.*, *H.P.* and *Isk.N.* i-ii (these called '*Iskandar-nāmah*' and '*Sharaf-nāmah*' respectively), is now available in a facsimile edition (with introductions by J. Shīrāziyān and M. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1368sh./1989). The quality of the photography is poor and the text is consequently not easy to read. The folios have evidently been rearranged for the facsimile; the pages of each poem are numbered separately, with no foliation visible on the photographs, and the miniatures, which can hardly be called masterpieces, have been photographed separately and pasted into the book. The date 718 (1318) occurs in figures at the end of *H.P.* and written out in Arabic (but not very clear in the facsimile) at the end of *Isk.N.* i. The last two pages seem to be in a different hand from the rest.

hijjah 1010/1602. *Isk.N.* i-ii. 1 picture); Bayānī 8 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 9. Copied by Muḥammad Ṣalāh Ḥusainī and dated 1022/1613. *M.A.*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 517 (Dated Dhū l-hijjah 1026/1617. Incomplete. Pictures); Shūrā i Islāmī I 423 (Copied by Muḥammad Ṣalīh b. Ḥaidar Āshīyānī Qummī and completed on 15 Rajab 1059/1649. Pictures); Shūrā i Islāmī I 260 (*olim* Bayānī 7. Copied by Mīr Mu'izz al-dīn Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Mīrak and dated Dhū l-hijjah 1062/1652. Without *H.P.*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 457/II (Ms. completed Rabī' I 1083/1672. *M.A.*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 503 (17th century? *Isk.N.* i-ii. 2 pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 507 (Dated 1115/1703-4. *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 519 (Completed in Ṣafar 1187/1773); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 510 (Dated 9 Rabī' I 1238/1822. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 509 (Dated 1240/1824-5. *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*, *H.P.*, '*Isk.N.*' Pictures); [476] Gulistān/Ātābāy II 527 (Dated 1240/1824-5. *M.A.*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 524 (Completed in 1248/1832-3); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 523 (Completed in 1250/1834-5); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 506 (Dated 1278/1861-2. *Kh.Sh.* Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 521 (Pictures in Qājār style); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 520 ('old'; end supplied by a second hand and dated Jumādā II 1250/1834); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 511; Gulistān/Ātābāy II 514 (Copied by Maḥmūd Shīrāzī); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 516; Gulistān/Ātābāy II 525 (*L.M.*, incomplete. Pictures); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 526 (*L.M.*); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 502 ('*Isk.N.*', incomplete); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 504 (Fragment of '*Isk.N.*'); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 505 (*Isk.N.* i-ii, end missing. Pictures); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 300 (13th-14th century?); Riḍawī VII 301 ('Dated' 867/1462-3, but the cataloguer thinks it belongs to the 17th century); Riḍawī VII 302-303 (both 17th century?); **Tashkent** Acad. II 840-843 (All 17th century. No. 842 has pictures); 845 (Dated 989/1581. *Isk.N.* i-ii); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 375-402 (many copies of the *Khamsah* or individual poems. The oldest, no. 376, is dated 994/1586 and lacks *L.M.* No. 375 and 378 have pictures); **Peshawar** Univ. (Munz. Pak. VII p. 65. Dated Rajab 809/1406-7); **Khaipur** Public Library (Munz. Pak. VII p. 65. Dated 864/1459-60); **Lahore** Forman Christian College (Munz. Pak. VII p. 101. '*Isk.N.*' supposedly 'dated' 4 Muḥarram 597/1200¹); Shērānī (Munz. Pak. VII p. 70. 13th century? *M.A.*); Shērānī (Munz. Pak. VII

¹This is given in a number of late copies as the date of *composition* and has doubtless been misunderstood by Munzawī's informant.

p. 65. Dated 15 Shawwāl 765/1364. End of 'Isk.N.' missing); Public Library (Munz. Pak. VII p. 101. Dated 864/1459-60. 'Isk.N.' Pictures); Shērānī (Munz. Pak. VII p. 65. Ms. copied by Maulānā Aẓhar Tabrizī and dated Rajab 877/1472. *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*); [477] Univ. (Munz. Pak. VII p. 70. Dated 1 Šafar 883/1478. *M.A.*); Univ. (Munz. Pak. VII p. 65. Dated 20 Ramaḍān 900/1495. Pictures); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 169 no. 144 (Ms. of 'Makhzan al-asrār', without indication of author. Rehatsek says that the Ms. 'was made in A.H. 552, or perhaps A.H. 750'; the former is in fact the date indicated in many Mss. for the composition of Nizāmī's poem, the latter, perhaps the date of copying, corresponds to 1349-50); Rehatsek p. 151 no. 84-87 (4 copies of *Isk.N.* i or ii, the oldest dated 970/1562-3); Rehatsek p. 170 no. 149-150 (2 copies of *H.P.*, one dated 1085/1674-5); Rehatsek p. 134 no. 27 (Dated Asfandārmad 1045Y./1676. *Kh.Sh.* only); **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 85 no. 32 (*H.P.*, *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*); Meherji Rana p. 95 no. 91/1 (*L.M.*); Meherji Rana p. 96 no. 95 (*M.A.*); Meherji Rana p. 96 no. 99 ('*Isk.N.*' incomplete); **Aligarh** (various copies of individual poems, the oldest a *H.P.* dated 996/1588, are listed in Subh. Mss. p. 38-43); **Hyderabad** (various copies, none older than 1006/1597-8, and mostly undated are in Āṣafiyah p. 148, 242, 1480, 1482, 1486, 1478, 1490); **Rampore** State Library (Nadhīr Aḥmad 205-6. Two copies of *Kh.Sh.*, the latter with pictures, dated 983/1575-6 and 984/1576-7 respectively); State Library (Nadhīr Aḥmad 224. Dated 1021/1612); Saulat 35-47 (late copies of individual poems); **Lucknow** Sprenger 422 (several copies); **Bankipore** I 37 (Copied by Muḥammad b. 'Alī and dated 20 Šafar 835/1431); I 38 (Completed 3 Rajab 883/1478. Pictures); Suppt. i 1837 (Dated 13 Dhū l-ḥijjah 890/1485. Pictures); I 40 (15th century? *M.A.* and *L.M.* Pictures); Suppt. i 1811 (Dated Jumādā I 922 /1516. Fragment of *Kh.Sh.*); Suppt. i 1812 (16th century? *Isk.N.* i only, end missing); I 39 (16th century? *L.M.* and end of *Isk.N.* ii missing); Suppt. i 1808 (Dated Muḥarram 1041/1631); Suppt. i 1809 (Dated Shawwāl 1047/1638. Without *L.M.* Pictures); Suppt. i 1810 (17th century? *H.P.* and *Isk.N.* ii missing); I 42 (17th century? *Isk.N.* i only. Pictures); [478] I 43 (Dated 27 Šafar 1143/1730. *Isk.N.* i only); I 44 (Dated 11 Šafar 1144/1731. *Isk.N.* i only. Pictures); I 41 (Dated 22 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1237/1822. *Kh.Sh.* only. Pictures); Suppt. i 1813 (19th century. *Isk.N.* i); Suppt. i 1814 (19th century. Fragment of *Isk.N.* i); **Madras** I 118, 122-4, 140, II 590 (late or undated copies of individual poems); Cal-

cutta Ivanow 473 (15th-16th century? *Isk.N.* i-ii only); Madrasah CXXXVIII (Copied by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Darwīsh 'Alī and dated 919/1513. *M.A.* and *Kh.Sh.*); Būhār 295 (Dated 941/1534-5. Pictures); Būhār 296 (Dated 16 Rabī' I 1041/1631. *M.A.*); Ivanow 471 (Dated 1083/1672-3. *Kh.Sh.*); Ivanow 467 (Fragment dated 1085/1674-5); Ivanow 466 (Dated 1090/1679); Ivanow 468 (Dated 1090/1679. *M.A.*); Ivanow 472 (17th century? *Kh.Sh.*); Ivanow 475 (Dated 27th year of Muḥammad-Shāh/1157/1744. *Isk.N.* ii); Ivanow 470 (Dated 1169/1755-6. *L.M.*); Ivanow 474 (18th century? *Isk.N.* i); Ivanow Curzon 200 (18th century? *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); Ivanow Curzon 201 (18th century? *Isk.N.* ii); Madrasah CXXXIX (Dated 1812. *H.P.*); Madrasah CXL (19th century? *H.P.*); Ivanow 2nd Suppt. 977 (19th century? *Kh.Sh.*); Ivanow 2nd Suppt. 978 (19th century? *Isk.N.* i); Madrasah CXXXVII (*Isk.N.* ii missing); **Washington** Vever¹ 236 (Contains the date 837/1433-4. Pictures); Vever 237 (15th century? Pictures); Vever 238-40 (Three pages, one with the date 15 Rabī' II 903/1497); Vever 249 (Completed in 934/1527-8. Pictures); Vever 253 (16th century? Pictures); Vever 254 (16th century? *M.A.* missing. Pictures); Vever 260 (16th century? *M.A.* and *Isk.N.* ii missing. Pictures); Vever 272 (Dated Rajab 1055/1645. *Isk.N.* i-ii missing. Pictures); [479] Vever 51 (an 'anthology' containing 'sections from' *M.A.*, *Isk.N.* i, *Kh.Sh.*, *H.P.* and Sanā'ī's *Ḥadiqah*. 17th century? Pictures); and various detached pages; **Princeton** 7 (Copied by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tustarī al-Kāghadhī and dated 20 Shawwāl 849/1446. Pictures); 8 (Dated 898/1492-3. Fragments of *M.A.*, *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*, *H.P.* Pictures apparently added later); 9 (Copied by al-Kātib al-Shīrāzī in 970/1562-3. Pictures); **New York** Jackson-Yohannan 6 (Dated 853/1449-50. Pictures); Jackson-Yohannan 7 (Copied by Na'im al-dīn and dated 24 Shawwāl 915/1510. Pictures); Jackson-Yohannan 8 (Copied by Sulṭān Muḥammad Nūr in 931/1524-5. Pictures);² Jackson-Yohannan 10 (*H.P.* Copied, according to the colophon, by Aẓhar in 988/1580, but the pic-

¹See G.D. Lowry, M.C. Beach et al., *An annotated and illustrated checklist of the Vever Collection* (now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution), Washington (etc.) 1988.

²Jackson-Yohannan 8 is evidently (though this is for some reason not explicitly mentioned in the volume) the manuscript some of whose miniatures are reproduced in P.J. Chelkowski, *Mirror of the invisible world. Tales from the Khamseh of Nizami*, New York 1975, with a prose summary of *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.* and *H.P.* only.

tures are all signed by Bihzād and must thus, if authentic, be more than 50 years older); Jackson-Yohannan 9 (16th century? Pictures); Morgan Collection (see Martinovitch, *JAOS* 45, 1925, p. 108. Dated 1087/1675-6); Various illustrated copies, none older than the 16th century, are listed in B. Schmitz, *Islamic manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, New York/Oxford 1992, p. 76-9, 94-6, 196-200, 208-9, 359-60; **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. 64 (16th century? *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 62 (Copied by Hājī Muḥammad al-Jārpādaqānī [sic cat.] and dated 1037/1627-8. Pictures); Lewis Coll. 63 (19th century? Pictures); Lewis Coll. 65 (Dated 1248/1832-3. *Isk.N.* i. Pictures); **Cambridge (Mass)** Hofer Collection (*Nuskah-hā* IV p. 11. Ms. dated 827/1424. '*Isk.N.*', *Kh.Sh.*, *L.M.*); id. (*Nuskah-hā* IV p. 10. Dated 833/1429-30).

Editions of the *Khamsah*: **Bombay** 1834; 1838; 1265/1849 (ed. Faḍl al-dīn K'hamkar, without *Isk.N.* ii); 1285/1869 (Mīrzā Bāqir's press, again without *Isk.N.* ii); 1298/1881 (ed. Faṭḥ al-Karīm); 1328/1910 (ed. Muẓaffarī); **Tehran** 1261/1845; 1314-6/1896-8; 1341sh./1962-3; **Tabriz** 1261/1845. [480]

Complete translation of the *Khamsah* and *dīwān* (Russian verse): Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, 5 volumes, Moscow 1985, reprinted in 3 volumes, Baku 1991 (various translators; the works are listed separately below).

Translation of extensive extracts from the *Khamsah* and *dīwān* (Russian verse): Низами Стихотворения и поэмы (various translators), Leningrad 1981.

The individual poems:

(i) *Makhzan al-asrār* (inc.: *bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm * hast kalīd i dar i ganj i ḥakīm*); for its date and dedicatee see above p. 439-40. Nizāmī's earliest book is also the only one without a continuous narrative content. Instead it contains, after extended opening sections, twenty homilies, each illustrated by a short anecdote. The author avows his indebtedness to Sanā'ī's *Ḥadīqah*.

Mss.: see *Khamsah*.

Editions: **London** 1844 (*Makhzan ul asrār, the treasury of secrets... Edited from an ancient manuscript*¹ ... by Nathaniel Bland); **Cawnpore** 1869 (with marginal notes); **Lucknow** 1869; 1872; 1881 (with a commentary, *Zuhūr al-asrār*, by Zuhūr al-Ḥasan Banhūrī); **Lahore** [1887] (with marginal notes by M. Riḍā); [1921] (with the same notes); 1922 [481] (with notes substantially the same); **Tehran** 1313sh./1934 (ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, with notes) and reprints; 1363sh./1984 (ed. B. Tharwātīyān; non vidi); **Baku** 1960 (critical edition by Ä.Ä. Älizadā).

Partial edition: *Guzīdah i Makhzanu l-asrār*, by 'Abd al-Muḥammad Āyatī, Tehran 1367sh./1988-9.

Translations: (Turkish verse): Ms. **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 529.

(English prose): *Makhzanol Asrār. The treasury of mysteries... translated for the first time from the Persian, with an introductory essay on the life and times of Nezāmī*, by Gh.H.D. Dārāb, London 1945 (important review by V. Minorsky, *BSOAS* XII, 1948, p. 411-5).

(Russian verse): Сокровищница тайн, trans. K.A. Lipskerov and S.V. Shervinski, Moscow 1959; this version is also in Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, Moscow 1985 (reprint Baku 1991).

(French prose): *Le trésor des secrets*, trans. Dj. Mortazavi, Paris 1987.

Partial translation: (German verse): J.Ch. Bürgel, 'Nizami über Sprache und Dichtung. Ein Abschnitt aus der «Schatzkammer der Geheimnisse» eingeleitet, übertragen und erläutert', *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 9-28.

Epitomes: Ms.: **Gotha** 40/3 (*Baḥr al-durar*. 'Offenbar sehr alt'); **Istanbul** Nuruosmaniye 4904 fol. 232a-242b (Ateş 114. Dated 940/1533-4).

¹The identity of this manuscript is not revealed (Bland's second volume, which was to have contained the variants and commentary, was never published), but I have no doubt that the edition is based on London I.O. 989, i.e. the oldest recorded copy. The edition appears to agree throughout with the text of the I.O. Ms., though not with the superscriptions (which are askew in the Ms.), but Bland has modernised the orthography and filled a few lacunae towards the end. This edition was used (though not given sufficient weight) by the editor of the Baku edition, but otherwise seems to have attracted little attention. When I consulted the British Library's copy in 1994 the pages were still uncut.

Commentaries:

(1) *Sharḥ i Makhzan al-asrār*, by Muḥammad b. Qiwām b. Rustam b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī, known as Karī (Karkhī? Bakrā?), elucidating 1310 difficult verses, was written, as the author says in at least two different places, in 795/1392-3 (the chronogram cited by Sprenger giving the date of composition as 1091/1680 does not [482] belong to this work).¹ In the introduction the author says that he had previously composed a similar work on the difficult verses of the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāmah*. Mss.: London Add. 26,149 (Rieu p. 573. Has a note of purchase dated 1089/1678-9. Incomplete); Or. 2934 (Rieu Suppt. 233. Beginning missing. Contains a note of purchase dated 1091/1680); I.O. 998 (incomplete); Paris Supplément 587 (Blochet 1267. 18th century? Beginning only); Tehran Majlis II 932; Tashkent Acad. II 848-849; Calcutta Fort William College (Sprenger 424); Rampore Saulat 157 and apparently also 158 (both 18th or 19th century); Hyderabad Āṣafiyah III p. 625 no. 290 (Dated 1069-1658-9); Āṣafiyah II p. 1482 no. 185; Madras II 593.

(2) *Sharḥ i Makhzan al-asrār* by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd birādar i qāḍī Rafī al-dīn. Mss.: Leningrad Acad. B 133 fol. 2b-147a (Index 2619. Dated 917/1511-2).

(3) *Sharḥ i Makhzan al-asrār* by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir Jaunpūrī (d. 975/1567).² Ms.: Hyderabad Āṣafiyah III p. 200 no. 1301 (Dated 1109/1697-8).

(4) *Sharḥ i Makhzan al-asrār*, beginning with the first verse of the poem followed by the gloss: *iftitāḥ i kitāb ba taqdīm i miṣrā' i awwal bar tasmīyah* etc. The I.O. Ms. designates one Muḥammad b. al-Khalī Sa'd al-dīn as *kātib al-kalīmāt*, i.e. copyist and perhaps also author of the work. Ms.: London I.O. 2872 (Dated Jumādā I <10> 51/1641).

(5) [same title] by Qāḍī Ibrāhīm Ṭhaṭṭā'ī, evidently dependent on Muḥammad b. Qiwām. Mss.: London I.O. Delhi 1060 (dated

1221/1806); [483] Hyderabad Āṣafiyah II p. 1482 no. 183 (Dated 1068/1657-8); Calcutta Ivanow Curzon 203 (18th century?).

(6) An unidentified commentary with the same title, beginning, without any introduction, with the first verse of the poem is found in Calcutta Ivanow 469 (18th century?).

(7) The text of *Makhzan al-asrār* with an incomplete commentary in Turkish is found in a Ms. which once belonged to the well-known historian Ismā'īl b. Meḥmet, called Küçük Çelebī (died 1173 /1759-60), presumably the author of the commentary. Ms.: Istanbul Esat 2901 (Duda p. 59).

(8) *Zuhūr al-asrār* by Zuhūr al-Ḥasan Banhūrī. Edition: Lucknow 1881; 1185.

(ii) *Khusrau-Shīrīn* (inc.: *khudāwand-ā, dar i taufiq bu-gshāy * nizāmī rā rah i taḥqīq bu-nmāy*); for the title, date and dedicatee see above p. 440. The romantic story of the Sasanian emperor Khusrau Parwēz and his queen, the Armenian princess Shīrīn, much expanded and elaborated from the account of these persons in the *Shāh-nāmah*.

Mss.: see *Khamsah*.

Editions: [Bombay] 1249/1833 (ed. Ḥamzah Māzandarānī. Pictures); Lahore 1288/1871 (with marginal notes); 1310/1892-3 ('2nd edition', with marginal notes); Lucknow 1288/1871; Cawnpore 1881; 1304/1887; Tehran 1313sh./1934 (ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, with notes) and reprints; 1343sh./1964-5 (ed. Ḥ. Pazhmān Bakhtyārī); 1344sh./1965 (ed. 'A. Ḥusūrī); 1353sh./1974 (ed. 'A. al-M. Āyatī); 1366sh./1987); Baku 1960 (critical edition by L.A. Khetagurov).

Partial editions: Stralsund 1815 (*Carminum orientalium triga... edidit, latine vertit, notas adjecit J.C.L. Kosegarten*, p. 87-107: 'Carmen persicum Nisāmi Kendschewi in laudem altissimi Dei', from the beginning of *Kh.Sh.*, with a Latin verse translation); Prague 1933 (*Ferhād und Shīrīn. Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes von H.W. Duda = Monografie Archivu Orientálního II. [484]* Contains a critical edition and translation of the Farhād-Shīrīn episode, a detailed summary of the whole poem and a study of the earlier and later versions of the story).

Translation (Turkish): by Shaikhī (15th century). See Gibb, *A History of Ottoman poetry*, I p. 299 sqq. Ms.: Cambridge Or. 663 (Browne

¹ See the discussion by N. Ahmad, *Indo-Iranica* (Calcutta) XIX/3, 1966, p. 25-8.

² Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Dihlawī b. Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir Jaunpūrī, a Chistī shaikh, born at Jaunpūr in 898/1492-3, was taken to Delhi at the age of one and a half years by his father, a well-known sufi. Among his works was a *Risālah i 'aintyah*. 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī was one of his pupils. He died on 6 Jumādā II 976/1567. (Sto.)

Suppt. 430. Dated 908/1502-3). Edition: *Şeyhî ve Husrev ü Şîrîn*, ed. F.K. Timurtaş, Istanbul 1980.

(French prose): *Le roman de Chosroës et Chîrîn traduit du persan par Henri Massé*, Paris 1970 (omits the beginning and end).

(Japanese): by A. Okada, Tokyo 1977.

(German prose and verse): *Chosrou und Schirin; Übertragung ..., Nachwort und Erläuterungen von J.C. Bürgel*, Zurich 1980.

(Russian prose): Хосров и Ширин. Филологический перевод с фарси и комментарии Г.Ю. Алиева, М.Н. Османова, Baku 1985.

(Russian verse): Хосров и Ширин, trans. K. Lipskerov in Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, Moscow 1985 (reprint Baku 1991).

Abridgment: Ms.: London Or. 2933 (Rieu Suppt. 231; Titley 326. Dated 25 Muḥarram of the 8th year of Muḥammad Shāh = 1139/1756).

Prose paraphrase: *Surūd i Khusrawī*, written by Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Munshī in 1230/1815, for some English officers. The same author also wrote abridgments of the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāmah* (see below). Ms.: London Add. 27,270 (Rieu p. 575-6. Autograph).

Modern epitome: *Khulāṣah i Khusrau u Shîrîn*, with commentary, by S. Sîrjānī, Tehran 2535sh.sh./1976-7.

(iii) *Lailē-Majnūn* (inc.: *ai nām i tu bihtarīn sar-āghāz * bē nām i tu nāmah kai kunam bāz*); for the title, date and dedicatee see above p. 440-1. A retelling of a famous love-story from pre-Islamic Arabia. [485]

Mss.: see *Khamsah*.

Editions: [India] 1264/1848; Lucknow 1286/1870; 1888; Bombay 1292/1875; 1302/1885; Lahore 1307/1890; Cawnpore 1904; Tehran 1313sh./1934 (ed. W. Dastgirdī, with notes) and reprints; 1364sh./1985 (ed. B. Tharwatiyān; non vidi); 1369sh./1990 (ed. B. Zanjānī; non vidi); Moscow 1965 (critical edition by A.A. Alesker-zade [Persian title page: 'Alī-Aṣghar-zādah] and F. Babayev).

Translations: (English verse, abridged): *Lailī and Majnūn, a poem from the original of Nazāmi* (sic) by J. Atkinson, London 1836, republished London (printed Edinburgh) 1894, London 1905 (with an introduction by L. Cranmer Byng) and Allahabad 1915.

(English prose, abridged): E. Mattin and G. Hill, *The story of Layla and Majnun* (from Gelpke's German), London 1966; *Layla and*

Majnun... prose adaptation by C. Turner, London 1997, reprinted New Delhi and Calcutta 1998.¹

(Russian verse): Лейла и Меджнун, trans. A. Globa, Moscow 1935; Лейли и Меджнун, trans. P. Antokol'ski, Moscow 1957; [same title], trans. A. Starostina, Baku 1982; [same title], trans. T. Streshneva, in Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, Moscow 1985 (reprint Baku 1991).

(Russian prose): Лейли и Меджнун, trans. Rustam Aliyev, Baku 1981.

(Armenian) *Leyli ew Mejnun*, trans. A. Isahakyan, Erevan/Moscow 1947.

(German prose, abridged): *Leila und Madschnun. Der berühmteste Liebesroman des Morgenlandes erstmal aus dem Persischen verdeutscht und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Rudolf Gelpke*, Zurich 1963 (with photographs of miniatures).

(Italian prose): *Leylā e Majnūn*, trans. Giovanna Calasso, Milan 1985.

Epitome: Ms.: Gotha 40/4 (*Baḥr al-durar*. 'Offenbar sehr alt').

(iv) *Haft paikar* (inc.: *ai jahān-dīdah būd khwēsh az tu * hēch būdī na-būdah pēsh az tu*); for the date and dedicatee see above p. 441. Nizāmī's second reworking of an episode of Sasanian history from the *Shāh-nāmah*, this time that of the emperor Bahrām i Gōr. Its central and best known portion is occupied by the seven stories with which Bahrām [486] is regaled by his queens on seven consecutive nights, among them the famous story of 'Turandot' (though the author does not actually use this name). But the moralist Nizāmī goes on to counter-balance the sensuality of these tales by the story of the unjust minister and his seven victims, and in so doing succeeds in giving the poem a structural coherence and unity of purpose which I should think is without parallel in Islamic narrative literature. It is Nizāmī's masterpiece.²

¹I have seen only the Indian reprint. It is claimed there that this is a translation from the Persian, but its dependence on the book by Mattin and Hill, though unacknowledged, is manifest.

²Ritter, in his introduction to the Prague edition, calls the *Haft paikar* 'das beste und schönste romantische Epos der neupersischen Dichtung und zugleich ... eine der bedeutendsten poetischen Schöpfungen der morgenländischen indogermanischen Literatur überhaupt'.

Mss.: see *Khamsah*.

Editions: [Bombay] [1849] (*The Book colled [sic] Huft Piker of Mowlana Shaik Nizamee Sahib Allahir Ruhma the stories of Buhran Goor; Lathographed [sic] by Lucksheemon Wilhoojee*, with marginal notes); [Lucknow] 1288/1871 (with appendix of supernumerary verses contained in the Bombay edition); Lucknow 1290/1873 (with the same appendix); 1904; [Lucknow] 1304/1887; Prague (printed Istanbul) 1934 (*Heft peikar, ein romantisches Epos des Nizāmī Genge'ī herausgegeben von H. Ritter und J. Rypka. = Monografie archivu orientálního, Vol. III*); Tehran 1315sh./1936 (ed. W. Dastgirdī, with notes) and reprints; 1373sh./1994 (ed. B. Zanjānī; non vidi); Moscow 1987 (critical edition by T. A. Magerramov [= Tāhir Aḥmad-oghli Muḥarrām-ov]).

Translations (English 'blank verse'): C. E. Wilson, *The Haft paikar (The seven beauties) ... translated from the Persian with a commentary*, 2 volumes, London 1924 (the translation is complete, though partially in Latin, but based on an inadequate text. The commentary, which occupies the whole of the second volume, is still of value). [487]

(English verse): *The Haft Paykar a medieval Persian romance*, trans. J. S. Meisami, Oxford/New York 1995.

(Russian verse): Семь красавиц, trans. V. Derzhavin, Moscow 1959; reprinted Baku 1983; also in Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, Moscow 1985 (reprint Baku 1991).

(Russian prose): Семь красавиц, trans. Rustam Aliyev (with commentary), Baku 1983.

(Italian prose): *Le sette principesse*, trans. A. Bausani, Bari 1967 (complete, despite the title); reprinted Milan 1982.

Partial translations: (German verse): F. von Erdmann, *Die Schöne vom Schlosse...*, Kazan 1832; second edition under the title *Behram-gur und die russische Fuerstentochter*, Kasan/Berlin 1844 (with the Persian text and extensive notes); *Die sieben Prinzessinnen; Nacherzählung in Versen von M. Remané, ausgewählt und aus dem Persischen übersetzt von B. Alavi*, Berlin 1980.

(German prose): *Die sieben Geschichten der sieben Prinzessinnen*, trans. R. Gelpke, Zurich 1959 (with miniatures); J. Rypka, 'Der vierte Gesang von Nizāmīs *Haft Paikar* neu übersetzt', *Oriens* XV, 1962, p. 234-41.

(Italian prose): F. Gabrieli, 'Versioni da Nizāmī', *AION* X, 1937-8, p. 31-72 (three episodes).

(English prose): E. Mattin and G. Hill, *The story of the seven princesses* (from Gelpke's German), Oxford 1976.

Commentary: M. Mu'īn, *Tahllil i Haft Paikar i Nizāmī*, Tehran 1338sh./1958-9.

(v) *Iskandar-nāmah*, in two parts, called respectively *Sharaf-nāmah* (inc.: *khudāy-ā, jahān-pādshāhī tu-rā-st * zi mā khidmat āyad, khudā'ī tu-rā-st*) and *Iqbāl-nāmah* (inc.: *khirad har-kujā ganj-e ārad padīd * zi nām i khudā sāzad ān-rā kalīd*). [488] The story of Alexander, following, and in the same metre as, the *Shāh-nāmah*. For its date and dedicatee see above p. 441-6, below p. 585-91, and (also for a summary of the contents) my article 'Eskandar-nāma of Nezāmī' in *Elr*.

Mss.: See *Khamsah*.

Editions: (a) *Sharaf-nāmah* and *Iqbāl-nāmah* together: Calcutta 1810; 1825; 1835; 1263/1847; 1269/1852; Lucknow 1293/1905 (with interlinear Urdu translation and marginal notes by Faṭḥ Muḥammad); Cawnpore 1878 (with marginal notes on the *Isk. N.* i alone).

(b) *Sharaf-nāmah* (*Isk. N.* i) alone: [Calcutta] [1810] (incomplete); 1812 (with the title *Muntakhab al-shurūh i Sikandar-nāmah*, and on the English title page: *The Secander Nāma of Nizāmī. With a selection from the works of the most celebrated commentators, by Beder Ali & Mir Hosain Āli*), reprinted 1825; 1243/1828; Calcutta 1818; [Lucknow] 1282/1865-6 (with marginal notes); 1873; Lucknow 1878-9 (ed. with marginal notes by M. Hādī 'Alī and followed by a glossary entitled *Farhang i Sikandar-nāmah* by S. Ibn i Ḥasan b. Qāsim 'Alī); 1889 (reprint of the Calcutta edition of 1812); 1894; Bombay 1277/1860-1 (with marginal notes); 1292/1875; 1907; [Cawnpore?] 1862 (with marginal notes); Cawnpore 1868 (with marginal notes); 1869; 1870; 1314/1896 (with interlinear Urdu translation and notes by Bālak Rām); Lahore 1889; Delhi 1316-7/1898-9 (2 vols. with notes); 1323/1906 (*Jild i thānt i Sikandar-nāmah i barrī*, with notes by Ḥ. Ākhund-zādah); Tehran 1316sh./1939 (ed. W. Dastgirdī, with notes) and reprints; 1368sh./1989 (ed. B. Tharwātiyān); [489] Baku 1947 (critical edition by Ä. Ä. Älizadä).

(c) *Iqbāl-nāmah* (*Isk.N.* ii) alone: **Calcutta** 1852-69 (*Khīrad-nāmah* *Iskandary*, also called the *Sikandar-nāmah* *Bahry*, by Nizāmy edited by A. Sprenger and Aga Mohammed Shooshtere, 2 fasc., the second edited by Āghā Ahmad 'Alī); **Bombay** 1277/1860; **Cawnpore** 1288/1871; 1878; 1892; **Lucknow** 1879; **Tehran** 1317sh./1939 (ed. W. Dastgirdī, with notes) and reprints; **Baku** 1947 (critical edition by F. Babayev).

Translations of one or both parts: (English prose): H. Wilberforce Clarke, *The Sikandar Nāma, e Bara, or Book of Alexander the Great... translated ... with critical and explanatory remarks, with an introductory preface, and with a life of the author, collected from various Persian sources*, London 1881 (*Isk.N.* i).

(Russian verse): Искендер-намэ (both parts, in two volumes), trans. K. Lipskerov, **Baku** 1953, reprinted 1983; also in Низами Ганджеви: Собрание сочинений, **Moscow** 1985 (reprint **Baku** 1991).

(Russian prose): Искендер-наме, trans. Ye. E. Bertel's (*Isk.N.* i) and A.K. Arends (*Isk.N.* ii), **Baku** 1983.

(German prose): *Das Alexanderbuch* (*Isk.N.* i and ii, the prologues and epilogues abbreviated), trans. and annotated by J.Chr. Bürgel, **Zurich** 1991.

Partial translations: (French prose): *Expédition d'Alexandre le Grand contre les Russes: Extrait de l'Alexandreïde ou Iskender-Namé de Nizāmy, traduit ... par Louis Spitznagel ... traduction entièrement refondue ... par F.B. Charmoy ... Tome premier*, St. Petersburg 1828 (with the Persian text, recording variants from a large number of Mss.).

(German verse): H. Ethé, 'Alexanders Zug zum Lebensquell im Land der Finsternisse. Eine Episode aus Nizāmī's Iskender-nāma [i], übersetzt, commentiert und besonders seinem mystischen Inhalt nach genauer beleuchtet' (with the Persian text), *SB München* 1871, p. 343-405.

(Swedish prose): *Sikandar-nāmah I-XV* (=about the first 900 verses of *Isk.N.* i), trans. A.E. Hermelin, **Lund** 1933. [490]

Commentaries and glossaries (all apparently only to *Isk.N.* i):

(1) A work by one Ḥāmid b. Jamāl Bukhārī al-Ḥasanī (Dorn: al-Ḥusainī) al-Jaunpūrī (inc.: *ḥamd bē nihāyat wa sipās bē ghāyat* [Dorn:

bē 'ināyat] etc.) and dedicated to Farīd al-dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Shēr-Shāh (947/1540 to 952/1545) contains, according to Rieu, 'a commentary on some difficult verses in the first part of *Iskandar Nāmah*'. In the subscription of the Leningrad copy the work is called *Kilīd i kitāb i Sharaf-nāmah*, but Dorn says (on what basis?) that the author 'paraît avoir donné à son ouvrage le titre de *kashf al-daqa'iq* ...' and states that it is a glossary of the Arabic words occurring in the *Isk.N.* Mss.: **London** Add. 10,579/I (Rieu p. 820. Dated Muḥarram 1096/1684); **Leningrad** Dorn D fol. 14-37 (Dated 3 Jumādā I 1176/1762). Cf. *Munz. Pak.* VII p. 130.

(2) *Fawā'id* (*Qawā'id*, *Qawā'id*) i 'Alī-shērī by Muḥyī l-dīn b. Nizām al-dīn, written in 956/1549-50 for Naṣīr al-dīn 'Alī-shēr. See the description in Sprenger. Mss.: **London** Add. 26,243 II (Rieu p. 859. 18th century?); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. Sup. 2 (Dated 1086/1675-6); **Halle** D.M.G. 25 (Has a seal dated 1206/1791-2. Incomplete; title not indicated in the Ms.; 'vielleicht identisch' with the work described by Rieu and Sprenger); **Berlin** Sprenger 1481 (Pertsch 734. Dated 8 Rabī' I 1269/1852); **Lucknow** Sprenger 425 (several copies); **Calcutta** Ivanow Curzon 202 (Dated 10 Rabī' II 1082/1671). Cf. *Munz. Pak.* VII p. 130-2.

(3) A commentary beginning *sipās bē qiyās wa sitāyish bē shumār mar khāliq ē rā...* Ms.: **Munich** 188 Quatr. (Aumer 27. Dated 1139/1726-7).

(4) *Sharḥ i (abyāt i) Iskandar-nāmah* by Sirāj al-dīn 'Alī Khān, called Ārzū (d. 1169/1755-6). 'This commentary forms the basis of the glosses to the lithographed Lucknow [sic] edition of the [first part of?] the *Sikandar-nāmah*, 1263 and 1266, 8vo. 311 pp. 23 bayts, also of the notes of [491] Badr'alayy and Myr Hosayn in the *Calcutta* edition, 1812, 4to. and of the somewhat fuller commentary of the *Calcutta* edition of 1253, reprinted 1260 = 1844, lithographed at *Bombay* with three other works on the margin, 1261 folio, the commentaries are all essentially identical.' (Sprenger). Mss.: **London** Or. 3513 (Rieu Suppt. no. 232. 18th century?); **Berlin** Sprenger 1482 (Pertsch 736); **Rampore** Saulat 148-150; **Lucknow** Sprenger 426 (two copies).

Edition: in the margins of the *Bombay* edition of the poem of 1277/1860.

(5) *Sharḥ i Sharaf-nāmah* by Mullā Muḥammad Sa'd Allāh of Patna, written in 1196/1782. Mss.: **Lucknow** Sprenger 427; Extracts

from the same work are apparently contained in **Berlin** Ms. or. oct. 70 fol. 1b-18b (Pertsch 735).

(6) *Miftāḥ al-Kuntūz* by Ghiyāth al-dīn [b.?] Jalāl al-dīn b. Sharaf al-dīn al-Ṣiddiqī. Ms.: **Manchester** Lindesiana 605 (Dated 1254/1838-9).

(7) Commentary by Nūr Muḥammad. Ms.: **Lucknow** Sprenger 425.

(8) Commentary by Pīr 'Alī Rasūl-pūrī. Mss.: **Rampore** Saulat 151 (modern); **Lucknow** Sprenger 425.

(9) A short commentary written by order of Jahāngīr and dated by a chronogram to 1025/1616. The author's name is given by Bilgrami as 'Aman Ali', for which Storey (in the margin of Bilgrami's catalogue) proposes 'Amānī?', evidently Amān Allāh Amānī Ḥusainī (for whom see *PL* I p. 812 fn. 1). Mss.: **London** I.O. Delhi 1245; a commentary with the same incipit was reported in **Lucknow** Sprenger 425.

(10) *Sharḥ i Sikandar-nāmah*, an anonymous commentary which Ethé declares to be 'different not only from that of the Calcutta edition, but also from all those described in Rieu [...]; Pertsch [...], and A. Sprenger'. It begins, without any preface, with the first verse of the poem, which is then glossed: *la-mā khalaqtu l-jinn wa l-insān illā li ya'budū-ni. bar pād-shāhān i mamlakat i ash'ār wa jahān-dārān i wilāyat i afkār ...* Ms.: **London** I.O. 1018; I.O. 1019 (incomplete).

(11) *Sharḥ i abyāt i Iskandar-nāmah*, 'another anonymous commentary on the difficult verses of the first part of the Isk.N.' Ms.: **London** I.O. 1020. [492]

(12) *Farhang i Sikandar-nāmah i barrī*. Ms. **London** I.O. 1021.

(13) *Kiltā i Sikandar-nāmah*, 'a similar, but shorter glossary'. Mss.: **Oxford** Ms. Pers. e. 11 (Ethé 1982); **Calcutta** Ivanow 1st Suppt. 796 (19th century? 'Apparently the same work').

(14) Two copies of an anonymous commentary (the second of which is a mere fragment) are found in **Berlin** Ms. Or. oct. 70 fol. 19b-53b and 54-61 (Pertsch 735).

(15) Unidentified commentaries. Ms.: **Cambridge** Corpus, No. 213 (Browne Suppt. 766. Dated 1246/1830-1); **Bombay** Univ. VII (Dated 4 Rabī' I 1241/1825).

Abridgments: *Futūḥāt i Sikandarī*, in prose, made by Ghulām Ḥusain (see above, ad *Khusrau-Shīrīn*), the first part in 1209/1794-5 and

the second in 1221/1806-7. Mss.: **Cambridge** Add. 314 (Browne Cat. CCXVII. Part 1); Add. 315 (Browne Cat. CCXVIII. Dated 9 Shawwāl 1221/1806, apparently the autograph. Part 2).

Selections from the *Khamsah*:

(1) *Khulāṣat i khamsah*, a collection of extracts arranged under topical headings. The poem from which each quotation is taken is indicated, the first extract being from the opening section of *M.A.* (inc.: *ai hamah hastī zi tu paidā shudah * khāk i dā'f az tu tuwānā shudah*). The manuscripts evidently differ considerably from one another; most copies have 37 chapters, but some omit chapters 5 (on love) and 31 (women), perhaps out of prudery. A number of the copies also have a preface in prose (inc.: *bar aṣḥāb i daulat wa arbāb i muknat wājib wa lāzim ast kih ba'd az qirā'at i qur'ān* etc.) which the editor considers spurious. The author and date of the compilation are unknown; the oldest dated copy is Istanbul Esat 2918 from 883/1479. [493]

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 178 fol. 106-51 in marg. (16th century? In 38 chapters, presumably this work);¹ **Oxford** Walker 44 (Ethé 599. Dated 6 Muḥarram 1152/1739. Incomplete); Ouseley Add. 106 (Ethé 597, with the preface); Bodl. 102 (Ethé 598); **London** I.O. 982 (=Robinson 145. Dated 982/1574-5. 1 picture); Add. 7731 (Rieu p. 575. 16th century? With the preface); Add. 19,661/I (Rieu p. 845. 16th century?); Grenville xxxviii (Rieu p. 575. 17th century?); Add. 7730 (Rieu p. 575. Dated Ṣafar 1231/1816); I.O. 2874; R.A.S. 363 (Pictures); **Paris** Supplément 590 (Blochet 1288. Dated 20 Ramaḍān 991/1583); Ancien fonds 354/VI (Blochet 1289/Richard. Ms. dated 26 Dhū l-qa'dah 994/1586. 30 chapters only); Supplément 589 (Blochet 1286. 16th century?); Supplément 1406 (Blochet 1287. 16th century? End missing); Supplément 592/I (Blochet 1290. Dated 25 Rajab 1148/1735. Beginning missing); **Naples** Bibl. Nazionale Ms. III. G. 41 (Piemontese 230/III. Ms. dated Shawwāl 924/1518); **Leyden** Cat. II 633; **Hamburg** Orient. 218 fol. 1v-68r (Brockelmann 184. Dated 967/1559-60); **Berlin** Sprenger 1476 (Pertsch 738. 3 copies of different recensions of the work bound together: the first undated, the second dated Jumādā II 1087 /1676, the third 18 Rabī' I 22nd year of

¹Arberry gives the title as '*Khulāṣah i Jamshīd*', but I wonder whether the last word is not a misreading of '*khamsah*'?

Aurangzēb /1679); **Leningrad** Acad. C 1863 fol. 8a-22b (Index 1174. Chap. 28-40 only); **Istanbul** Esat 2918 (Duda p. 59-60. Dated 1 Dhū l-ḥijjah 883/1479); **Fatih** 3742 (Ritter-Reinert p. 128. Copied by Pīr Ḥusain al-Kātib. 15th century?); **Üniversite** FY 398 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 1585. Ateş 107. Copied by Murshid al-dīn Muḥammad and dated Muḥarram 916/1510); **Üniversite** FY 528 (Ateş 108. Dated Dhū l-qa'dah 955/1548); **Topkapı**, **Revan** 884 (Karatay 483; Stchoukine 1x. Copied by Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī in Muḥarram 982/1574. Pictures); [494] **Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi** 1922/1 (*olim* Fatih 3743. Ritter-Reinert p. 249. 15th-16th century?); **Üniversite** FY 154 (Ateş 109. Copied by 'Aḥud al-Mudhahhib. 16th century?); **Topkapı**, **Emanet Hazinesi** 1654 (Karatay 482. Copied by Shāh Maḥmūd. 16th century?); **Cairo** Dār al-kutub 57 *adab fārist* Tal'at (Tirāzī I p. 131. Dated 901/1495-6) [Munz.]; **Tehran** Daftar i Miftāḥ 298 (Munz. 29643. Dated Jumādā II 967/1560); **Gulistan/Ātābāy** II 515; **Shūrā i Islāmī** I 102; etc.; **Tashkent** Acad. II 844 (17th-18th century?); **Acad.** VI 4425; **Dushanbe** Acad. II 403-406; **Pakistan** (various copies, the oldest dated 1017/1608-9, are listed in Munz. Pak. VII p. 69-70); **Calcutta** Ivanow 476 (=Sprenger 423. Dated 1135/1722-3); **Bankipore** I 45 (Dated 1061/1651); **Hyderabad** Āṣafiyah II p. 1478 no. 124 149; **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. 66 (Dated 982/1574-5. Presumably this epitome). Cf. Munz. IV 29640-67.

Edition: *Choix de vers tirés de la Khamsa de Nizāmī. Texte persan publié par M. Th. Houtsma*, Leyden 1921.

A different version of this selection, in which are also incorporated selections from *mathnawīs* of Amīr Khusrau and Jāmī, is found in **Berlin** Petermann 486/1 (Pertsch 16. Dated 6 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1052/1643) and evidently also **Leningrad** Dorn CCCXXIII (Dated 955/1548); **Acad.** C 112 fol. 1b-214a (Index 1173. Dated 1060/1650).

(2) Apparently extensive extracts from all six poems occupy the larger portion of the anthology in **New York** Jackson-Yohannan 11 (Dated, according to the catalogue, 123<0>/1815, but perhaps rather 1<0>23/1614; none of the many authors excerpted in it lived past the first quarter of the 17th century. Pictures).

(3) Unspecified epitomes: Mss.: **Glasgow** V.8.21 (Weir 13. 'Kitāb al-intikhāb'); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 472/11 (Ateş 110. Dated 898/1492-3); **Üniversite** FY 508 (Ateş 111. 16th century?). [495]

'Aufī II p. 396-7; Shams p. 80, 145-6; Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 351-2; Mustaufī p. 752-3; Jājarmī II p. 624-8 (one *qaṣīdah*); Daulat-shāh p. 128-31; Rāzī II p. 493-501 (no. 988); Ādhar III p. 1327-43; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 637-54; id., *Riyād* p. 149-53; W. Bacher, *Nizāmī's Leben und Werke und der zweite Teil des Nizāmischen Alexanderbuches. Mit persischen Texten als Anhang ...*, Leipzig 1871; id., *Memoir of the life and writings of the Persian poet Nizami, and analysis of the second part of his Alexander-Book* (translated from the preceding by S. Robinson), London 1873; J.J. Modi, 'The date of the death of Nizāmī', *JBBRAS* XII, p. 143-50; H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Nizāmīs*, Berlin/Leipzig 1927; Ye. E. Bertel's, *Низами. Творческий путь поэта*, Moscow 1956; id., «Низами, Монография» (an extensive biographical and critical study, published posthumously in his:) *Избранные труды: Низами и Фуззули*, Moscow 1962, p. 13-450; Şafā II p. 798-824; Khaiyām-pūr p. 610 (with much further literature); *Colloquio sul poeta persiano Nizāmī e la leggenda iranica di Alessandro Magno*, Rome 1977 (articles on the *Isk.N.* by Zarrinkoob, Chelkowski, Meier, Scarcia, Safa, Bausani); A.E. Krymski, *Низами и его современники*, Baku 1981; B. Zanjānī, 'Tārīkh i wilādat u wafāt i Nizāmī i Ganjawī', *Āyandah* X/12, 1363sh./1984, p. 875-8; J.S. Meisami, 'Allegorical gardens in the Persian poetic tradition: Nezami, Rumi, Hafez', *International journal of Middle East studies* XVII, 1985, p. 229-60; *Īrān-shināst* III/3 and III/4, 1370sh./1991-2 (papers held at two conferences in 1991); P. Orsatti, 'L'innamoramento di Ḥusraw e Šīrīn nel poema di Nizāmī e il potere psicagogico della parola', *RSO* LXXI, supplemento 2, 1997, p. 129-45; *EF* s.v. 'Nizāmī Ganjawī' (P. Chelkowski; with further literature); *EIr* s.vv. 'Eskandarnāma-yi Nezāmī', 'Haft peykar'. [496]

259. **Parwēz Khātūn** (which Dih-khudā emends to the female name Parwīn Khātūn) is credited with three verses in *LF* ed. Iqbāl p. 505-6 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.).

LN s.v. 'Parwīn Khātūn'.

260. One verse is ascribed to **Pisar i Rāmī** in two different entries in *LF* ed. Iqbāl p. 18, 303 (Ms. *nūn* in marg.).

261. **Qāḍī Sharwānī** is cited as the author of a total of eleven verses in Abū l-Rajā' Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānīsh-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 153, 155, 165, 173-4, all referring to events during the reigns of the Seljuqs Malik-shāh III (547/1152 to 548/1153) and his successor Muḥammad II.

262. Malik al-shu'arā' **Qādirī** is the author of a poem of twenty verses quoted by Jārmī and addressed (according to Jārmī's superscription) to Alp Arslān (455/1063 to 465/1072). But the name of this king does not appear in the poem itself; instead this ends with a verse evoking one '*khudāwand i mu'ayyad, mīr Wardān-shāh bin Aḥmad*', whom I am unable to identify. Hidāyat quotes twelve verses from the same poem, but ascribes them wrongly to Qādirī Hindūstānī, i.e. the Moghol prince Dārā Shukōh b. Shāh-jahān.

One verse by perhaps the same Qādirī is quoted in the marginal additions in Ms. *nūn* of Asadī's dictionary.

LF, ed. Iqbāl, p. 160; Jārmī p. 482-4; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 465.

263. Nizām al-dīn Maḥmūd Iṣfahānī, called **Qamar**¹ is the author of good-sized collection of [497] poems preserved in an early 14th-century manuscript in London and who is also quoted once by Shams i Qais; I regret greatly that I have been unable to find a copy of the printed edition of his *diwān*. The London codex has a few introductory lines stating that the majority of his poems are in praise of the Āl i Khujand, the leaders of the Shāfi'ī faction in Isfahan.² Unfortunately, the poems have no superscriptions (apart from the usual '*wa lahu aidan*'); the patrons who are mentioned in the verses themselves include Khalīfah i 'Ajam Rukn al-dīn (clearly one or another of the Āl i Sā'id, the leaders of the Ḥanafī faction in Isfahan),³ Khān i a'zam Salghur-shāh (evidently one of the Salghurid atabegs in Fārs), Shāh i Ērān 'Imād al-dīn, Malik Sa'd al-dīn (alias Ulugh i a'zam atābeg) and Khān i a'zam Quṭb al-dīn.

¹Thus in the ancient Ms. of his *diwān*; Shams refers to him as Amīr Maḥmūd Qamar, while Hidāyat calls him Nizām al-dīn Qamarī.

²For whom see above, p. 401-5.

³There is also a poem by Rafī' Lunbānī (the younger) (see below, no. 269; the verses are in Huwaidā's edition on p. 139) addressing *khalīfah i 'ajam u shāh i shar' Ruknu l-dīn*, apparently Rukn al-dīn Mas'ūd.

Mss.: London I.O. 1028 (Ms. copied by 'Abd al-Mu'min al-'Alawī al-Kāshī in 713-4/1314-5. Pictures); Mashhad Riḍawī VII 965/7 (Ms. dated 1041/1631-2). For these two Mss. see above, p. 423 n. 1 (Mu'izzī) and also Munz. III 25385-6.

Edition: Mashhad 1363sh./1984 (ed. T. Bīnīsh, non vidi).

Shams p. 356; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 635-6; Khaiyām-pūr p. 475 ('Qamarī') and 607 ('Nizām i Iṣfahānī').

264. **Qiwāmī Ganjā'ī** is the author of a well-known *qaṣīdah maṣnū'ah* illustrating the rhetorical figures, noted in PL III (Rhetoric) p. 207-8. The poem is dedicated to the atabeg of Azerbaijan Qızıl Arslān (582/1186 to 587/1191) and can be found in a large number of anthologies; to those mentioned in PL III it will suffice to add Jārmī I p. 86-94 and Yaghmā'ī p. 198-202. [498]

The only other recorded works¹ of this author are one quatrain ascribed to him by Sharwānī² and a highly artificial ode illustrating the figure known as *taqṣīm*; an extract from the latter can be found in Shams (p. 359-60), the full text in Jārmī (I p. 118-9).

Daulat-shāh (p. 128) calls this author Qiwāmī Muṭarrizī and supplies us with the highly questionable information that he was the brother of Nizāmī. See also Khaiyām-pūr p. 476.

265. Badr al-dīn al-**Qiwāmī al-Rāzī** (as 'Aufī calls him) or Qiwāmī Khabbāz ('the baker', as he is called in the 14th-century London manuscript of his *diwān*) flourished in the first half of the 6th/12th century. In an ode to Qiwām al-dīn Darguzīnī, who was wazīr to the Seljuq sultans Maḥmūd II, Dā'ūd and Toghril II, and was executed in 527/1133, Qiwāmī alludes to the recent death of 'the late sultan',³ evidently that of Maḥmūd in 525/1131, and seems to indicate also that he owed his pen-name Qiwāmī to his patronage by this very Qiwām al-dīn. But the majority of his poems are of religious or didactic content, many of them praising 'Alī and the *imāms* of the twelver Shiites, and in quite a few of

¹Munzawī III 25391-2 lists two copies of the '*diwān*' of Qiwāmī Ganjāwī; one of these is in fact yet another copy of the *qaṣīdah maṣnū'ah* in an anthology (Tehran Majlis VIII 2326), the other a commentary on the same in Tashkent Acad. II 851.

²See below, p. 601.

³*Diwān* p. 46: *dar ān fitrah kih shud sulṭān i māḍī * zi lashkar-gah ba dāru l-mulk i riḍwān*.

them the poet pays his compliments to the leader of the Shiites in Rai, Naqīb al-nuqabā' Sharaf al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī Murtaḍā. The *diwān* contains also (p. 20-1) an exchange of poems between Qiwāmī and 'Imādī.

Mss.: London Or. 6464 fol. 1a-80a (Meredith-Owens p. 51. Ms. dated 5 Ramaḍān 732/1332; inspezi); Tehran Bayānī 58/6 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 16. 17th century? Selection). Cf. Munz. III 25389-90. [499]

Edition: Tehran 1334sh./1955-6 (ed. Jalāl al-dīn Ḥasanī Urmawī. Muḥaddith from the London Ms., with valuable notes).

'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naqd*, ed. Muḥaddith, p. 230, 252; 'Aufī II p. 236-8; Rāzī III p. 34-8 (no. 1073); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 476-7; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 695-707; Khayyām-pūr p. 476.

266. al-Amīr Qiwāmī al-Khuwāfī¹ is included by 'Aufī amongst the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). 'Aufī states that he met this poet in Naisābūr, on which occasion Qiwāmī recited one of his verses satirising a doctor, a certain Sa'd, who had once in Herat prescribed a medicine to our poet which only made him more ill than before.

'Aufī II p. 357; Rāzī II p. 175 (no. 664); Khayyām-pūr p. 476.

267. Three *qaṣīdahs* by one Kamāl al-dīn Quṭbī al-Marwī, followed by another by perhaps the same 'al-Marghazī' are contained in an old anthology in Bologna. The first two poems evoke a king who is addressed as 'shāh i muẓaffar' and 'shāh khusrāu malik 'Uthmān', whom Piemontese has proposed to identify with Muẓaffar al-dīn Qizil Arslān 'Uthmān b. Ēldügüz, the atabeg of Azerbaijan from 582/1186 to 587/1191. I have found no other reference to a poet of this name.

Ms.: Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 3283/III (Piemontese 3. 13th century?).

268. Ustād al-a'immaḥ Raḍī al-dīn Muḥammad al-Naisābūrī is enumerated by 'Aufī among the religious scholars of Naisābūr who produced Persian poetry. He is evidently identical with 'al-Raḍī al-Naisābūrī', the principal opponent of Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī in his famous 'debates' [500] (*munāẓarāt*) on points of Islamic law. Fakhr al-dīn, who

had a very low opinion of Raḍī's intelligence, speaks of one particular debate in the year 582/1186, 'the year for which the astrologers had predicted a windy deluge',¹ and in another passage² he says that after going to Samarqand and staying there for 'some years' he returned to Bukhārā and engaged in another debate with Raḍī. Ibn Abī l-Wafā' mentions 'al-Raḍī al-Naisābūrī' (presumably the same one) in his biographical dictionary of Ḥanafī scholars.

As a poet Raḍī eulogised several of the Qarakhanids. Hādī Ḥasan and Nafīsī have both attempted (as it seems independently) to identify the patrons mentioned in his poems, but they have come to in part different and in both cases unsatisfactory results so that one must await the full publication of the surviving poems before the question can be settled. From the extracts quoted by them it is, however, evident that a large portion of the poems eulogise a king with the titles Nuṣrat al-dunyā wa l-dīn and Arslān-Khān and who is apparently not (as both scholars maintained) 'Uthmān I (600/1203-4 to 607/1211) but rather his father Nuṣrat al-dunyā wa l-dīn Arslān-Khān Ibrāhīm IV b. al-Ḥusain (574/1178 to 600/1203-4). Other poems mention one Abū l-Muẓaffar, evidently the uncle and predecessor of the just-mentioned Ibrāhīm, Abū l-Muẓaffar Mas'ūd II b. al-Ḥasan (556/1160 to 574/1178), others one Ghiyāth i millat, evidently Mas'ūd's son and co-ruler Ghiyāth al-dunyā wa l-dīn Muḥammad IV. He also praised several of the Āl i Burhān, the spiritual leaders of Bukhārā; Hādī Ḥasan quotes (p. 449) a poem mentioning the year 559/1163-4 and addressing a cleric whom the poet calls merely '*āfīāb i nasl i Burhān*', evidently the *ṣadr* Muḥammad I b. 'Umar. [501] 'Aufī quotes a Persian poem to one 'Abd al-'Azīz,³ probably the son of the just-mentioned Muḥammad, 'Abd al-'Azīz II (ca. 570/1174 to 593/1196-7), as well as two Arabic verses directed to 'Burhān al-islām Tāj al-dīn', evidently his successor, 'Umar II, 'Aufī's own teacher.

Ādhar and Hidāyat (both apparently following Taqī) confused Raḍī's principal patron 'Arslān-Khān' with the Seljuq Arslān b. Toghrīl; their error was set right by Qazwīnī. Taqī⁴ gives the date of his death as 598/1201-2.

¹*Munāẓarāt* p. 32. For this event see above, p. 257.

²p. 53.

³'Aufī I p. 226 l. 9.

⁴Apud Sprenger p. 16 no. 26.

¹The *nisbah* refers to Khwāf in Kōhistān.

It is possible, but not certain, that this poet is identical with the Raḍī al-dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Naisābūrī who is given as the author of the Persian moralising tract *Makārim al-akhlāq*.¹

Mss. of his *diwān*: Paris Supplément 791 fol. 76v sqq. (Blochet 1988. Dated 18 Shawwāl 1006/1598); Supplément 797 fol. 92r sqq. (Blochet 1990. 16th century?); Leningrad Univ. 1202a (Romaskewicz p. 7); Tehran Gulistān/Ātābāy II 430/IV (Bayānī apparently attributes the Ms. to the 16th century); Adabīyāt II p. 11 (In a *daftar* dated 1007/1598-9); Univ. IX 2589/1 (Dated 12 Jumādā II 1015/1606); Lucknow Sprenger 457; Aligarh Subh. Mss. p. 35 no. 66 (Dated 1008/1599-1600). Cf. Munz. III 23192-7.

Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Munāzarāt*, ed. Faṭḥ Allāh Khulāif, 2nd edition, Beyrouth 1984, passim; 'Aufī I p. 219-28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc. and the note in Nafīsī's edition p. 633); Shams passim (see the index s.v. Raḍī); Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 252, 317; Ibn Abī l-Wafā', *al-Jawāhir al-muḍṭ'ah fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanaftiyah*, Hyderabad 1332/1914, II p. 370; Rāzī II p. 243-50 (no. 746); MF p. 278; Ādhar II p. 686-91; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 231-4; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 78, 194-5; Hādī Ḥasan, 'The poet Rādī'ud-din of Nishapur His life and times', *Aryan Path* (Bombay) XIII, 1942, p. 446-54, 496-507; Nafīsī's notes to Baihaqī p. 1339-46, 1397-9; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 849-52; Khaiyām-pūr p. 234. [502]

269. Rafī' al-dīn al-Lunbānī (Lunbān is a village near Isfahan) is the name given to two different writers, possibly father and son, who have been confused with each other in apparently all the previous secondary literature. Rafī' the elder is mentioned by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī in his entry on the village of Lunbān, where his names are given as al-adīb al-fāḍil 'Abd al-'Azīz al-mulaqqab bi l-Rafī'. He was (our source tells us) the author of some fine poems and of a collection of letters² and was

¹Cf. Fouchécour, *Moralia* p. 283-8, who refers to an edition of the *Makārim al-akhlāq* by Dānīsh-pazhūh, Tehran 1341sh./1962 (which I have not seen). This work is evidently not the same as the thus titled Arabic work by Raḍī al-dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī (see PL I p. 176-7, 1252), though the identical *laqabs* suggest that there might be some confusion involved in the identification of the author of the Persian work.

²The published text has: 'lahu ash'ar fī ghāyat al-ḥusn wa diwān wa rasā'il', but this is presumably an error for '.... wa diwān rasā'il'.

closely associated with Jamāl al-dīn al-Khujandī.¹ At one point he applied (it would seem successfully) for a job as the keeper of the library of Ṣadr al-dīn al-Khujandī, presumably the ṣadr 'Abd al-Laṭīf II, the leader of the Shāfi'ī faction in Isfahan from after 552/1157 until his death in 588/1184. We are told further that Rafī' was killed during the conflict between sultan Ṭoghrīl (i.e. the Seljuq Ṭoghrīl III, 571/1176 to 590/1194) and 'the sons of atabeg Muḥammad', i.e. evidently at the time when Ṭoghrīl freed himself from the tutelage of the Ēldügüzids (587/1191); Rafī' was namely one of a party of supporters of the Khujandīs who were travelling from Isfahan to Baghdad when they were ambushed and robbed by one of the Ēldügüzid commanders and it was in this raid that he lost his life.² Zakarīyā' quotes six of his verses in Arabic and two of those in Persian. He is presumably the Rafī' al-Lunbānī several of whose Arabic letters are quoted by the anonymous 13th-century compiler of *al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il*. [503]

The Persian *diwān* of Rafī' al-dīn Lunbānī, which is extant notably in a 13th-century manuscript in Dublin, cannot be the work of Rafī' the elder, since many of the poems in it were obviously composed as much as thirty years after the time of his death, but must belong to a younger namesake, evidently the Rafī' al-dīn al-Lunbānī al-Iṣfahānī of whom 'Aufī speaks as of a contemporary. I regret greatly that I have not been able to find a copy of the edition of his *diwān* published some years ago by Taqī Bīnīsh, apparently on the basis of the Dublin manuscript,³ but I have consulted the valuable article by the same scholar from 1971, which describes the Dublin copy and cites the incipits and patrons of all the poems found there. This codex contains odes to the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn Meng-burnī (617/1220 to 628/1231), the leaders of the religious factions in Isfahan (Ṣadr al-dīn 'Umar al-Khujandī and Rukn al-dīn Mas'ūd b. Ṣā'id) and the Salghurid ruler of Fārs, Muẓaffar al-dīn Abū

¹Either Jamāl al-dīn Maḥmūd or (and perhaps more probably) his younger relative Jamāl al-dīn Mas'ūd; for these, and for the ṣadr 'Abd al-Laṭīf II, see above, p. 403-4.

²The story seems to imply that the Shāfi'ī faction supported Ṭoghrīl's coup; the ṣadr's household was thus fair game for the atabeg's forces.

³I have been shown a photocopy of the title-page of this edition, which reads *Diwān i Rafī'u l-dīn i Lunbānī (qarn i shashum i hijrī) bar asās i nuskhah i mu'arrakh i 619 [?!] i hijrī*, etc.; date and place of publication are not indicated on the photocopy. Presumably '619' is a misprint for '699', the date of Dublin Beatty 103?

Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangī (628/1231 to 658/1260), all of whom we have encountered as patrons of Kamāl al-dīn Iṣfahānī,¹ as well as various ministers and as yet unidentified persons. The poems by 'Rafī' al-dīn al-Lunbānī' which are quoted by Jājarmī are clearly all by this same Rafī' the younger.²

Since the publication of the entry on Rafī' in the first edition of this survey, in 1994, a new version, ostensibly of the *dtwān* of Rafī' al-dīn Lunbānī, was published by M. Huwaidā, strangely without any reference either to Bīnīsh's edition or to the Dublin manuscript. This is an exceedingly poor piece of work,³ but it does contain, as an appendix, a small collection of Arabic or bilingual poems, evidently taken from an old anthology copied in Dhū l-qa'dah 728/1328.⁴ These additional poems are manifestly not by Rafī' the younger, but by Rafī' the elder. Thus, the six Arabic verses quoted by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī can be found in Huwaidā's appendix at the beginning of a bilingual *tarjī'* (clearly much corrupted in the edition) on p. 186. The same appendix contains an Arabic ode to the above-mentioned ṣadr 'Abd al-Laṭīf (II) al-Khujandī,⁵ and a bilingual poem in which the poet gives his own name as 'Abd al-'Azīz Lunbānī,⁶ again in agreement with Zakarīyā'. I am not able to offer a positive identification for the other patrons mentioned in these appended poems,⁷ but they are clearly different from those addressed in

¹See above p. 350-2.

²Jājarmī quotes a total of thirteen poems by Rafī', all of them in Bīnīsh's list, apart from the *tarjī'* in Jājarmī p. 799-810, which seems to be missing in the Dublin manuscript.

³For example, the three *tarjī'*s by Rafī' the younger published in the edition of Jājarmī's *Mu'nis al-ahrār* p. 790-810, can be found also in Huwaidā's edition of the *dtwān*, p. 131-142, but Huwaidā has taken the stanzas of the three poems, mixed them up, and rearranged them in a single alphabetic series! Apparently, the editor does not know what a *tarjī'* is.

⁴See the very vague account of this manuscript in Huwaidā's introduction, p. 6. I deduce (but regret that the editor has not said this explicitly) that the poems published on p. 171-200 of the edition, are all taken from this source.

⁵Edition, p. 175-178; the name of the dedicatee is found (misprinted) on p. 177, the fifth verse.

⁶Edition, p. 195.

⁷On p. 196-8 the editor has (apparently without noticing it) published fragments of two different poems; the metre changes after the first *miṣrā'* of the last verse on p. 196. The second of these, at least, addresses one Muḥammad b. Yūnus, Ṣārim al-dīn, perhaps Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Mauṣilī, a prominent Shāfi'ī scholar in the second half of the 6th/12th century.

the Persian *dtwān*. The editor has also inserted a small number of Persian *rubā'īs* and other short poems from the same old manuscript into the main body of the *dtwān*; these (or at least some of them) are identified in the footnotes with the signum *wāw* and evidently also belong to the elder Rafī'. The styles of the two authors seem rather different, though the bilingual *tarjī'* of the younger Rafī' quoted by Jājarmī, p. 795-9, does seem to imitate the manner of his elder namesake.

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī has a short entry¹ on two poets, Kāmil al-dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mas'ūd al-Lunbānī and 'his brother', whom he calls Rafī' al-dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mas'ūd, and quotes four Arabic verses by the former. There is clearly a mistake here. If the two are indeed brothers, then we must presumably correct the second name to Rafī' al-dīn <b.> 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mas'ūd, with omission of the *ism*. al-Ṣafadī has an entry on Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mas'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Lunbānī (text: al-Lubnānī) [504] *min ahl Iṣfahān* (without *laqab*), who 'went to Baghdad in the company of Ṣadr al-dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Khujandī (i.e. 'Abd al-Laṭīf II) and died in the year 584' i.e. 1188-9, presumably Rafī' the elder, though in this case either the date of his death given by al-Ṣafadī, or that implied by Zakarīyā', must be some three years off. The situation is, however, complicated by the fact that 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāfi'ī al-Qazwīnī² (a contemporary of Rafī' the elder) has an entry on one 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Lunbānī (text: al-Lubnānī) al-Iṣfahānī (again without *laqab*), an Arabic scholar and author of commentaries, whom al-Rāfi'ī 'met in Isfahan' and who 'accompanied the Khujandī ṣadrs to Qazwīn in the year 581', i.e. 1185-6, and who would also seem a likely candidate for identification with the elder Rafī'. It is possible that 'Muḥammad' is an error for 'Mas'ūd', though it is perhaps not entirely unthinkable that 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad and 'Abd

¹The entry was published by Maulawī in the supplement to *OCM* XV/4, 1939, p. 55, and begins: 'Kāmil al-dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mas'ūd al-Lunbānī (text: al-Lubnānī) al-shā'ir wa huwa akhū Rafī' al-dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mas'ūd wa kāna shā'iran aidan...'. The editor proposed emending *akhū* to *ibn*, but this is more radical than the emendation proposed above.

²*Kitāb al-tadwīn fī dhikr ahl al-'ilm bi Qazwīn*, London Add. 21,468 (=Arab. Cat. 959), fol 454a (inspexi). The passage is quoted (explicitly from al-Rāfi'ī, and with the same names) also in 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh fī ṭabaqāt al-lughawīyīn wa l-nuḥāh*, ed. Muḥammad al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, n.p. (apparently Cairo) 1384/1964-5, no. 1551.

al-ʿAzīz b. Masʿūd are two different, but contemporaneous, persons from the same village. In the latter case the question of which of the two is to be identified with Rafīʿ the elder would have to remain open. In any event, the quoted sources concur in indicating that the given name of the elder Rafīʿ was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that he was intimately associated with the Khujandī šadrs and that he died at some time between 584/1188-9 and 587/1191.

Amīn Rāzī has two successive entries in his chapter on Isfahan, the first (no. 871) on Rafīʿ al-dīn Masʿūd Lunbānī (edition: Lubnānī), - but one of Ethé's manuscripts apparently has 'b. Masʿūd' - , who was (the author tells us) a contemporary of Kamāl al-dīn Isfahānī, the second (no. 872) on Rafīʿ al-dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Lunbānī (again mispointed in the edition). The poems in the first entry can be found in the Persian *dīwān* of Rafīʿ the younger, who was indeed a contemporary of Kamāl Isfahānī. In the second entry at least some of the verses are evidently by Rafīʿ the elder,¹ whose name, as we have seen, was indeed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. It is thus clear that Rāzī was still aware of the fact that there were two different poets by the name of Rafīʿ Lunbānī. [505]

Taqī² says that Rafīʿ al-dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Lunbānī died in 603/1206-7, but this is too late for Rafīʿ the elder and too early for Rafīʿ the younger. Later authors perpetuate the confusion.

Mss. of the *dīwān*: Dublin Beatty 103/VIII (Ms. completed Dhū l-hijjah 699/1300); London Or. 2846/IV (Rieu Suppt. 239. Dated Rabīʿ I 1019/1610. First page missing); Istanbul Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/10 (*Mikrāfīm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); Tehran Majlis III 986 (17th century?). Cf. Munz. III 23199-202.

Editions:³ [Place? Date?] (Ed. T. Bīnīsh, non vidi); [n.p.] 1373sh./1995 (Ed. M. Huwaidā).

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-tadwīn* (see the text); ʿAufī II p. 400-1 (none of the verses cited are in Huwaidā's edition); Zakariyāʾ al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 301-2; *al-Mukhtārāt min*

¹The first *rubāʿī* in entry 872 appears in Huwaidā's edition on p. 165, from Ms. *wāw*. The next three *rubāʿīs* are on p. 170, 168 and 166 respectively, all without indication of the source. These are followed by a *ghazal*, printed in the edition on p. 152, from *wāw*, and by four verses from the already mentioned poem on p. 196, in Huwaidā's appendix.

²Apud Sprenger p. 17 no. 38.

³See the discussion of these editions in the article.

al-rasāʾil, ed. Ī. Afshār, Tehran 2535sh.sh./1976-7, p. 27-35; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb* (see the text); Mustaufī p. 732; *Daqāʾiq al-ashʿār* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Jāzarmī p. 289-91, 291-3, 297-301, 325-8, 367-9, 592-4, 777-8, 790-801, 877-8; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Waṣf bi l-wafayāt* XVIII, Beyrouth 1408/1988, no. 557; Daulat-shāh p. 155-7; Rāzī II p. 383-6 (no. 871-2); Ādhar III p. 944-5; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 234-5; M. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Raḥīʿu l-dīn i Lunbānī*, *Armaghān* XVII, 1315sh./1936, p. 86-91, 262-7; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 846-9; Khayyām-pūr p. 236; *LN* s.v. 'Rafīʿ' p. 564; T. Bīnīsh, *Raḥīʿu l-dīn i Lunbānī wa dīwān i shīʿr i ū*, *MDAM* VIII, 1350sh./1971-2, p. 837-56.

270. Rafīʿ Marwazī appears to be mentioned only in ʿAufī's chapter on the poets of the [506] Seljuqs of Khurāsān, where we find four *rubāʿīyāt* and two *ghazals*.

ʿAufī II p. 161-2; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 638-9; Khayyām-pūr p. 236.

271. Rafīʿ al-dīn al-Marzbān¹ al-Fārisī is cited by ʿAufī in his chapter on the poets of Western Persia after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) where we find two *qaṣīdahs* addressed to a king who, in the first poem, is called Sulṭān Malik-Arslān, in the second Shāh i jahān Arslān, evidently the Seljuq Muʿizz al-dīn Arslān b. Ṭoḡhrīl (556/1161 to 571/1176). Rāzī includes our poet in his chapter on the distinguished citizens of Shīrāz and states that some authorities make him a contemporary of the ancient poets Ḥanzalah Bādghīsī and Abū Ṣalīk Gurgānī,² while others say that he was one of the poets of the Seljuqs. Rāzī wisely expresses preference for the latter opinion and proceeds to

¹Marzbān is the name by which the poet refers to himself (see ʿAufī II p. 399, l. 18). ʿAufī says further (II p. 400) that there were two leading poets by the name of Rafīʿ, namely in an earlier age Rafīʿ Marzbān, who was also known by the epithet 'Pārsī dabīr', and then (in ʿAufī's own time) Rafīʿ Lunbānī. Zakariyāʾ al-Qazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 197) lists 'Rafīʿ fārisī dabīr' among the eminent poets of Isfahan, but since no other source seems to link this Rafīʿ with Isfahan we must assume that Zakariyāʾ has confused him with Rafīʿ Lunbānī (the younger).

²The early dating rests presumably on a confusion between him and Marzbān b. Rustam b. Sharwīn, the author of the oldest (lost) version of the *Marzbān-nāmah* and who, according to Ibn Isfandiyār, (*Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ʿA. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, I p. 137; Browne's epitome p. 86) also wrote a *dīwān* in the dialect of Ṭabaristān.

quote five poems, none of them in 'Aufi. Further verses are added by Hidāyat.

'Aufi II p. 398-400; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see above, p. 242); Rāzī I p. 194-6 (no. 189); [507] Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 502-3; Khaiyām-pūr p. 235-6 ('Rafī' i Shīrāzī); *LN* s.v. 'Rafī' i Shīrāzī p. 565.

272. Ustād Abū Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rashīdī al-Samarqandī¹ flourished in the last quarter of the 5th/11th century. Our earliest source, 'Arūdī, says that the young Rashīdī was one of the many poets at the court of the Qarakhanid Khidr b. Ibrāhīm (who ruled for a year or so from 472/1080) and as such subordinate to the *amīr al-shu'arā* 'Am'āq, and that he enjoyed special favour with the sultan's queen Safī Zainab (it is evidently to her that his *Zainab-nāmah*, mentioned by 'Aufi, was dedicated). 'Arūdī reports further on the rivalry between 'Am'āq and the *saiyid al-shu'arā* Rashīdī and quotes three verses with which the latter lampooned the former. 'Aufi, who includes Rashīdī in his section on the poets in Transoxania during the Seljuq period, quotes from a *qaṣīdah* which he dedicated to Abū l-Faṭḥ Malik-Shāh (465/1072 to 485/1092) - name and *kunyah* are both mentioned in the verses - whom our poet could well have served either before or after Khidr. The same authority also quotes a poem dedicated to one of the later Qarakhanids, Qadr-khān Abū l-Ma'ālī Jibrā'īl b. Aḥmad (492/1099 to 495/1102). Rashīdī exchanged poems with Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān. 'Aufi (followed by Rāzī and others) quotes a *qit'ah* of four verses addressed to Mas'ūd and a long poem which he claims to be Mas'ūd's response, but the latter is in fact evidently Rashīdī's answer to a *qaṣīdah* addressed to him by Mas'ūd (and included in the *diwān* of the latter), written during Mas'ūd's imprisonment by order of the Ghaznavid Ibrāhīm.² [508] Shams quotes an elaborate poem by Rashīdī Samarqandī to illustrate the device known as *taushih*. Daulat-shāh claims that he was a pupil of Qaṭrān,³ the teacher of Rūḥānī Samarqandī,⁴ Saif al-dīn Isfarangī⁵ and of Zahr al-dīn

¹The name is quoted thus, without *ism*, by 'Aufi. Qazwīnī (in his notes to 'Arūdī p. 152) gives his *ism* as 'Abd Allāh or 'Abd al-Saiyid', but indicates no source for these.

²See Qazwīnī in *JRAS* 1906 p. 34-7.

³Daulat-shāh p. 67.

⁴P. 109.

⁵id.

Fāryābī,¹ adding in the last quoted passage that he wrote a narrative poem called *Mihr u Waḡā*. One verse by (our?) Rashīdī is quoted in *LF*, ed. Iqbāl, p. 404 from the marginal additions in Ms. *nūn*. The possibility that our poet might also be the Ismā'īl Rashīdī quoted in *LF/Iqbāl* p. 357 was rejected supra p. 170.

'Arūdī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.), 46-7; 'Aufi II p. 176-81; Shams p. 362-4; Daulat-shāh p. 67, 109, 110; Rāzī III p. 345-52 (no. 1425; has two long poems not in 'Aufi); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 87-8 ('Arshadī'); Khaiyām-pūr p. 230; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 547-51; *LN* s.v. 'Rashīdī' p. 473.

272a. Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Abī Naṣr al-Baqlī al-Fasā'ī al-Shīrāzī, known as **Shāikh i Shattāh**, a mystic and prolific author in Arabic and Persian, is reported to have lived from 522/1128 to 606/1209. He is not cited as a poet in early sources, but various poetical compositions, among a fair-sized *mathnawī* with the title *Tuḥfat al-'irfān* (inc.: *ay qadīm ē kih dar jalāl i qidam * nabawad dhāt i tu qarīn i 'adam*) are attributed to him in later collective manuscripts.

Selections of his poems have been noted in (for example) **London** I.O. 1693 fol. 84a in marg; I.O. 1747 fol. 68b; I.O. 1766 fol. 30a; **Konya** [a Ms. is mentioned, without call-number, by Ernst p. 154]; **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 538/19 (Ateş 95. Dated 826/1423. *Tuḥfat al-'irfān*).

Collections of poems (including *Tuḥfat al-'irfān*) have been published in: M.T. Mīr, *Sharḥ i ḥāl u āthār u ash'ār i (...)* R.B., Tehran 1354sh./1975, p. 52-103; Gh. 'A. Āryā, *Sharḥ i aḥwāl u āthār u majmū'ah i ash'ār i (...)* R.B., Tehran 1363sh./1984, p. 78-159.

Jāmī, *Nafahāt* p. 240-2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 235-6; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 79; Khaiyām-pūr p. 242; C.W. Ernst, *Rūzbihān Baqlī*, Richmond 1996; *EL*² s.v. 'Rūzbihān' (C. Ernst).

273. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Rūḥānī, called also 'Uṭārid al-thānī, is represented by a sizable selection of poems in 'Aufi's anthology, one of them eulogising, as our source tells us, the Ghaznavid

Bahrām-shāh (511/1117 to 552/1157). 'Aufi does not inform us of his *nisbah*, but Daulat-shāh has a brief entry on one Ḥakīm Rūhānī Samarqandī, presumably our poet, who he says was a pupil of Rashīdī and whom he represents by two verses not quoted by 'Aufi. Jājarmī quotes two substantial poems, one of them a *Saugand-nāmah* pledging allegiance to Bahrām-shāh. Rāzī quotes a few verses from the same poem and says also that after serving Bahrām-shāh our poet attached himself to the court of the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız [509] (521/1127 to 551/1156). He is clearly not identical with the Amīr Rūhānī several of whose verses are cited by Firishtah in his account of the events of the year 624/1227.¹

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 156-7 (one verse in Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Aufi II p. 282-6; Saif Harawī p. 237-8 (five verses from the *Saugand-nāmah*); *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol. 41b); Jājarmī I p. 144+vii to 144+viii, 211-3; Daulat-shāh p. 109; Rāzī III p. 371-3 (no. 1433); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 240; id., *Riḡāḍ* p. 195; G.M. Khan in *Islamic culture* XXIII, 1949, p. 228, 232-4 (partial edition and translation of the *Saugand-nāmah*); Khaiyām-pūr p. 240; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 610-4.

274. **Rūhī** Walwālijī is the author of a handful of satirical verses, but also of two long odes, quoted by 'Aufi in his chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān. In one of the latter he engages in some ritualised boasting, comparing himself with Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān, and calling himself the third in series after Farrukhī and Qaṭrān; it is from the latter verse that Daulat-shāh evidently extrapolated the 'information' that he was a pupil of Qaṭrān. In fact the same poem mentions also 'Farīd i Ghīlānī', who was one of the religious scholars who debated with Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī² towards the end of the 6th/12th century; it is thus in this period that we must place our poet.

He is perhaps identical with Rūhī Shāristānī, the author of a poem, quoted by Hidāyat from the *tadhkirah* of Aḥādī, praising 'Abū l-Muẓaffar Ṭamghāj-khān', evidently the Qarakhanid Abū l-Muẓaffar Qilich Ṭamghach-Khān Mas'ūd (556/1161 to 574/1178), Ṣahīrī's patron.

¹*Tārīkh i Firishtah*, ed. Briggs, I p. 115.

²*Munāẓarāt*, ed. Faṭḥ Allāh Khulāif, 2nd edition, Beyrouth 1984, p. 59-63.

A verse by (the same?) Rūhī is cited by Saif Harawī p. 69. The same author quotes (p. 116, 616, 623) three poems by 'Walwālijī' (Rūhī? Or the Samanid poet Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, supra p. 194-5?)

'Aufi II p. 165-74; Daulat-shāh p. 67; MF p. 932 (verse by 'Ḥakīm Rūhī'); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 240-1; [510] Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 639-43; Khaiyām-pūr p. 241 (two entries).

275. Abū l-Faraj b. Mas'ūd al-Rūnī was a panegyrist of the Ghaznavids and of their governors in Lahore. His *nisbah* Rūnī (if it be indeed a *nisbah*) has not been explained satisfactorily. 'Aufi says explicitly that Abū l-Faraj was born in Lahore, and the 10th/16th-century Indian historian Badā'ūnī¹ states in connection with Abū l-Faraj Rūnī (as he calls him) that 'rwyn is the name of a village in the dependencies of Lahore, but today it is apparently (sic! *gōyā*) ruined and no trace of it remains'. In the absence of independent confirmation one must suspect that the 'village' in question was invented to explain the name of the famous poet. By contrast, Mustaufi says that our poet hailed from Rūnah in Khurāsān, and there is in fact still a village by this name in the environs of Naisābūr. There is (or was) also a Rūn in Sīstān (mentioned repeatedly in the *Tārīkh i Sīstān*). Whether either of these really has anything to do with the poet is another question.

Rūnī's *diwān* consists largely of odes to the Ghaznavids Abū l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm (451/1059 to 492/1099, or shortly afterwards) and his son and successor Abū Sa'd Mas'ūd III (died in 508/1115), whom he praised as governor (*malik*) of Lahore during his father's lifetime and then later as sultan, and to various personalities at their courts. Mas'ūd i Sa'd refers to him as his master. The dates given for his death by the *tadhkirahs* (489/1096 in Taqī Kāshī and even earlier in some of the others) are, as usual, worthless. Rūnī certainly survived into the reign of Mas'ūd and was apparently alive at least until the end of 495/1102, judging from the poem² dedicated to [511] Mas'ūd (his name occurs in the third verse) beginning *shāh rā rōy i bakht gul-gūn bād * jashn i ābān bar ō humāyūn bād* and ending *jashn u aiyām i 'īd u 'azm i safar * har sih bar shahryār maimūn bād*; the festival of Ābānagān coincided with 'īd al-aḍḥā in 495/1102, when both fell on 25 September.

¹*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* I, Calcutta 1868, p. 37.

²Ed. Chaykin p. 41-2; Ed. Mahdawī p. 55-6.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 103/IV (Ms. completed Dhū l-hijjah 699/1300); **Oxford** Whinfield 8 (Beeston 2827/21. 16th century); Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/10. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); Marsh. 55 (Ethé 523. End missing); **London** Or. 3713/I (Rieu Suppt. 211. Copied by Muḥammad Shāh b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd Iṣfahānī and dated 6 Rabī' II 692/1293); Add. 27,318 (Rieu p. 547-8. 16th century?); Add 7793/II (fol. 165-244. Rieu p. 549. Dated Ramaḍān 1021/1612); I.O. 905 (Dated 24 Shawwāl 1069/1659. End missing); Or. 11958 (Meredith-Owens p. 64. Dated 1154/1741-2); Or. 1777/II (Rieu p. 999-1000. 19th century? Selections); I.O. 328 fol. 378-432; **Paris** Supplément 797 fol. 15v sqq. (Blochet 1990. 16th century?); Supplément 759 (Blochet 1208. 17th century?); Supplément 760 fol. 73v sqq. (Blochet 1556. 17th century?); **Hamburg** Orient. 228 (Brockelmann 157); **Istanbul** Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/12 (*Mikrūfilm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); **Tashkent** Acad. 2141 (Semenov 765. Dated 1106/1694-5. Pictures); **Hamadan** I'timād al-daulah (*Nuskah-hā* V p. 345. Ms. apparently dated 6 Shawwāl 1017/1609); **Tehran** Majlis 4841/1 (Munz. 21376. Dated Rabī' II 996/1588); Miftāḥ 623 (*Nuskah-hā* VII p. 154. 16th century?); **Lahore** (4 Mss. in Munz. Pak. VII p. 21-2); **Peshawar** Islamiyah 1823(2) (Dated 1134/1721-2); **Calcutta** Ivanow 431 (Dated 1078/1667-8); Ivanow 432 (17th century? These two Mss. are also described in Sprenger 66); Ivanow Curzon 189 (17th century? Incomplete); Būhār 280 (19th century?). Cf. Munz. III 21375-417 (many late Mss.).

Editions: **Bombay** 1319-20/1902 (in the margin of *Diwān i 'Unṣurī*); **Tehran** 1305sh./1926 (Ed. K.I. Chaykin, based on 6 Mss. in private collections); [512] **Mashhad** n.d. (Preface dated 1347sh./1968-9. Ed. M. Mahdawī-Dāmghānī; based mainly on the Dublin Ms.).

'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Waṭwāt passim; 'Aufī II p. 241-5; Shams passim (see the index s.v. 'Bulfaraj'); Mustaufī p. 718; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 fol. 128b, 136b, 143a, 146a, 152a = Ethé 1333); Jājarmī I p. 256-7; Rāzī I p. 339-44 (no. 358); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 135b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 70-8; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Faraj' p. 715; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 470-6; Khaiyām-pūr p. 21; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, passim; *El²* Suppt. s.v. 'Abu 'l-Faradj' (J.T.P. de Bruijn); *Elr* s.v. 'Abu'l-Faraj Rūnī' (M. Siddiqi).

[275a. Daulat-shāh knows nothing of Abū l-Faraj Rūnī, but he does have an entry on one Abū l-Faraj Sijzī, the contents of which are repeated by the later *tadhkirahs*, and quotes three verses by him. This Abū l-Faraj was supposedly a panegyrist of Abū 'Alī Simjūr (*recte* Sīmjūr). When the latter was defeated by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (in 384/994) the victor resolved to have his revenge on Abū l-Faraj, who had previously penned a satire against him, but the poet's life was saved by his former pupil, Maḥmūd's poet-laureate 'Unṣurī. This supposedly early poet is not mentioned by any source before Daulat-shāh and I should think that he is entirely fictitious; more precisely that he is a mythical doppelgänger of Abū l-Faraj Rūnī (who might have been supposed to hail from Rūn in Sīstān, see above) transported back into the early Ghaznavid period.

Daulat-shāh claims to have seen a number of his poems in collections, but Rāzī says that he knows only the three verses cited by Daulat-shāh, while Ādhar says explicitly that everything other than these that has been ascribed to Abū l-Faraj Sijzī is in fact by Abū l-Faraj Rūnī. A collection [513] of poems by Abū l-Faraj Sijzī is reported in **Paris** Supplément 783 fol. 51r sqq. (Blochet 1981, 16th century?) but it would be very surprising if these did not reveal themselves to be by Rūnī.

Daulat-shāh p. 39-40; Rāzī I p. 293 (no. 303; name misspelt in the edition); Ādhar I p. 420-2; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 70; Browne, *History* II p. 153; *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Faraj' p. 716; Khaiyām-pūr p. 21; *Elr* s.v. 'Abu'l-Faraj Sejzi' (M. Dabīrsīāqī).]

276. Shihāb al-dīn Šābir b. Ismā'īl al-Tirmidhī,¹ generally known as Adīb Šābir, divided his time between the court of the Seljuq Sanjar (511/1118 to 552/1157) and that of the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız (521/1127 to 568/1172). His *diwān* consists almost entirely of panegyric poems dedicated to one or the other of these kings or else to various persons in their retinue, the largest number being in praise of Sanjar's *ra'īs i Khurāsān* Majd al-dīn 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Mūsawī, in whom we must see Šābir's principal patron. In the end he was caught up in the rivalry between his two royal masters. According to Juwainī, Sanjar sent Adīb

¹Thus 'Aufī. The *laqab* Shihāb al-dīn and the names Šābir b. Ismā'īl are mentioned in poems addressed to him by Waṭwāt. In his own poems he calls himself Šābir and Adīb and confirms that he was a native of Tirmidh.

Šābir with a message to Atsız. While at the court in Khwārazm our poet discovered that Atsız had sent two men (Juwainī says that they were *malāhidah*, i.e. Ismā'īlīs) to murder the sultan. Šābir sent a message to Sanjar warning him of the plot and Atsız, having somehow found out about the poet's message, had the latter drowned in the Oxus. The implication of the story is thus that Šābir, while posing as a panegyrist of the Khwārazm-shāh, was in fact a spy in the service of a rival power. Although Juwainī does not give the [514] precise date of this event, he implies that it was at some time between 538/1143-4 and 542/1147-8. Daulat-shāh, who repeats the same story, gives the date of Šābir's death as 546/1151-2, but this seems too late.

Mss. of his *dtwān*: Oxford Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/13. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); London I.O. 911 (Copied by 'Abd al-Mu'min al-'Alawī al-Kāshī and dated Muḥarram 714/1314. Pictures);¹ Or. 327 (Rieu p. 552. 16th century?); Or. 2846/II (Rieu Suppt. 239. Dated Rabi' I 1019/1610. Imperfect at beginning); Paris Supplément 1386/I (Blochet 1214. Dated 12 Šafar 1039/1629 by Muḥammad Ḥakīm b. Kamāl al-dīn al-Kirmānī); Berlin Petermann 716/3 (Pertsch 682. Selections); Tehran Univ. VIII 1408/1 (Dated Shawwāl 1015/1607); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 5 (Dated 5 Shawwāl 1246/1831); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 6; Mashhad Riḍawī VII 965/4 (Ms. dated 1041/1631-2); Lahore (2 Mss., one dated 24 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1047/1638, are mentioned by Munz. Pak. VII p. 39); Peshawar (Munz. Pak. VII p. 39); Bombay Rehatsek p. 140 no. 48; Lucknow Sprenger 73; Hyderabad Āṣafiyah p. 288 no. 926 (Time of Shāh-jahān, i.e. 17th century). Cf. Munz. III 24088-126.

Editions: Tehran 1331sh./1952 (Ed. 'Alī Qawīm); 1343sh./1964 (ed. M. 'A. Nāṣih).

'Aufī II p. 117-25; Shams p. 223, 359, 437; Juwainī II p. 8; Mustaufī p. 715; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, *passim*); Jājarmī I p. 199-202; Daulat-shāh p. 92-3; Rāzī II p. 86-92 (no. 573); Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 216b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 314-25; Browne, *History* II p. 333-5; S. Nafīsī, 'Adīb Šābir i Tirmidhī', *Armaghān* IV, 1920, p. 230-45, 294-306; *LN* s.v. 'Adīb' p. 1582-5; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 643-50; Khaiyām-pūr p. 35; *Elr* s.v. 'Adīb Šāber' (Dh. Šafā); *Elr* s.v. 'Šābir'. [515]

¹For this, and the Mashhad Ms., see above, p. 423 fn.

277. Sa'd al-dīn Sharaf al-ḥukamā' Kāfī al-Bukhārī is quoted by 'Aufī as the author of a gnomic *qaṣīdah*, in which the poet calls himself Sa'd Kāfī, and of a poem addressed to 'Aufī's maternal uncle, Majd al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Adnān Sukhakatī,¹ who was chief physician at the time of the Qarakhanid Ibrāhīm (IV) b. Ḥusain (574/1178 to 600/1203-4).

'Aufī II p. 378-82, 386-7; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Rāzī III p. 420-1 (no. 1477); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 481; Khaiyām-pūr p. 481 ('Kāfī i Bukhārā').

278. Sadīd al-dīn Sharaf al-nudamā' 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Ghaznawī, whom 'Aufī also calls 'Mu'izzī i Ghaznawī' (but was this name actually used by the poet, or rather merely bestowed on him by the anthologist?), is quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157), where we find three panegyric poems, the first and third of which mention as his patron the Ghaznavid Sirāj al-daulah Khusrāu-Malik of Lahore (555/1160 to 582/1186). Rāzī quotes four verses from the first of these, but says that their author was a panegyrist of Khusrāu-shāh b. Bahrām-shāh (ca. 552/1157 to 555/1160). It is certainly possible that Sadīd al-dīn served both sultans in succession, in which case his sobriquet Mu'izzī Ghaznawī could refer to Khusrāu-shāh's title Mu'izz al-daulah. But it could also be that Rāzī has misquoted the name of the patron.

'Aufī II p. 405-7; Rāzī I p. 332 (no. 342; the *laqab* is misprinted); Khaiyām-pūr p. 263; C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1977, p. 128. [516]

279. A certain Šafī al-dīn is included by 'Aufī, who says that he met this poet in Nasā, presumably during his stay in that town in 600/1203-4,² in his chapter on the poets of Western Persia after the time of Sanjar. The verses quoted by 'Aufī include an elegy on the death of one Fakhr al-dīn Zangī b. Munawwar.

'Aufī II p. 404-5; Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 218-9; Khaiyām-pūr p. 339 ('Šafī i Iṣfahānī').

¹For whom see 'Aufī I p. 179-81 and Qazwīnī ad loc.

²See above, p. 411 (Majd al-dīn).

280. Sa'īd al-Ṭā'ī is the author of a poem lamenting the impermanence of the world, quoted by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Western Persia during the Seljuq period.

'Aufī II p. 238-9; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 248 (follows 'Aufī); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 694-5; Khaiyām-pūr p. 270.

281. al-Ḥakīm 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Saifī al-Naisābūrī is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān, where he is credited with four *ghazals* and two *rubā'īs*. 'Aufī's contemporary Shams i Qais quotes (the same?) Saifī Naisābūrī as the author of a contrived poem in which every *miṣrā'* contains the words *sang* and *stīn*. The latter is cited also by Jārmī, who adds a second poem of the same type. Daulat-shāh, who also has a few verses from the poem cited by Shams, adds that Saifī was a eulogist of the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā' al-dīn Tekish (568/1172 to 596/1200). There is also a 'Saifī' to whom Rāzī, in his chapter on Naisābūr, ascribes one *rubā'ī*. Whether our poet is really identical with the Saifī mentioned in *PL* III p. 240 is unclear.

'Aufī II p. 159-61; Shams p. 355-6; Jārmī I p. 144+xv to 144+xvii; Daulat-shāh p. 108; Rāzī II p. 267 (no. 757); Ādhar II p. 692-3; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 252; [517] Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 626-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 284.

282. al-Ḥakīm Shihāb al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Šā'igh is included by 'Aufī, who admits to knowledge of only one religious *qaṣīdah*, in his chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157).

'Aufī II p. 414-5; *LN* s.v. 'Šā'igh' p. 3; Khaiyām-pūr p. 329.

283. Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Samā'ī al-Marwazī is included in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān. Rāzī repeats a few of the verses cited by 'Aufī, adding to them the information (or perhaps rather only his deduction) that our poet attended the court of Sanjar. Hidāyat, who likewise offers no verses apart from those quoted by 'Aufī, says that he traded satires with Sōzānī.

'Aufī II p. 145-7; Rāzī II p. 13-14 (no. 518; name misspelt in the edition); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 248; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 685-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 276.

284. Abū l-Majd¹ Majdūd b. Ādam Ghaznawī, called Sanā'ī was the foremost religious poet of the first half of the 12th century. His life and work have recently been the subject of an exhaustive study by de Bruijn and the following is for the most part a synopsis of some of his conclusions. Sanā'ī was born probably around 480/1087 (certainly not as early as 437/1045-6, as is claimed in several of the *tadhkirahs*) in Ghaznah. The earliest period in his career is represented by a number of poems addressed to various middle-[518] ranking bureaucratic, military and religious figures of the time of Mas'ūd III (ca. 492/1099 to 508/1115). Although the sultan's name is mentioned in these poems, none of them are actually addressed to him and it is thus likely that the young poet did not succeed in having himself presented to the king. He also courted the leading poets at Ghaznah, Mas'ūd i Sa'd (whose *dtwān* he collected) and Mukhtārī. Before the end of Mas'ūd's reign he left his native town for Balkh, where he composed his first major work, the *Kār-nāmah i Balkhī*, in which he gives, from a distance, a spirited portrait of life in Ghaznah; the approximate date of the poem is clear from the fact that he still speaks of Mas'ūd as the reigning sultan. In Balkh he entered the service of a certain Imām As'ad, but he fell out with the latter and saw himself forced to flee to Sarakhs, where he enjoyed the patronage of a leading Ḥanafī cleric, Muḥammad b. Manšūr, to whom he dedicated a number of poems, including his *mathnawī Sair al-ibād*. He also appears to have spent some time in Herat. He returned to Ghaznah during the reign of Bahrām-shāh (511/1117 to 552/1157), who is the dedicatee of his principal work, *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqah*, and of a number of panegyric poems. From the preface to the *Ḥadīqah* by Sanā'ī's disciple Muḥammad al-Raffā' it is evident that the poet died before that sultan, since Raffā' tells us that his own posthumous edition of the poem was made at the explicit command of Bahrām-shāh. According to a supposed eye-witness account of Sanā'ī's death that has been appended in many manuscripts to Raffā's preface (though it is clearly not by Raffā' himself) the poet died on Sunday 11 Sha'bān 525. This date corresponds, according to the tables, to 8 July 1131, which was a Wednesday; the discrepancy between Wednesday and Sunday seems too

¹The *kunya* is given thus by 'Aufī and on the title page of some of the old Mss. The other components of the name are all attestable in the poems themselves.

great to be explained simply by a delayed sighting of the new crescent and suggests that the date has been tampered with. [519] But the year 525/1131 does seem to be consistent with the dates given in the rhymed epilogue to the *Ḥadīqah*,¹ which suggest that Sanāʾī completed one version of the poem at the beginning of 525 and that Raffāʾ finished his (posthumous) edition of it in 534/1139-40. For the (wildly differing) dates given by the *tadhkirahs* see de Bruijn p. 23-5.

Sanāʾī's *Dīwān* contains both profane (mainly panegyric) and religious poems. For the textual history, which is extraordinarily complicated, see de Bruijn p. 91-112. Some copies (in part with the title *Kulliyār*) include one or more of the poet's *mathnawīs*, which we, however, will list separately.

Mss.:² **Oxford** Ms. Pers. d. 51 (Beeston 2549. Dated 29 Rabīʿ I 1007/1598); **Elliot** 108 (Ethé 537); **London** I.O. 927 (*ashʿār i Sanāʾī*, including also *mathnawīs*);³ Add. 27,311 (Rieu p. 551. 16th century?); Add. 16,779 II (Rieu p. 825. 16th century?); Or. 4514/III (Rieu Suppt. 215. Completed 14 Rabīʿ II 1023/1614); I.O. 928 (=Robinson 146-51. Ms. dated 12 Jumādā II 1038/1629. Small selection, with 1 extraneous picture); Or. 3302 (Rieu Suppt. 214. 'Before A.H. 1280'/1863-4); **Paris** Supplément 705 (Blochet 1221. 16th century? Selections only); **Istanbul** Velieddin 2627/6-7 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102-3; de Bruijn p. 102-3. Dated 10 Rabīʿ I 684/1285); Halet Efendi 135/3 (*Mikrāfīlm-hā* I p. 498. Ms. dated 717/1317-8. Selection); [520] Ayasofya 2051/4 (*Mikrāfīlm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330. 'qaṣāʾid'); Nafiz Paşa 894 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 103. Dated 13 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1013/1605); Nuruosmaniye 3809 (Ateş 31. 17th century?); **Tehran** Millī 2353 (see de Bruijn p. 100-1. Supposedly 12th century);⁴ Bayānī (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 16. Dated 995/1587); Univ. II 13/I (Ms. dated 1 Jumādā I 1003/1595);

¹For this, see below p. 523.

²See also de Bruijn p. 95-8 and Munz. III 23584-614.

³For this and other Mss. see Nazir Ahmad, 'Some original prose and poetical pieces of Hakim Sana'i', *Indo-Iranica* XVI/2, 1963, p. 48-65, who says (p. 50) that the I.O. Ms. contains a colophon dated 17 Šafar 1006/1597.

⁴In its present form the Ms. is bound with a title-page mentioning one of the atabegs of Marāghah (who has not, in my judgement, been satisfactorily identified in the existing literature) but it is not certain that this page is really part of the Ms. or that the Ms. itself is not at least in part a forgery. See the detailed discussion in de Bruijn.

Gulistan/Ātābāy I 275; **Mashhad** Malik 5468 (see de Bruijn p. 98. 12th-13th century?); **Riḍawī** VII 440 (Dated Rabīʿ I 1022/1613); **Tashkent** Acad. II 786-787 (17th century?); **Kabul** Museum 318 (Cat. p. 157; de Bruijn p. 98-100. Supposedly 12th century. Facsimile published in Kabul, 1356sh./1977); **Bankipore** I 22 (16th century?); **Calcutta** Ivanow 438/2 (16th-17th century?).

Editions: **Tehran** 1274/1858; 1320sh./1941 (ed. Mudarris i Riḍawī); 1336sh./1957 (ed. Maṣāḥir i Muṣaffā); 1341sh./1962 (revised and enlarged version of Mudarris's edition), reprinted 1355sh./1976; **Bombay** 1328/1910.

Mathnawīs:

(1) *Kār-nāmah i Balkhī*, also called *Muṭayyabah-nāmah* (inc.: *waiḥ-ak ai naqsh-band i bē khāmah * qāṣid i rāyḡān i bē-nāmah*). See above, p. 518.

Mss.: **Oxford** Ms. Pers. d. 51 fol. 482b sqq. (Beeston 2549. Dated 29 Rabīʿ I 1007/1598); **London** I.O. 916/3 (Dated Jumādā II 637/1240. Defective); I.O. 914/5; I.O. 927 fol. 380a sqq.; **Istanbul** Bağdatlı Vehbī 1672/3 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102; de Bruijn p. 123-4. Ms. copied by Abū Saʿīd Maudūd al-Iṣfahānī and dated 7 Shawwāl 552/1157); [521] Velieddin 2627/4 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102-3; de Bruijn p. 102-3, 126. Ms. dated 14 Jumādā I 684/1285); Fatih 3734/5 (Ritter-Reinert p. 115. Ms. copied by Gulshanī Harawī and dated 884/1479-80); **Tehran** Univ. II 13/II (Ms. dated 1 Jumādā I 1003/1595); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 350 (17th-18th century?); **Kabul** Museum 318 (Cat. p. 157; de Bruijn p. 98-100. Supposedly 12th century. Facsimile published in Kabul, 1356sh./1977). Cf. Munz. IV 32964-73.

Editions: M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī in *FIZ* IV/3, 1334sh./1955, p. 297-354, and again in his *Mathnawī-hā i Ḥakīm Sanāʾī*, Tehran 1348sh./1969, p. 141-78.

(2) *Sair al-ibād ilā l-maʿād*, or *Kunūz al-rumūz*, (inc.: *marḥaban ai barīd i sulṭān-wash * takht-at az āb u tāj-at az ātash*) is accompanied in some copies (beginning with the Istanbul Ms. dated 674/1275) by a commentary in prose which some modern scholars have ascribed (most probably wrongly) to Fakhr al-dīn Rāzī. Cf. de Bruijn p. 118.

Mss.: **Oxford** Ms. Pers. d. 51 fol. 466b sqq. (Beeston 2549. Dated 29 Rabī' I 1007/1598); **Elliot** 108 (Ethé 537); **London** I.O. 916/2 (Ms. dated Jumādā II 637/1240); Or. 3302 fol. 186b-221a (Rieu Suppt. 214. 'Before A.H. 1280'/1863-4); Or. 4514/II (Rieu Suppt. 215. Completed 14 Rabī' II 1023/1614); I.O. 914/4; I.O. 917/1 (Copied by Qiwām b. Muḥammad Shīrāzī); I.O. 927 fol. 365a sqq.; **Leningrad** Acad. C 1102 fol. 260b-286b (Index 2275. Dated 708/1307-8); **Istanbul** Bağdatlı Vehbi 1672/2 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102; de Bruijn p. 123-4. Ms. copied by Abū Sa'īd Maudūd al-Iṣfahānī and dated 7 Shawwāl 552/1157); Nāfız Paşa 410 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 105. Dated Şafar 674/1275. With the commentary); Velieddin 2627/3 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102-3; de Bruijn p. 102-3, 126. Ms. dated 14 Jumādā I 684/1285); Ayasofya 2051/3 (*Mikrūfilm-hā* I p. 409. 10. Dated 25 Shawwāl 730/1330); Üniversite FY 538/12 (Ateş 47. Dated 826/1423); [522] Fatih 3734/4 (Ritter-Reinert p. 115. Ms. copied by Gulshanī Harawī and dated 884/1479-80); Aya Sofya 3241 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 105. Dated 885/1480-1. With the commentary); Nuruosmaniye 4964/31 (Ateş 48. 15th century?); Şehit Ali Paşa 1207/3 (See de Bruijn p. 268 n. 21. Dated 913/1507-8. With the commentary); Halet Efendi 786/15 (See de Bruijn p. 268 n. 21. Dated 1032/1622-3. With the commentary); Topkapı, Yeniler 3505 (Karatay 390. 18th century? Title given as *Ilāhī-nāmah*); Aya Sofya 4803/4 (See de Bruijn p. 268 n. 21. With the commentary); Lâleli 2010/3 (*Mikrūfilm-hā* I 403); **Tehran** Millī 2353 (see de Bruijn p. 100-1. Supposedly 12th century);¹ Mīnuwī collection (See Mudarris's introduction. Dated 886/1481. With the commentary); Majlis III 1099 (Dated 1011/1602-3); **Kabul** Museum 318 (Cat. p. 157; de Bruijn p. 98-100. Supposedly 12th century. Facsimile published in Kabul, 1356sh./1977); **Calcutta** Būhār 285 (17th century?). Cf. Munz. IV 31259-81.

Editions of the poem (and, where mentioned, of the commentary): **Tehran** 1316sh./1937 (ed. S. Nafīsī); **Kabul** 1344sh./1965 (ed. M. Harawī, with the commentary); also in *Mathnawī-hā i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī, Tehran 1348sh./1969, p. 179-233 (text) and 235-316 (the commentary).

Translation (Italian verse): *Sair al-'ibād: Viaggio nel regno del ritorno*, tr. C. Saccone (with introduction and notes), Parma 1993.

¹ See above p. 520 (*diwān*).

(3) *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqah wa sharī'at al-ṭarīqah*, (inc.: *ai darūn-parwar i birūn-ārāy * ai khirad-bakhsh i bekhirad-bakhshāy*) Sanā'ī's best-known work, is a long didactic poem with some interspersed narrative passages. The textual history of the work is discussed by de Bruijn, p. 119-39. Many copies begin with a preface in prose by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Raffā' (which, in some manuscripts, has been clumsily reworked into a preface to the *diwān* attributed to Sanā'ī himself) describing the genesis of the poem: Bahrām-shāh invited Sanā'ī to attend his royal court, but the poet excused himself and instead sent him a poem [523] with the name *Fakhrt-nāmah*. Afterwards, he began work on a book with the title *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqah* (etc.). Some envious people tried to disperse (*mutafarriq kardan*) his book (i.e. presumably the fair copy that he had sent to the king) by taking away parts of it. Unable to recover these lost parts the poet re-edited what he had composed (*ān-chih guftah būd*; presumably meaning his own rough draft) and sent it to Khwājah Imām Burhān al-dīn in Baghdad. Then he compiled another copy from the material remaining in his possession (*ān-chih ba dast i ō bimānd*). After the poet's death the author of the preface prepared a copy at the command of Bahrām-shāh. It seems as though the surviving manuscripts of the poem go back to, and in part combine, the various recensions mentioned in this preface. Two of the oldest manuscripts (Istanbul Bağdatlı Vehbi 1672 - copied in 552/1157, two decades after the death of the author - and Velieddin 2627 of 684/1285) actually give the poem the title *Fakhrt-nāmah* and de Bruijn has shown that at least the older of these seems to contain Sanā'ī's first, considerably shorter, version (or perhaps rather the truncated edition of the same prepared by the 'envious people?'). Most other manuscripts contain a versified epilogue, apparently written by Sanā'ī for the copy that he sent to Baghdad and subsequently reproduced in the definitive edition by Raffā'. In some copies this contains the information that the epilogue in question was written between 524 and 525 (i.e. 1130-1). In others we find instead the dates 525 and 534 (the latter, corresponding to 1139-40, being perhaps the date of the completion of Raffā's recension) and others again contain what is apparently a contamination of the two versions.

Mss.:¹ **Dublin** T.C.D. 1559 (Dated 930/1523-4); Beatty 380 (17th century?); [524] **Manchester** Lindesiana 843 (Copied by Aḥmad b. al-

¹ Cf. de Bruijn p. 119-39; Munz. IV 29095-225.

Ḥabīb Abī Ishāq in Shawwāl 681/1283. See also de Bruijn p. 126); *Lindesiana* 13 (16th century?); *Lindesiana* 12 (=Robinson p. 226-7. Dated Rajab 1016/1607. Pictures); *Lindesiana* 106 (17th century?); **Oxford** Fraser 93 (Ethé 531. Dated 20 Shawwāl 1002/1594); Ms. Pers. d. 51 fol. 264b sqq. (Beeston 2549. Dated 29 Rabīʿ I 1007/1598); Ouseley Add. 37 (Ethé 534. Dated 12 Dhū l-qaʿdah 1056/1646); Ouseley 315 (Ethé 533. Dated during the governorship of Sulṭān Muḥammad Murād-bakhsh, who died in 1071/1661, but Ethé thinks this colophon was added later); Whinfield 83 (Beeston 2550. End missing); Ind. Inst. Pers. 43 (Beeston 2551. 18th century?); Elliot 151 (Ethé 528); Elliot 152 (Ethé 529); Elliot 153 (Ethé 530); Elliot 154 (Ethé 532); Ouseley Add. 88 (Ethé 535); **London** I.O. 916/1 (Ms. dated Jumādā II 637/1240. Defective); Add. 25,329 (Rieu p. 550. Dated Ṣafar 890/1485); Or. 358 (Rieu p. 550. 16th century?); Or. 4514/I (Rieu Suppt. 215. Completed 14 Rabīʿ II 1023/1614); I.O. 918 (Dated 1027 /1618); Add. 16,778 (Rieu p. 551. Dated 1040 /1630-1); Or. 6965 (Meredith-Owens p. 67. Dated 1048/1638-9); I.O. 915/1 (Ms. completed Muḥarram 1061/1651); Add. 16,777 (Rieu p. 549-50. Dated 1076/1665-6); I.O. 919 (Dated 26 Shawwāl 1077 /1667); Add. 26,150 (Rieu p. 551. 17th century?); I.O. 914/1; I.O. 917/2 (Copied by Qiwām b. Muḥammad Shīrāzī. Incomplete); I.O. 920; I.O. 921 (defective); I.O. 922 (defective); **Cambridge** Or. 1584 (2nd Suppt. 370. Dated 1004/1595-6); Add. 3209 (Browne Cat. CCIII. Dated 3 Ṣafar 1012/1603 and copied from and collated with a Ms. dated Ramaḍān 617/1220); Add. 810 (Browne Cat. CCIV. Dated 26 Rabīʿ II 1032/1623); Or. 254 (Browne Suppt. 392. Dated 1067/1656-7); Or. 272 (Browne Suppt. 393. Dated 1094/1683); Browne Coll. V.6; **Paris** Supplément 1494 (Blochet 1215. Dated 7 Rabīʿ II 908/1502); Supplément 1839 (Blochet 1216. Dated <1> 122/1710); Supplément 703 (Blochet 1217. 18th century?); **[525] Strasbourg** Landauer 20 (=Hoghughi 8. Dated 1 Jumādā II 1035/1621); Landauer 21 (=Hoghughi 9. Dated 29 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1099/1688); **Turin** 70/I (Dated 1003/1595); 69 (Dated 1049/1640); **Rome** Vatican Pers. 88 (Rossi p. 106-7. Copied by Saiyid Jamāl al-dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī and dated 19 Shaʿbān 1020/1611);¹ **Leyden** Cat. V p. 181 no. 2579 (Dated 987/1579. Pictures); **Heidelberg** Or. P. 430 (Berenbach II p. 88; de Bruijn p. 126. Copied by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and

dated 687/1288); **Göttingen** Divshali/Luft 57 (Dated 27 Ramaḍān 1024/1615); **Munich** 174 Quatr. (Aumer 19); **Berlin** Sprenger 1513/1 (Pertsch 684. Dated Rabīʿ II 894/1489); Sprenger 1512 (Pertsch 717. Dated 27 Muḥarram 1067/1656); **Vienna** Flügel 509 (also Duda p. 65-6. Dated 1 Dhū l-qaʿdah 1052/1643); **Leningrad** Acad. A 16 (Index 1037); Acad. A 885 (Index 1038); Acad. A 973 (Index 1039); Acad. C 54 (Index 1041); Dorn CCCL (Pictures); **Istanbul** Bağdatlı Vehbi 1672/1 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102; de Bruijn p. 123-4. Ms. copied by Abū Saʿīd Maudūd al-Iṣfahānī and dated 7 Shawwāl 552/1157. Title given as *Fakhrī-nāmah*); Velieddin 2627/1 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102-3; de Bruijn p. 102-3, 126. Dated 14 Jumādā I 684/1285. '*Fakhrī-nāmah*', with preface); Esat 1387 (Duda p. 63; *Der Islam* 22 p. 103. Early 14th century? '*Fakhrī-nāmah*'); Ayasofya 1762/1 (Ateş 32. Dated Ṣafar 791/1389); Ayasofya 1761 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 103-4. Dated 828/1424-5); Fatih 3734/1-2 (Ritter-Reinert p. 115. Ms. copied by Gulshanī Harawī and dated 884/1479-80. '*Fakhrī-nāmah*' with Raffā's preface); Üniversite FY 475/1 (Ateş 33. Copied by 'Alī b. Ḥaidar and dated 25 Rajab 898/1490); Ayasofya 3865 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 104. 15th century?); Nuruosmaniye 2361 (Ateş 34. 15th century?); Fatih 3732 (Ritter-Reinert p. 116. 16th century?); **[526] Topkapı**, Hazine 277 (Karatay 391. Dated Rabīʿ I 912/1506); Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1977 (*olim* Fatih 3733. Ritter-Reinert p. 115-6. Copied by Mun'im al-dīn al-Auḥādī and dated Rabīʿ II 915/1509); Şehit Ali 1165 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 104. Dated 986/1578); Nafiz Paşa 894 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 103. Dated 13 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1013/1605); Nuruosmaniye 2363 (Ateş 35. Dated 10 Dhū l-qaʿdah 1018/1610); Nuruosmaniye 2364 (Ateş 36. Dated 1032/1622-3); Üniversite FY 37 (Ateş 37. Copied by Muḥibb i 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Mashhadī and dated 15 Rabīʿ I 1039/1629); Topkapı, Revan 1039 (Karatay 392. Dated 1039/1629-30); Nuruosmaniye 2362 (Ateş 38. Copied by 'Abd al-Rashīd and dated 1046/1636-7); Üniversite FY 1245 (Ateş 39. Dated 12 Rabīʿ II 1093/1682); Üniversite FY 177 (Ateş 40. Dated 2 Ṣafar 1098/1686); **Tehran** Milli 2353 (see de Bruijn p. 100-1. Supposedly 12th century); Shūrā i Islāmī I 309 (*olim* Bayānī. Copied by 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. As'ad Tājī and dated 24 Ramaḍān 691/1292); Majlis VIII 2346 (cf. de Bruijn p. 126-7. Dated 758/1356-7); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 271 (Copied by Murshid al-dīn and dated 900/1494-5); Sipah-sālār II 1130 (Dated 920/1514); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 431/I (Ms. copied by Pīr Ḥusain

¹Thus p. 107. On p. 106: '1029'.

al-Shīrāzī and dated Sha'ban 934/1528); Sipah-sālār II 1131 (Dated 1017/1608-9); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 451/II (Dated 1 Jumādā II 1018/1609); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 273 (Copied by Quṭb al-dīn b. Ḥasan and dated Rabī' I 1025/1616); Majlis II 917 (Dated 1025/1616); Shūrā i Islāmī I 259 (olim Bayānī. Copied by Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim in 1051/1641-2); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 270 (Dated 29 Ramaḍān 1070/1660); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 269 (Contains a seal dated 1072/1661-2); Gulistān/Ātābāy II 433/II (Ms. dated 1 Šafar 1073/1662); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 272; Gulistān/Ātābāy II 454/I; Majlis I 625; Majlis I 653 ('old'); Majlis II 916 (15th century?); Sipah-sālār II 1132; Tashkent Acad. II 790 (Dated 11 Šafar 1010/1601); Dushanbe Acad. II 344-349; Kabul Museum 318 (Cat. p. 157; de Bruijn p. 98-100. Supposedly 12th century. Facsimile published in Kabul, 1356sh./1977); [527] Bombay Rehatsek p. 134 no. 25 (Dated 1005/1596-7); Univ. 111 (Dated Šafar 1106/1694); Rehatsek p. 134 no. 24 (Dated 46th year of 'Ālam-gīr/1718. With a commentary); Rehatsek p. 133 no. 23; Kapurthala 59 (OCM II/4, 1927, p. 19. Dated 1086/1675-6); Aligarh Subh. p. 41 no. 49 (Dated 1057/1647); Lucknow Sprenger 496 (several copies); Bankipore I 18 (15th century?); I 17 (16th century?); Suppt. i 1805 (18th century?); Hyderabad Āṣafiyah I p. 414 nos. 389 (Dated 871/1466-7), 388, 497; Āṣafiyah III p. 196 no. 1503; Madras 107-110; Calcutta Būhār 281 (16th century? End missing); Ivanow 438/4 (16th-17th century?); Būhār 282 (Copied by Muḥammad Riḍā Miṣrī and dated Rabī' I 1033/1623-4, some leaves added later); Madrasah CXXXV (Dated 3 Sha'ban 1099/1687); Ivanow 439 (17th century?); Ivanow 444 (17th century? Bk. 1 only); Ivanow 442 (Dated 1186/1772-3); Ivanow 440 (18th century? Defective); Ivanow 441 (18th century?); Ivanow 443 (18th century?); Chicago Collection of Halil Inalcık (*Mikrūfīlm-hā* I p. 75; de Bruijn p. 124-5. Copied by Siyāwush b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Marwazī and dated 2 Sha'ban 588/1192. Title given as *Ilāhī-nāmah*. Defective).

Editions: **Bombay** 1275/1858-9; **Lucknow** 1295/1878; **Tehran** 1329sh./1950-1 (ed. M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī; see the review by H. Ritter, *Oriens* V, 1952, p. 190-2, and de Bruijn p. 123).

Partial translations (English): J. Stephenson (1st book, with Persian text), Calcutta 1911, reprinted 1968; D. Pendlebury ('translated and abridged') 1974.

Abridgments:

(a) *Intikhāb* (or *Muntakhab*) i *ḥadīqah*, or *Intikhāb* (Istanbul copies: *Muntakhab*) az *muntakhab* i *ḥadīqah*, (inc.: *ḥamd bē ḥad šifāt i yazdān rā * madh bē qadh dhāt i subhān rā*, or in some copies: *ḥamd u shukr u thanā 'alā l-iṭlāq * dhāt i ḥaq rā saḥad ba istiḥqāq* = 'incipit II'), by an author [528] who calls himself Dā'ī, presumably Nizām al-dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusainī al-Shīrāzī, known as Dā'ī, who collected his *dīwān* in 865/1460-1, when he was 55 years old, and who is also the author of a commentary on Rūmī's *Mathnawī*.¹ In at least some copies it contains verses in which the compiler says that with it he has reduced his earlier epitome of the *Ḥadīqah* to 1001 verses; it remains to be investigated whether any of the Mss. listed here contain the earlier version. In some copies the work is attributed to Sanā'ī himself, or else to 'Aṭṭār. See also de Bruijn, p. 121.

Mss.: **Oxford** Ouseley 190 (Ethé 536. Dated 930/1523-4); **Canonici Or.** 122 (Ethé II 2405; Robinson 1037-44. Copied by 'Alī al-Kātib al-Sulṭānī who died 'about' 950/1543, according to Ethé, while one of the miniatures is signed by Kamāl Tabrīzī who 'seems to have flourished about 1575' according to Robinson. Pictures, apparently by several artists); **Richmond** Keir III.298-301 (Dated 978/1570-1. Pictures); **London Or.** 11523 (Meredith-Owens p. 73. Copied by Shāh Maḥmūd Naishāpūrī, ca. 950/1543); I.O. 925 (incipit II); **Berlin** Petermann 444 (Pertsch 718. Copied by Mu'īn b. Rafī' al-dīn al-Ad'hamī and dated Rajab 905/1500. Title given as *Thamarat al-ḥadīqah li ahl al-ḥaqīqah*); **Vienna** Flügel 510 fol. 3v-42r (see also Duda p. 15-19, where the Ms. is ascribed to the 16th century. Pictures); **Istanbul** Topkapı, Revan 1040 (Karatay 393. Copied by Shams al-dīn Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Kirmānī in 916/1510-1. Incipit II. Title given as *Hadaqat al-ḥadīqah*); **Universite FY** 498 (Ateş 43. 16th century?); **Universite FY** 1122 (Ateş 45. 17th century?); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy I 274 (15th century? Pictures, one of which is signed by Bahrām Qulī Afshār Naqqāsh); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 276; Gulistān/Ātābāy II 455; **Bombay** Univ. 13; **Lucknow** Sprenger 130 (incipit II); **Bankipore** I 19 (Copied by Muhammad 'Alī b. 'Izz al-dīn Aḥmad and dated 3 Dhū l-ḥijjah 1061/1651. Ca. 1200 verses); I 20 (Copied by Jān Muḥammad b.

¹See also *EIr* s.v. 'Dā'ī Shīrāzī' (Dh. Šafā), where the abridgement of the *Ḥadīqah* is not mentioned.

Maulānā Khidr. 16th century?); [529] **Calcutta** Ivanow 446 (Dated 33rd year of Aurangzēb/1101/1689-90).

Edition: **Tehran** 1316/1898-9 (ed. 'Alī-Naqī Mu'tamin i dīwān, under the title *Latīfat al-'irfān*, according to Tehran Majlis Cat. III p. 144).

(b) Unidentified or unspecified epitomes: Mss.: **Paris** Supplément 704 (Blochet 1218. 16th century?); Ancien fonds 325 fol. 1v-4r (Blochet 2156/Richard. Ms. dated 1071/1661. 79 verses only); **Leningrad** Dorn CCCL (Copied by Shāh Maḥmūd in 928/1522); **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 538/17 (Ateş 41. Dated 826/1423); Üniversite FY 1080 (Ateş 42. 15th century?); **Tehran** Gulistān/Ātābāy II 461/III (Ms. contains a seal with the date 1107/1695-6).

Commentaries and glossaries:

(a) *Latā'if al-ḥadā'iq min nafā'is al-daḡā'iq*, or in some copies *Sharḥ al-ḥadīqah*, by 'Abd al-Latīf b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Abbāsī (died 1048/1638-9 or 1049/1639-40), for whom see *PL* I p. 807 n. 5.¹ A revised text of the *Ḥadīqah* on the basis of various manuscripts with commentary, completed in 1042/1632-3 with help from Mīr 'Imād al-dīn Maḥmūd, called Ilāhī (see *PL* I p. 815-6). Some Mss. appear to contain an abridged version. See the description in the I.O. catalogue.

Mss.: **Oxford** Whinfield 24 (Beeston 2552. Dated 1093/1682); **London** I.O. 923 (Dated 20 Jumādā I 1044/1634. Apparently the author's autograph of the abridged version); I.O. 924 (Written in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh); Or. 11684 (Meredith-Owens p. 73. 17th century? Defective at end); I.O. Delhi 1257 (18th century? Incomplete); Or. 9744 (Meredith-Owens p. 70. 19th century? Presumably this work is intended); [530] **Cambridge** King's, No. 151 (Browne Suppt. 394. Dated Rabī' I 1102/1690. Title given as *Mirāt al-ḥadā'iq*, presumably the same work?); **Edinburgh** Univ. 273 (Dated <10> 51/1641-2); **Turin** Bibl. Nazionale Ms. III.3 (Piemontese 354. Dated 17 Dhū l-qa'dah 1049/1640); **Bankipore** I 21; **Calcutta** Ivanow 445 (Dated 38th year of Aurangzēb/1107/1695-6. 2nd half only); Ivanow Curzon 192 (17th-18th century?); Būhār 283-4 (19th century?); **Aligarh** Subh. p. 49 no. 12.

¹See also S. Akbar Ali, 'Life and works of 'Abd-al-Latif al-Abbasi of Gujarat', *Islamic Culture* XXXI/1, 1957, p. 40-54.

Edition: **Lucknow** 1877 (according to the Bankipore Catalogue I p. 29, where a detailed account of the work can be found); 1304/1886.

(b) *Sharḥ i ḥadīqat i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī* by Muḥammad Nūr Allāh Aḥrārī Ghaznawī. Mss.: **Lucknow** Sprenger 497; **Aligarh** Subh. p. 48 no. 4.

(c) *Ṭarīqah bar ḥadīqah* by Mīrzā 'Alā al-dīn Aḥmad Khān, called 'Alā'ī, governor of Lūhārū, and Maulawī Muḥammad Rukn al-dīn Qādirī Ḥiṣārī. Apparently comments only on the first two chapters. See Browne, Cat. CCIV.

Edition: **Lūhārū** 1290/1873.

(d) Unidentified commentary: **Paris** Supplément 1678 (Blochet 1219. 18th century? Beginning and end missing);

(e) *Miftāḥ al-ḥadīqah*, an anonymous versified vocabulary (begins with the first verse of Nizāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*). Ms.: **Calcutta** Ivanow 447 (17th century?).

Doubtful and spurious works:

(1) *Ṭarīq al-tahqīq* (inc.: *ibtidā' i sukhan ba nām i khudā-st * ān-kih bē mithl u shibh u bē hamtā-st*) is attributed in the oldest Ms. (**Istanbul** Üniversite FY 593) to one Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Nakhjawānī, [531] doubtless the true author.¹ It has been claimed² that the last verse (*khatm i in nazm bar sa'adat bād ...*) contains, in the last three words, a chronogram for the year 744/1343-4; this is possible, but the formulation of the verse is not such that it must necessarily contain a chronogram. It seems to me therefore that the question of the date of the poem remains open. Later manuscripts contain interpolated verses ascribing the work to Sanā'ī and stating that it was composed in 528/1133-4. We have thus clearly to do with a poem that was composed in good faith by the otherwise unknown Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, but later fraudulently ascribed to Sanā'ī.

¹Ḥājji Khalīfah (new edition II col. 1705) mentions this poem (he quotes its first *miṣrā'*) as *Miṣbah al-arwāḥ wa asrār al-ashbāḥ* and ascribes it to al-Shaikh Auḥad al-dīn Aḥmad h. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nakhjawānī al-Kirmānī who he says died in 534/1139-40. It seems, however, that this authority has confused the present work with the *Miṣbah al-arwāḥ* of Auḥad al-dīn Kirmānī; the name that he gives its author is a contamination of those of the two authors in question.

²By 'Alī Akbar Shahristānī, followed by Utas, *A Persian Sufi poem*, p. 9.

Mss.:¹ **London** I.O. 926 (Dated 15 Jumādā II 1061/1651); I.O. 914/2; **Istanbul** Üniversite FY 593/4 (*olim* Rıza Paşa 3009. Ateş 570. Ms. dated Ramadān 890/1485. Title given in the superscription as *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* and in the colophon as *Ṭarīqat al-muḥaqqiqīn*. Author given as Malik al-ʿarifin Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nakhjāwānī al-maʿrūf bi l-Jāmī); Üniversite FY 474/6 (Ateş 50. Dated 22 Ramadān 898/1493. Apparently attributed to Aḥadī Kirmānī); Üniversite FY 70 (Ateş 51. Dated 1274/1857-8); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 128 (Dated 946/1539-40. The author's name is given as Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khuwāfī); [532] **Hyderabad** Aṣafiyah I p. 454 no. 734 (Dated 1210/1787-8).

Editions: **Tehran** 13<0>9/1891-2; 1348sh./1969 (in *Mathnawī-hā i ḥakīm Sanāʿī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī, p. 89-139); **Bombay** 1318/1900 (title given as *Zād al-sālikīn*); **Lahore** 1936; **Shiraz** 1318sh./1939-40; **Lund** 1973 (*Ṭarīq ut-taḥqīq. A Sufi Mathnavi ascribed to ... Sanāʿī ... A critical edition, with a history of the text and a commentary* [by] Bo Utas).

See also B. Utas, *A Persian Sufi poem: vocabulary and terminology. Concordance, frequency word-list, statistical survey, Arabic loan-words and Sufi-religious terminology in Ṭarīq ut-taḥqīq* (A.H. 744), Lund 1977 (contains also a reprint of his edition of the text).

(2) *Qiṣṣat i Bahrām u Bīhrōz*, alias *Gharīb-nāmah*, (inc.: *in-chunīn guft rāwī i hamah-dān * kih ba ʿahd i qadīm dar Hamadān*) is really by Kamāl al-dīn Bannāʿī, called Ḥālī (d. 918/1512-3), but because of the scribal similarity between the names Bannāʿī and 'Thanāʿī' the whole or parts of the poem have found their way into Mss. of the works of our poet, e.g. **London** I.O. 914/3 (see also the Bankipore Catalogue I p. 20); I.O. 915 fol. 316-31; **Paris** Supplément 1103/II (Blochet 1220. Dated 1284/1867-8).

(3) *ʿIshq-nāmah*, or *Kunūz al-asrār* (inc.: *ʿishq murgh i nishīman i qidam ast * qūt i ō gah wujūd u gah ʿadam ast*), a versified commentary on the *Sawānīḥ* of Aḥmad Ghazālī.

¹A large number of Mss. (only the oldest of which are reiterated here) are listed in Utas's edition, p. 11-40. See also Munz. IV 30234-43.

Mss.: **London** I.O. 914/6; I.O. 915/2 (Ms. completed Muḥarram 1061/1651). Cf. Munz. IV 33077-80.

Edition: **Tehran** 1348sh./1969 (in *Mathnawī-hā i ḥakīm Sanāʿī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī, p. 17-47. J.T.P. de Bruijn tells me that this poem has been republished as the work of ʿIzz al-dīn Maḥmūd Kāshānī (died 735/1334-5), in *Sih sharḥ bar sawānīḥ al-ʿushshāq i Aḥmad i Ghazālī*, ed. A. Mujāhid, Tehran 1372sh./1993, p. 3-30.

(4) *ʿAql-nāmah* is a short didactic work without dedication or internal indication of its [533] authorship. de Bruijn (p. 114-5) considers it probably spurious.

Mss.: **London** I.O. 914/7; I.O. 915/3 (Dated Muḥarram 1061/1651); I.O. 927 fol. 393b-411; **Istanbul** Velieddin 2627/2 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102-3; de Bruijn p. 102-3, 126. Ms. dated 14 Jumādā I 684/1285); Fatih 3734/3 (Ritter-Reinert p. 115. Ms. copied by Gulshanī Harawī and dated 884/1479-80); **Tehran** Sipah-sālār 347/2 (Munz. 32392. Dated 920/1514); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 351 (17th-18th century?). Cf. Munz. IV 32390-4.

Edition: *Mathnawī-hā i Ḥakīm Sanāʿī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris-i Riḍawī, Tehran 1348sh./1969, p. 1-15.

(5) *Tahrīmat al-qalam*, or *Tajrubat al-ʿilm*, is another short *mathnawī* without dedication and is likewise probably spurious (see de Bruijn p. 115-7).

Mss.: **Istanbul** Velieddin 2627/5 (Ritter, *Der Islam* XXII, 1934, p. 102-3; de Bruijn p. 102-3, 126. Dated 8 Shaʿbān 683/1284); Fatih 3734/6 (Ritter-Reinert p. 115. Ms. copied by Gulshanī Harawī and dated 884/1479-80); **Kabul** Museum 318 (Cat. p. 157; de Bruijn p. 98-100. Supposedly 12th century. Facsimile published in Kabul, 1356sh./1977). Cf. Munz. IV 28380.

Editions: M. Mīnuwī, *FIZ* V/1, 1335sh./1956, p. 5-15; *Mathnawī-hā i Ḥakīm Sanāʿī*, ed. M.T. Mudarris i Riḍawī, Tehran 1348sh./1969, p. 81-8.

ʿArūḍī p. 28; Abū l-Rajāʾ Qummī, *Tārīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 17-18; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, passim; ʿAufī II p. 252-7; id., *Jawāmiʿ* III p. 58, 316; Shams passim; Mustaufī p. 660, 736; *Daqāʾiq al-ashʿār* (Oxford

Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, fol. 5b, 17b, 85a); Jājarmī (see the index); Daulat-shāh p. 95-9; Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 285b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105); Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 254-74; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 196-210; H. Ritter, 'Philologika VIII: Anṣārī Herewī - Senāʿī Ḡaznewī', *Der Islam* XXII, 1935, p. 89-105; R.A. Nicholson, *A Persian forerunner of Dante*, Towyn-on-Sea 1944; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 552-86; Khayyām-pūr p. 277; [534] *Colloquio italo-iraniano: il poeta mistico Sanāʿī*, Rome 1979 (articles by Bausani and Zipoli); J.Ch. Bürgel, 'Sanāʿīs «Jenseitsreise der Gottesknechte» [i.e. *Sair al-ibād*] als *Poesia docta*', *Der Islam* 60, 1983, p. 78-90; id., 'Ilm i nafs wa 'ilm i nujūm dar *sair al-ibād*', *Āyandah* V, 1979, p. 5-13 (translation of the preceding); J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of piety and poetry. The interaction of religion and literature in the life and works of Ḥakīm Sanāʿī of Ghazna*, Leiden 1983 (fundamental); id., 'The transmission of early Persian ghazals (with special reference to the *Divān* of Sanāʿī)', *Manuscripts of the Middle East* III, 1988, p. 27-31; F. de Blois, 'A bilingual poem by Ḥāfiẓ' [and one by Sanāʿī¹], *Oriente moderno*, nuova serie XV/2, 1996 [published 1998], p. 379-84; *El* s.v. 'Sanāʿī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn, with further literature).

285. Majd al-dīn Iftikhār al-ḥukama' Abū l-Sihri (or al-Shajari?) al-*Ṣandalī* is included in 'Aufi's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157), where we find a *qaṣṣidah* dedicated to one 'Pahlawān i jahān Diyā' al-dīn Qāḍī i Tūlak'.²

'Aufi II p. 334-6; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 314; Khayyām-pūr p. 342.

286. *Shāh Bū Rajā'* - or perhaps rather *Shāh i Bū Rajā'* (i.e. *Shāh*, son of *Abū Rajā'*) - is listed by 'Arūḍī among the Ghaznavid poets. 'Aufi calls him al-Ḥakīm Shihāb al-dīn Shāh 'Alī Abī Rajā' al-Ghaznawī,³ (read either *Shāh 'Alī i Abī Rajā'* or *Shāh 'Alī Abū Rajā'*), and quotes, along with some shorter pieces, two odes to Abū l-Muẓaffar Bahrām-Shāh b. Mas'ūd (511/1117 to 552/1157; the king's name is mentioned in both poems). Ibn al-Mujāwir quotes two verses '*li ibn al-Rajā'*' (read *li*

¹This *ghazal* by Sanāʿī is also quoted anonymously (and not identified by the editor), with some significant variants, in Jājarmī II p. 1106-7.

²Thus according to 'Aufi. In the verses themselves the dedicatee is addressed only as *Diyā'* al-dīn.

³The name given to him by Rāzī, namely Shihāb al-dīn Shāh Abū 'Alī Rajā', is evidently a corruption of this.

Abī l-Rajā' or *li ibn Abī l-Rajā'*). According to Ādhar he [535] died in 598/1201-2, to Hidāyat in 597/1200-1, but these dates seem very late.

I wonder whether Shihāb al-dīn Shāh 'Alī al-Ghaznawī is not identical with 'Alī b. al-Muẓaffar al-Shihābī¹ al-Ghaznawī, the author of a *mathnawī* with the title *Pahlawān-nāmah*, extracts from which make up the first part of the didactic anthology *Baḥr al-durar* (only reported Ms.: *Gotha* 40). The epitome, and presumably also the poem itself, begins with the verse *ba nām i khudāwand i kaiwān u hōr * kih hast aftrnandah i pīl u mōr*; from the metre alone it is evident that this has nothing to do with the *Pahlawān-nāmah* of Mu'ayyad al-Nasafi.² The poem does not appear to be recorded elsewhere, but the fact that all the other poets who are epitomised in the *Baḥr al-durar* lived in the 11th (Firdausī, Asadī), 12th (Nizāmī) or 13th (Qānī)³ centuries suggests that 'Alī b. al-Muẓaffar might belong to the pre-Mongol period.⁴

'Arūḍī p. 28; 'Aufi II p. 276-82 (and the note in Nafīsī's edition p. 728); Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Ta'rikh al-mustabṣir*, ed. Löfgren, Leyden 1951-4, p. 84; Rāzī I p. 331 (no. 338); Ādhar (old edition) p. 113; Hidāyat, *Majmaʿ* I p. 68-70; Ṣafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 615-8; *El* s.v. 'Ḡaznavī'.⁵

287. *Shahryārī* (the superscription is missing in the Mss. of 'Aufi's work and only this much of the name occurs in the body of the text) is included in 'Aufi's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157) where he is represented by seven *rubāʿīs*.

'Aufi II p. 336-7; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* (see below, appendix III); Khayyām-pūr p. 312. [536]

288. *Shamālī* (or *Shimālī*) al-Dihistānī is the author of a substantial *qaṣṣidah* (quoted by Jājarmī) in praise of a king who is named in the

¹Pertsch prints the name with unpointed *stn*, which renders it meaningless. Or read al-Suhāʿī?

²See above, p. 416-7.

³To be discussed in PL VI.

⁴According to Horn (*GlPh* I/2 p. 10 n. 2) the *Baḥr al-durar* is the compilation of one Zakariyā' al-Muḥarrir and the *Gotha* manuscript, though not itself dated, has a marginal note with the date 15 Ṣafar 766/1364.

⁵The unsigned article appears in *El* X, p. 388-9, out of the correct alphabetical series.

verse: *tāju l-mulūk Nuṣrat i dīn, khusrau-ē kih hast * bar nām i ō tart hamah mulk i Ṭabarsitān*; evidently the Bāwandid Nuṣrat al-dīn Rustam b. 'Alī (ca. 536/1142 to 560/1165). He is presumably identical with the Shamālī who is the victim of some satirical verses by Šābir which are quoted by 'Aufī. Hidāyat quotes some verses from the ode cited by Jājarmī and adds two more poems.

Dīwān i Adīb Šābir, ed. Qawīm, p. 301; 'Aufī II p. 123; Jājarmī II p. 504-6; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 309-10; Khaiyām-pūr p. 304.

289. **Shams al-dīn Lāgharī** is quoted by Rāwandī (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, p. 394-5) as the author of three verses mocking the *bāṭintyān* (Ismā'īlīs).

290. **Shams Sujāsī** is, according to Mustaufī, a poet who collected the *dīwān* of Zāhīr Fāryābī and who died in 602/1205-6. He is thus presumably to be identified with the un-named author of the prose introduction which we find in some copies of Zāhīr's poems. (See below, p. 558).

One *qaṣīdah* by Shams al-dīn al-Sujāsī is found in Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 3283/V (Piemontese 3. 13th century?) and three verses by 'Shams al-dīn Ṭāhir Snj'sy' are cited by Rāzī.

Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* (see below, appendix III); Mustaufī p. 736; Rāzī III p. 201-2 (no. 1301); Ḥājji Khalīfah III p. 293, no. 5532.

291. **Shams al-dīn Mubārak-Shāh b. al-A'azz al-Sijzī**¹ is quoted in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157), where we find, among other things, a [537] *qit'ah* dedicated to Naṣīr al-dīn, the wazīr of the maliks of Nīmroz (i.e. Sistan),² a *rubā'i* addressed to one Bahrām-shāh (evidently not the Ghaznavid, but his namesake, the ruler of Sīstān from 610/1212 to 618/1221), a eulogy on one Nāṣir al-dīn 'Uthmān (evidently the brother of the just-mentioned Bahrām-shāh, khudāwand Nāṣir al-dīn 'Uthmān b. Ḥarb, who died in 604/1207-83) and a poem which he wrote (still according to 'Aufī) during his imprisonment in Kirmān.

¹Thus in 'Aufī, Ms. 'S'. Browne, following Ms. 'E', reads the *nisbah* as al-Sanjārī.

²For this wazīr see above, p. 328 (Farīd al-dīn).

³According to *Tārīkh i Sīstān* p. 392-3.

'Aufī II p. 348-9; Rāzī I p. 293-4 (no. 304); Khaiyām-pūr p. 306 ('Shams i Sanjarī').

292. **Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭabasī**¹ is the author of a slender *dīwān* preserved notably in two ancient manuscripts in Dublin and London. Hardly anything is known about him except that in one of his poems² he mentions the building of a fortress in the year 591/1195. 'Aufī speaks of him in the past tense. Zakariyā' al-Qazwīnī says that Shams al-Ṭabasī was a pupil of Raḍī al-dīn al-Naisabūrī and that it was his teacher who encouraged him to emulate the style of Khāqānī. The same author quotes the first verses of an ode (which we know also from 'Aufī and from Shams's *dīwān*) employing the same rhyme and metre as a 'famous' poem by 'the qāḍī of Bukhārā Šadr al-sharī'ah' (in fact it is by Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd al-Ūzjandī)³ and he adds that Shams's poem was addressed to the 'wazīr of Bukhārā'. Zakariyā' says further that Shams died young.

At least one of Shams's odes is clearly dedicated to one or other of the Burhānī *ṣadrs*.⁴ [538] But the majority of his poems are addressed to a wazīr whom he calls Nizām al-mulk Šadr al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad,⁵ who has not been identified satisfactorily, but who is perhaps the 'wazīr of Bukhārā' mentioned by Zakariyā'. Modern scholars have described Shams as a poet at the court of the Qarakhanids, but it does not seem possible to substantiate this.⁶

¹Thus 'Aufī.

²*Dīwān* p. 89.

³See above, p. 411-2.

⁴*Dīwān* p. 72-4. In l. 1268 the patron is addressed as *afsar i Burhāniyān*.

⁵Name and patronym are found on p. 55 l. 965 and p. 78 l. 1353 (with textual variants in the latter passage).

⁶The eight verses ascribed to Shams Ṭabasī in the *Āthār al-wuzarā'* of Saif al-dīn Ḥājji b. Nizām 'Aqīlī, ed. J. Ḥusainī Urmawī, Tehran 1337sh./1959, p. 5-6, in which the poet quotes some verses which he says were addressed to him in a dream by the ghost of Firdausī, are in fact by Shams al-dīn Jāsbī (from Jāsb, a village near Qum; see Ādhar, new edition, II p. 1258-9, where a different poem of his can be found), as will be demonstrated in the entry devoted to this poet in PL VI. The 'quotation' from Firdausī recurs in the 'Bāysunghur' preface to the *Shāh-nāmāh* as well as in other late sources, as is discussed (with incorrect conclusions) by M.A. Riyāhī, *Sar-chashmah-hā i Firdausī-shināst*, Tehran 1372sh./1993-4, p. 305-8. (I am indebted to Kambiz Eslami of Princeton, who called my attention to this for me inaccessible publication and provided photocopies of the relevant pages.)

Mss. of his *dtwān*: **Dublin** Beatty 103/VI (Ms. completed Dhū l-hijjah 699/1300. Beginning missing); **Oxford** Elliot 86 (Ethé 621); **London** I.O. 1030 (Copied by 'Abd al-Mu'min al-'Alawī al-Kāshī and dated Dhū l-qa'dah 713/1314. Pictures);¹ **Istanbul** Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/3 (*Mikrūftlm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); **Tehran** Bayānī 56/5 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 15. Dated 995/1587); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 965/5 (Ms. dated 1041/1631-2); **Rampore** State Library (Nadhīr Aḥmad 177. *qaṣā'id*). Cf. Munz. III 23881-90.

Edition: **Mashhad** 1343sh./1965 (ed. T. Bīnīsh, mainly from the Dublin and India Office Mss., with extensive notes).

'Aufī II p. 307-11; Shams p. 273; Zakariyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 272-3; Mustaufī p. 737; *Daqā'iḳ al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, *passim*); Jārmī *passim*; Yaghmā'i p. 91-3, 208-9, 271; Daulat-shāh p. 161-6; Rāzī I p. 163-5 (no. 153); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 306-9; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 211; Khaiyām-pūr p. 306; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 834-44.

293. al-Ḥakīm Shamsī al-A'raj al-Bukhārī was another of the poets connected with the Āl i Burhān of Bukhārā. 'Aufī quotes, among other things, a *qiṭ'ah* composed after the death of 'Šadr i sa'd' (a title given both to 'Abd al-'Azīz I b. 'Umar [539] and to his great-grandson 'Abd al-'Azīz II, who died in 593/1196-7, and who is evidently intended here) and another addressed to al-Šadr al-kabīr 'Umar (II) b. Mas'ūd (who succeeded the just mentioned 'Abd al-'Azīz II and died before 603/1206).

'Aufī I p. 174, II p. 384-5; Rāzī III p. 422 (no. 1479. Name misspelt both in the edition and in Ethé's Mss.); Khaiyām-pūr p. 308.

294. Sharaf al-ḥukamā' Shamsī Dihistānī is credited with one *ghazal* in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157).

'Aufī II p. 355; Khaiyām-pūr p. 308.

295. Sharaf al-dīn Panjdihī is the subject of the last entry in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). 'Aufī says that he was from the vicinity of Zāwah and

Khwāf (south of Naisābūr); in this case the *nisbah* Panjdihī (if correctly read)¹ cannot refer to Panjdih near Marw, but must relate to the similarly named conglomeration of villages in Kōhistān. 'Aufī says further that he followed the manner of Kōshkakī and Rūhī² and quotes verses in which he satirised one Sa'd i dīn, a *rubā'i* directed against a certain Shihāb al-dīn, and an exchange of invectives between him and one Sirājī Isfarā'inī.

'Aufī II p. 358-9.

296. Sharaf al-dīn Muḥammad, with a by-name which has traditionally been read as Shufurwah or Shafurwah (or -wa'i), but for which the correct reading is perhaps Shafrūh, was a member of a distinguished [540] family of Ḥanafī clerics in Isfahan³ and the author of an extant (but unpublished) Persian *dtwān*.

In the London manuscript, which was studied by Qazwīnī, the majority of the poems are dedicated to a king by the name of Shams al-dīn Muḥammad, apparently the atabeg Jahān-pahlawān Muḥammad b. Ēldügüz (571/1175 to 582/1186). There is only one poem lauding the Seljuq Arslān b. Toghril (556/1161 to 571/1176) - this ode is quoted also by 'Aufī - and one praising his successor Toghril III. The latter, a strophic poem, is found also (in virtually the same form as in the London manuscript) in Daulat-shāh's entry devoted to our poet. However a slightly different version of the same poem is quoted by Rāwandī (anonymously, but in a context where Rāwandī seems to be claiming the authorship for himself), but here it evokes the Rūm-Seljuq

¹Instead of the Panjdihī of Ms. E, Ms. S. has in one place *byhdy*, in another the same *rasm* without dots.

²For whom see above, p. 407 and 509.

³Nafisī, in the notes to his edition of 'Aufī, has collected the material on the various members of this family contained in the *Kitāb al-jawāhir al-muḍī'ah fī ṭabaqāt al-ḥanaftiyah* of Ibn Abī l-Wafā'. They seem to have used a shared *shuhrah* which appears in the printed text as 'ibn šfrwh' or 'ibn šwrwh' or 'ibn sfrwyh' with other predictable graphic variants (q or gh or m for f; etc.) The fluctuation between -f- and -w- is less easy to explain away as mere scribal negligence and suggests rather an Iranian form with -β-; in this case the various Arabic spellings could reflect a local (Isfahani) variant of Persian *shab-rō'f*, 'Black-face'. There is in any event no justification for the claim by the authors of the late *tadhkirahs* that 'Shufurwah' (or whatever) is the name of a village near Isfahan; 'ibn *Shafrūh' is clearly a family name referring to a remote ancestor.

¹For this, and the Mashhad Ms., see above, p. 423 fn.

Ghiyāth al-dīn Kai-Khusrau I (588/1192 to 607/1210, with an interruption), the dedicatee of Rāwandī's history. Moreover it is also included in Jājarmī's anthology as the work of Rāwandī but with a dedication to Kai-Khusrau's brother and rival Rukn al-dīn Sulaimān II (592/1196 to 600/1204), the king to whom Rāwandī [541] (as he himself tells us) had originally intended to dedicate his book. As quoted by Jājarmī, the poem is a rebus or picture-poem; in the second *miṣrāʿ* of each verse the words are represented by pictures and the reader is evidently expected to put in the words that fit the metre and rhyme. In the unique manuscript of Rāwandī's book there are apparently no pictures, but the poem is preceded by a *rubāʿī* which instructs the reader to 'recite one half (of each verse) as it is written, for the other half has meaning and metre through the names of the pictures';¹ it is thus clear that in Rāwandī's original manuscript the poem must have appeared in the same semi-pictorial form as in Jājarmī's anthology.

A.H. Morton has recently devoted a detailed study to this picture-poem and pointed out that the versions quoted by Daulat-shāh and in the London manuscript are very close to each other; in particular both omit one verse, thus spoiling the structure of the stanzas. He suggests that the poem is in fact by Sharaf al-dīn and was dedicated to Toghril and that it was quoted by Daulat-shāh evidently from a copy that was already defective in the same way as the London manuscript. Rāwandī then re-worked the ode as a picture-poem and re-dedicated it first to Sulaimān and then to Kai-Khusrau. Jājarmī in turn quoted it either from the first (now lost) version of Rāwandī's history, or from some other unknown work of his. This is certainly a plausible construction, though one might wonder whether the poem is not really by Rāwandī and that it was dedicated by him to three Seljuqs in succession, but that the notoriously unreliable Daulat-shāh has wrongly ascribed it to Sharaf al-dīn. It would in this case have entered [542] the manuscripts of the *dtwān* of Sharaf al-dīn from Daulat-shāh's *tadhkirah*.

What seems to be a much fuller recension of Sharaf's *dtwān* is found in the Calcutta manuscript and this contains (according to Ivanow) not one but a large number of poems to Toghril as well as some to Eldügüz, but this needs checking.

¹ *yak ntmah nibishtah khwān, kih ān ntm i digar* (text: *ntma digar*, which is ungrammatical) * *az nām i suwar ma'nawī u mauzūn ast*.

'Aufī gives our poet's name as Sharaf al-daulah wa l-dīn Muḥammad (i) *Shafrūh, but Jājarmī, like most of the later authors, quotes him as al-imām al-saʿīd Sharaf al-dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (i) *Shafrūh al-Iṣfahānī.¹ 'Muḥammad' and 'Abd al-Mu'min' cannot both be correct.² It seems that the later tradition has erroneously identified our poet with another well-known member of the same family, namely 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ḥamzah al-ma'rūf bi *Shafrūh, the author of the *Aṭḥāq al-dhahab*, an Arabic moralising homily in imitation of al-Zamakhsharī's *Aṭḥāq al-dhahab*. Ibn Abī l-Wafāʾ³ says that this writer went to Damascus in 569/1173-4 and thence to Cairo, where he met Ṣalāh al-dīn. al-Ṣafādī⁴ actually gives his *laqab* as Sharaf al-dīn and adds that he returned from Egypt to Damascus at the end of 570/1175 and then went back to Isfahan, where he died. In any case it is clear that the banū *Shafrūh produced a good number of learned men and that there is an obvious danger of confounding them with one another. 'Aufī's identification of our poet avoids this danger and has also the advantage of greater antiquity. [543]

Mss. of the *dtwān*: London Or. 2846/III (Rieu Suppt. 239. Dated Rabīʿ I 1019/1610); Paris Supplément 1386/II (Blochet 1214. Copied by Muḥammad Ḥakīm b. Kamāl al-dīn al-Kirmānī and dated 12 Ṣafar 1039/1629); Berlin Petermann 716/5 (Pertsch 682. Selections); Istanbul Ayasofya 2051/11 (*Mikrūfilm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330); Tehran Univ. IX 2589/2 (Dated 12 Jumādā II 1015/1606); Rampore State Library (Nadhīr Aḥmad 148. Dated 1021/1612); Calcutta Ivanow 465 (17th century?). Cf. Munz. III 23813-8.

Rāwandī, *Raḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, p. 458-9 (and the editor's note); 'Aufī I p. 268-73 (and Qazwīnī ad loc. and the notes in Nafīsī's edition p. 639-47); Shams p. 123, 327, 344-5, 397; Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 197; Mustaufī p. 736-7; Jājarmī II p. 1079-81, 1117; Daulat-shāh

¹ Thus Jājarmī II p. 1079.

² Nafīsī claims that Muḥammad was his name and 'Abd al-Mu'min his *laqab*, but 'Abd al-Mu'min is not a *laqab*.

³ *al-Jawāhir al-muḍḍah*, Hyderabad 1332/1914, I p. 332 and II p. 375. In the latter passage his *shuhrah* is given as *ṣwrwh*, in the former it is corrupted to *ṣrwh*.

⁴ *al-Waḥī bi l-wafāyāt* XIX, Beyrouth 1413/1993, no. 217.

p. 154-5; Rāzī II p. 361-6 (no. 867); Ādhar III p. 948-50; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 302-3; id., *Riyād* p. 212-3; 'A. Iqbāl, 'Khānadān i Shufurwah', *Yadgar* V/6-7, 1327sh./1949, p. 108-17; Qazwīnī, *Yād-dāsh-t-hā* V p. 221-2; Khaiyām-pūr p. 296; *LN* s.vv. 'Shafarwah' (thus vocalised) and 'Shafarwa'ī; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 740-3; Ismā'īl Nawāb Šafā, 'Sharaf al-dīn Shufurwah', *Āyandah* VIII, 1361sh./1982, p. 493-501; A.H. Morton, 'The *Mu'nis al-Ahrār* and its twenty-ninth chapter', in M.L. Swietochowski and S. Carboni, *Illustrated poetry and epic images. Persian paintings of the 1330s and 1340s*, New York 1994, p. 49-66 (with text and translation of the picture-poem and reproduction of the illustrated pages); *EL*² s.v. 'Shufurwa'.

297. Dihqān 'Alī **Shaṭranjī** is the last name in 'Arūḍī's list of the poets of the *āl i khāqān*, i.e. the Qarakhanids, which suggests that he was still alive at the time of, or shortly before the completion of 'Arūḍī's book in 552/1157. 'Aufi quotes a hundred of his verses in his section on the poets in Transoxania during the Seljuq period; these are largely of gnomic or satirical character [544] and give no indication of the names of any patrons or identifiable contemporaries. Daulat-shāh claims that he was a pupil of Sōzanī. Rāzī, who is otherwise entirely dependent on 'Aufi, includes him among the poets of Samarqand.

'Arūḍī p. 28 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); 'Aufi II p. 199-207; id., *Jawāmi'* (facsimile) p. 293 (no. 1024); Daulat-shāh p. 102; Rāzī III p. 368-71 (no. 1432); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 344-5; Nafīsī in his edition of Baihaqī, p. 1397; Khaiyām-pūr p. 299; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 636-8.

298. **Shihāb** al-dīn Aḥmad b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Samarqandī follows in 'Aufi's anthology immediately after Mu'ayyad al-Nasafī.¹ Although the sources do not specifically say that the former is the son of the latter it is most likely that this is in fact the case. The assumption is supported by the fact that Shams quotes him as 'Shihāb i Mu'ayyad i Nasafī'; the father evidently hailed from Nasaf, the son from Samarqand. 'Aufi quotes two substantial *qaṣīdahs* of his, the second of which is dedicated to an unidentified Nāṣir i dīn. One verse from this poem² is quoted, and attributed to Shihāb, by Shams i Qais; the same verse and one other

¹For whom see above, p. 416-7.

²'Aufi II p. 366, l. 13-14.

from the same poem¹ occur also (with minor variants) as the first and third verses of a *qīṭ'ah* which Saif b. Muḥammad al-Harawī² ascribes to 'Mu'ayyad i Nasafī'. It is thus possible that Shihāb is quoting here two verses of his father's. Rāzī adds one *qaṣīdah* and two verses not quoted by 'Aufi, while Hidāyat adds two further poems, one of which refers to the poet's patron as 'Malik Ṭamghāch Khān Mas'ūd Rukn al-dīn wa l-dunyā'. Further poems are quoted by Nafīsī from an unidentified *saftnah*, and one of [545] these³ is dedicated to '*khusrau i mashriq Mas'ūd*', evidently the same monarch. There were two Qarakhanids by the name of Mas'ūd, but if we are to attach any importance to the fact that 'Aufi includes our poet (and his father) in his chapter devoted to bards who flourished after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157), then the intended ruler must be Rukn al-dīn wa l-dunyā Qilich Ṭamghach Khān Mas'ūd (II) b. al-Ḥasan (ca. 556/1160 to 574/1178).⁴ Our poet is presumably identical with the 'Shihāb i dīn i Mu'ayyad' praised in a poem by Sōzanī,⁵ whose principal patron was precisely the aforementioned Mas'ūd II.

Qazwīnī⁶ wrote that the 'Shihābī' listed by 'Arūḍī (p. 28) among the poets of the Seljuqs is 'apparently' (*gūyā*) to be identified with Shihāb al-dīn b. Mu'ayyad, but this seems far from certain. In the surviving verses our poet refers to himself as 'Shihāb', not 'Shihābī'.

'Aufi II p. 362-7; Shams p. 441; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); ; Rāzī III p. 356-60 (no. 1429); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 310-1; Nafīsī's notes to his edition of Baihaqī, III p. 1352-5, 1534-46, 1549; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 769-74; *LN* s.v. 'Aḥmad' p. 1451-2; Khaiyām-pūr p. 310 ('Shihāb i Samarqandī').

299. **Shihābī** Ghazāl (or Ghazzāl) Khujandī⁷ is known to us only from a few fragments quoted by [546] 'Aufi. These include a *rubā'ī*

¹Loc. cit., lines 17-8.

²*Tārīkh-nāmah i Harāt*, Calcutta 1944, p. 78.

³P. 1539-40 of Nafīsī's publication.

⁴For whom see O. Pritsak, *Der Islam* XXXI, 1953-4, p. 55. Pritsak himself (op. cit., p. 48; following Qazwīnī) identified Shihāb's patron as Mas'ūd (I) b. Muḥammad (488/1095 to 490/1097), but this must be rejected for the reason indicated above.

⁵*Drwan*, p. 441.

⁶In his commentary to 'Arūḍī, p. 155.

⁷Thus 'Aufi, whereby the second word can be read either as *ghazāl*, 'gazelle', or as *ghazzāl*, 'spinner'.

mocking Sanjar, evidently in the aftermath of his defeat at the hands of the Ghuzz in 548/1153, and some verses in praise of Shihāb al-daulah wa l-dīn, wazīr in Herat. 'Aufi also quotes two verses which he heard from the poet's own mouth (evidently in Bukhārā) and which had been addressed to him by 'Burhān i islām' (i.e. al-ṣadr al-kabīr 'Umar II b. Mas'ūd, the clerical ruler of Bukhārā from 593/1196-7 to ca. 616/1219) at the time when Shihābī arrived in Bukhārā from Marw. Two poems by perhaps the same Shihābī are quoted by Saif Harawī. See also above p. 324 (Ḍiyā) and 381-2 (Khālah).

'Aufi II p. 392-3; Saif Harawī p. 103-4, 120; Rāzī III p. 459 (no. 1527); Khaiyām-pūr p. 311.

300. Mu'īn al-dīn Sirājī Balkhī is the author of two *ghazals* quoted by 'Aufi in his chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). Rāzī has in his chapter on the notable men of Balkh an entry on one 'Sirāj al-dīn' which begins with the same words as 'Aufi's entry on Sirājī Balkhī, but quotes a different set of verses, and states that this poet served at the court of the Khwārazm-shāhs.

'Aufi II p. 323-4; Rāzī II p. 76-7 (no. 565); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 247; Khaiyām-pūr p. 264 ('Sirāj' and 'Sirājī').

301. Jamāl al-dīn Fakhr al-shu'arā' Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sirājī is also quoted in 'Aufi's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar as the author of three poems, two of them expressly dedicated to the last Ghaznavid ruler of Lahore, Sirāj al-daulah Khusrāu-Malik (555/1160 to 582/1186) from whom the poet evidently had his pen-name.

This poet and the one mentioned in the previous entry are evidently both different from the Sirājī, alias Sirāj al-dīn Khurasānī, a native of Khurāsān who attached himself to the sultan of Delhi Shams al-dīn Iltutmish (607/1211 to 633/1236) and whose *dtwān* has been published by Nazir Ahmad (Aligarh 1972) which a valuable introduction in Persian and English. He is on the border between our period and the next, but has been held over for the next volume of this survey.

'Aufi II p. 324-7; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 245; Khaiyām-pūr p. 246 ('Sirājī i Khurāsānī').

302. Sōzanī, the celebrated satirical poet. 'Aufi calls him al-Ḥakīm Taj al-shu'arā' [547] Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sūzanī and Muḥammad is also the name by which he refers to himself in his poems.¹ However, he gives his father's name as Mas'ūd (not 'Alī)² and indicates that he followed his father in the profession of poetry. He was born, again according to 'Aufi, in Nasaf (Nakhshab), but spent most of his life in Samarqand, and he is often called Sōzanī Samarqandī. His pen-name comes from *sōzan*, 'needle', and was perhaps chosen to match the sharp wit of his satires.³ His time can be determined from the fact that his *qaṣīdahs* mostly address the rulers of Samarqand during the second and third quarters of the 12th century. His earliest unambiguously identifiable patron is the Qarakhanid Arslān-shāh Muḥammad (II) b. Sulaimān (495/1102 to ca. 523/1129), and he praised his successors down to Qilich Tamghāch Khān Rukn al-dīn Mas'ūd (II) b. Ḥasan (ca. 556/1161 to 574/1178), his principal patron. He also praised the clerical rulers of Bukhārā (the *ṣadrs* of the Āl i Burhān), [548] the Seljuq Sanjar and various lesser personages. There is one (authentic?) poem⁴ eulogising the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız. In one poem⁵ addressed to Mas'ūd's wazīr Sa'd al-mulk Mas'ūd b. As'ad he mentions the date Muḥarram 560/1164. Daulat-shāh (himself a native of Samarqand) says that Sōzanī died in 569/1173-4; since he gives this date in connection with a precise localisation of the poet's grave it is likely that he found the date on the

¹*Drwān* p. 446, l. 1 and 183, l. 21. The editor (on p. 3 of his introduction) also cites verses in which the poet appears to call himself 'Umar and Bū Bakr. However in the first verse (= *dtwān* p. 112, l. 4) one of the manuscripts available to the editor has not *nām i man chūn ṣāhib i 'adil* 'Umar khwānand khālq, but ... 'adil hamē khwānand ... and this reading must obviously be preferred ('*ṣāhib i 'adil*' here means 'Muḥammad'). The verse giving his name (*nām*) as Bū Bakr is found in a religious poem (*dtwān* p. 1, second verse from the bottom) which, as the editor admits, is missing in most copies of the *dtwān*. It is probably spurious. It is, however, not impossible that the poet had Abū Bakr as a *kunyah*. Nafīsī (in the notes to his edition of 'Aufi, p. 694) quotes a verse in which Sōzanī appears to give his name as Ibrāhīm, but in the printed *dtwān* (p. 267, l. 8) we read not *man gar Ibrāhīm nām-am*, but *gar na Ibrāhīm nām-am*.

²*Drwān* p. 183, l. 21; 389, ult. and elsewhere.

³There are a number of poems in the *dtwān* in which he plays on the name, e.g. p. 390-2, 447. 'Aufi's story according to which he chose the name as a result of a love affair with a needle-maker need hardly be taken seriously.

⁴*Drwān* p. 341-2.

⁵P. 141-2.

gravestone; it could thus very well be correct. As there are verses in which the poet gives his age as past 80 he must then have been born before 489/1096.

Sōzanī is, however, most famous not for his panegyrics but for his facetiae and his often grotesquely obscene invectives. In one poem¹ he lists his illustrious predecessors in the art of diatribe: Munjīk,² Khujastah,³ Khwājah Najībī,⁴ Khaṭīrī,⁵ Ṭaiyān,⁶ Qarī,⁷ ‘Am‘aq⁸ and Ḥakkāk.⁹ Identifiable victims are the poets Sanā‘ī and Waṭwāt; the Nizāmī against whom one of his poems is directed¹⁰ is presumably not Nizāmī of Ganjah, whom he is unlikely to have met, but rather Sōzanī’s compatriot Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī Samarqandī.¹¹ The satirical poems contain many rare [549] (i.e. dialect or slang) words and are of great lexicographical interest, or rather would be if we had a better text at our disposal. The *qaṣīdahs* on the other hand are written in an unencumbered style reminiscent of the poets of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Daulat-shāh says that in his old age Sōzanī repented, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and devoted himself to edifying poetry. This may well be true, though it could just as well be a mere topos.

Mss. of his *diwān*: Oxford Elliot 110 (Ethé 541. Lacunae); Ousley Add. 89 (Ethé 542); London Or. 11521 (Meredith-Owens p. 63. 16th-17th century?); Cambridge Or. 563 (Browne Suppt. 1071); Paris Supplément 783 fol. 57v sqq. (Blochet 1981. 16th century? Selections); Berlin Sprenger 1520 (Pertsch 716); Istanbul Fatih 3831 (Ritter-Reinert p. 116-7. Dated Sha‘bān 880/1475); Tehran Gulistān/Ātābāy II 465/IV (14th-15th century? 7 *qaṣīdahs* only); Sipah-sālār II 1204 (Dated 1033/1623-4); Gulistān/Ātābāy I 278 (Dated Shawwāl 1258/1842);

¹p. 93.

²See above, p. 197-8.

³Above, p. 177.

⁴Perhaps Najībī Farghānī, above p. 436.

⁵Above, p. 177.

⁶Above p. 230-1.

⁷Above p. 214.

⁸Above, p. 253-6.

⁹Above, p. 167.

¹⁰p. 62-4.

¹¹It is noteworthy that ‘Arūḍī makes no mention of him in his *Chahār maqālāh*. For the person that Sōzanī calls *khar i khum-khānah* see above, p. 341-2 (Jalāl).

Mashhad Riḍawī VII 441 (Dated 4 Muḥarram 1204/1789); Dushanbe Acad. II 364 (Dated 1129/1717); Acad. II 363 (19th century?); Lucknow Sprenger 528 (two copies); Calcutta Ivanow 449 (Dated 1011/1602-3). Cf. Munz. III 23622-49.

Edition: Tehran 1338sh./1959 (ed. Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh-Ḥusainī).

‘Aufī II p. 191-8; Shams p. 260-2;¹ Qawwās passim; Mustaufī p. 733-4; *Daqā‘iq al-ash‘ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Jājarmī I p. 10-11, 26-30, 204-8, II p. 917-9, 942-3, 1212-3; Daulat-shāh p. 100-3; Rāzī III p. 392-400 (no. 1461); [550] Taqī (see London Or. 3506 fol. 361a sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105; Paris Supplément 799 fol. 20r sqq. = Blochet 1242); Hidāyat, *Majma‘* I p. 249-52; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 210; Browne, *History* II p. 342-3; Qazwīnī’s notes to ‘Arūḍī, p. 116-7; Furūzānfār I p. 334-44; Nafīsī’s notes to Baihaqī III p. 1323-39; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 622-6; Khaiyām-pūr p. 279-80; R. Zipoli, ‘I *Carmina Priapea* di Sōzanī’, *Annali di Ca’ Foscari* XXXIV/3, 1995, p. 205-56; *EL*² s.v. ‘Sūzanī’.

303. al-Šadr al-ajall Fakhr al-ru‘asā’ Tāj al-dīn al-Ābī was a contemporary of ‘Aufī, who describes him as one of the dignitaries of Sarakhs and who quotes a number of his poems. Ibn Isfandiyār cites two *rubā‘īs* by ‘Tāj i Ābī’.

Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, ed. ‘A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, II p. 133, 147; ‘Aufī I p. 145-7; *LN* s.v. ‘Tāj al-dīn’ p. 57-8; Khaiyām-pūr p. 108.

304. Shihāb al-dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭalḥah, of Marw,² is included in ‘Aufī’s chapter on the poets of the Seljuqs of Khurāsān, where we find an elegy on the death of Samā‘ī³ and eighteen *rubā‘īs*, a genre which, still according to ‘Aufī, accounts for the greatest part of his output. Rāzī’s statement that he ‘also’ (i.e. like Samā‘ī) lived at the time of Sanjar is perhaps only a surmise.

¹Shams quotes (anonymously in Qazwīnī’s Ms., but attributed to Sōzanī in the others; see the new edition, p. 284-7, and above p. 171 ad Jauharī) two poems illustrating *taḍmīn* (breaking of words at the rhyme, here for comical effect). Of the two only the latter is in the printed *diwān* (p. 329).

²As is implied by ‘Aufī’s words *khūṭah i Marw ba makān i ḍ mufākhir*.

³See above, p. 517.

'Aufi II p. 153-6; Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); Rāzī II p. 14-6 (no. 519); Ādhar II p. 656-7; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 690-2; Khaiyām-pūr p. 17 ('Abū l-Ḥasan') and 358 ('Ṭalḥah i Marwazī'). [551]

305. Abū l-Faḍl 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad al-Harawī, called also Ḥajjī Harēwah,¹ is included by 'Aufi, who says that he met this poet in Naisābūr (which he visited in 603/1206-7), in his chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar. 'Aufi says further that Abū l-Faḍl engaged in poetical polemics with Rafī' (perhaps Rafī' Marwazī, above p. 505-6) and quotes three of his verses lampooning Rafī', as well as three of his *rubā'īs*.

'Aufi II p. 346-7; Rāzī II p. 149 (no. 632); *LN* s.v. 'Abū l-Faḍl' p. 728; Khaiyām-pūr p. 384 (two entries).

306. Al-Ḥakīm Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī al-Wā'izī is represented by one *qaṣīdah* in 'Aufi's chapter on the poets of Khurāsān after the time of Sanjar (i.e. after 552/1157). 'Aufi tells us that most of his poetry was of religious content.

'Aufi II p. 356; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 655; Khaiyām-pūr p. 641.

307. Three verses by one Qā'inī Warrāq are quoted by Shams i Qais (p. 180).

Cf. Khaiyām-pūr p. 467 and 647.

308. Rashīd al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-'Umarī,² known as Waṭwāt, was a poet, secretary and prolific author in Arabic and Persian. al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī and Yāqūt (and several later sources) say that he was born in [552] Balkh.³ Daulat-shāh - like those

dependent on him - says that he died in 578/1182-3, in his 97th year, which would put his birth in 481/1088-9, and adds that his grave is to be found in Gurgānj,¹ the capital of Khwārazm; from this one can perhaps deduce that Daulat-shāh (or his source) had these dates from the tombstone. The implied birth-date is in any case consistent with Juwainī's statement that Rashīd was 'past his 80th year' when he greeted the accession to the throne of the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā al-dīn Tekish in 568/1172, indicating that he was born a few years before 488/1095. The year given for his death in Yāqūt's biographical dictionary, namely 573/1177-8 (in figures and not spelt out), is perhaps a scribe's error for 578.

Rashīd was chief secretary (*ṣāhib dīwān al-inshā'*) under the Khwārazm-shāh Atsız (521/1127 to 551/1156) and his successor Ēl-Arslān (died 568/1172); in one of his verses he says that he served the former for 'thirty years', i.e. for the whole of his reign. His loyalty to Atsız earned him the enmity of the Seljuq sultan Sanjar who, according to an anecdote told by Juwainī (and repeated by many others), at one point resolved to have Rashīd cut into thirty pieces, but who was dissuaded from doing so by his own chief secretary, Muntajab al-dīn al-Juwainī, the uncle of our informant's great-grandfather. We possess a considerable number of Rashīd's letters, both of those he wrote on behalf of his masters (in Arabic to the caliph and his entourage, in Persian to Sanjar and others) as well as of his own private [553] letters in both languages.² Rashīd's Persian *dīwān*, containing more than 8500 verses in Nafīsī's edition, consists largely of poems eulogising Atsız. The fact that none of the poems is dedicated to that king's successors led Nafīsī to the conclusion that Rashīd left Khwārazm after the death of Atsız, but this

¹Daulat-shāh p. 91, using the arabicized form Jurjāniyah.

¹Harēwah is supposedly a local form of the *nisbah* from Harāt/Harēw. See *LN* s.v. *harēwah*.

²These are the names mentioned by the author himself in the prefaces to his various prose writings; several of the biographical sources omit the second Muḥammad. Yāqūt quotes in full the genealogy which makes him a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the 13th generation and which, most implausibly, gives the Arab caliph a great-grandson with the Persian name Mardōyah.

³The printed text of Ibn Funduq's *Tatimmat* gives him the *nisbahs* al-Bukhārī al-Khuwārazmī, suggesting that he hailed from Bukhārā, but the *nisbahs* are missing in two of the editor's Mss. and also (according to my collation) in London Or. 9033 fol. 127a.

²Those Persian letters that Waṭwāt collected himself in *Abkār al-aḥkār fī l-rasā'il wa l-ash'ār* and 'Arā'is al-khawāṭir wa nafa'is al-nawādir were published, with an extensive introduction, by Q. Tūysirkānī as *Nāmah-hā i Rashīd al-dīn Waṭwāt*, Tehran 1338sh./1960, and a large number of Arabic letters were published (from an unidentified source) by Muḥammad Fahmī under the title *Majmū'at rasā'il Rashīd al-dīn al-Waṭwāt*, 2 parts, Cairo 1315/1897-8. Ten of the latter are translated and analysed by H. Horst, 'Arabische Briefe der Ḥōrazmshāhs an den Kalifenhof aus der Feder des Rašīd ad-Dīn Waṭwāt', *ZDMG* 116, 1966, p. 24-43, and the same author has summarised many of the Persian letters (including several that have not yet been published) in his book *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselgāgen (sic) und Ḥōrazmshāhs*, Wiesbaden 1964.

overlooks the fact that many of his letters were clearly written on behalf of Ēl-Arslān and several refer explicitly to events during his reign.¹ Thus the absence of poems dedicated to Atsız's successors shows only that Rashīd compiled his *diwān* long before the end of his life.

For his prose writings in Persian and Arabic see my article in *EP*. A discussion of his paraphrases (in prose and verse) of the sayings of the first four caliphs is planned for *PL* IV (Traditions).

Mss. of the *diwān*: **Dublin** Beatty 103/III (Ms. completed Dhū l-ḥijjah 699/1300); **London** Or. 3376/II (Rieu Suppt. 234. Dated 2 Dhū l-qa'dah 1002/1594. Imperfect at end); Add. 16,791 (Rieu p. 553. Dated Ramaḍān 1063/1653); Or. 283 (Rieu p. 553. 17th century?); Or. 2889/IV (Rieu Suppt. 212. Completed 28 Jumādā I 1293/1876); [554] **Tehran** Majlis 4841/1 (Munz. 26969. Dated Rabī' II 996/1588); Sipah-sālār II 1196 (18th century?); **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 428 (Dated Jumādā II 1012/1603); **Lucknow** Sprenger 464 (Dated 1064/1653-4); **Madras** I 20 ('very old'). Cf. Munz. III 26968-83.

Edition: **Tehran** 1339sh./1961 (ed. S. Nafīsī, with an extensive introduction).

Ibn Funduq, *Tatimmat ṣiḥān al-ḥikmah*, ed. M. Shafī', Lahore 1935, p. 166-8 of the Arabic section and 112-3 of the Persian; al-Kātib al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (the section on Waṭwāt, containing a good number of his Arabic letters and verses, was published by M. Shafī' in *OCM*, 1934-5, at the end of fascicules XI/1, XI/2, XI/3, XII/4, separate pagination); Ibn Isfandyār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, Tehran 1320sh./1941, I p. 109-12 (also Browne's epitome p. 62-5); Yāqūt, *Irshād* VII p. 91-5; 'Aufī I p. 80-6; Shams passim; Juwainī II p. 6-14, 18; Zakarīyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, p. 223-5; *al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il*, ed. Ī. Afshār, Tehran 2535sh./1976-7, p. 149-52, 283-4 (various letters); Mustaufī p. 856-7; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Jājarmī passim; Daulat-shāh p. 87-92; Jāmī, *Bahāristān*; Rāzī II p. 68-76 (no. 563); Taqī (his entry is printed in Nafīsī's introduction, p. 10-15; see also London Or. 3506 fol. 368b sqq. = Rieu Suppt. 105; Paris Supplément 799 fol. 122r sqq. = Blochet 1242); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 222-31; Browne, *History* II p. 330-3; Furūzānfar I p. 345-56; Bahār II p.

¹E.g. *Majma'ah* I p. 24 and 31 refer to the accession of the caliph al-Mustanjid in 555/1160.

400-3; Brockelmann I p. 275-6, Suppt. I p. 486; A. Ateş, 'Raşīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt'ın eserlerinin bâzı yazma nüshaları', *Tarih dergisi* X, 1959, p. I-24; Khaiyām-pūr p. 229 (with further references); Şafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 628-36; *PL* III/1 p. 85-7, 176-8; *EP* s.v. 'Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt'. [555]

309. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Yamīnī¹ al-Kātib is included by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore at the time of the Seljuqs, where we find a *qaṣīdah* dedicated to the Ghaznavid Yamīn al-daulah Bahrām-shāh (511/1117 to 552/1157), to whom he owed his pen-name, as well a number of *ghazals* and *rubā'iyāt*. 'Aufī also mentions a lost work of his with the title *Bazm-ārā i Fakhrī*. Hidāyat splits the poems cited by 'Aufī between two poets, 'Kātib i Khurasānī' and 'Yamīnī i Ghaznawī', both of whom he makes contemporaries of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah.

LF ed. Iqbāl p. 17 (one verse by 'Muḥammad i 'Uthmān' in Ms. *nūn* in marg.); 'Aufī II p. 687-91; Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 485-6 ('Kātib'), 656 ('Yamīnī'); Şafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 619-21; Khaiyām-pūr p. 384 ('Utbī i Kātib') and 660 ('Yamīnī i Ghaznawī').

310. al-Kāfī Ṣafar al-Hamadānī is the first name in 'Aufī's chapter on the poets of Western Persia during the Seljuq period. Here we find a *ghazal* as well as a *qaṣīdah* praising a king by the name of Malik-shāh, who could in principle be either Malik-shāh (I) b. Alp-Arslān (465/1072 to 485/1092) or Malik-shāh (III) b. Maḥmūd (547/1152 to 548/1153), though Ṣafar's position at the very beginning of the chapter would seem to favour identifying his patron with the former.² The 12th-century Shiite apologist 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī wrote that although Kāfī Ṣafar was a Sunnite, his *diwān* contains so many poems in praise of 'Alī and his family that people suspected him of [556] Shiism. Eight short poems by 'Ṣafar Hamadānī', all of homiletic content, are quoted in the anonymous *Baḥr al-fawā'id*, a work written at the beginning of the second half of the 6th/12th century; in one of these the poet refers to himself as 'Ṣafar' and in another he alludes to Malik-shāh (I) and his minister Tāj al-mulk

¹The *nishbah*, which is clearly indicated at the beginning of 'Aufī's entry, is, in the superscription, corrupt in both Mss. (see Browne's apparatus criticus) and was 'emended' by Browne most unfortunately to 'al-'Utbī'.

²Differently Şafā.

(died 485/1093).¹ The old anthology published by Yaghmā'i contains two substantial poems by Kāfī Zafar, one of them an ode to a person addressed as 'šadr i islām saiyidu l-wuzarā' and as 'ostād i ra'īs Nōshirwān' evidently the wazīr Anōshērūwān b. Khālid (died 532/1138).

Abū l-Rajā' Qummī² quotes two verses by Auḥad al-dīn Abū l-'Ashā'ir, 'the son of Kāfī Zafar', and al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī devotes an entry to the same person in the chapter of his *Kharīdat al-qasr* devoted to the notables of Hamadān,³ evidently with the information that he died after 555/1160.

Baḥr al-fawā'id, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1345sh./1966, p. 3, 441-4 (see also Meisami's translation, *The sea of precious virtues*, Salt Lake City, 1991, p. 4-5, 303-6 and notes); 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naqd*, ed. Muḥaddith, Tehran 1331sh./1952, p. 252; 'Aufī II p. 210-4 (and the notes in Nafīsī's edition, p. 696-704); Shams p. 339 (two verses by 'Kāfī Zafar i Hamadānī'); Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālis* (see below, appendix III); ; Yaghmā'i p. 114-6, 122-7; Rāzī II p. 554-6 (no. 1034); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 480; Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 598-600; Khayyām-pūr p. 362 ('Zafar i Hamadānī') and 481 ('Kāfī i Hamadānī'). [557]

311. **Zahīr** al-dīn Abū l-Faḍl Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad Fāryābī was, like his contemporary Athīr Akhsikātī, a native of Eastern Iran who emigrated to the North-West. His first major patron seems to have been the ruler of Naisābūr, the 'King of the East' 'Aḍud al-dīn Ṭoghān-shāh, who died in Muḥarram 582/1186,⁴ the dedicatee of about a dozen of his poems. Ibn Isfandiyār says that for some time Zahīr served at the court of the Bāwandid ruler of Ṭabaristān, Husām al-daulah Abū l-Ḥasan Ardashīr b. al-Ḥasan (568/1173 to 602/1205-6), and then departed, with Ardashīr's permission, to 'visit' the atabeg of Azerbaijan Qızıl Arslān b. Ēldügüz (582/1186 to 587/1191). Poems to both of these (a rather larger number to the latter) can be found in his *dīwān*. After the death of Qızıl Arslān, Zahīr praised the atabeg Nuṣrat al-dīn Abū Bakr (591/1195 to

607/1210), his principal patron. However, it must be said that although a good number of poems do mention this ruler by name (i.e. Abū Bakr) there are at least two odes¹ to his contemporary Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn, the ruler of Ahar and dedicatee of Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nāmah*.² It is therefore possible that some of the many poems which mention only 'Nuṣrat al-dīn', without personal names, might in fact have been directed towards the latter, rather than the atabeg. There is also at least one poem to the [558] Seljuq Ṭoghrl III³ and one to Khāqānī's patron Akhsatān.⁴ Several poems are addressed to one or more of the Khujandī *šads* of Isfahan, and to various ministers.

Mustaufī says that Zahīr died in Tabrīz in 598/1201-2. Some copies of his *dīwān* contain a preface⁵ (inc. *sipās bē nihāyat u āfrīn bē pāyān qādir-ē rā kih du sham' dar hujrah i dimāgh i mā afrōkht*), the author of which (not named, but evidently the Shams al-dīn Sujāsī who, again according to Mustaufī, collected Zahīr's poems)⁶ states that he had hoped to meet Zahīr, but that the latter had died before he could do so. He thereupon collected Zahīr's poems and dedicated the compilation to the wazīr Majd al-daulah wa l-dīn.

Zahīr is a poet who has been particularly badly served by the copyists and printers. At least some of the editions lithographed in India ostensibly of the *dīwān* or '*Kulliyāt*' of Zahīr Fāryābī contain the works of a different and much later poet (according to Nafīsī the 11th/17th-century writer Zahīr Shīrāzī), while the old Tehran edition (and evidently many of the manuscripts) contains many poems by Shams Ṭabasī. Taqī Bīnīsh, in his careful edition of Zahīr's *dīwān*, has attempted to eliminate the spurious poems, but since he had only late manuscripts at his disposal his results cannot be regarded as altogether final.

Mss.: **Dublin** Beatty 331 (Copied by Murshid al-Kātib and dated 20 Dhū l-hijjah 882/1478); Beatty 262 (Copied by Shāh Qāsim and dated

¹The verse, which is quoted both on p. 3 and on p. 443, reads: *an ki-st mulk-shāh u mar in ki-st tāj i mulk * an ki-st qadr-khwān i salāṭīn i nām-dār*. The metre does not allow 'Malik-shāh', but it can hardly be doubted that with '*mulk-shāh*' and '*tāj i mulk*' the poet is indeed alluding to the sultan and his wazīr.

²*Tārīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. M.T. Dānish-pazhūh, Tehran 1363sh./1985, p. 166.

³See Leyden Cat. II p. 234.

⁴Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, XI p. 249.

¹The poem beginning on p. 52 of Bīnīsh's edition mentions Bēshkīn in the verses as well as in the superscription in Ms. *alif*. The poem beginning on p. 243 mentions 'Nuṣrat i dīn Bēshkīn' in the verses and names this king again in the superscription in Ms. *alif*. The rubrics in other Mss. identify Abū Bakr as the dedicatee of both poems, as does Bīnīsh.

²The historical material concerning this ruler is collected above, p. 443 n. 2.

³The name Ṭoghrl is mentioned on p. 42.

⁴p. 132.

⁵See Bīnīsh's edition, p. 2-9.

⁶See above, p. 536.

'Jumādā' 1023/1614. Pictures); **Manchester** Lindesiana 261 (16th century?); Lindesiana 574 (Dated 1105/1693-4); [559] **Oxford** Whinfield 8 (Beeston 2827/20. Dated 18 Rabī' II 1008/1599); Whinfield 54 (Beeston 2662/2. Dated 9 Rajab 1012/1603. Selections); Elliot 120 (Ethé 583. Dated 26 Rajab 1015/1606); Elliot 119 (Ethé 582. Incomplete; with the preface); Elliot 421 (Ethé 584); **London** Or. 3325 (Rieu Suppt. 222. Dated Ramaḍān 873/1469. Contains the preface); Add. 19,498 (Rieu p. 562-3. 16th century?); Or. 3301 (Rieu Suppt. 223. 16th century? With preface); Or. 10916 (Meredith-Owens p. 59. 16th-17th century?); Add. 7733 (Rieu p. 563. Dated Shawwāl 1035/1626); Or. 2880/I (Rieu Suppt. 224. Completed Jumādā I 1245/1829); I.O. 971; **Cambridge** Or. 1696 (2nd Suppt. 441. Dated 902/1496-7); Or. 1347 (2nd Suppt. 167. 16th century?); Oo. 6. 46. (Browne Cat. CCX); **Paris** Supplément 795 fol. 1v sqq. (Blochet 1969. Dated 8 Ramaḍān 847/1443); Supplément 701 (Blochet 1246. Dated 8 Sha'bān 1016/1607. Contains the *diwāns* of Azraqī and of Ṣāhīr al-dīn, but the pages are in disorder); Supplément 700 (Blochet 1243. 17th century?); Supplément 807 (Blochet 1244. 17th century?); Supplément 1841 (Blochet 1245. 19th century); **Berlin** Ms. or. oct. 69 (Pertsch 747. Dated Monday 11 Jumādā II <21> 152/1739); Minutoli 24 (Pertsch 748. Has a seal dated 1158/1745); Sprenger 1523 (Pertsch 691/1. Dated 1217/1802-3); Ms. or. oct. 2855 (Heinz 374. Dated 6 Ṣafar 1290/1873); **Vienna** Krafft CLXXXVIII; **Uppsala** Tornberg CLXVII (Ms. dated 28 Shawwāl 831/1428. Contains, according to the catalogue, the *diwān* of Ṣāhīr al-dīn as no. 2, and that of Ḥasan [scil. Dihlawī] as no. 4, but of the incipits quoted there the former belongs to Ḥasan and the latter to Ṣāhīr); **Leningrad** Acad. C 1962 fol. 1b-49b (Index 1562. Ms. dated 878/1473-4); Acad. A 481 fol. 1b-144a (Index 1559. Dated 989/1581); Acad. C 64 (Index 1561. Dated 1241/1825-6); Acad. B 138 (Index 1560); **Istanbul** Esat 2655 (Duda p. 70. Copied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Sharaf al-'Arabī Abūh and dated 10 Rabī' II 717/1317); [560] Ayasofya 2051/16 (*Mikraflm-hā* I p. 409-10. Ms. apparently dated Shawwāl 730/1330); **Üniversite** FY 496/1 (Ateş 88. Copied by al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad al-Madīnī and dated 21 Jumādā I 759/1358); Topkapı, Hazine 796 fol. 218b sqq. (Karatay 887. Ms. dated Rabī' I 810/1407. Pictures); **Üniversite** FY 668 (*olim* Halis Efendi 4842. Ateş 89. Copied by Shaikh b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaghīr and dated 840/1436-7); **Nuruosmaniye** 4190 fol. 102b-182b (Ateş 90 and 431. Dated 7 Jumādā II

844/1440 or 884/1479);¹ Fatih 3842 (Ritter-Reinert p. 123-4. 15th century? Has an owner's mark dated 906/1500-1); **Üniversite** 1120 (*olim* Halis Efendi 5362. Ateş 91. 15th century?); **Üniversite** FY 157 (Ateş 92. Dated 1044/1634-5); Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 669/5 (*Mikraflm-hā* I p. 420-1. Apparently old); **Cairo** 57 mīm adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī I 761. Dated 1047/1637-8); 58 mīm adab fārisī (Ṭirāzī I 762); **Tehran** Majlis VIII 2460 (13th century?); Bayānī 54/1 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 15. Dated 768/1366-7); Malik 4925/11 (Munz. 24426. 'Circa' 842/1438-9); **Gulistān/Ātābāy** II 420/III (Ms. dated 862/1457-8. Selection of *qaṣīdahs* and *tarkībāt*); Bayānī 12 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 9. Copied by Ghiyāth al-dīn Qāsimī and dated 883/1478-9); Sipah-sālār II 1223 (Dated 895/1489-90); **Gulistān/Ātābāy** II 435/II (Ms. dated 866/1461); Bayānī 56/1 (*Nuskah-hā* I p. 15. Dated 995/1587); **Gulistān/Ātābāy** II 305 (Has an owner's mark with the date 1000/1591-2); Univ. IX 2589/3 (Dated Jumādā I 1015/1606); **Gulistān/Ātābāy** II 304; **Gulistān/Ātābāy** II 306; **Mashhad** Riḍawī VII 741/1 (Ms. dated 10 Rabī' II 1055/1645); Riḍawī VII 360/2 (17th century?); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 374 (Dated 14 Rabī' I 1077/1666); **Pakistan** (see Munz. Pak. VII p. 159-60); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 142 no. 57; **Lucknow** Sprenger 542 (with the preface); **Aligarh** Subh. Mss. p. 31 no. 6 (Dated 1009/1600-1); **Bankipore** I 36 (15th century? With the preface); [561] **Madras** 29 (15th century?). Cf. Munz. III 24419-96.

Editions containing (or purporting to contain) Ṣāhīr's *diwān*: **Calcutta** 1245/1829-30; **Lucknow** 1295/1878; 1307/1895; 1331/1913; 1926; **Tehran** 1324/1906 (ed. Shaikh Aḥmad Shīrāzī); 1338sh./1959-60 (ed. H. Raḍī); **Cawnpore** 1916; **Ilāhābād** n.d. ('*qaṣīd'id*', apparently authentic, with a long introduction in Urdu by Maulawī Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-dīn Aḥmad Ja'farī Zainabī); **Mashhad** 1337sh./1959 (critical edition by T. Bīnīsh).

His *Qaṣīdah maṣnū'ah* is found in **Istanbul** **Üniversite** FY 931/5 (Ateş 93. Dated 2 Rabī' I 962/1555).

Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh i Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'A. Iqbāl, **Tehran** 1320sh./1941, I p. 120-1 (also in Browne's epitome, p. 71-3); 'Aufī II p. 298-307 (and the note in Nafīsī's edition p. 733-4); Shams passim; *Daqā'iq al-ash'ar* (Oxford Elliot 37 = Ethé 1333, passim); Mustaufī p. 737-8; Jājarmī passim; Daulat-shāh p. 109-14;² Rāzī II p. 77-82 (no.

¹ Different dates are given in Ateş's two entries.

² The verse attributed to Ṣāhīr on p. 114 in fact belongs to a *qaṣīdah* by Jamāl al-dīn Iṣfahānī; see M. Iqbāl in his edition of Rāwandī's *Rahat al-sudūr* p. 36 n. 4.

566); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 330-6; id., *Riyāḍ* p. 219-20; Browne, *History* II p. 412-25 (with translations of a number of poems); Šafā, *Tārīkh* II p. 750-64; G.M. Khan, 'Diwan i Zahir and its authorship', *Sind University Research Journal*, Arts series, I, 1961, p. 1-4; Khaiyām-pūr p. 363; A.H. 'Ābidī, 'Ash'ār i tāzah az Zahir i Fāryābī', *Nām-wārah i Duktur Maḥmūd i Afshār* VI, Tehran 1370sh./1991, p. 3561-91; *Elr.* s.v. 'Fāryābī' (J.T.P. de Bruijn).

312. Zahir al-dīn 'Abd Allāh b. *Shafrūh was, according to 'Aufī, the cousin (*pisar-'amm*) of Sharaf al-dīn i *Shafrūh.¹ The *diwān* ascribed to him in London I.O. 934 is evidently the work of a later poet (according to Qazwīnī, it is by Rukn al-dīn b. Rafī' al-dīn Kirmānī, a contemporary of [562] Mustaufī, but according to Nafīsī² it is by the 14th-century poet Rukn al-dīn Harawī, known as Rukn i Šā'in).

'Aufī I p. 273-4 (and Qazwīnī ad loc.); Sharwānī, *Nuz'hat al-majālīs* (see below, appendix III);³ Rāzī II p. 366 (no. 868; from 'Aufī); Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ* p. 104; Khaiyām-pūr p. 363 ('Zahir i Isfahānī'); *Elr.* s.v. 'Shufurwa'.

313. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, known as Zar-rēs, is included by 'Aufī in his chapter on the poets of Ghaznah and Lahore at the time of the Seljuqs, where we find two of his *ghazals*.

'Aufī II p. 295-7; Rāzī I p. 331-2 (no. 340); Khaiyām-pūr p. 247.

¹For whom see above, p. 539-43, where the name of their common ancestor is discussed.

²His edition of 'Aufī p. 646.

³Also contains contains *rubā'īs* by 'Izz al-dīn (i) *Shafrūh, whom Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 197) enumerates among the poets of Isfahan.

APPENDIX I:

ANONYMOUS NARRATIVE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO THE PRE-MONGOL PERIOD¹

314. The *Bahman-nāmah* and the *Kōsh-* (or *Gōsh-*) *nāmah* were manifestly written by one and the same poet at the very beginning of the 12th century; his identity has, however, not been established satisfactorily. In the modern secondary literature (as well as on the title-page of 'Afīfī's edition of the *Bahman-nāmah*) the two poems have been ascribed to one 'Ē/Īrān-shāh'. The basis for this attribution is a passage in the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* (p. 92 of Bahār's edition) which states that the hero Zāl i zar died during the [563] reign of Dārā (Darius), and adds that the only book in which the author found this information is a version (*nuskah*) of the *Bahman-nāmah* 'which Ḥakīm NN. b. Abī l-Khair versified'. The name of this versifier is indistinct in the Paris manuscript (the only copy available to Bahār); both Mohl² and Bahār read it tentatively as 'yr'nš'n, which does not make sense in this form, but Bahār suggested that it might represent a corruption of Ērān-shāh or Ērān-shahrī. There are other copies of the *Mujmal*, among them a Dublin manuscript dated 823/1420,³ where the name is written quite clearly as 'yr'nš'n. On the other hand, in the old copy in Berlin (completed on Sunday 4 Shawwāl 751/1350) the name does appear to be Ērān-shāh.⁴ This would seem to support Bahār's emendation.

What, however, is more important is the fact that the information for which the author of the *Mujmal* refers to this book (namely that Zāl died during the time of Dārā) is not to be found in the extant *Bahman-nāmah* and also that the one verse which he quotes from the poem cannot

¹For the Persian 'epic cycle' see in general M. Molé, 'L'épopée iranienne après Firdōsi', *La nouvelle Clío* V, 1953, p. 377-93; also *Elr.* s.v. 'Epics'.

²in his partial edition of the *Mujmal*; see *JA*, série 4, tome I, 1843, p. 418 with fn. 1 ('La lecture de ce nom est incertaine').

³Dublin Beatty 322, of which a microfilm is in my possession. The passage which interests us is on fol. 23b. For other Mss. of the *Mujmal* see *PL* I p. 1229.

⁴A facsimile of the Berlin manuscript, with introductions in Persian (by Īraj Afshār) and English (by Maḥmūd Umīdsālār/Omidsalar) has appeared, just in time for this second edition, in Tehran 1379sh./2001. The passage in question is on fol. 34a, l. 16; the final letter of the name is partially obliterated by the marginal ruling, but it would seem to be *hā'*, not *nān*.

be located in the work that we have before us.¹ If 'Ērān-shāh' did in fact write a *Bahman-nāmah*, then it is clearly not our *Bahman-nāmah*. Indeed the author of the *Mujmal*, speaking as he does of this 'version' of the *Bahman-nāmah*, seems to imply that he was aware of more than one telling of the story.

Hidāyat² reports that 'some people say' that the *Bahman-nāmah* is by Jamālī Mihrjirdī, whom, in another place,³ he lists among the contemporaries of Lāmi'ī, repeating there the information that he is the author of this poem. Unfortunately, this [564] Jamālī does not seem to be mentioned anywhere else. Finally, on the endorsement of London Or. 2780 the poem is attributed to Ādharī (as it is also in Munzawī), but this is merely the result of a confusion between this *Bahman-nāmah* and Ādharī's epic of the same name celebrating the Bahmanī sultans of the Deccan.

The opening section of the *Bahman-nāmah* has come down to us in several different forms. The version given in the two Paris manuscripts, followed by 'Afīfī's edition (inc.: *zi mā āfrīn bar jahān-āfrīn * kih ō rā sizad bar jahān āfrīn*), speaks of ten years having passed since the death of Malik-Shāh, which would seem to indicate that the poem was composed in 495/1101-2. The author then launches into an encomium of that king's son Muḥammad,⁴ who was not officially invested as sultan until 498/1105, but who was in open rebellion against his half-brother, Berk-yāruq, from 490/1097 onwards. It is thus by no means impossible that our poet could have dedicated this work to Muḥammad as early as 495.⁵ The prologue in London Or. 2976 (inc.: *nakhustīn sukhan nām i dādār i dād * kih bē yād i ō nām-hā hast bād*) also contains the verses implying the completion of the poem in 495, but does not apparently name the ruler to whom it is dedicated. The oldest copy, London Or. 2780/III begins with the same verses as Asadī's *Karshāsp-nāmah* (i.e. these verses were interpolated by a copyist to fill a lacuna in his prototype)⁶

¹As was observed already by Rieu, Suppt. p. 136.

²*Majma'* I p. 110; new edition I p. 297-8.

³*Majma'* I p. 494.

⁴In Supplément 500 'Maḥmūd', doubtless wrongly.

⁵Differently Rieu, who thinks that the first version of the poem must have been dedicated to Berk-yāruq.

⁶Hidāyat evidently knew the poem in this same version, since he writes (*Majma'* I p. 110) that the *dtbajahs* of the *Bahman-nāmah* and of the *Karshāsp-nāmah* 'are like one another'.

and also mentions Muḥammad by name; this version then proceeds to describe at length (according to Rieu) two events during the first [565] part of that king's reign: the capture of the Ismā'īlī stronghold Shahdiz (near Isfahan) in 500/1107 and the defeat of the 'king of the Arabs', i.e. Amīr al-'Arab Saif al-daulah Ṣadaqah b. Mazyad, in Rajab 501/1108. It would thus seem most likely that the poem was originally completed, and dedicated to the rebellious Muḥammad, in 495/1101-2, but that the author revised and updated his preface some five years later.

The poem contains the story of Isfandiyār's son Bahman and his wars against the family of Rustam, an episode narrated at some length in the *Shāh-nāmah*, but much elaborated here. It tells of his coronation, his adventures with Katāyūn, the daughter of the king of Kashmīr, and Humāy, the daughter of the king of Egypt, the death of Rustam and of Bahmān's campaign against Rustam's relatives in Sīstān. Bahman captures Zāl, kills Farāmarz and pursues Rustam's daughters to India. He captures the two girls and also Rustam's grandson, Ādharburzīn, son of Farāmarz. After defeating the whole family Bahman abdicates in favour of Humāy and is killed by a dragon while hunting.

In the later of the two London manuscripts the *Bahman-nāmah* is preceded (on fol. 59b-62a) by the *Dāstān i Ādharburzīn*, a short fragment elaborating further on the war between Bahman and Ādharburzīn.¹

Mss. of the *Bahman-nāmah*: Oxford Pers. c. 26 (Beeston 2544/3. Ca. 8000 verses); London Or. 2780/III (Rieu Suppt. 201. Dated Rabī' I 800/1397. Pictures); Or. 2976/II (Rieu Suppt. 197. Dated 1 Jumādā I 1252/1836. Interpolated into the *Shāh-nāmah*. Pictures); Paris Ancien fonds 277 (Blochet 1192/Richard. 17th century?); Supplément 500 (Blochet 1193. Dated 7 Isfandārmad, 1064 Yazd./1695); Tehran Univ. IX 2414 (17th-18th century?); [566] Arak Bayāt (*Nuskah-hā* VI p. 66. Dated 885/1480-1. Interpolated into the *Shāh-nāmah*); Navsari Meherji Rana p. 98 no. 109; Hyderabad Sālār Jung IV 1114/1 (17th century?). Cf. Munz. IV 27894-27900.

¹See Ṣafā, *Hamāsah* p. 315-6; Rastegar, *Problematik* p. 31-3; DMBI s.v. 'Ādharburzīn-nāmah' (F. Mujtabā'ī).

Editions: **Bombay** 1325/1907 (ed. Rustam b. Bahrām); [**Tehran** 1370sh./1991 (*Bahman-nāmah az Īrān-shāh b. Abī l-Khair*, ed. R. ‘Afīfī, with valuable introduction and indices).

Mujmal p. 2, 92; Hidāyat, *Majma‘* I p. 110, 494; Mohl’s translation of the *Shāh-nāmah*¹ I p. lxxix-lxxx; S. Nafīsī, ‘*Jamāl i Mihrījirdī*’, *Āyandah* I, 1304sh./1925, p. 589-95; Khaiyām-pūr p. 136; Rastegar, *Problematik* p. 25-8; Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 289-94; *Elr* s.v. ‘Bahman-nāma’ (W.L. Hanaway, Jr.).

The *Kōsh-*, (*Gōsh-?*)*nāmah* (inc. *tu-rā ai khirad-mand i rōshan-ruwān * zabān kard yazdān az īn sār rawān*) is the work of the same author, who, in the prologue, refers to the reward he had received for the *Bahman-nāmah* and mentions yet again the defeat inflicted by his master on the ‘king of the Arabs’. The author of the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* mentions in succession the *akhbār i Bahman* and the *qiṣṣah i Kōsh i Pīl-dandān* while enumerating the poems composed in the manner of the *Shāh-nāmah*.

This poem tells the story of two kings of China at the time of Farēdūn, namely Kōsh, the brother of Dāhāk, and his son Kōsh i Pīl-dandān. An edition is being prepared by J. Matīnī.

Ms.: **London** Or. 2780/IV (Rieu Suppt. 201. Ms. dated Šafar 800/1397. Pictures).

Mujmal p. 2; Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 296-300; J. Matīnī, ‘*Kūsh i Pīl-gūsh, nabard i pidar u pisar*’, *Īrān-nāmah* II/2, 1985-6, p. 290-300; id., ‘*Kūsh yā Gūsh?*’, *Īrān-nāmah* VI/1, 1987, p. 1-14; id., ‘*Farīdūn wa sar-zamīn i āftāb i tābān*’, *Īrān-shināst* II/1, 1990, p. 160-77; [567] Rastegar, *Problematik* p. 34-5.

315. The *Bānū-Gushasp-nāmah* tells the story of one of Rustam’s daughters. It has neither been published nor as yet studied in detail.

Mss.: **Oxford** Ouseley 28 (Ethé 509. 16th century? End missing); Ouseley 30 (Ethé 510. Extracts only, with interpolated verses); Pers. c. 26 (Beeston 2544/5. 612 verses. End missing); **Paris** Supplément 498 fol. 145v sqq. (Blochet 1194. 18th century). Cf. Munz. IV 27647-51.

¹I.e. the *editio minor* of 1876-8 (see above p. 150).

Extracts interpolated into copies of the *Shāh-nāmah*: **London** Or. 2926 fol. 249b-251a (Rieu Suppt. 196/IX. Ms. completed Rabī‘ I 1249/1833).

Cf. Mohl’s translation of the *Shāh-nāmah* I p. lxxiv-lxxv; Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 300-2; Rastegar, *Problematik* p. 30-1.

316. A fragment of a versification of the famous story of *Bilawhar u Bōdīsaf*¹ transcribed into Manichaean script (33 verses, not one of which is complete) was discovered by Henning among the documents from Turfan. The primary interest of the fragment is its antiquity; the unique copy is, according to Henning, ‘not later than the first half of the 10th century’. The poem itself would appear to be by a contemporary imitator of Rōdākī.

Text and translation in W.B. Henning, ‘Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdākī’ in *A locust’s leg, Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, p. 89-104 (also in Henning’s *Selected papers* II, Leiden 1977, p. 559-74). See also id., ‘Die älteste persische Gedichthandschrift: eine neue Version von Barlaam und Joasaph’, [568] *Akten des 24. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Wiesbaden 1959, p. 305-7 (= *Selected papers* II p. 541-3); id., ‘*Qadīmtārīn nuskhah i shī‘r i fārsī*’, *MDAT* V/4, 1337sh./1958, p. 1-9; D. Gimaret, *Le livre de Bilawhar et Būdāsf selon la version arabe ismaélienne*, Paris 1971, p. 41-2.

317. The *Burzō-nāmah* recounts the adventures of Burzō, the son of Suhrāb and grandson of Rustam, at least the first part of which are an obvious doublet of the story of Suhrāb as we know it from the *Shāh-nāmah*: The orphaned Burzō is brought up by his mother in the land of Tūrān. He joins Afrāsyāb in his wars against the Iranians, meets Rustam on the battlefield, engages him in battle, but at the last moment is recognised by and reconciled with his grandfather. Burzō then defects to the Iranian side and wages war against Afrāsyāb. There is long episode involving the sorceress Sōsan. In the end the hero is killed by a demon.

¹I intend to discuss the Persian prose versions of this story (the Near Eastern reworking of the life of the Buddha and the source of the Christian story of Barlaam and Joasaph) in *PL* III/3.

A fairly short version of the story (ca. 4000 verses) has been interpolated into a number of copies of Firdausi's *Shāh-nāmāh* and was published in the appendix to Macan's edition of that poem. Much more extended versions are in existence, but these remain unpublished. The descriptions of their contents in various publications suggest significant differences among the existing manuscripts, which perhaps contain several different poems with the same name.

The authorship of the *Burzō-nāmāh* has been the subject of much confusion. The first scholar to draw attention to the work was Anquetil-Duperron who declared, without giving any reason, that it was the work of one 'Atāi'. This information was doubted already by Mohl. But Blochet, in his description of the manuscript bequeathed by Anquetil to the Bibliothèque Nationale, attributed the work without further ado to [569] 'Khadjē 'Amid 'Athāi ibn Ya'qoub, surnommé 'Athāi Razi', i.e. to the poet whom we have encountered above (p. 267-8) as 'Atā i Ya'qūb, and to whom Hidāyat ascribed (evidently wrongly) the *nisbah* Rāzī. This attribution has been widely accepted both by western and by Iranian scholars, but has never been substantiated. Its basis has, however, finally become clear with the publication of Mirzoev's description of the manuscript in Dushanbe which contains on fol. 150a (i.e. about 12 pages from the end of the poem) a verse which Mirzoev quotes as: *khudāy-ā 'atā bar 'atā kun 'atā * kih hastam darmāndah u bē-nawā*. As it stands, the verse does not scan; what is required is evidently something like ... *'atā kun 'atā * kih hastamm (sic!) darmāndah u bē-nawā*. That this really contains the name of the author is far from certain; *'atā bar 'atā* means perhaps simply 'gift upon gift', rather than 'a gift to 'Atā'. But it is apparently this verse which induced Anquetil to ascribe the poem to one 'Atāi, whom Blochet then identified, quite arbitrarily, with the 'Atā i Ya'qūb known to him from the *tadhkirahs*.

The *Burzō-nāmāh* does not seem to be mentioned in any early source and there are no dated copies before the 16th century. The question of whether it is really as old as has formerly been believed must, however, be deferred until such time as a scholarly edition of the poem is available.

Mss.: **Oxford** Fraser 85 (Ethé 511. Dated 1012/1603-4. Apparently only an extract); Pers. c. 26 (Beeston 2544/4. 3116 verses); **Paris** Supplément 497 (Blochet 1191. Dated day Khurshēd, month Mihr, 1102Y./1733. Story of Sōsan only); Supplément 499 (Blochet 1189.

Copied in 1760. Beginning and end missing. Pictures); Supplément 499a (Blochet 1190. Dated 1174/1760 and copied from the same 17th century Ms. as the preceding. Pictures); **Rome** Sbath 652 (Dated 1014/1605-6. See the article by Piemontese); **Cluj** (Mentioned by Piemontese and Richard); [570] **Istanbul** Lâleli 1668 (17th century? Incomplete at both ends. See the description by Richard); **Dushanbe** Acad. II 324 (19th century); **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 98 no. 110. Cf. Munz. I 4463-7.

Extracts inserted in Mss. of the *Shāh-nāmāh*, or containing fragments of various epics: **Manchester** Lindesiana 9 (=Robinson 431-74. 15th century? Pictures); Lindesiana 909 (=Robinson 1481-1579. Dated 23 Jumādā II 1060/1650. Pictures); **Oxford** All Souls MS. 288 (Robinson p. 185-6. Dated 26 Šafar 988/1580. Pictures); **London** Or. 4906 fol. 261a-303a (Rieu Suppt. 195/II. 17th century?); Or. 2926 fol. 193a-221b (Rieu Suppt. 196/VIII. Completed Rabī I 1249/1833); **Paris** Supplément 1027 fol. 201-236 (Blochet 1174. 18th century?); Supplément 1023 fol. 55v sqq. (Blochet 1180. 8000 verses. 19th century); Supplément 502 fol. 235 sqq. (Blochet 1198. 18th century); Supplément 1307 fol. 173v.-207v; Smith-Lesouëf 222 fol. 263-304 (these two according to Richard's article p. 242 n. 1); **Genoa** Bibl. Universitaria Ms. C.VII.145 (Piemontese 172. 19th century?); **Naples** Bibl. Nazionale Ms. III.G.68 and 68bis (Piemontese 220-221, the former dated 977/1569); **Uppsala** Tornberg CLXXXII/2;¹ **Leningrad** Dorn CCCXXXI (16th century? Pictures); Dorn CCCXXX (=16th century?); Acad. C 51 (17th century?); and doubtless many others.

Edition: in Macan's *Shāh-nāmāh* IV p. 2160-296.

Translation (Gujarati): Ms.: **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 142 no. 29 ('Burjor-Nameh: Vols. 8-10 and 12-15'. In the index the title is given as 'Barzu-Nāme').

Partial translation (Italian): V. Rugarli, *Il primo canto del libro di Berzo...*, Bologna 1899; id., 'Susen la cantatrice, episodio del Libro di Berzu', *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 11, 1897-8, p. 15-33. [571]

Anquetil-Duperron, *Le Zend-avesta*, Paris 1771, I/i p. 536; Mohl's translation of the *Shāh-nāmāh* I p. lxxv-lxxviii; Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 303-10; id., *Tārīkh* II p. 477-83; A.M. Piemontese, 'I manoscritti persiani del fondo Sbath nella biblioteca Vaticana e un nuovo

¹ See below, p. 582 fn.

«Barzūnāma», *Rendiconti*, ser. 8, vol. 33, 1978, p. 447-64; F. Richard, 'Une copie du *Barzū-Nāma* à la bibliothèque Süleymaniye, le manuscrit *Lâleli* 1668', *Studia Iranica* 13, 1984, p. 241-8; *Elr* s.v. 'Barzū-nāma' (Huart/Massé); *Elr* s.v. 'Borzū-nāma' (W.L. Hanaway, Jr.).

What is possibly a different *Borzū-nāmah* is found in Cambridge King's, No. 56 (Browne Suppt. 171. 'Dated 829/1425-6, in error, apparently, for 1019/1610-11'. Browne describes it as 'not agreeing with the poem' in London Or. 4906 and says that it 'deals with the adventures of Rustam and Suhrāb'. The colophon gives the author's name as Maulānā Shams al-dīn Muḥammad Kawīj).

318. *Farāmarz-nāmah* is the name of two different poems dealing with the adventures of Rustam's son Farāmarz. The two were combined, together with material from the *Shāh-nāmah* and (it seems) other components of the Persian epic cycle, in the edition lithographed in Bombay in 1906; the credit for unravelling them belongs to Khāliqī-Muṭṭāq. Some poetic form of the *Farāmarz-nāmah* was known already to the early 12th-century author of the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*.

The 'first' or 'short' *Farāmarz-nāmah* is attested in a fair number of manuscripts (inc. in most copies: *ba nām i khudāwand i rōzī-dihān * yakē qīṣṣah āram birūn az nihān*).¹ The anonymous [572] author calls himself 'a slave of the pure heart of Firdausī' (*ghulām-e dil i pāk i Firdausī am*) and claims to have the story from 'Sarw of Marw'. The latter is clearly identical with 'Āzād Sarw', whom Firdausī gives as his source for the story of the death of Rustam² and who, still according to Firdausī, 'was in Marw with Aḥmad i Sahl', i.e. the Samanid governor of Marw, who was executed in 307/919, about a century before the time of Firdausī. It is thus quite clear that both Firdausī and his anonymous 'slave' must have had the material that they claim to derive from Āzād Sarw not orally from him, but from some written source; the same source was used also by Tha'ālibī, who tells much the same story of Rustam's death. The 'short' *Farāmarz-nāmah* dwells in particular on its

¹The verse is found in the Bombay edition on p. 78. Everything which precedes it in the edition does not belong to the *Farāmarz-nāmah*.

²*Shāh-nāmah*, Moscow edition VI p. 322. For the following see also *Elr* s.v. 'Āzādsarw' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

hero's adventures in India and includes an episode in which he debates with the Brahmans and converts the king of India to the 'Persian religion'.

London Or. 2926 (a heavily interpolated copy of the *Shāh-nāmah*) contains, apart from the 'short *Farāmarz-nāmah*', also the story of the demon Shab-rang (fol. 146a-167b) and his battles with Rustam and Farāmarz, this also on the supposed authority of Āzād Sarw,¹ and two other fragments dealing with the birth of Farāmarz.

The 'second' *Farāmarz-nāmah* was known to Khāliqī-Muṭṭāq only from the Bombay lithograph, where it accounts for about the last 6000 verses. There is, however, at least one manuscript of this poem (London, Ross and Browne CLXXVI), where it calls itself the 'great *Farāmarz-nāmah*'.² The [573] beginning in this version is copied from the first pages of the *Shāh-nāmah* (the opening verse is identical in both poems). The first verse which I have been able to locate in the lithograph is on fol. 9b l. 2 (corresponding to p. 146 l. 16 of the edition); thereafter the edition seems to agree largely with the manuscript until about p. 382.³ The text does not appear to give any clear indication of the time or place of composition. Khāliqī-Muṭṭāq has noted that this version shares two stories with the *Nuz'hat-nāmah i 'Alā'* of Shah-mardān b. Abī l-Khair, a work compiled at the end of the 5th/11th or beginning of the 6th/12th century, but a careful investigation of the two texts is required before it can be said whether one has borrowed the stories from the other, or whether both have them from a common source.

Mss.: Oxford Ms. Pers. e. 13 (Ethé 1978); London Ross and Browne CLXXVI (Dated 1166/1752-3. Inspexi); Or. 2946 fol. 50-109 (Rieu Suppt. 199/II. 18th century?); Or. 2926 fol. 167b-179b (Rieu Suppt. 196/VI, completed Rabī' I 1249/1833. Interpolated into the *Shāh-nāmah*); Paris Supplément 498 fol. 1-48 (Blochet 1194. Dated 12 Rabī' II 1173/1759); Leningrad Publ. Lib. New Series 65 (Kostygova 405.

¹For this so-called *Shab-rang-nāmah* see also Safā, *Hamāsah* p. 323. A *Shab-rang-nāmah* (with an incipit different from that in the London Ms.) is also in Leyden de Jong 166 (with owner's note dated 1062/1652).

²The title is given on fol. 1a as '*Farāmarz-nāmah i kalān*' and on fol. 1b as '*Farāmarz-nāmah i buzurg*'.

³I.e. the page with the printed number '382'. The pagination in the lithograph is a mess.

Dated 20 Dhū l-qa'dah 1039/1630. Interpolated into the *Shāh-nāmah*; **Bombay** Brelvi p. xxxii no. 22 (Dated 1244 Y./1874-5); Univ. XXV (Cat. p. 291. Defective at both ends); Cama p. 151, 177; **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 91 no. 65 (Dated 4 Ardibihisht 956 Y./1586); **Hyderabad** Sālār Jung IV 1114/2 (17th century?). Cf. Munz. IV 32526-7.

Edition: **Bombay** 1324/1906 (ed. Rustam pūr i Bahrām. Pictures).

A Gujarati translation (or several) is found in **Navsari** Meherji Rana p. 77 no. 58 (Imperfect); Meherji Rana p. 141 no. 26 (Imperfect). [574]

Mujmal p. 2; Mohl's translation of the *Shāh-nāmah* I p. lxxiii-lxxiv; Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 294-6; J. Khāliqī-Muṭlaq, '*Farāmarz-nāmah*', *Īrān-nāmah* I/1 (1361sh./1982) p. 22-45; Rastegar, *Problematik* p. 21-5; *Elr* s.v. '*Farāmarz-nāma*' (J. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

319. The *Humāy-nāmah*, a rambling story of the love of an Egyptian prince for the daughter of the king of Syria, is preserved in a unique manuscript in Dublin. The first page of the text (fol. 2) is supplied in a different hand (the poem begins on the verso with: *sipās az khudāy-ē kih jān āfrīd * sipihr u zamīn u zamān āfrīd*) and this added leaf has in the margin an endowment-notice with the date Ramaḍān 712/1313, which, if authentic, would appear to give a *terminus ad quem* for the poem itself. The supposed title '*Kitāb i Humāy-nāmah*' is scribbled on the recto of the same added page and is followed by 'Shāyistah', perhaps the pen-name of the author. Arberry claimed that the style of the poem makes it 'more or less contemporary with the *Garshāsp-nāma* and the *Vīs u Rāmīn*'. He suggested also that its author was 'a crypto-Zoroastrian', but his only evidence for this are some rather vague verses (vs. 50-1) praising fire. The poem is dedicated to an unidentified 'glorious amīr'.¹

Ms.: **Dublin** Beatty 301.

Edition: **London** 1963 (*Humāy-Nāma, Edited with an introduction by A.J. Arberry*, with a detailed summary of the story).

Cf. A.J. Arberry, 'An early Persian epic', *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, p. 11-16; J. Matīnī,

¹Vs. 4330: *amīr i humāyūn*. The 'i' is required by the metre. Matīnī (p. 318) was thus wrong to suggest that the poem was 'probably dedicated to a prince by the name of Amīr Humāyūn'.

'*Humāy-nāmah*', *MDAM* XI, 1354sh./1975, p. 313-51; A.D.H. Bivar, [575] 'Bārgīrī', *BSOAS* LIV, 1991, p. 571-3 (with a photograph of the first page of the Ms. and a discussion of the endowment-notice).

320. The *Jahāngīr-nāmah* is included here, for convenience, among the anonymous works of the pre-Mongol period although its author actually identifies himself as an otherwise unknown 'Qāsim the panegyrist' (*Qāsim i mādiḥ*) who 'versified this book in Herat', and although its pre-Mongol dating is anything other than certain. It is the story of Rustam's son Jahāngīr, whose adventures are remarkably similar to those of Suhrāb and even more so to those of Burzō. Like them he is brought up among the Turanians, meets his father on the battlefield, but (like Burzō) is recognised by his father and reconciled with him. He joins the Iranian ranks, fights on behalf of Kai-Kā'ōs and after various adventures is killed by a *dēw* while hunting.

This poem stands apart from the other components of the 'epic cycle' through its language (Arabic words are fairly common) and its largely Islamic content.

Mss.: **Paris** Supplément 498 fol. 50-144 (Blochet 1194. Dated 15 Jumādā I 1173/1760, incorporating a fragment of an older Ms. Ca. 6300 verses); **Bombay** Univ. p. 292-3 no. XXVIII (apparently incomplete). Cf. Munz. IV 29013-4.

Editions: **Bombay** 1847 (according to the Āṣafiyah catalogue III p. 100); 1867 (ibid. p. 630); 1892.

Mohl's translation of the *Shāh-nāmah* I p. lxxi-lxxiii; Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 324-5.

321. The *Kuk-i-Kōhzād-nāmah* is a little story of an incident in the childhood of Rustam.

Ms.: **Oxford** Pers. c. 26 (Beeston 2544/2).

Extracts interpolated in copies of the *Shāh-nāmah*: **London** Or. 2926 fol. 107b-112b (Rieu Suppt. no. 196 III, completed Rabī' I 1249/1833); [576] **Rome** Casanatense Ms. 4893 (Piemontese 245. Dated Ramaḍān 1036/1627).

Edition: In Macan's *Shāh-nāmah* IV p. 2133-60.

Šafā, *Hamāsah* p. 318-22; Rastegar, *Problematik* p. 28-30.

322. *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*, the oldest of several Persian versifications of the Biblical and Qur'ānic story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar (inc. *ba nām i khudāwand i har du sarāy * kih jāwēd bāshad hamēshah ba jāy*), has been published as the work of Firdausī.¹ The earliest source that ascribes a poem on this subject to Firdausī appears to be the 829/1425-6 'Bāysunghur' preface to the *Shāh-nāmāh*,² where we read that the great poet, after his flight from Ghaznah, eventually made his way to Baghdad and the court of the caliph, where he composed his version of the story of Joseph.³ It is to the same period that the oldest known manuscripts of the work belong.⁴ None of the earlier biographical sources have anything to say about such a poem nor do there seem to be any quotations from it in pre-Timurid writings. And even in the Timurid period the work does not appear to have been universally known as a composition by Firdausī, otherwise it would be difficult to explain why Jāmī makes no mention of it in his own poem on the same subject, composed in 888/1483.

None the less, the authenticity of the work was upheld by scholars such as Ethé, who published [577] an edition of the first half of the poem, as well as by Nöldeke and Taqī-zādah in their already frequently mentioned monographs on Firdausī. It was, however, challenged by Shērānī in the 1920s, by Qarīb and Mīnuwī in the 1940s and by Nafīsī in 1950 and since then has generally been considered disproved. But I do not think that the arguments hitherto put forward by either side can be considered totally satisfactory.

Any attempt to sort out the historical circumstances of this poem is faced before all else by the desolate state, even by Persian standards, of the whole of its introductory section. It is in fact clear that the book has been re-attributed and re-dedicated several times in the course of its history. This process has even continued into recent times; the Tehran edition of 1299/1882 contains, immediately after the seven opening verses found in the manuscripts, a versified encomium on the then ruling Nāṣir

¹ For whom see above, p. 112-59.

² See above p. 126.

³ The three verses quoted in Macan's introduction, p. 56, are v. 121, 125 and 126 of Ethé's edition.

⁴ The earliest dated copy is the Berlin Ms. of 819/1416. It is to be regretted that the author of the Berlin catalogue has not stated explicitly whether or not the poem is ascribed to Firdausī in that codex.

al-dīn Shāh Qājār. This sort of thing has evidently happened before to the same poem. Unfortunately, Ethé's edition (the only one which quotes variants), rather than trying to sort out the various families of manuscripts, has thrown them all together into one great eclectic stew and thus totally confused the history of the text. It is, however, to his credit that he has at least supplied us with a critical apparatus with the help of which some of the confusion can be cleared up.

The main basis for the attribution of the poem to Firdausī is evidently the section in the introduction (p. 23-5 of Ethé's edition) in which the author is represented as saying, first of all, that he is an accomplished poet whose words everyone knows and who has recited many a story. But now he regrets the sins of his youth and has become tired of Farēdūn, Zāḥḥāk, Kai-Qubād and the rest. 'I am wasting', he says, 'half of my life [578] filling a whole world with the name of Rustam' (*kih yak nīmāh az 'umr i khwad kam kunam * jahān-ē pur az nām i Rustam kunam*). After listing a number of other heroes of the national epic with whom he is now 'fed-up' (*sēr*) the author declares his intention to devote his talents to a worthy subject taken from the holy book. If the poem is not by Firdausī, the question inevitably arises of who else 'wasted half his life' singing the tales of Rustam and the other heroes. Or so at least it seems on the basis of the published texts.

However, in two Ethé's manuscripts ('M' and 'W') a large part of this section is in fact missing. These copies lack in particular the verse in which the poet speaks of having retold the 'words of the kings' (v. 252), all of those mentioning the heroes of the *Shāh-nāmāh* (v. 263-70), as well as those where he says that he will not tell 'another story of kings' (v. 291-3) and that his previous compositions were 'lies' (v. 295). When these are left out the whole passage takes on an entirely different appearance: the author is a supposedly famous poet who has previously recited many 'books of lovers' (v. 253: *nāmāh i dōstān*), which, good Muslim that he is, he now regrets. He is, in other words, not an ex-heroic but an ex-romantic poet. The absence, in 'M' and 'W', of all the verses referring to kings and heroes is all the more striking as it is precisely these manuscripts which otherwise offer a particularly full text; Ethé cites them as the representatives of his 'larger redaction'. It is therefore unlikely that they, of all copies, should have abridged this important section. Instead it should be clear that here at least they con-

tain the original text and that the other manuscripts¹ go back to a prototype into which a [579] number of verses were interpolated specifically to give credence to the attribution of the poem to Firdausī. Without the added verses the textual evidence for such an attribution collapses completely. It seems thus that any future truly critical edition of *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* must take as its point of departure a clear distinction between an (interpolated) 'Firdausian' and a (possibly also interpolated) 'non-Firdausian' family of manuscripts.²

The same two manuscripts 'M' and 'W' contain (in v. 24-102) a eulogy of an un-named king whom the poet calls *sultān i iqlīm-hā* and who in a chapter-heading is given the no less vague title of *pād-shāh i islām* and it is presumably in him that the author of the Bāysunghur preface saw the caliph of Baghdad.³ This section seems to be missing in all the manuscripts of the 'Firdausian' redaction. Several of these have no dedication, but one (London Or. 2930, Ethé's 'B') has at an entirely different point in the introduction (Ethé prints it as v. 168-223) a rather interesting account of how the story of Joseph had previously been versified by two different poets: first by the well-known Abū l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī⁴ and later by an otherwise unknown Bakhtyārī. The author says that he was in the presence of the 'mīr i 'Irāq' in Ahwāz when the latter mentioned Bakhtyārī's versification of the story and requested our poet to re-do the work. Yet another dedication, not found in any of Ethé's manuscripts (nor in the three which I have collated), was published by Qarīb from a copy in his possession and is also [580] found, according to Nafīsī, in a quite modern manuscript of his own. This eulogises Abū l-Fawāris Ṭughān-shāh b. Alp-Arslān, the Seljuq governor of Herat from before 465/1072 to at least 476/1083-4, the patron of Azraqī⁵ and, according to 'Arūḍī,⁶ an illustrious benefactor of poets in general. In this dedication the author thanks his patron effusively for having had him

¹The whole 'autobiographical' section is missing in London, Ross and Browne XXVIII, which contains a very different and much shorter introduction.

²The question is of course complicated by the possibility of cross-contamination of the two families.

³As did Ethé in his article of 1888. In *GlrPh* II p. 230 he retracted this and, following Nöldeke, identified Firdausī's patron with one or other of the Buyid amirs.

⁴See above, p. 67-8.

⁵See above, p. 91.

⁶P. 43-4.

released from prison; in this connection we find two verses¹ which Nafīsī reads as:

Amānī-st bisyār muddat ba jāy

kih az darj i sultān u hukm i khudāy

az in qal'ah dīl-shād bērūn shawad

ba nazdīk i shāh i humāyūn shawad

and which he translates as: 'Il y a longtemps qu'Amānī reste ici. L'ordre du Sultan et la volonté divine lui permettront de sortir en toute joie de cette forteresse et d'aller auprès de son auguste roi'; i.e. *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* is the work of an otherwise unknown poet by the name of Amānī, a name which, after Nafīsī, has made an astonishingly quick entry into the annals of Persian literature. It must, however, be said that the verses are hardly unambiguous and that both Qarīb and Mīnuwī had already published them without suspecting the presence of a proper name. One could, I should think, equally well read *amā* (= *ammā*) *nēst bisyār...*, 'But he will not be in this place for much longer, for he will depart from this fortress' etc. But quite apart from this the question remains as to whether the dedication to Ṭughān-shāh is really part of the original poem or whether it is a interpolation (obviously a very early interpolation) by someone who had salvaged an older work and re-dedicated it to this king. In [581] either case the passage does give us the *terminus ad quem* for the poem. One would like to know in particular whether the manuscripts with the dedication to Ṭughān-shāh *also* have the dedication to *mīr i 'Irāq* or that to the *pād-shāh i islām* and whether they contain the verses about the author's supposed previous works in the field of heroic poetry. Qarīb and Nafīsī say nothing to suggest that the latter are missing in their manuscripts.

It is thus clear that the manuscripts offer the choice of at least three different dedications and that as yet no objective arguments have been offered for the greater authority of one over the others. At least two of them (and very possibly all three) must be spurious. The question of which (if any) goes back to the original author can only be settled on the basis of a critical examination of all of the copies and their grouping in a *stemma codicum*.

The debate over the time and authorship of what we can, at least, now confidently call the pseudo-Firdausian *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā* has

¹They are quoted in context by Qarīb, *Āmāzish wa Parwarish* IX/11-12 p. 13.

inevitably detracted from the study of the content of what is doubtless an interesting early work of Persian narrative poetry and of its sources and its place in the Islamic genre of *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*.

Mss.: **Oxford** Walker 64 (Ethé 505. Dated 9 Jumādā II 1140/1728. Ethé's 'W'); Elliot 414 (Ethé 506. Dated 19 Jumādā I 1232/1817. Ethé's 'E'); **London** Ross and Browne XXVIII (=Robinson 545-8. 'Apparently written prior to A.H. 1000'/1591-2. Pictures. Inspexi); Or. 6964 (Meredith-Owens p. 67. Dated 13 Jumādā I 1029/1620. Inspexi; the text resembles 'E'); Add. 24,093 (Rieu p. 545-6. Dated Muḥarram 1055/1645. Ethé's 'M'); Or. 2930 (Rieu Suppt. 200. Dated 7 Rabī' II 1244/1828. Ethé's 'B'); R.A.S. 243A (not in Codrington's catalogue. Ethé's 'A'); **Cambridge** Browne Coll. V.71 (Dated 10 Rajab 1242/1827. Beginning differs greatly from Ethé's edition. 1 Picture); [582] **Paris** Supplément 1360 (Blochet 1177. 16th century? Pictures); Supplément 1055 (Blochet 1178. 19th century); **Berlin** Ms. orient. oct. 2302 (Heinz 228; Stchoukine 5. Dated 1 Šafar 819/1416. Incomplete. Pictures); **Uppsala** Tornberg CLXXXII fol. 153b-217a (end missing);¹ **Najaf** (Munz. no. 36940. Dated 1287/1870-1); **Tabriz** Millī 2749 (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 316 no. 458); **Tehran** Univ. XV 4101 (Dated 18 Rajab 1207/1793); Millī (*Nuskhah-hā* IV p. 141. Dated 1242/1826-7); Malik (Munz. no. 36936. Dated Šafar 1250/1834); Majlis VIII 2699 (Dated 1262/1846); **Herat** Museum 50 (Catalogue p. 329. Dated 1269/1852-3); **Tashkent** Acad. 195 (Semenov 759. 19th century); **Pakistan** (five Mss., all late, are listed in Munz. Pak. VII p. 19-20); **Bombay** Rehatsek p. 170 no. 151 (Dated 1226/1811);

¹Microfilm in my possession. Tornberg's account of the Ms. is highly misleading; in fact it contains four different works, but the folios of the first two are mixed up with each other and it must be left to someone who actually has the Ms. in front of him (rather than merely a microfilm) to sort them out. The first work, after a *dtbājah* of ten lines (inc.: *ba nām i khudāwand bē juft u yār * kih ham rāz-dān ast u ham rāz-dār*) is the story of Gushtāsp from the *Shāh-nāmāh* (Moscow edition VI p. 65 sqq.). The second is the *Burzō-nāmāh* in a form very close to that published by Macan; this ends on fol. 144a (same verses as Macan IV p. 2296). After one blank page we find (fol. 145a-152a), again without any title, an extract from Nizāmī's *Haft paikar* (Moscow edition p. 278 l. 21 to p. 311 l. 280). Then, after two blank pages, the poem under discussion in this article, beginning on fol. 153b as in Ethé, and breaking off on fol. 217a with the verse 8 lines from the bottom on p. 122 of the Cawnpore 1881 edition. The Ms. is not dated, but has a note recording its acquisition in Constantinople in A.D. 1782.

Bankipore I 12 (Dated 1240/1824-5. Pictures); **Calcutta** Ivanow 425 (Dated 877/1472-3. Poor condition); Būhār 279 (Dated 1038/1628-9); **Lucknow** Sprenger 223 (Two copies, one of which is apparently now Calcutta Ivanow 425); **Los Angeles** Univ. M920 (*Nuskhah-hā* XI/XII p. 95. Dated 26 Rajab 1243/1828. Beginning apparently missing). Cf. Munz. IV 36930-43. [583]

Editions: **Lucknow** 1287/1870-1, reprinted 1290/1873-4 and reissued in **Cawnpore** in 1298/1881 and 1304/1886-7; **Tehran** 1274/1857-8; 1299/1881-2; 1316/1898-9; **Bombay** 1349/1930-1 (ed. Karīm Tājir Shīrāzī).

Partial edition: **Oxford** 1908 (*Yūsuf and Zalīkhā* by Firdausī of Tūs edited ... by Hermann Ethé. *Fasciculus primus*, containing the first half of the poem; based on 4 Mss. and the Tehran and Lucknow editions).

Translations: (German verse): O. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Jussuf und Suleicha, romantisches Heldengedicht von Firdusi*, Vienna 1889. (Extracts from this translation also in *Verhandlungen des VII. internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses ... Semitische Section*, Vienna 1888, p. 47-72 and ZDMG 41, 1887, p. 577-99).

Epitome: *Muntakhab i Yūsuf-Zulāikhā* by Saiyid Farzand i Aḥmad of Bilgrām, called Šafīr, written in 1278/1861-2 for Khudā Bakhsh. Ms.: **Bankipore** I 13 (Autograph).

'Bāysunghur' preface (see Macan's edition of the *Shāh-nāmāh* I p. 56 of the Persian introduction); Hidāyat, *Majma'* I p. 383; H. Ethé, 'Firdausī's Yūsuf und Zalīkhā', *Verhandlungen des VII. internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses... Semitische Section*, Vienna 1888, p. 19-45; M. Grünbaum, 'Zu Jussuf und Suleicha', ZDMG 43, 1889, p. 1-29; 44, 1890, p. 445-77 (interesting for the sources and for parallels in the Rabbinical literature); M. Shērānī, 'Yūsuf u Zulāikhā i Firdausī', *Urdū* (Aurangabad) II, 1922, p. 179-246 (Persian translation in Shērānī's *Chahār maqālah bar Firdausī wa Shāh-nāmāh*, trans. 'Abd al-Ḥaiy Ḥabībī, n.p. [apparently Kabul], Dalw [=January/February] 1355sh./1977, p. 184-276); 'A. al-'A. Qarīb, [584] 'Yūsuf u Zulāikhā i mansūb ba Firdausī', *Āmūzish wa Parwarish* IX/10, 1318sh./1940, p. 1-16; IX/11-12, 1318sh./1940, p. 2-16; XIV/8, 1323sh./1945, p. 393-400; M. Mīnuwī, 'Kitāb i hazārah i Firdausī wa buṭlān i intisāb i Yūsuf u Zulāikhā ba Firdausī', *Rūzgār i nau* V/3, 1323sh./1944, p. 16-36; 'A. Khaiyām-pūr, 'Yūsuf u Zulāikhā i Firdausī', *NDAT* II, 1328sh./1949, p. 191-229; id., 'Yūsuf u Zulāikhā', *NDAT* X, 1337sh./1958, p. 221-8,

418-33; XI, 1338sh./1959, p. 39-68, 233-60; XII, 1339sh./1960, p. 85-119 (a study of the various versions of the story of Y.u.Z. in Persian and Turkish); id. 'Idāfat ...', *NDAT* XVII, 1344sh./1965, p. 186-7; S. Nafī-sī, 'Le «Yūsuf et Zalikhâ» attribué à Firdowsy', *Archiv orientální*, XVIII/1-2, 1950, p. 351-3. [585]

APPENDIX II:
SOME AFTERTHOUGHTS ON THE CHRONOLOGY
OF NIZĀMĪ'S WORKS
AND THAT OF THE SHARWĀN-SHĀHS

In the entry on Nizāmī (above, p. 438-47) an attempt has been made to establish the relative chronology of his six great poems and to extract from the contradictory evidence in the manuscripts a precise date for at least some of them. A new look at the two parts of the *Iskandar-nāmah* (referred to here, as previously, as *Isk.N.* i and ii) has made it possible now in part to corroborate and in part to revise the conclusions expressed in those pages. Those conclusions that I would now wish to uphold and to underline are those concerning the relative place of the *Isk.N.* in Nizāmī's oeuvre (i.e., before, and not after, *Haft paikar*) and the identity of the dedicatee (the Malik of Ahar, Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn b. Muḥammad). On the other hand, my statement¹ that 'the whole final section' of *Isk.N.* ii (from chap. XL of the Baku edition onwards) was composed by an anonymous editor, some years after Nizāmī's death, is evidently wrong. It seems rather that only chap. XL (the account of Nizāmī's death at the age of 63) is a posthumous interpolation; chapters XLI-XLII are by Nizāmī, but they have been altered by the copyists and appear in the printed editions in a corrupted form.

To clarify this long outstanding problem it is necessary to take a fresh look at the evidence of the manuscripts of *Isk.N.* ii. As far as is [586] possible to judge,² these fall into three fairly distinct families (we

¹First edition, p. 446. The paragraph has been omitted in this second edition.

²Unfortunately, the catalogues, apart from those by Rieu, are almost entirely useless for the questions under discussion. It is astonishing how many modern cataloguers, in their so-called descriptions of Mss. of the *Khamsah*, have regurgitated at great length the 'information' contained in the usual literary histories about the dates of Nizāmī's works and the identity of his patrons, but have not taken the trouble to impart to their readers the relevant data actually contained in the Mss. that they are claiming to describe.

disregard those copies in which chapters VI or XLI-XLII are missing):¹

Group I is represented in the Baku apparatus apparently only by Ms. 'E', a copy in the Hermitage (Leningrad), made for the Timurid Shāh-rukh and completed 10 Rabī' II 835/1431,² but this recension can also be found in two London manuscripts from the first quarter of the 15th century,³ and two others from the 16th;⁴ a wider search would doubtless reveal other copies, and [587] possibly older ones. Those available have in chapter VI the (doubtless authentic) dedication to Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn, whose personal name (Bēshkīn) is mentioned twice (vs. 27-8)⁵, but without the verse mentioning Mosul,⁶ and contain the account of the earthquake in Ganjah. In two of the available copies (Add. 27,259 and Add. 17,329), but not the others, the interpolated chapter on the death of Nizāmī (chap. XL) is missing. Then, in the epilogue (chap. XLI-XLII) these manuscripts all once again invoke 'Malik Nuṣrat al-dīn' in XLI 5, omit the verse mentioning the name Mas'ūd (XLII 62) and instead have one giving the date of the completion of the poem as May (Aiyār) 590/1194 (though one of the copies has the

less plausible date May 592/1196).¹ These codices then conclude the poem with verses containing Nizāmī's poetic signature.² [588]

Group II is represented by the majority of the copies used for the Baku edition, among them the ancient manuscript in Paris. These replace chapter VI by the spurious dedication to the atabeg of Mosul 'Izz al-dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd b. Nūr al-dīn (ruled 607/1211 to 615/1218), which, as we have seen, is in fact copied, apart from the names, from Nizāmī's invocation of Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn at the beginning of *Isk.N.* i.³ In the epilogue they similarly replace 'Malik Nuṣrat al-dīn' by 'Malik 'Izz i dīn' in XLI 5, add the verse mentioning 'Mas'ūd' (XLII 62) and omit the verse giving the date of composition. Some of the copies (among them the Paris manuscript) then also omit the concluding verses (XLII 66-8) mentioning the name 'Nizāmī'.

Group III has the dedication to Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn in the prologue, but that to 'Izz al-dīn Mas'ūd in the epilogue, as printed in the Baku edition. The manuscript basis for this recension is slender. It clearly goes back to a copy belonging to Group I, but where the final pages had got lost and the missing verses were subsequently supplied from a manuscript belonging to Group II.

Once these three families have clearly been separated it can, I think, hardly be doubted that it is Group I alone which contains the original form of Nizāmī's prologue and epilogue. Group II represents an edition made after Nizāmī's death in which the poem has been rededi-

¹The old Tehran Ms. Univ. 5179 (dated 718/1318; see above, p. 474, fn.) jumps from VI 1 to VII 1, leaving out most of the dedication, and is also incomplete (and very corrupt) at the end, stopping a third of the way down the last page with XXXIII 2. Chapter VI is truncated in the same way in several other Mss., e.g. in London Khalili 455 (dated 964/1557).

²Omitted from our list of Mss.; the colophon is quoted in the edition, p. 231-2. In the epilogue (chap. XLI-XLII) 'E' appears to share most of its readings with 'B' (a Baku Ms. dated Ramaḍān 979/1572), while in the prologue (chap. VI) it shares its significant variants with 'D' (Leningrad Public Library, dated 896/1490; apparently belongs to our Group III), but no variants from 'B' are quoted for this chapter. Is the chapter perhaps missing in 'B' (as it is in the Mss. mentioned in the preceding footnote)?

³Namely Add. 27,259 (Rieu p. 866-7), dated 821/1419 and Or. 12,087 (Meredith-Owens p. 75), dated 823/1420, both of which I have collated.

⁴Add. 17,329 (Rieu p. 571), dated 994/1585-6 (collated); Add. 26,144 (Rieu p. 571), dated 968/1561 (not at present available for consultation, but quoted from Rieu).

⁵These verses, and others, are missing in Add. 17,329 and (according to the apparatus) also in 'E', but they are found in the other two Mss. collated by me.

⁶Printed (evidently from Dastgirdī's edition) as vs. 11 in the Baku edition.

¹Add. 27,259 has clearly: *nawad du gudhashtah zi pānsad shumār* (Rieu's reading, confirmed by collation). Or. 12,087 and Add. 17,329 definitely have *nawad dar gudhashtah* ..., and this reading is reported also for 'E' and 'B' in the apparatus to XLII 61. The graphic difference between *du* and *dar* is, of course, very slight. However, since Nizāmī completed his *Haft paikar* in 593/1197, it would seem unlikely that he should have finished another large work only one year earlier. (The Calcutta edition of 1869, which is clearly based on a Ms. belonging to Group I, has the obviously erroneous date 599 in the main text, but records the variant 592 in the apparatus. The latter reading is also in the modern Ms. London R.A.S. 250, dated 1212/1797-8).

²At least some of the Mss. of this group (e.g. Or. 12,087) have the verse (XLII 38, found also in the Mss. of the other families) giving the poet's age as 60, though this and the following 13 verses are missing in Add. 27,259. If Nizāmī was 60 in May (roughly Jumādā I) 590, then he must have been born in the twelve months ending in Jumādā I 530/1136, but this is difficult to reconcile with the verse in *Lailē-Majnūn* (see above, p. 438-9) indicating that he was born in 535/1140-1.

³See above, p. 445.

cated (by the editor) to the atabeg of Mosul. Since this atabeg did not even begin to rule until 607/1211, it was obviously necessary for the editor to suppress the verse in which the author said that he had completed his poem in 590/1194. This is then most likely to be the true date. [589]

Let us now look at the first of the two poems that make up the *Iskandar-nāmah*. We have seen¹ that this was definitely composed after *Lailē-Majnūn*, which Nizāmī completed in 584/1188 for the Sharwān-shāh Akhsatān. But in *Isk.N.* i we find a significant passage² in which the poet says that 'King Akhsatān' has passed away, recalls the favours that the late monarch had bestowed on him and encourages his (unnamed) successor to surpass him in munificence. Although it is not explicitly stated, the verses do seem to imply that the addressed ruler is Akhsatān's son. This in turn suggests that Nizāmī began work on the *Iskandar-nāmah* with the intention of presenting it to one of the Sharwān-shāhs, but this family evidently lost control of the area around Ganjah before Nizāmī could complete the poem, which he consequently dedicated to the new strong man in Transcaucasia, Nuṣrat al-dīn Bēshkīn.

It is these observations which suggest the following chronology of Nizāmī's works. *Makhzan al-asrār* is written after 550/1155 and quite possibly in or shortly after 561/1166. *Khusrau-Shīrīn* follows between 571/1176 and 582/1186 (with the epilogue added between 582/1186 and 587/1191). *Lailē-Majnūn* is completed in 584/1188 and presented to Akhsatān, who dies very shortly afterwards. Nizāmī now begins work on a new grandiose project, the story of Alexander, to be presented to Akhsatān's successor, but he too soon departs from the scene. The poet completes the two parts of the Life of Alexander and dedicates both to the Malik of Ahar, completing the last part in May 590/1194. The earthquake mentioned in the prologue to *Isk.N.* ii is in all probability that of Rabī' I 590 (February or March 1194),³ which [590] must then have been in very fresh memory. Nizāmī's last work, *Haft paikar*, is com-

pleted three years later, in Ramaḍān 593/1197. There is no good reason to think he survived for long after that date.

The evidence of Nizāmī's poems, but also of other literary sources, allows us also to complement and revise the picture of the chronology of the Sharwān-shāhs previously drawn mainly on the basis of the numismatic evidence.¹ As already discussed,² Manūchihr (II) b. Afrēdūn, the brother-in-law and vassal of the Georgian king Demetre I, became king of Sharwān some years after 514/1120, was still alive in 555/1160, and died probably very soon afterwards. His son Akhsatān (I) became king by, in any case, 566/1170, the year of the death of the caliph al-Mustanjid (whose name appears on his earliest coins).³ Nizāmī's verses in *Isk.N.* i mean that we can move the previously accepted *terminus ad quem* for Akhsatān's death forward by about a decade: he died in, or shortly after, 584/1188, and in any case well before 590/1194. For the following period up to 622/1225 we have numismatic or epigraphic evidence for four kings, namely Manūchihr's sons Shāhānshāh⁴ and Farrukhzād, and his grandsons Farīburz (II) b. Afrēdūn (with an inscription dated 600/1203-4) and Karshāsp b. Farrukhzād, and some other names are mentioned in passing (and not necessarily correctly) for this [591] period in historical sources. But it seems impossible to determine the relative chronology of these doubtless very minor rulers; it could also well be that several of them reigned at the same time. The Sharwān-shāhs reemerge briefly from obscurity with 'Alā' al-dīn Farīburz (III) b. Karshāsp b. Farrukhzād b. Manūchihr, whose coins mention caliphs from al-Nāṣir to al-Musta'ṣim, showing that he ruled from, at the latest, 622/1225 to, at least, 640/1242⁵ and it is in fact likely he is the unnamed king of Sharwān of whom Ibn al-Athīr⁶ speaks under the events of 622: in this year, the historian tells us, the Sharwān-shāh (i.e. Farīburz) deposed his father (i.e. Karshāsp), who

¹Above, p. 440-2.

²See the Baku edition p. 308-10 (XLI 3-23), especially vs. 18: *agar shud sahi sarw shāh Akhsatān * tu sar-sabz bādī dar in gulsitān*.

³See above, p. 444. Presumably the poet composed the prologue and epilogue after he had completed all the rest of the poem.

¹See D.K. Kouymjian, *A numismatic history of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān based on Islamic coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries* (Microfilm), Ann Arbor 1969.

²Above, p. 248-9, fn. 2; 326-7.

³Kouymjian p. 169-82.

⁴Thus spelt on the coins. The common noun *shāhānshāh* normally has a short vowel in its second syllable in Neo-Persian.

⁵Kouymjian p. 216-28.

⁶*al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, XII p. 279-80.

fled to the Georgians, raised an army against his son and was defeated. Farīburz is the dedicatee of the work discussed in the following appendix. His son Akhsatān II left a number of coins all with the date 653/1255-6 (very possibly accession issues).¹ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that Akhsatān II was killed by Hülegü in 658/1260.² [592]

APPENDIX III: SHARWĀNĪ'S NUZ'HAT al-MAJĀLIS AND THE EARLY PERSIAN RUBĀ'Ī

Thanks to the generosity of Dr 'Abd Allāh Ghūchānī (Tehran)¹ I now have a copy of Muḥammad Amīn Riyāhī's edition of the *Nuz'hat al-Majālis* of Jamāl al-dīn Khalīl Sharwānī,² the unavailability of which in London libraries has already been the object of regret (supra p. 242).

The *Nuz'hat al-majālis* is a collection of no fewer than 4139 *rubā'īs* arranged in seventeen thematic chapters. The majority of the quatrains are attributed here to some known or unknown author, though quite a large number are quoted anonymously (with rubrics like *li ghairih*, *lā adrī*, *lā a'raf*, *li qā'ilih*, or merely with a thematic heading); some are headed with the ambiguous rubric *ākhar* ('another' by the same poet? Or 'another poet?'). It is preserved in a unique manuscript (Istanbul Carullah 667) dated Thursday 25 Shawwāl 731/1331 and copied by Ismā'īl b. Isfandyār al-Abharī, who in the earlier literature (Rempis et al. ad Khaiyāmī, Meier ad Mahsaṭī) was considered to be the author. However, it seems that the real author is the minor poet Jamāl al-dīn Khalīl Sharwānī. A fairly large number of quatrains in the anthology are ascribed to this Sharwānī himself, and indeed most sections end with one or more poems of his. In particular he is the author of the last attributed quatrain (no. 4125), which addresses 'shāh i Sharwān, 'Alā' i dīn', and which is followed immediately by a *qaṣīdah* (p. 613-5) in which the

¹Kouymjian p. 228-32.

²Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Juz' al-rābi' min talkhiṣ majma' al-ādāb ft mu'jam al-alqāb*, ed. M. Jawād, Damascus 1962-7, no. 1592. This information seems trustworthy despite the fact that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī has (as so often) garbled the name of Akhsatān's father to 'Alā' al-dīn Farāmarz (sic) b. Gushtāsp (sic).

¹Dr Ghūchānī, with whom I have been able to discuss a number of points concerning early Persian poetry, is the author of a valuable study of the *rubā'īs* and other poetical fragments inscribed on the 13th-century glazed tiles from Takht i Sulaimān (*Ash'ār i fārsī i kashī-hā i Takht i Sulaimān*, Tehran 1371sh./1992). These tiles are important evidence for the dating of the individual quatrains, but, since the verses are in all cases cited anonymously, they do not, unfortunately, contribute very much to the solution of the bio-bibliographical questions that are the subject of the present book.

²Tehran, 1366sh./1989.

same poet¹ addresses this king by name [593] (Shah i Sharwān, 'Alā' al-dīn <Far> īburz)² and refers to the *saftnah* which he has prepared for him,³ that is to say the present anthology. From this dedication we can conclude not only that Sharwānī is indeed the author of this anthology, but also that it was compiled during the reign of Farīburz III, which we have dated (in the preceding appendix) to (probably) 622/1225 to (at the latest) 653/1255-6. It would seem that in its original form the *Nuz'hat* must have ended with this *qaṣīdah*; the fourteen *rubā'īs* that follow it in the manuscript, all quoted anonymously, were evidently added at some time in the fairly short interval separating the compilation of Sharwānī's anthology and the copying of the unique manuscript in 731/1331. And elsewhere in the manuscript we find, here and there, a small number of quatrains ascribed to well-known political figures from the second half of the 13th century, e.g. one (no. 1270) by 'Ṣāhib i sa'īd Shams al-dīn', doubtless Shams al-dīn Juwainī, who was executed in 683/1284, three decades after the latest possible date for the compilation of the anthology. And indeed, with a miscellany of this kind it seems inevitable that any copyist, or indeed owner, would find it normal to add some of his own favourite quatrains at a suitable place in the collection. The gap of, at the very most, a century between compilation and copying means, however, that these additions do not really make a great deal of difference.

A number of quatrains are quoted more than once, in different sections, and are sometimes ascribed to a different poet on their second occurrence. And it should come as no surprise that a large number of quatrains ascribed elsewhere to [594] Khayyāmī, Abū Sa'īd, Rūmī and others, or included in the published *diwāns* of some well-known poet, are found here with an entirely different attribution. Sharwānī's anthology illustrates as well as anything else that the problem of 'wandering quatrains' is by no means specific to Khayyāmī; the Persian *rubā'ī* wanders by nature.

As has been mentioned, Sharwānī is the oldest substantial source for the quatrains ascribed to Khayyāmī and to Maḥsaṭī, and his anthology

has for a long time now been exploited, in manuscript, by scholars working on these two figures. It is, however, worth mentioning that Sharwānī also ascribes two quatrains (no. 252 and 1567; the former is one of the anti-religious quatrains elsewhere, and famously, ascribed to Khayyāmī), to Pīsar i Khaṭīb i Ganjah, alias Amīr Aḥmad, the doubtless fictitious lover of Maḥsaṭī;¹ there is also one (no. 87) ascribed to Khaṭīb i Ganjah and another² to Dukhtar i Khaṭīb i Ganjah. It seems thus that the anthologist (or whoever else is responsible for these entries) had before him some early version of the romance of Maḥsaṭī and Amīr Aḥmad and had no scruples against quoting the fictitious characters in that novel as if they were no different from the historical personages cited elsewhere in the book. But in the light of this the value of the *Nuz'hat al-majālis* as a source for the 'authentic' quatrains of Maḥsaṭī, and indeed of Khayyāmī, seems somewhat diminished.

Among the authors cited by Sharwānī there are quite a few others of whom one does not know whether they are real or fictitious, and indeed [595] this makes little difference, as their names are in any case otherwise unknown. Many of these are doubtless poets of Transcaucasia, compatriots and contemporaries of the anthologist. The *rubā'ī* is the principal form of occasional verse in Persian and it is thus not surprising that a large number of the items in this anthology are ascribed not to professional poets, but to various political, scholarly and literary personalities. Among the latter is the well-known Arabic writer 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī (died 467/1075),³ to whom four quatrains are ascribed;⁴ a few samples of his Persian verse, among them several *rubā'īs*, are known already from 'Aufī (I p. 68-71), who tells us that his Persian quatrains were collected, and arranged alphabetically, in a book with the title *Ṭarab-nāmah*. It is worth mentioning that in one of the

¹A *ghazal* of four verses by 'Pīsar i khaṭīb i Ganjah' is cited by Saif Harawī, *Tārīkh-nāmah i Harāt* p. 449. Four verses by 'Shaikh i Ganjah' are quoted in *Shiḥāh* p. 86, 191, 209 fn., 294.

²No. 1680, but the text is not quite in order here, for the next quatrain is headed 'li ghairih' not 'li ghairihā'.

³See Brockelmann I p. 252, Suppt. I p. 446; *El²* s.v. 'Bākhārī' (D.S. Margoliouth); 'Alī Jawād al-Ṭāhir, *al-Shi'r al-'arabi ft l-'Irāq wa bilād al-'ajam ft l-'aṣr al-Saljūqī*, 2nd. ed., Beyrouth 1405/1985, p. 181-202. Ṣafā's article 'Bākhārī' in *Elr* is full of nonsense.

⁴Riyāḥī p. 85-6. He is perhaps also the author of the quatrain (no. 2597) ascribed to Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī (see Riyāḥī p. 55).

¹The author's name is not mentioned in the superscription, but does occur, as 'Khalīl', in vs. 12.

²Vs. 14.

³Vs. 24-5.

entries in his own *Dumyat al-qasr wa 'usrat ahl al-'asr*¹ Bākhazī cites Arabic quatrains in the *rubāʿī* metre by several authors (among them himself and his father, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ṭaiyib al-Bākhazī²) and in particular one by Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Bākhazī, the brother of his father's teacher, thus bringing the history of the Arabic *rubāʿī* back as far as [596] the 4th/10th century.³ Also represented in Sharwānī's anthology is Mu'īn al-dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭarānī, who wrote a famous Arabic *qasidah tarjī'iyah* for Niẓām al-mulk,⁴ and who is credited here with five Persian quatrains.⁵ Or again the famous religious author Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghazālī, to whom seven quatrains are attributed,⁶ and several other well-known persons.

Students of Persian literature are indebted to the editor, M.A. Riyāhī, not only for making this important source available in print, but also for his useful indexes and notes and for a long introduction, which contains in particular an alphabetical list of all the authors quoted in the *Nuz'hat al-majālis*, with brief biographical notes on those of whom something is known. Had the book been available earlier I would probably have made somewhat different decisions about the chronological scope of the present volume, as well as about which authors were to be included. But as it is it will for now probably suffice to add references only to those poets who have already been included in this survey and who are represented also in the *Nuz'hat al-majālis*. These addenda have been kept as brief as possible, giving in most cases only a cross-reference to our discussion above and to the relevant section in [597] Riyāhī's introduction. It is my intention to discuss some of the further poets quoted in this anthology in the first chapter of PL VI.

¹Bākhazī no. 338.

²For whom see Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat* II p. 37-40; Bākhazī no. 439.

³Entries on this Abū l-'Abbās can be found in Sam'ānī, new edition, II p. 17, and Bākhazī no. 450. Neither source gives his dates, but the fact that his brother, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-A'rābī, was the teacher of Bākhazī's father indicates that he must be put two generations before the author of the *Dumyat al-qasr*.

⁴Brockelmann I p. 252, Suppt. I p. 446.

⁵See Riyāhī p. 96. One verse by 'Amīr Mu'izz (read: Mu'īn) al-dīn Ṭanṭarānī is quoted in *Shiḥāḥ* p. 273, and another by 'amīr Mu'izz ṭrtry in the same lexicon, p. 244.

⁶See Riyāhī p. 58.

The following list follows the order of the entries in this survey and gives an instructive overview of the anthologist's tastes. It shows that only eight of the authors discussed in our chapter II are quoted here and all these are represented only by a small number of *rubāʿīs*. The overwhelming majority of the cited authors are from the 12th or the early 13th century.

Abū Ḥanīfah Iskāf (supra p. 64-5; Riyāhī p. 55): three quatrains.

Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair (supra p. 70-3; Riyāhī p. 55): only one quatrain (no. 101; also in the *Asrār al-tauḥīd*) explicitly ascribed to him.

Asadī (perhaps Asadī Ṭūsī; supra p. 83-90; Riyāhī p. 59) is cited as the author of one quatrain (no. 3738).

Farrukhī Sijistānī (supra p. 108-12; Riyāhī p. 89-90): one quatrain (no. 649).

Fakhri Gurgānī (supra p. 161-7; Riyāhī p. 89) is given as the name of the author of one quatrain (no. 686); another (no. 3031) is ascribed to perhaps the same 'Jurjānī'.

Abū 'Alī (i) Sīnā (supra p. 168-9; Riyāhī p. 55-6): his name is cited thus as that of the author of two quatrains.

'Iyāḍī (supra p. 170; Riyāhī p. 86): one quatrain.

'Unṣurī (supra p. 232-7; Riyāhī p. 86): two quatrains (no. 3021, 3232).

'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī (supra p. 244-7; Riyāhī p. 83): two quatrains.

Abū l-Ma'ālī Naḥḥās (supra p. 250-1; Riyāhī p. 56-7, with further references and discussion): is quoted five times (no. 879, 2468, 2600, 3590-1), (the same?) Abū l-Ma'ālī once (no. 635). [598]

Aḥmad i Jām (supra p. 251-2; Riyāhī p. 58): one quatrain (no. 99).

Anwarī (supra p. 256-65; Riyāhī p. 61): 23 quatrains.

Athīr Akhsīkatī (supra p. 268-70; Riyāhī p. 57-8): 14 quatrains.

'Aṭṭār (supra p. 270-318; Riyāhī p. 85): only one quatrain (no. 1275).

Falakī Sharwānī (supra p. 325-8; Riyāhī p. 90): 4 quatrains.

Farīd Dabīr (supra p. 328-9; Riyāhī p. 90, with further references): two quatrains.

Futūḥī (supra p. 330-2; Riyāhī p. 87): one quatrain.

Ḥasan Ghaznawī (supra p. 333-6; Riyāhī p. 76): 89 quatrains ascribed to Saiyid Ḥasan or Saiyid Ashraf Ghaznawī.

Imād Ghaznawī, alias 'Imādī, (supra p. 338-41; Riyāhī p. 86): 3 quatrains.

Ismā'īl Bākhazī (supra p. 341; Riyāhī p. 59): four quatrains, plus two ascribed only to 'Bākhazī' (him, or the above-mentioned 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan?)

Jalāl al-dīn Khuwārī (supra p. 342-4; Riyāhī p. 64): three quatrains.

Jamāl Ashharī (supra p. 344; Riyāhī p. 59-60, with further references and discussion): 119 quatrains.

Jamāl Iṣfahānī (supra p. 345-8; Riyāhī p. 64-5) is quoted *passim* either under this name, or as Jamāl (i) 'Abd al-Razzāq. Moreover, there are eight quatrains (no. 1538, 2619, 2672-3, 3239, 3260, 3747, 3997) ascribed to 'Abd al-Razzāq' which seems to be an erroneous designation for the same poet.

Jamāl Naqqāsh Iṣfahānī (supra p. 345 with fn. 4; Riyāhī p. 64-5): five quatrains. One of these is ascribed in one place (no. 3559) to Jamāl Naqqāsh, but in another (no. 3997) to 'Abd al-Razzāq. One might wish to see this as evidence for [599] the identity of Jamāl Naqqāsh with Jamāl i 'Abd al-Razzāq, were it not for the fact that elsewhere we find two consecutive quatrains (no. 1159-60) ascribed to Jamāl Naqqāsh and Jamāl (i) 'Abd al-Razzāq respectively, which evidently indicates that the anthologist considers these to be two different authors,¹ as well as the fact that this book not uncommonly ascribes the same quatrain to two different authors.

Kamāl Ismā'īl Iṣfahānī (supra p. 350-5; Riyāhī p. 92): 283 quatrains, and a further 12 ascribed merely to Kamāl Iṣfahānī, Ismā'īl or Kamāl.

Kamāl Ziyād Iṣfahānī (supra p. 355; Riyāhī p. 93, with further references): 12 quatrains ascribed to Kamāl Ziyād and three (no. 165-7) to Kamāl As'ad (read: al-dīn?) Ziyād.

'Umar i Khaiyām (supra p. 356-80; Riyāhī p. 68) is explicitly given as the author of 31 quatrains (no. 33-8, 54-8, 91, 112, 236-9, 4024-32, 4096-9).

¹When two or more quatrains of the same author are quoted in succession the second and subsequent ones are as a rule introduced only by 'wa lahu', without repetition of the author's name. To this rule there is, it seems, only one exception: nos. 1066-7 are both headed by the name of Shahryār Zauzanī.

Fakhr al-dīn Khālīd (supra p. 382; Riyāhī p. 87): 11 quatrains attributed to Fakhr al-dīn Khālīd Harawī, Fakhr Harawī, Fakhr Khālīd or Khālīd Harawī.

Khāqānī (supra p. 382-99; Riyāhī p. 81): 20 quatrains.

Jamāl Khujandī (supra p. 401-5; Riyāhī p. 65) is quoted 13 times (no. 156, 916-7, 1201, 1311-2, 1801, 3042, 3235, 3269, 3371-3), all without specification of his personal name. Two further quatrains are ascribed merely to 'Khujandī'.

Laṭīf Zakī Marāgha'ī (supra p. 407-8; Riyāhī p. 72, with further references): 7 quatrains. The [600] editor is probably correct to identify this poet with the author of an ode addressed to the Ghorid Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (ruler in Ghaznah from 569/1173 to 602/1206) quoted by Badā'ūnī,¹ although the printed text has 'Nāzūkī Marāgha'ī', but he is wrong to make this poet a contemporary of Abū l-Faraj Rūnī, rather than of his son Kāfī b. Abū l-Faraj.

Lu'lu'ī (supra p. 408; Riyāhī p. 94-5): four quatrains, and one (no. 655) ascribed to Lu'lu' Samarqandī, presumably the same poet.

Mahsaṭī (supra p. 409-10; Riyāhī p. 97-8): 61 quatrains.

Majd al-dīn Abū l-Barakāt (supra p. 410-1; Riyāhī p. 55): one quatrain by (this?) Abū l-Barakāt.

Majd al-dīn Pāyēzī (supra p. 411) is presumably identical with the Majd t'yydy to whom quatrain no. 1241 is ascribed.

Mas'ūd i Sa'd (supra p. 412-6; Riyāhī p. 96): 3 quatrains (no. 632, 2107, 3436).

Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Ghūrī (supra p. 417-20; Riyāhī p. 88-9): 54 quatrains.

Muḥammad Ghaznawī (supra p. 420-1; Riyāhī p. 66) is quoted once under this name (no. 3970) and is presumably also the person cited as Jamāl Muḥammad (no. 1988) and as Jamāl Ghaznawī (no. 2925).

Mu'izzī (supra p. 421-5; Riyāhī p. 96): 22 quatrains.

Mujīr Bailaqānī (supra p. 425-8; Riyāhī p. 95): 41 quatrains. [601]

Najīb Tirmidhī (supra p. 435-6; Riyāhī p. 99): one quatrain (no. 2031).

¹*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1868, I p. 54. This poem is followed by another in praise of the same ruler by 'Qādī Ḥamīd Balkhī', evidently not (unless Badā'ūnī is mistaken about the identity of the patron) the well-known author of the *Maqāmāt i Ḥamīdī*, Qādī Ḥamīd al-dīn 'Umar b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī, who died a century before the time of Muḥammad b. Sām, but some later namesake.

Sa'd al-dīn Najjārī Samarqandī (supra p. 436-7; Riyāhī p. 73) is perhaps the Sa'd Samarqandī to whom quatrain no. 1292 is ascribed.

Nizāmī Ganja'ī (supra p. 438-95; Riyāhī p. 100) is explicitly credited with three quatrains (no. 303, 1016, 1933); a further seven are ascribed merely to (presumably the same) Nizāmī (no. 1044-5, 1079, 2478, 2634, 2829, 3545). Riyāhī says that none of the ten are in Dastgirdī's edition of Nizāmī's *diwān*.

Qiwāmī Ganja'ī (supra p. 497-8; Riyāhī p. 91) is cited as the author of one quatrain (no. 551); another is ascribed merely to Qiwāmī (no. 3408).

Badr Qiwāmī (supra p. 498-9; Riyāhī p. 62): two quatrains.

Khuwāfī is cited five times; perhaps Qiwāmī Khuwāfī (supra p. 499; Riyāhī p. 68).

Raḍī Nēshābūrī (supra p. 499-501; Riyāhī p. 70) is explicitly credited with 13 quatrains; a further 26 are ascribed to Imām (or Maulānā) Raḍī (al-dīn) or simply Raḍī (al-dīn).

Rafī' Lunbānī (supra p. 502-5; Riyāhī p. 70-1): two quatrains.

One quatrain (no. 1885) is ascribed to 'Marzbān', presumably Rafī' al-dīn Marzbān Fārisī (supra p. 506-7; Riyāhī p. 96, with erroneous information).

Rashīdī Samarqandī (supra p. 507-8) is perhaps the same as the Rashīd Samarqandī to whom one quatrain is ascribed (Riyāhī p. 69).

Abū l-Faraj Rūnī (supra p. 510-2; Riyāhī p. 56): one quatrain (no. 753).

Adīb Šābir (supra p. 513-4; Riyāhī p. 59): 5 quatrains.

The 'Saifī', to whom 5 quatrains are ascribed, is perhaps Saifī Naisābūrī (supra p. 516-7; Riyāhī p. 76). [602]

Samā'ī (supra p. 517; Riyāhī p. 75): one quatrain.

Sanā'ī (supra p. 517-34; Riyāhī p. 75): 33 quatrains.

Shahryārī (supra p. 535; Riyāhī p. 80): one quatrain.

Shams Sujāsī (supra p. 536; Riyāhī p. 72-3, with discussion): 67 quatrains. Riyāhī draws attention to the fact that there is a Ms. of the *Hikmat al-ishraq* of Suhrawardī in Ankara, İsmail Sâib 649 (*Mikrûfilm-hâ* I p. 317) signed by presumably the same Shams Sujāsī and dated 14 Sha'bân 617/1220. Consequently, the date 602/1205-6 which Mustaufī gives for his death is probably wrong.

Shams Ṭabasī (supra p. 537-8; Riyāhī p. 79): two quatrains.

The Shafrūh (Shufurwah) family (supra p. 539-43, 561-2; see also *EP*² s.v. 'Shufurwa') is represented by 17 quatrains by Sharaf al-dīn Shafrūh (Riyāhī p. 76-7), seven by Zāhīr Shafrūh (Riyāhī p. 82), two (no. 1053 and 1123) by 'Izz al-dīn Shafrūh (Riyāhī p. 84-5), who is perhaps identical with the 'Izz al-dīn Iṣfahānī given as the author of six further quatrains (no. 1169-73)¹ and also with the 'Azīz (al-dīn) Shafrūh to whom two others (no. 169, 1632) are ascribed, and finally by 17 quatrains ascribed merely to 'Shafrūh'. We can add that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī² has an entry on one 'Imād al-dīn Abū l-Faḍl As'ad b. 'Abd al-Qāhīr b. s.gh.r.w.h al-Iṣbahānī, a member of a famous family and author of 'a *diwān* in Persian', and quotes two Arabic verses 'which I read in his handwriting in a *majmū'ah* belonging to one of my friends'. There seems to be no other mention of a poet by this name. But Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is, as we have had so many occasions to observe in the course of this survey, a hopelessly unreliable source as far as personal names are concerned.

Shihāb i Mu'ayyad (supra p. 544-5; Riyāhī p. 80): one quatrain. [603]

Sōzanī (supra p. 546-50; Riyāhī p. 75): one quatrain.

Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭalḥah (supra p. 550; Riyāhī p. 55): 18 quatrains ascribed to Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭalḥah, Abū l-Ḥasan, or Ṭalḥah; also one ascribed to Ibn Ṭalḥah and one anonymous quatrain which 'Aufī attributes to this author.

Rashīd Waṭwāt (supra p. 551-5; Riyāhī p. 69): 4 quatrains.

Kāfī Zafar (supra p. 555-6; Riyāhī p. 91): 3 quatrains (no. 875-6, 2580) under this name, and one (no. 2676) ascribed to Kāfī Hamadānī.

Zāhīr Fāryābī (supra p. 557-61; Riyāhī p. 83): 24 quatrains, and 11 others ascribed only to Zāhīr.

¹'Izz al-dīn Iṣfahānī is quoted as the author of a quatrain in *Hidāyat*, *Majma'* I p. 339.

²op. cit., no. 982.

APPENDIX IV:
TEXTUAL PROBLEMS
OF EARLY PERSIAN DĪWĀNS

From an early date it must have been customary to collect the shorter poems of a Persian author in a *dīwān*, literally a 'register' or 'archive', in the same way as was the practice with Arabic poetry. We have already cited the passage in the *Safar-nāmah* of Nāṣir i Khusrau in which the author speaks of how, in 438/1046, he helped Qaṭrān to study 'the *dīwān* of Munjīk and the *dīwān* of Daqīqī'¹. It is thus clear that the poems of these celebrated authors of the Samanid period had been gathered into *dīwāns* before the middle of the 11th century, though both of these collections are now lost. Elsewhere Nāṣir speaks of his own two *dīwāns* in Persian and Arabic, put together obviously in his own lifetime.² We have also seen [604] that Niẓāmī³ and 'Aṭṭār⁴ both collected their own shorter poems, while those of Ṣāḥib Fāryābī were collected by another, after his death.⁵ But the great majority of the three-hundred-odd poets that have been discussed in this volume are known to us only from isolated poems preserved in anthologies or histories and from the stray verses quoted in dictionaries or manuals of literary practice. Their *dīwāns*, in so far as they ever existed, disappeared long ago. To be sure, modern editors have published so-called *dīwāns* of several of these early poets, but these have all been reassembled from the scattered quotations and have no manuscript authority as original, intentional collections of the work of the poet in question.

There are, however, just over thirty Persian poets of the pre-Mongol period who are represented by manuscripts containing, or claiming to contain, the *dīwān* of the author in question, either as a separate book, or as part of a collection (*majmū'ah*) of several *dīwāns*. None of

these manuscripts is contemporary with the author, and indeed no manuscript of a Persian *dīwān* has been discovered which can be dated with certainty to the pre-Mongol period.¹ But there are several such codices from the second half of the 13th, or from the 14th century. Ignoring those known only from copies of uncertain date or of questionable authenticity we can propose the following as a cautious list of pre-Mongol poets with *dīwāns* attestable in manuscripts from the Ilkhanid period:² Azraqī, Nāṣir i Khusrau, Anwārī, [605] Athīr Akhsikāfī, 'Aṭṭār, Kamāl Iṣfahānī, Khāqānī, Mu'izzī, Mukhtārī, Qamar, Qiwāmī Rāzī, Rūnī, Ṣābir, Sanā'ī, Shams Ṭabasī, Ṣāḥib Fāryābī.

On the other hand, there are a number of undoubtedly early poets whose *dīwāns* are known to us only from manuscripts of the Safavid period or later, that is to say, not before the end of the 16th century, and in many cases not before the 18th or 19th century. These include several important early poets (Farrukhī, Lāmi'ī, Manūchihīrī, Qaṭrān, 'Unṣurī), as well as some later ones (e.g. Ḥasan Ghaznawī, 'Imādī, Mas'ūd i Sa'd, Raqī Naisābūrī and others). From the point of view of textual criticism, without denying that the poems in these *dīwāns* are, on the whole, more or less authentic, one must emphasise that they represent a redaction of the collected poems which cannot be traced back further than the Safavid period, at the earliest.

Since completing the three chapters that make up the bulk of this volume I have had the opportunity (an opportunity culpably passed up at an earlier stage) of taking a closer look at the British Library's copy of the first *rukṇ* of the enormous anthology *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār wa zubdat al-aṣḥār*³ of Taqī al-dīn Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī Ḥusainī Kāshānī. Taqī completed the first version of this book in 993/1585 and the enlarged second edition in 1016/1607-8. Of the well over 600 entries contained in the complete work the London manuscript has those devoted to 23 early authors, each of whom is represented by an astonishingly large number of poems. After the long introduction, the first chapter is

¹ See above, p. 215.

² See Nāṣir's *dīwān*, ed. Mīnuwī/Muḥaqqiq, *qaṣṭdah* 64 v. 46; *qaṣṭdah* 177 v. 51.

³ Above, p. 447.

⁴ Above, p. 273.

⁵ Above, p. 558.

¹ For the London Ms. of Khāqānī's *dīwān*, which has a dedicatory panel with the date 594/1197-8, see above, p. 387, fn.

² The order follows that in which the poets have been discussed in this volume.

³ London Or. 3506 (Rieu, Suppl. 105). For Taqī's book see Sprenger p. 13-46; *PL* I p. 803-5; Gulchīn i Ma'ānī p. 524-56 (with a list of manuscripts); *EL*² s.v. 'Taqī 'l-Dīn Kāshī'.

devoted to [606] 'Unṣurī,¹ where the author concludes his (largely worthless) biographical sketch with the statement that, after much searching, he has succeeded in finding 'a dīwān' of this poet, containing 'nearly 5000 verses', but as most of these poems were, in Taqī's opinion, 'boring', he made only a small selection from them for inclusion in his anthology.² But Taqī's 'selection' is, for all practical purposes, identical with the collection of poems included in the printed editions of 'Unṣurī's so-called dīwān,³ and evidently also in the manuscripts on which these editions are based, the only difference being that in the printed dīwān the poems are arranged alphabetically by rhymes, while in the anthology they are not. One [607] must consequently conclude either that Taqī's claim that it was he who made this selection is a blatant lie, or else that all the manuscripts of 'Unṣurī's dīwān (or at least all the manuscripts available to the editors) derive from Taqī's anthology. Seeing that all the recorded manuscripts of the 'dīwān' postdate Taqī by many years, the latter alternative is in any case chronologically plausible.

The next section of the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* is devoted to Manūchihri. This time Taqī ends the biography with the statement that Manūchihri's dīwān is unknown in Iran and that consequently he has been able to find only a few of this author's poems in old anthologies

¹The edition of 'Unṣurī's dīwān by M. Dabīr-Siyāqī, Tehran 1342sh./1963 (which I have now been able to consult; see above, p. 237) is based mainly on a manuscript with the title *Majma' al-qaṣā'id* and which the editor claims (p. ix of the introduction) was compiled by 'Taqī al-dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī' 'in the years 1067 and 1068'. This is in fact evidently an extract from the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* (see the passage quoted in the next footnote). It is really surprising that Dabīr-Siyāqī did not seem to realise that the name of the person who supposedly compiled the *Majma' al-qaṣā'id* (in 1067/1656-7) is the same as that of the man who compiled the famous *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* more than 70 years earlier.

²Or. 3506, fol. 32a (compare 'Unṣurī/Dabīr-Siyāqī p. xxx, quoting the so-called *Majma' al-qaṣā'id*): *musawwid i in aurāq, a'nā Taqīyu l-dīn Muḥammadu l-Ḥusainī, ba'd az tafahhuṣ i bisyār dīwān-i az ā dīd qarīb ba panj hazār bait, wa akthar i qaṣā'id-ash muṭawwas* (Dabīr-Siyāqī: *muṭawwal*) *ast chunānkih khwāndan-ash ba'ith i malāl ast, wa li hādha chandīn qaṣīdah az ān intikhab namūdah dar in khulāṣah darj namūdam*.

³I have compared the lithograph of 1298/1881 and the largely identical selection in Qarīb's edition of 1323sh./1944. Dabīr-Siyāqī's edition is, as mentioned, based mainly on the 'Majma' al-qaṣā'id' (i.e. unwittingly on Taqī), collated with Qarīb's edition, with an appendix of additional verses from the lexica etc.

and treatises. But he promises to add the others should he ever discover a complete copy of the dīwān.¹ And the selection that follows is indeed only a small sample of the poems that we read in the printed dīwān. It seems therefore that either Taqī himself, or else one of the later Safavid antiquarians, did eventually find a copy of Manūchihri's collected works. It is noteworthy that the oldest reported manuscripts of that dīwān are dated to the year 1010/1601-2,² that is to say, between the time of the first and the second editions of Taqī's anthology. Their relationship with Taqī's selection remains to be examined.

It would be interesting to examine the other chapters in the first *rukṇ* of the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* along the same lines, but this can be left [608] to others. For the moment it will suffice to say that at least some of the so-called dīwāns of early Persian poets are nothing more than extracts from the *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, or possibly from one of the other extant Safavid anthologies. If this is confirmed (and obviously the case of each author must be examined separately), then the methodology for the critical edition of these poets will be simplified to a considerable extent: future editors will be able to ignore all of the manuscripts of the dīwāns and concentrate first on establishing the standard text as contained in the best copies of the Safavid compendia and then confronting this with the handful of precious fragments contained in the old anthologies and dictionaries.

In the case of those poets whose collected works are found in manuscripts of the 13th and 14th centuries the primary duty of editors is naturally to retrieve and publish the Ilkhanid recension (or recensions) contained in these codices. This is a task with which scholars have until now hardly begun. Once the Ilkhanid redaction has been retrieved it will then be possible to confront this with the Safavid vulgate (here too in many cases probably represented mainly, or exclusively, by Taqī) and thus to form some objective idea of the methodology and general reliability of the Safavid editors.

¹Fol. 54b: *ammā dīwān i way dar Īrān chandān shuhrat-i nadārad wa dar miyān i musta'iddān muta'arif nīst, līkin ba'd i qaṣā'id i ā dar majmū'ah-hā i qudamā' wa rasā'il i mutaqaḍdimīn mas'ūr wa madhkūr ast wa in chand qaṣīdah kih dar in khulāṣah iḥabṭ shuda az al-jumlaḥ ast. in shā' allāh ta'ālā agar bi muṭāla'ah i tamāmī i dīwān az ā sar afrāz shawīm, baqt i ash'ār-ash idāfah in kitāb khwāhad shud*.

²See above, p. 188-9.

Unfortunately the task of any conscientious editor is made more complicated by the fact that within the last half century or so the forgery of Islamic manuscripts has risen to an astonishing level of technical sophistication. The forgers' workshops have acquired an excellent knowledge of the history of Persian and Arabic palaeography and orthography, often using genuine old paper and [609] traditional techniques.¹ Where they have been caught out it has mostly been not because of any physical defects of their products, but through their careless approach to the text. (The decision to copy '13th-century' manuscripts of the *rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar i Khayyām from an edition printed in Berlin in the 1920s is a striking example). It must be hoped that improved techniques for the technical analysis of (for example) ink, combined with a greater attention to basic principles of textual criticism will gradually lead to a weeding out of spurious 'old' manuscripts, but in the meanwhile it is unfortunately necessary to adopt a sceptical attitude to all Persian manuscripts that show up out of the blue on the international art market or that find their way into libraries without an accountable provenance.²

All references are to the pages of the **first edition** (here indicated in square brackets). Pages 610 to 638 of the first edition contained the addenda and corrigenda (here incorporated into the text itself). References to those pages in the index should consequently be disregarded.

¹See R. Frye, 'Islamic book forgeries from Iran', in *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Festschrift for Fritz Meier), Wiesbaden 1974, p. 106-9. One of the pieces described and illustrated in Frye's article, namely a copy of the spurious Arabic *diwān* of the Shi'ite imam 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Sajjād, 'dated' 299/911, with inter-linear glosses in Persian (which, if they were authentic, would make it by far the oldest dated document in Neo-Persian) has since been acquired by a London art collector and has been examined at some length by the present author. It is a masterpiece of the art of counterfaction.

²I have now acquired a microfilm of Dublin Beatty 103, which has colophons with dates in 699/1300, and contains ten *diwāns*, most of them already noted in this survey, namely those of Kamāl Ismā'īl, 'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabālī, Waṭwāt, Rūnī, Azraqī, Shams Ṭabasī, Najīb Jarbādhaqānī (see *PL VI*), Rafī' Lunbānī, Imāmī (*PL VI*) and Anwarī. A comparison of the selection of Azraqī's poems with that in the 13th-century London Ms. Or. 3713 reveals the two to be disconcertingly similar. As noted already in the Beatty catalogue, the Dublin manuscript has clearly been tampered with (there are two fake miniatures, one 'dated' 699). Without wishing to pass judgement on the manuscript as a whole I would strongly advise scholars undertaking an edition of any of the ten *diwāns* to exercise critical judgement in their use of this copy.

Index of Personal Names.

Mediaeval Islamic authors are listed in principle under their *ism* (if known) and *takhalluṣ*, and under any other part of the name under which they are at all likely to be sought. The authors of primary sources (histories, anthologies etc.) are indexed only where they are the subject of some discussion. Well-known political figures are not generally indexed, but more obscure ones have been included. Names of modern scholars, editors, translators etc., are included only exceptionally, and then only where there is some discussion of their views. Copyists responsible for manuscripts containing more than one work are indexed only once. The particle of filiation ('b.' or 'i') is disregarded for the alphabetical sequence, as are all portions of the names printed in round brackets. The Arabic article (al-) is omitted wherever possible.

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