ظفرنامهٔ شرف الدين على يزدى، ٢٠٦، ٢٠٩، ٢٧٩، ٥٢٢،

عجایب الغرایب، ۲۰۶، عنقای مغریب، ۲۲۰،

غرّة الكمال لامير خسرو، ٢٤١، ٣٤٢ – ٢٤٤،

فنج و فتوح لامين الدين، ١٥٤،

قابوسنامه، ٦٩،

قانون لابن سينا، ٢٩٢،

قانون استيفا لامير خسرو، ٢٤٧،

قرائن، ۲۷،

قِران السعدَيْن لامير خسرو، ٢٤٧،

قسطاس للغزالي، ٩٩.

قوسنامهُ قطران. ٦٧.

كتاب أحكام، 19٪.

كتاب آداب العرب و الفرس لمسكوبه. ٣٠.

كتاب اغراض و خنى علائى للسيّد اسمعيل جرجاني، ١٢٧،

كتاب سندباد للازرقي، ٧٢،

كتاب مالك و مسالك لعلى بن عيسى الكخّال، ٢٩٨، ٢١١، كليله و دمنه لحميد الدين نصر الله، ٧٥.

كليله و دمنه للرودكي، ١٠، ٢١،

كنز اكحقايق، ٦٣.

كنز الرموز، ٢٢٥،

گرشاسپ نامه، ۲۵، گل و نوروز لجلال طبیب، ۲۹۸، گل و هرمز ^{للشیخ} عطار، ۱۹۰، گلستان سعدی، ۲۰۸، ۲۶۱، گلشن راز، ۲۰۸، ۲۰۱، گلشن راز، ۲۲،

> لجة الاسرار، ۲۹۲، لمعات عراقی، ۲۱۰، ۲۲۲، لیلی و مجنون لعلیشیر نوائی، ۲۹۷،

مثنوی مولوی، ۱۹۵، ۱۹۹، ۱۹۹، ۳۰۰، ۳۰۰ مثنوی مولوی، ۱۹۵، ۱۹۸، ۳۰۰، ۳۰۰ مثنوی مولوی، ۱۳۰، ۱۹۸، ۱۹۸، ۳۰۰ مثنوی مثنوی مولوی

مجمع البجرين للكاتبي، . ٢٩، مختارناسه للشيخ عطّار، . ١٩،

مخزن اسرار لنظامی گلمجوی، ۲۲۹، ۳۵۱، ۲۷۱، ۴۸۹، ۴۹۶، مرآة الصفا لامیر خسرو، ۲٤۷،

مصباح حیات لآذری، ۲۰۰،

مصباح القلوب لامين الدين نزلابادي، ١٥١،

مصيبت نامه للشيخ عطّار، ١٩٠،

مضعکات عبیدی، ۲۲۶

مفتاح حیات لآذری، ۴۰۵، مفتاح علاً. الدین سینانی ۴۵

مفتاح علاء الدين سيناني، ٢٥١،

مفید (فی علم النجوم) لانوری، ۸۴،
مقامات حریری، ۲۵، ۲۱،
مقامات ناصری (یا طبقات ناصری)، ۹۶، ۱۰۷،
مناقب الشعراء لابی طاهر اکخاتونی، ۲۹، ۵۸،
مناقب هند لامیر خسرو، ۲۶۷،
منطق الطیر للشیخ عطار، ۱۹۰،
مهر و وفا للرشیدی، ۱۱۰،
مواقف، رجوع کن به شرح مواقف،

وامق و عذرا (بزبان پهلوی)، ۲۰، وامق و عذرا لفصیحی انجرجانی، ۲۹، وسط انحیوة لامیر خسرو، ۲۶۱، ۲۶۲، ۲۶۳، ولدنامه، ۱۹۷، ۲۰۰، وصیّت نامه للشیخ عطّار، ۱۹۰، وصیّت نامه (وصایا) لنظام الملك، رجوع كن به نصیحت نامه، ویسه و رامین، ۲۰، ۱۲۰،

> های هایون، ۲۶۹، ۲۰۱، هیلاج نامه، ۱۹۰،

یوسف و زلیخای عمعق مجخاری، ۲۴،

قد وقع الفراغ من طبع دلما الكتاب في اليوم الرابع من شهر صفر سنة ١٢١٩،

very chaste, is at least comparatively free from the outrageous floridity which characterizes many works produced at this place and period, notably the *Anwár-i-Suhayli*, that greatly over-estimated work of Dawlatsháh's contemporary Husayn Wá°idh-i-Káshifí.

Whether this series will be continued depends on the support with which it meets from my fellow-students and other lovers of Persian literature. Publishing oriental texts is a costly and laborious business, yet shall I be amply rewarded should the result entitle the spirit of my author to exclaim with Firdawsi:

پی افگدم از نظر کاخ بلند ؛ که از باد و باران نیابدگزنـد بدیرن نامـه بر عمرها بگذرد ؛ بخواند هر آن کس که دارد خرد

"I built by my toil a high Palace of Song Which rain shall not tarnish nor hurricane wrong; One age shall depart and another succeed While the words I have written the learned shall read!"

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

Cambridge, May 22, 1901.

and dedicated it to the name of his Most Fortunate Majesty. Greatly, indeed, hath he laboured, and well hath he collected together representatives of this class. On this subject there are yet other treatises and books, but in all of these only the names and descriptions of poets of times long past and singers of bygone days are written and recorded."

From the Memoirs themselves we incidentally glean some further facts concerning the Author's life. Thus we gather (pp. 11-14) that he was about fifty years of age when he began to write this book; that his father, 'Ala'u 'd-Dawla, was one of Sháh-Rukh's favourites and intimates (pp. 337-338); that his brother Radiyyu 'd-Dín 'Alí was also a courtier and friend of princes (pp. 455--456), and was in attendance on Sultán Bábar and Amír Muhammad Khudáy-dáð; that Dawlatsháh himself took part in the battle waged by his lord, Abu I-Ghází Sultán Husayn, against Prince Sultán Maḥmúd (pp. 532--533). We may also infer, from a passage on p. 80, where he contrasts the favours lavished upon poets in former days with the slender encouragement accorded to them in his own time, that his own literary efforts were but little appreciated; and from another passage on pp. 179-180, where he complains of the promotion of base-born persons to positions of power and trust, that his gentle birth and good connections availed him little, perhaps because of that humility, contentment and lack of assumption to which Mir 'Alí Shír alludes. In another place (p. 423) he accuses the clergy of his day of time-serving and timidity in reproving wrong-doing, while in two other passages (pp. 291-292 and 437) he complains of his debts and poverty, and bewails the harshness of the tax-collector.

Of his work the reader must judge for himself. It cannot be described as very critical, but it is amusing, contains many interesting anecdotes and fine pieces of verse, and is written in a style which, if neither very distinguished nor

be found cited in full in the Persian Preface to this volume, pp. ,—, . Their translations are as follows.

I. (From the beginning of Majlis VI).

"Amongst these is Mír Dawlatsháh, nephew of Firúzsháh Beg and son of Amír 'Ala'u 'd-Dawla of Isfara'in. The power and greatness of Fírúzsháh Beg is clearer than the sun before all the dwellers on this earth, and need not be further emphasized. Amír 'Alá'u 'd-Dawla was also a worthy gentleman, but his intellect became weakened and finally destroyed. Dawlatsháh, however, is a wholly excellent youth, unassuming and of good parts. Abandoning the way of his forefathers, which was that of anthority and external pompand power, he chose rather the corner of seclusion, contenting himself with the slender income of a land-owner, and applying himself diligently to the acquisition of excellence and learning. He has composed a Corpus Poetarum (Majma'u 'sh-Shu'ara') on the very same subject which is treated in this Manual; whosoever will peruse it may convince himself of its author's proficiency and crudition. Lately, however, tidings have come that he has departed from this transitory world. If this be true, may God assoil his soul! This verse is by him:

'O thou of whose visage the sun heaven's lamps doth enlighten, Whose gleam through my eyelids doth stream, and my heart's chamber brighten'."

II. (From the Preface).

"And Amír Dawlatsháh, one of the gentry of the province of Khurásán, who shares the distinction of excellence and learning, and wears the crown of humility and contentment, hath also composed the work called *Memoirs of the Poets* my hands, and was unwilling to keep those who had kindly interested themselves in my undertaking in longer suspense. The transcription of the text was completed on Feb. 11, 1897; the actual printing began in the summer of 1898; and the final collation was completed two years later, on July 24th, 1900. I am tired of the reading and re-reading of these proofs; and though it is my ultimate intention to publish the variants, together with critical and explanatory notes on the text, in a supplementary volume, I would willingly enjoy a respite from this somewhat soul-deadening and mechanical work, and greater leisure for other more congenial tasks. Moreover I doubt not that many emendations will in course of time be made in my text by scholars who may have occasion to read it, and, before issuing the Apparatus Criticus to this volume, I would lief have the benefit of their criticisms, which will be most gratefully received. To the three Indices which conclude this volume those of the names of persons, places and books cited in the text - I have devoted careful attention, and I hope that they will be found greatly to enhance the utility of the work for purposes of reference.

It remains to say a few words concerning the author, Amír Dawlatsháh b. 'Alá'u 'd-Dawla Bakhtisháh al-Ghází as-Samarqandí. The best-known notice of him occurs in the Majálisu 'n-Nafá'is of his great patron Mír 'Alí Shír Nawa'í, at the beginning of the Sixth Majlis, "mentioning sundry gentlemen and others of noble birth, belonging to Khurasán and other places, whose ingenious nature and right wit impelled them to write poetry, but who, by reason of their high estate and exalted rank, did not persevere therein." The Turkí text of this passage, and of another from the Preface of the same work, taken from the British Museum manuscript Add. 7875, dated A. H. 987 (ff. 89b and 2b), will

without undue loss of time, to confine myself to the use of those few which, being good and fairly ancient, lay, as it were, ready to my hand. But as regards the verses so freely cited — at once the most important and the most difficult portions of the text — I have used other means of control; the laws of metre, of course; and also such editions or manuscripts of each poet's works as were accessible to me, together with other Anthologies (such as the $Majma^{c}u$ 'sh-Shu ard and Riyadu'l-Arifin of Ridá-qulí Khán, the Safinatu 'sh-Shu'ara of Sulaymán Falim Efendí, the Atashkada of Lutt 'Alí Beg Adhar, and the excellent Kharábát of Diyá Beg, printed at Constantinople in three volumes, A. H. 1291-1292, etc.) wherein the verses might occur. The Chaghatáy verses cited in the Khátima gave me the greatest trouble, and for help and suggestions as to these, and some of the Persian verses, I am profoundly indebted to Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, Mr. R. A. Nicholson and Professor E. Denison Ross, as well as to M. Platon Melioransky of St. Petersburg, one of the greatest living authorities on Eastern Turkí. The Persian dialect verses — always a terrible problem — are fortunately few; and for the Arabic verses the means of control are better, as a rule, than for the Persian, besides which I was always able to profit by the exquisite scholarship of my friend and colleague Professor A. A. Bevan.

The variants collected with such pains, both to myself and to my friends and colleagues, were intended, (as stated in the preliminary announcement issued at the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in September, 1897) to form part of this volume. That this has proved impossible I greatly regret, but the bulk to which the volume has already grown rendered any further addition to its size impracticable. Besides I was eager to get the most essential part of the work, the text and indices, off

The Royal Asiatic Society, with similar liberality, allowed me to borrow their MS. (N⁶ 176), a fair and oldish copy, of which the last few leaves have been supplied in a modern hand.

Of the twelve Bodleian copies (Nos 348—359 of Sachau and Ethé's Bodleian Persian Catalogue, coll. 189—192) two of the oldest, No 348 (Ouseley Add. 34, dated A. H. 942) and No 350 (Elliot 388, dated A. H. 978), were deposited for a while in the Cambridge University Library for my use. The restriction of use which this involved prevented me from deriving as much help from them as I could have wished, but the more abridged texts which, so far as I recollect, both MSS, presented rendered them less useful than their age had led me to expect (O¹ and O²).

The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses likewise some dozen MSS. of Dawlatsháh, viz. in the Ancien Fonds persan Nº 246 (dated A. H. 991, marked "poor" in my notes), Nº 249 (dated A. H. 1006, denoted as **P**²), Nº 250 (dated A. H. 987, denoted as **P**²), Nº 248 (a poor copy made by an Armenian of Aleppo); and in the Supplément persan, Nº 143, Nº 828 (dated A. H. 1007), Nº 829 (dated A. H. 1026, marked in my notes "a good MS."), Nº 830 (seventeenth century), Nº 831 (dated A. H. 993), Nº 832 (A. H. 983), Nº 984 (A. H. 967), Nº 1170, Nº 1195, a bad modern Indian copy, and the Schefer MS. Nº 1423 (seventeenth century). Of these I have only made slight use of Nº 249 (**P**²) and Nº 250 (**P**¹).

The manuscripts from which I have noted variants are practically limited to eight of those mentioned above, those, namely, denoted by the letters A, B, C, R, O¹, O², P¹ and P², of which the first four and the lithograph (L), collated throughout, form the basis of my text. Indeed so great is the number of MSS, of Dawlatsháh (hardly any fair collection of Persian MSS, being without a copy) that, so far from seeking them out, I was obliged, in order to accomplish my work

by C. and R., with which latter L. on the whole more closely agrees. I have (perhaps wrongly) endeavoured to blend these two recensions in one text, which I have aimed at making as full as possible. Where I had to choose between two alternative paragraphs, I have generally adopted the fuller version.

For most parts of the text (which is generally easy) the above materials would have sufficed, but for the more difficult passages, especially for the verses cited, I have consulted other MSS, in the British Museum, the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, etc.

The British Museum MSS, are described in Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 364—365 (eight MSS, of which the oldest, "apparently of the sixteenth century," is defective), 809b, ii (one MS, dated A, H, 1022), and 977 (one MS, dated A, H, 973). As these MSS, cannot, unfortunately, be borrowed, I have made but little use of them.

The India Office MSS, include the five following, which will be found described under the numbers 656-663 in Ethé's forthcoming Catalogue, coll. 340-342:

- (1) N^0 2337 (= Ethé 658), dated A. H. 1028.
- (2) N° 2539 (= Ethé 660), undated, written in an Indian ta'liq.
- (3) N° 2730 (= Ethé 657), dated, I think, A. H. 1195 (Ethé reads the date A. H. 1095).
- (4) N⁰ 2753 (= Ethé 656), dated A. H. 960, and written in a clear naskh.
- (5) N° 3206 (= Ethé 662), not dated, written in good, clear $ta^{c}liq$, defective at the end.

The best of these five MSS, are, in my judgement, the two last, both of which the Administration, with its well-known and most laudable generosity, has allowed me to borrow for a lengthy period.

temporaries wherewith the *Memoirs* proper conclude), the book has a considerable value.

(3) Many of these poems remain to this day unprinted and hardly accessible, being much curtailed in the Safinatu 'sh-Shu⁵ará, and only translated (sometimes not very accurately) by Von Hammer, while their texts, as given in the Bombay lithographed edition, are uncritical, and often corrupt or abridged.

In a word, I do not feel disposed to admit that the opening volume of my Series of Persian Historical Texts has been badly chosen; I even venture to think that it will prove a very valuable and pleasant addition to the Persian student's library.

The materials on which I have chiefly worked in prepating this edition are as follows:

- (1) The above-mentioned Bombay lithograph of 1887 (L).
- (2) Add. 831 of the Cambridge University Library, dated A. H. 979 (A).
- (3) **Add. 813** of the Cambridge University Library, dated A. H. 1104 (**B**).
- (4) **Oo. 6.47** of the Cambridge University Library, dated A. H. 984 (C) ¹.
- (5) A fine old MS, written at Jahrum in Fárs in A. II. 980, and bought in Bukhárá on Nov. 14, 1897, by my friend Professor E. Denison Ross, who generously placed it at my disposal. It contains ff. 238 of 23.7 × 17.0 c. and 17 ll., and is written throughout in good, clear naskh with rubrications (**R**).

These four MSS., together with the lithograph, have been used throughout, and they represent two slightly different recensions, the first represented by **A**, and **B**, the second

I For full descriptions of these MSS., see my Cotalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library (Cambridge, 1896), Nos CXII—CXIV, pp. 191—193.

met with it. The value of this work, could it be found, would be inestimable; but it is to be feared that it is lost beyond recall. Another of Dawlatsháh's sources, the Chahár: Magála ("Four Discourses") of the poet Nidhámí-i-'Arúdí-i-Samarqandí, written about A. D. 1160, is of the greatest interest, as throwing quite a new light on the literary and scientific life of that period, but is not a systematic Biography, though it adds considerably to our knowledge of the lives of certain poets 1. The section on Persian poets in Hamdu'lláh Mustawfi of Qazwin's Tárikh-i-Guzida (composed in A. D. 1330), another of Dawlatsháh's sources, is valuable, but scanty, as anyone may now see by turning to. my translation of the same in the \mathcal{F}, R, A, S , for October, 1900 (pp. 721--762), and January, 1901 (pp. 1-322); and, to be brief, it may be said that Dawlatsháh's Tadhkiratu 'sh-Shu'ará is on the whole the best Manual of Persian Literary History existing in the Persian language. It is also amusing, though rather discursive, and incidentally contains a great deal of general history; and altogether in my opinion few Persian books could be named which the student of Persian literature would read with more pleasure and profit than this. Regarded merely as an Anthology of poetical fragments, selected, on the whole with taste and judgement, from the works of some hundred and fifty poets belonging to what is generally regarded as the "classical period" of Persian literature (which, for some occult reason, is often said to end with Jámí, whose life is included by Dawlatsháh amongst the six biographics of his own most eminent con-

I Of this work, which was lithographed at Tihrán in A. H. 1305, and of whith two MSS, exist in the British Museum, and one in the Library of 'Áshir Efendí at Constantinople (N° 285), I published a complete translation in the J. R. A. S. for 1899 (pp. 613-663 and 757-845). Separate reprints of this article are obtainable from Messrs Luzac, 46, Great Russell Street, London.

² Also obtainable as a separate reprint from Messrs Luzac.

gible, and totally deficient in the Indices so indispensable to a book of reference, but that the text which it offers is often very corrupt (especially as regards the dates) and occasionally much curtailed.

(2) That though Dawlatsháh composed his *Memoirs* no earlier than A. H. 892 (A. D. 1487), he is, with the exception of Muhammad 'Awfi, who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century of our era, the carliest systematic biographer of the Persian poets whose work has been preserved to us; and that 'Awfi's rare Lubábu 'l-Albáb (which, thanks to the extreme generosity of Lord Crawford and Balcarres, the possessor of one of the only two known manuscripts ', I have been able to examine carefully) is a mere Anthology, and contains hardly any biographical details or dates. As I have pointed out in my article on the Sources of Dawlatshah in the J. R. A. S. for January, 1899 (pp. 37-69), to which I must refer the reader for many observations which I cannot here repeat, a much earlier Biography of Persian Poets (entitled Managibu 'sh-Shu'ara) by Abú Táhir al-Khátúní (who flourished at the end of the eleventh century of our era: see F. R. A. S., loc. cit., pp. 42—3) existed, and was known not only to Dawlatshah but to the great Turkish bibliographer Hají Khalífa, who died in A. D. 1658. Of this, unfortunately, no trace has yet been found, and I have searched in vain for its title through the Catalogues of the Constantinople Mosques and Libraries², in one of which it seemed likely that Haji Khalifa might have

I See J. R. A. S. for Jan. 1899, pp. 46—47. The other codex, now at Berlin, is described at pp. 596—7 of Pertsch's Verreichniss d. Persischen Handschriften der Konigt Bibl. zu Berlin (1888). As it is one of the sources of Rida-quli Khán's excellent Majma'n V-Fusahá (2 vols., lith. Tihrán, A. H. 1295 = A. D. 1878), it appears that at least one other MS, must exist in Persia.

² These comprise 37 vols., containing in all 4711 pages, and descriptions of about 57,143 MSS.

the aesthetic sensibilities of the Asiatic reader, such as the employment of Roman letters or symbols in the body of the text, the addition of critical foot-notes, or the like.

But now that the text, with its Indices, and the Persian preface which I have prefixed to it, is completed, I find that, for the convenience of European booksellers, an English title-page is indispensable. Wherefore, since European type cannot be wholly excluded from the volume, it seems that I may as well add a short English preface as well as that already composed in Persian.

On the need for a better supply of critically edited Persian texts, especially works of reference of a historical and biographical character, I need hardly insist; but I may, perhaps, be permitted to say a few words in defence of my choice of Dawlatsháh's *Memoirs of the Paets* as the opening volume of my Series of Persian Historical Texts. Against this choice it may be urged:

- (1) That a lithographed text of this work appeared at Bombay in 1887.
- (2) That Dawlatsháh is neither a very ancient not a very accurate writer.
- (3) That the contents of his work have long been known through Von Hammer's Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, mit eine Blüthenlese aus zweihundert persischen Dichtern (Vienna, 1818), and, in a lesser degree, through Sir Gore Ouseley's Biographical Notices of Persian Poets (London, 1846), while many of the individual biographies have been printed separately at the beginning of editions and notices of the more celebrated poets, and almost the entire substance of the Memoirs is embodied in the Turkish Safinatu 'sh-Shu'ará of Sulaymán Fahím Efendí, published at Constantinople in A. H. 1259 (A.D. 1843).

To these objections I would reply:

(1) That the Bombay edition is not merely somewhat ille-

PREFACE

My original intention was that this volume, being destined, as I hope, for circulation in the East as well as amongst European Orientalists, should be wholly printed in the Persian character, and with types which should be less disagreeable to Oriental taste than those commonly employed in England, Germany and Russia. In the latter aim, thanks to the pains taken by Messrs Brill in adapting to Persian uses the graceful and artistic Arabic founts of Beyrout, I have, I hope, succeeded; and though the type employed is more difficult and expensive to work, and, perhaps, somewhat less legible, than those more generally employed in European editions, its artistic superiority, in my opinion, more than counterbalances these objections. For writing amongst the Muliammadans is a fine art; they will not tolerate ungainly scripts; and it is well known to all interested in such matters that many an European edition of an Arabic or Persian text not previously published in the East is reprinted or lithographed in Asia ere it passes into the hands of Asiatic readers. So, because I hope that this volume may find a welcome in the East as well as from European scholars, I have been careful to avoid in it anything calculated to offend

I The French and Austrian types (especially those of the K. K. Hofund Staats-Druckerei) are much more artistic, as are some of those employed by Drugulin of Leipzig.

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THE

TADHKIRATU 'SH-SHU'ARÁ

("MEMOIRS OF THE POETS")

OF

DAWLATSHÁH BIN ʿALÁ'U 'D-DAWLA BAKHTÍSHÁH AL-GHÁZÍ OF SAMARQAND

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN WITH PREFACES AND INDICES

BY

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College of Arts & Commerce, O. L.

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