

اینک and آنچ, and اینک and آنچ often lose their final *v*, e.g., اینک and آنچ, instead of اینک and آنچ. Instead of اینک and آنچ, we find کی and (rarely) کو, which is not a contraction of او, since it is used as a conjunction in the two instances which I have noted (II 193, 20; 213, 15). The analogous form جو for چه also occurs (II 155, 1 and 5; 163, 15). Examples of جی will be found at I 3, 23; 5, 9, 10; 31, 18; 51, 12.

باز (for با and ب) is used as a preposition in nearly a dozen places, not only before the pronouns این, آن, and او, but also before nouns. See the alphabetical list *infra*.

### (II) Archaic verbal forms.

Of these undoubtedly the most remarkable are three forms of the Past Conditional (see Preface to Part I, p. 6) which are unknown to the grammarians and have not, I think, been discovered in any other Persian work, viz. کردتی for کردی, کردمانی for کردیمی, and کردتانی for کردیدی. There is no example of کردشانی, which might be expected to occur instead of کردندی. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Person Plural, کردتانی, is found only in a single passage of one MS., namely C., which at I 80, 1 reads بودتانی for بودی. The forms in تی — are apparently wanting in C., but occur in nearly all the other MSS. which I have used<sup>1</sup>; most frequently in L. My text supplies the following examples: I, 42, 18, 19; 53, 14; 59, 5; 68, 8; 72, 14; 113, 22; 116, 15; 191, 4; 247, 1; 284, 1; II, 14, 19, 20; 84, 1; 126, 3 and 17. One would naturally suppose that کردتی was pronounced *kardati* (not *kardtī*), inasmuch as ت represents the pronominal suffix; but in one place (I 113, 22) L. writes کردتی with *sukūn* of the *dāl*. Reference to some of the passages cited above will show that another form of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Person singular occasionally appears side by side with کردتی — I mean کردتی or کردی. These two variations are not uncommon in certain MSS. of ancient date (see, for instance, Prof. Browne's *Description of an old Persian Commentary on the Qur'ān*, J. R. A. S. for 1894, p. 435, and my *Selected Poems from the Divāni Shamsi Tabriz*, p. 100, last line). Examples of the form in

<sup>1</sup> K., however, has none of these forms.

ب is uniformly written for پ in the older MSS. It stands for و in *برزیدن* and *کجابه*; and *نیشتن* frequently occurs instead of *نوشتن*.

ت is often interchanged with ط, e.g., *غلطیدن* and *غلطیدن*, *طغاری* and *تغاری*, *طسو* and *تسو*. It is commonly omitted in the comparative and superlative after ت or د, e.g., *دوستر*, *ساختر*, *زشتترین*. We also find *هفتصد* for *هفتصد* and *هشده* for *هشده*.

چ and چ are not distinguished in the older MSS., which write چ throughout. چ takes the place of ز in *پانصد* for *پانصد* and *کاجکی* and *هشده* for *هشده* and *کاشکی* (*wāchār*) for *بازار*; and of ش in *هجد* for *هشده* and *کاشکی* (*kāchki*) for *کاشکی*.

د is written ذ in Persian words when it is preceded by a vowel and not followed by another consonant in the same syllable.

ژ replaces چ in *کراوه* and ش in *هژده* (for *هشده*).

ف is substituted for ب in *زبان* and for پ in *اسفهلار*.

گ and گ are not distinguished. گ is used for Arabic چ in *گزر* (for *چتر*, 'carrots') and *گزیت* (for *جزیت*, 'poll-tax').

ل takes the place of ر in *خلیضه*.

و for ب occurs in *اشتروانی*, *اشتروار*, *سکوا*, *سرواز*, *سنوروانی*, *خروار*, *واز*, *بازار* (for *باز*), *واجار*, *وا* (for *با*), *نانوا*, *میزوانی*, *گرماده*, *کاوین* (for *بام*), *وام* (for *باز*).

ی is frequently written for *hamza*: thus *جایی*, *جویی*, *گویی*; and *hamza* sometimes takes the place of ی, e.g., *نمای* for *نماء*, *کذائی* for *گذاء*, *بجاء* for *بجاء*.

(b) Other peculiar spellings not included in the above list are *آبی* for *آی*, *ای* for *ای* (2<sup>nd</sup> Person Singular of the Substantive Verb), *ماندئی* for *کدئی*, *توتئی* for *توتئی*, *بنمای* for *بنمای*, *جت* for *که ات*, *کن* for *رسوایم*, *رسوام*, *توام* for *توم*, *مانده* for *نیمن*, *هیچ چیز* for *هیچیز*, *آمده است* for *آمده است*, *چه ات* for *دوست* for *دوست*, *نیم من*.

This second and final instalment of 'Aṭṭār's work is full of interest to students of Ṣūfism. Particular mention may be made of the excellent articles on Junayd (pp. ٥—١٣١), Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (pp. ١٣٥—١٤٥), Shiblī (pp. ١٤٠—١٤٢), and Abū 'Alī Daqqāq (pp. ١٤٧—١٤٩), but in my opinion the most remarkable of all is that on Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khurqānī pp. ١٥١—١٥٥),<sup>1</sup> which draws a complete picture of the Oriental pantheist, blasphemous and arrogant, but inspired by his visions of the Truth and often uttering them in language that is splendidly poetical and sublime. I regret that many sayings and anecdotes of the last-named Ṣūfī are extant in **K.** alone and require considerable emendation which it was not in my power to bestow<sup>2</sup>. The memoir of Abū Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr is mainly an excerpt from the *Asrāru 'l-Tawḥīd fī Maqāmātī 'l-Shaykh Abī Sa'īd* composed by his descendant Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar b. Abī Sa'īd b. Abī 'Ṭāhir b. Abī Sa'īd b. Abi 'l-Khayr, between 553 and 599 A.H., and published by Shukovski in 1899. This notice is wanting in **K.** as well as in the Lahore and Bombay lithographs, but occurs in **I.**, whence my text has been transcribed. **N.** offers a far more copious version, covering forty folios (263a to 303b). I have compared the text of **I.** with the corresponding passages in the *Asrāru 'l-Tawḥīd*, and have given references, together with notes of the principal variants, in the list printed below.

In the Preface to Part I. I called attention to the archaic language of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyā*, and I shall now set forth some of these peculiarities in greater detail.

### (I) *Archaisms of spelling.*

#### (a) The Letters.

ا is used as a prosthetic vowel in ستان for تَرشِي, استاره for تَرشِي, اشكال for اشكال and اشكبل for اشكبل, سنفهسالار for سنفهسالار, ستنان for ستنان, اشكابل for اشكابل.

<sup>1</sup> The correct form of the *nisba* is Khurqānī, not Kharaqānī.

<sup>2</sup> The British Museum MS. Or. 249 (Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 342), a biography, dated 698 A.H., of the same Abu 'l-Ḥasan, is so defectively written as to be useless for purposes of collation.

Pertsch supposes that this Maḥmūd b. Abi 'l-Qásim may possibly be the author of the Supplement, but the words *على يد الخ* show clearly enough that he is only the copyist. Moreover, there is at least one case in which the author of the Supplement refers to an explanation already given by himself in the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyá*: *شرح این در بیش دانه ایم*: (p. 186, 21; cf. Part I, p. 176, 5 sqq.)<sup>1</sup>. On pp. 260, 19—261, 18 we find a long and very characteristic elucidation of Abú Ḥamza Baghdádí's saying, *رب العزرا*, *ديلم جهرا*. The Supplement was written by a Sunní (cf. Part II, p. 173, 10 sqq.); and 'Aṭṭár was certainly a Sunní when he composed the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyá*: he exhorts the reader to be a pure Sunní (*سنى باك*)<sup>2</sup>. Both works, so far as I can judge, are identical in method and style. The fact that the Supplement was unknown to Hájjí Khalífa affords no adequate ground for suspecting its genuineness; nor would it be reasonable to dispute 'Aṭṭár's authorship because a definition of Šúfiism, which the *Tadhkira* (Part II, p. 130, 24) assigns to Abú 'Abdalláh b. Khafíf, appears in the Supplement (*ibid.*, p. 286, 9) under the name of Abú 'Alí Rúdbárá. It is not unlikely, however, that the Supplement as 'Aṭṭár left it has undergone many changes in the course of time. New biographies may have been added and part of the original stock replaced or amplified by fresh materials. The extremely diverse arrangement and size of the articles in our MSS. and the varying disposition of their contents point in this direction. Fortunately we possess in **K**, a text of unique authority, which was written within a century of 'Aṭṭár's death and may probably be regarded as a faithful transcript of his work. Although in this ancient MS. the Supplement is entitled *ذكر مناخبران از مشايخ كبار*, 'Biographies of the great Shaykhs of latter days', it contains the lives of several persons who died before 300 A. H., the earliest being Abú Ḥamza of Baghdád († 289 A. H.), while the most recent are Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khurqání († 425 A. H.), Abú Isháq Shahryár Kázarúní († 426 A. H.), and Abú Sa'íd b. Abi 'l-Khayr († 440 A. H.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Part II, p. 211, 14 sqq.: *و معنى همان است كه در انا الحق*.  
 حسين منصور شرح دانم.

<sup>2</sup> See Part I, 10, 24.

'l-Khayr, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḥasan, and Muḥammad Bāqir (pp. ۳۳۳ to ۳۴۰. *infra*), which **K.** omits <sup>1</sup>.

The arrangement of the articles in **K.** and **I.** is entirely dissimilar. **I.** gives them in the following order:

(1) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khurqānī (2) Mīmshād Dīnawarī (3) Ibrāhīm Khawāṣṣ (4) Abū Bakr Shīblī (5) Abū Sa'īd b. Abī 'l-Khayr (6) Abu 'l-'Abbās Qaṣṣāb (7) Abū 'Alī Daqqāq (8) Abū Naṣr Sarrāj (9) Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḥasan (10) Abu 'l-Qāsim Naṣrābādī (11) Abū Ḥamza Baghdādī (12) Abū Bakr Ṭamastānī (13) Ibrāhīm Shaybānī (14) Abū 'Amr Nujayd (15) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ṣā'igh (16) Abū Bakr Wāsiṭī (17) Abū Ja'far Khuldī (18) Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī (19) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḥuṣrī (20) Abū Ishāq Shahryār Kāzarūnī (21) Abu 'l-'Abbās Sayyārī (22) Abu 'l-'Abbās Nahāwandī (23) Abū 'Alī Thaqafī (24) Abū Bakr Ṣaydalānī (25) Muḥammad Bāqir.

Of these 25 articles **K.** leaves out Nos 5, 9, 12, and 25; but it should be remarked that N<sup>o</sup> 12 is virtually a replica of N<sup>o</sup> 24, which is the 9<sup>th</sup> article in **K.** On the other hand **K.** has one article, that on Abū 'Uthmān Maghribī, which is wanting in **I.**, though it is included in the Lahore and Bombay editions <sup>2</sup>. These contain an article on Abū 'Amr Zajjājī, omitted by **KI.**, together with the same biographies of Abu 'l-Khayr Aqṭa' and 'Abduḥ Rā'adī (Turūghbadhī) which appear in the Leydon MS. of the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyā* and are printed on pp. ۹۹—۱۰۲ of the present volume.

As regards the question whether the Supplement was composed by Farīdu'ddīn 'Aṭṭār himself or by some one else, we have scarcely any direct evidence. The title in **K.** (f. 259b) runs thus:

ذکر متاخران از مشایخ کبار رحمة الله عليهم اجمعین علی يد اضعف الخلیف واحقرهم الراجی الی عفو الله تعالی وغفرانه محمود بن ابی القاسم بن عیسی (?) بن حسین بن ابی القاسم الکفریابی العنتعی.

<sup>1</sup> Both **K.** and **I.** have the article in Abū Ishāq Shahryār Kāzarūnī, but I have followed the text of the latter MS., which is very much fuller in this instance.

<sup>2</sup> The table of contents in **K.** (f. 259b) includes two articles (on Abū Ḥatīm Madanī and Abū Ḥamza-i Zayd) which are not to be found in the MS.; while another, purporting to give an account of Ahmad Ḥawārī, is really devoted to Abu 'l-'Abbās Sayyārī.

(4) The Bombay edition (1321 A. H.), which agrees with **H.** almost word for word.

I have also consulted occasionally another Berlin MS. (numbered 582 in Pertsch's *Verzeichniss*), which contains an Appendix of 28 biographies and is dated 4<sup>th</sup> Ramaḍán, 1099 A. H. = 3<sup>rd</sup> July, 1688. This MS. I shall call **N.** The Bodleian MS. of 'Aṭṭár's *Kulliyát* (N<sup>o</sup> 622 in Sachau and Ethé's Catalogue) was not readily available and I have made no use of it. It includes 23 additional biographies — one more than **K.**

The text of the Supplement as now printed is very different from that which I originally intended to publish. Before seeing the Berlin MS. (**K.**), I had transcribed the Supplement from the India Office MS. (**I.**), collated it with the Lahore edition (**H.**), and prepared a composite text which was considerably fuller than either of the two. This text, however, seemed to me unsatisfactory on several grounds and especially because it offered a modernised version wholly out of keeping with the archaic language and style of the ancient manuscripts from which my edition of the *Tadhkira* is derived. Accordingly, I asked the authorities of the Berlin Royal Library to lend the manuscript **K.** for a period of three months to the Cambridge University Library, so that I might have an opportunity of copying the Supplement, if necessary, and of forming an authentic and harmonious text. My expectations were not disappointed. I found in **K.** a text of the same period and character as the Leyden MS. (**L.**) and comprising, moreover, a large amount of matter that was wanting in **I.H.** The Supplement, as published in this volume, exhibits the text of **K.** with the corrections and emendations which have been indicated in the list of Variants<sup>1</sup>. I have incorporated all passages occurring in **I.** but not in **K.**<sup>2</sup>, and have also taken from **I.** the articles on Abú Sa'íd b. Abi

<sup>1</sup> The copyist of **K.** wrote **Ṣ** for **Ṣ̣** in certain cases (according to the rule observed in early Persian MSS), but the dots over this letter have been removed in almost every instance by a later hand. I have restored the original spelling.

<sup>2</sup> These passages are noted in the list of Variants, as well as those which occur in **K.** only. When a passage occurs in **K.I.** (but not in **H.**) or in **K.H.** (but not in **I.**), the omission has usually been left unnoticed.

## P R E F A C E.

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Forty of the seventy-two biographies comprised in the *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyá* appeared in Part I of this edition, which was published two years ago. The present volume includes the remainder of the work, together with a Supplement or Appendix containing twenty-five additional biographies. Information as to the MSS. on which my edition of the *Tadhkira* is based will be found in the Preface to Part I (pp. 8—10) and need not be repeated here. What I have now to say regarding the constitution of the text applies exclusively to the Supplement, which is appended to some (but comparatively few) MSS. of the original work.

I have had the following texts at my disposal:

(1) A MS. belonging to the Berlin Royal Library, numbered 581 in Pertsch's *Verzeichniss der Persischen Handschriften*, where it is described at p. 549. I shall denote it by the abbreviation **K**.

This fine old MS. is dated Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 710 A.H. (April, 1311 A.D.). The copyist calls himself Maḥmúd b. Abi 'l-Qásim b. 'Isá (?) b. Ḥusayn b. Abi 'l-Qásim الكعرباني al-'Atíqí.

(2) A MS. belonging to the India Office Library, numbered 1051 in Ethé's Catalogue, where it is described at p. 622. In referring to it I use the abbreviation **I**.

This is one of the six MSS. which have been collated for the present edition of the *Tadhkira* (see Preface to Part I, p. 9). It is dated 1091 A.H. = 1680 A.D. The Supplement, written in a small but fairly legible hand approximating to *Shikasta*, has been added by other copyists.

(3) The Lahore lithograph (1889), denoted by the abbreviation **H**.





“scholars, under such conditions and guarantees as may from  
 “time to time appear desirable. Should this condition not be  
 “accepted by the University Library, or should the rules of that  
 “Library be at any time so modified as to prevent or hinder  
 “the lending of its manuscripts to scholars outside the  
 “Library, these manuscripts shall revert to the Library of  
 “the University of Leyden in the Kingdom of Holland”.

Only by some such alternative bequest can the testator make his will effective, by appointing a reversionary legatee guardian of the virtue of that institution or individual which primarily benefits under his will. The method is not new: I learned it from the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where, unhappily, it was employed in a diametrically opposite sense, and results in the manuscripts being placed under double locks, the keys of which are in different hands; though it is only fair to add that, in recent times at any rate, all that is possible has been done by the librarians to mitigate the severity of these regulations.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

CAMBRIDGE, August 3, 1907.

In closing the Series, I desire to express my sincere thanks to all who have aided me in my enterprise, and especially to my collaborators, Mr. R. A. Nicholson and Mírzá Muḥammad; to other scholars such in Professor de Goeje, the late M. Platon Melioransky and the late Shaykh Ḥasan Tawfíq, who have helped me with individual obscure passages in the texts published; to the Libraries which have, with degrees of liberality varying from the unbounded complaisance of the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society and the University of Leyden, and the wisely-conditioned generosity of Berlin, to the unaccommodating rigidity of the British Museum and the John Rylands Library at Manchester, contributed to the success of my project; and, last but not least, to Messrs. Brill of Leyden, to whose careful and artistic work the volumes owe so much in respect to form.

One word more as to Libraries. Those Libraries which refuse to lend their treasures, under proper safeguards, to responsible and accredited scholars, deprive those treasures of half their value. No effort should be spared by those who desire the diffusion of learning to bring all valuable manuscripts over which they have any control into the ultimate possession of such Libraries as those of the India Office, the Royal Asiatic Society and the Cambridge University Library which are willing to lend them under proper conditions. To guard against possible illiberal and obscurantist tendencies in the future, I would suggest that other possessors of rare manuscripts should bequeath them to the Library of their choice under some such terms as the following, which form part of my own testamentary dispositions: —

“I bequeath my collection of Oriental manuscripts to the  
 “University Library of Cambridge on condition that the said  
 “Library do consent and promise to render them freely  
 “accessible in the Library to students of Oriental languages,  
 “and to lend them outside the Library to properly accredited

## P R E F A C E

BY THE EDITOR OF THE SERIES.

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As I stated in the Preface to the last volume of my *Persian Historical Texts* (Part I of 'Awfi's *Lubábu l-Albáb*, 1906, p. 10), I intend to close this Series (at any rate for the present) with this fifth volume, containing the second half of Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár's *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyá*, edited by my friend and colleague Mr. R. A. Nicholson. My chief reason for so doing is, as I remarked in the passage to which I have just referred, that the *Gibb Memorial Trust*, founded by the piety and endowed by the liberality of the late Mrs. Jane Gibb, is catholic enough to include in its scope, and wealthy enough to clothe in print, any work which could appropriately be included in this Series, of much more limited and modest scope, which I inaugurated six years ago by the publication of Dawlatsháh's *Memoirs of the Poets*. Financially the experiment cannot be regarded as a success: I suppose that the five volumes have cost about £ 750 to produce, out of which I doubt if one-tenth has been recovered. This is a matter of comparatively small importance, if they have served a useful purpose and furthered the studies which they were designed to promote; but it shews that at present Oriental letters cannot flourish in Europe without external support, such as, by the liberality of the late Mrs. Jane Gibb, is now assured to them, in so far as Arabic, Persian and Turkish are concerned.



## ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

### PART I.

- P. 7, note 1. Delete the words, "which is the second work", etc. The work in question is the *Hálát u Sukhanán-i Shaykh Abū Sa'íd*. It was published by Zhukovski in 1899.

### PART II.

- P. 3, l. 6. For "Khawáṣṣ" read "Khawwáṣ".
- P. 3, note 1. Instead of "the text of the latter MS." read "the text of the Lahore lithograph".
- P. 13. An example of the rare verb *برسیدن* occurs in Jámí's *Nafahát*, ed. by Nassau Lees, p. 219, l. 2.



PART II OF  
THE  
TADHKIRATU 'L-AWLIYA  
("MEMOIRS OF THE SAINTS")

OF  
MUHAMMAD IBN IBRAHIM  
FARIDU'D-DIN 'ATTAR

EDITED IN THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN, WITH PREFACE, INDICES  
AND VARIANTS, AND A COMPARATIVE TABLE  
SHOWING THE PARALLEL PASSAGES WHICH OCCUR  
IN THE RISALATU 'L-QUSHAYRIYYA OF  
ABU 'L-QASIM AL-QUSHAYRI,

BY  
REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M. A.

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some time Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

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1907.





PERSIAN HISTORICAL TEXTS, Vol. V.

FARÍDU'D-DÍN 'AṬṬÁR'S  
TADHKIRATU 'L-AWLIYÁ  
(PART II)

EDITED BY

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M. A.