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## THE RUBÅ'YYÂT

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## THE RUBÂ'TYAAT OF 'UMAR-I-KHA YYÅM

PERSIAN TEXT, INTRODUCTION, ILLUSTRATIONS, ETO.

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

- The publication of this edition of the Rubầ $\hat{\imath} y \hat{a} t$ of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm has been delayed by nearly a decade. The text with its introduction was ready in 1930 and the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal sanctioned its publication in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1931. A period of nearly ten years has elapsed between the time when the introduction was written and made ready for the press and its actual publication in September, 1939. As a result, some of the observations made by me in the introduction are not quite up-to-date and I should have very much liked to modify some of them, but this has not been possible as the entire work. had been set in type soon after it was sent to the press. I have, however, referred to some of the more important researches of recent years in the 'Additions and Corrections'. I have also added two valuable texts of the Rubâ‘ $\hat{\imath} y a \hat{t} t$ from

1. Taqî Kâshî's Khulâṣat-ul $A \operatorname{sh}^{‘} \hat{a} r ~ W a ~ Z u b d a t-u l-~$ Afkâr (Oriental Public Library, .Patna, MS. No. 684)

and

2. A Majmû ${ }^{6}$, dated 750 A.H. (1349 A.D.), in the Kitâbkhâna-i-Majlis, Tehrân, in the Appendix.

I am extremely grateful to my friend Professor Saiyyid Najîb Ashraf Nadvî, M.A., for very kindly placing his manuscript of the Rubấ $\hat{y}$ ât at my disposal and to Mr. A. H. Harley, M.A:, I.E.S. (Retd.), for revising the introduction and suggesting some valuable changes.

The monochrome blocks of the manuscript have been prepared by the Indian Photo-Engraving Co., Ltd. and the -Calcutta Fine Art Cottage. As the first few folios of the manuscript were damaged and the paper had become ( vii )
slightly dark in colour, the Persian writing had to be retouched on the copper plate. Unfortunately, the artist who did the work was not a calligraphist, hence the writing has deteriorated considerably as will appear from a perusal of the blocks of Folios 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, etc. The three fourcolour blocks have been prepared by the Calcutta Chromotype Ltd.

Before concluding, I must offer my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Baini Prashad, D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.R.A.S.B., and to Dr. B. S. Guha, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B. (Honorary General Secretary of the Society), for the keen, personal interest they took in expediting the publication of this work.

M. Mahfuz-ul Haq.

## Presidency College, Calcutta.

The 15th September, 1939.

## I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

It was long believed that the West, and not the East, had prepared the first illustrated copy of the Rubâ‘̂$y$ ât of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm. The idea was shattered some two years ago by the discovery of this remarkable manuscript, which is now reproduced here, for the first time, in facsimile. The manuscript is now recognized as the earliest, and probably the only, illustrated copy of the quatrains of 'Umar yet discovered. Its importance does not lie in its antiquity-for older copies without illustrations are known-but in its beautiful ornamentation, illumination, calligraphy and, above all, in the charming miniatures that adorn it. The manuscript has an important textual value also. We shall presently see that the number of genuine quatrains in our copy is larger than in several old collections of 'Umar's Rubâa $\stackrel{\imath}{\mathrm{\imath}} \mathrm{a} \mathrm{t} t$.

There is an interesting story behind the discovery of the manuscript. A dealer in old books purchased it at an auction-sale in Calcutta, and for many months it lay unnoticed in his shop. Eventually he showed the shabby, loose and damaged manuscript to my friend Professor S. Najîb Ashraf Nadvì (now of the Isma'îl College, Andheri, Bombay) who at once realized its importance and purchased it for his library.

Unfortunately, the original fly-leaf of the manuscript, which should have contained its romantic history during the last four centuries, is missing. We do not know as to how and when it travelled from Persia to India and finally came into the possession of a Hindu scholar of the Panjâb Devî Dâs of Pasrûr, a tahṣ̂̂l in the Sialkot district of the Panjâb. Again, it is a mystery how the manuscript came out from the library of Devî Dâs and entered the sale-room of the Calcutta auctioneers; Messrs. Mackenzie Lyall \& Co., from whom the aforesaid book-seller
purchased it. There are, however, a few notes on the border of the manuscript which carry its story to the latter half of the last century.

We learn from a note on fol. $1 a$ that the manuscripts had a very large border, but being damaged by the ravages of time, it was replaced by a new one in May, 1891. The note which is in Urdû runs as follows :-
[Translation: The book had been with me in a most worn-out condition. It had very large borders. I had it repaired by Shamîm Aḥmad, a book-binder, on the 30th May, 1891.]

Next, we have the following signature on fol. $59 b$ in a shaky hand in English: 'Dave Dass'.

The original manuscript is preceded by three folios which, I believe, were added by the book-binder who repaired the copy in 1891. They contain the following notes in a tolerable Nasta'l $\hat{q} q$ hand :-

On fol. $1 a$ we have the following Persian verse written diagonally :-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { تر نه كردد كام من كر هغت دريا در كشم } \\
& \text { شربت ديدار بايد تشنـــهُ ديدار را }
\end{aligned}
$$

followed by the following inscription in Persian : منشى ديوداس me, i.e. Munshî Devî Dâs Pasrûrî. This Devî Dâs is identical with the aforesaid 'Dave Dass' whose signature (in English) we have already noticed on fol. '59b. He was an inhabitant of Pasrûr, a town in the Sialkot district of the Panjâb.

Fol. Ib is blank; fol. $2 a$ contains the following note in bold Nasta'l̂q : ع1^91 im in r. (i.e. 30th May, 1891). On fol. $2 b$ we have the following note in running Nasta'l $\hat{q} q:-$

[Translation: Memorandum-Conversation with my friend, Dastūdar, on the 21st September, 1896 A.D. $=$ 7 th Asîvaj, 1953, Samvat, on Monday.]

From this point trace has been lost of the manuscript until it came into the hands of the firm of Calcutta auctioneers who disposed of it to the Calcutta book-seller.

## II. CALLIGRAPHY, ORNAMENTATION AND ILLUMINATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

The text, which is written in a superb Nasta' ${ }^{\prime} \hat{\imath} q$ hand on a well-polished paper of mellow ivory tone, is surrounded by lines in gold and a lapis lazuli 'Hâshîya', with artistic, flowering plant-motives in gold-besides multicoloured lines which surround the 'Ḥâshîya'.

Unfortunately, the outer border of the manuscript, which presumably contained beautiful hunting scenes and geometrical designs in gold, is no longer extant. It was, removed, as already stated, in the process of rebinding in 1891. It is needless to emphasize that if this outer border had remained intact it must have given an additional charm to our manuscript. Nevertheless, from the fact that the manuscript was transcribed by the world-famous calligraphist, Sulṭân 'Alî of Mashhad, and illuminated and illustrated by some of his worthy colleagues, who have lavishly expended gold, lapis lazuli, and other costly pigments in adorning the manuscript, it is probably correct to surmise that it was prepared for some royal personage, possibly Sulṭân Ḥusayn Bayqarâ (872-911/1468-1505), who is acknowledged to have been one of the greatest patrons of art in the East.

The long and prosperous reign of Sulṭân Husayn, which extended over forty years, was a most glorious period in the history of art and letters. Himself a distinguished poet and a talented writer, he had a galaxy of brilliant poets and scholars, and skilled artists and craftsmen who flocked round him in the beautiful city of Herât. If Sulteân Husayn had an able, far-sighted, scholar-minister in Mîr 'Alî Shîr Nawâ'î, a sweet and melodious singer in Jâmî and a distinguished writer and scholar in Mullâ Husayn Wâ‘iz, he also had a great painter and miniaturist in Bihzâd and an expert calligraphist in

Sulṭân 'Alî of Mashhad. ${ }^{1}$ They lived and worked for him under ideal conditions in Herât, the city of refinement and culture.

Here Sultân 'Alî was engaged in copying for his royal master, Sulṭân Husayn, and his great minister, 'Alî Shîr, works of ancient and contemporary poets, while the incomparable Bihzâd and his pupils were employed in adorning those manuscripts with miniatures of unsurpassed elegance and charm; then there were gilders, decorators and illuminators who added finishing touches to the splendid copies. Thus there developed an art of manuscriptmaking which was hardly surpassed in any period or clime; and it was the painters and the calligraphists trained in this atelier who added lustre to the courts of the Safawids of Persia and also to that of the Tîmurids of India. Besides Bihzâd, several well-known artists, notably Mîrak, Shâh Muẓaffar, Sulṭân Muḥammad and Shaykhzâda Maḥmûd worked in the royal studio, while a host of skilled calligraphists, including Khwâja Shihâb-ud-Dîn 'Abdullâh Marwârîd, Khwâja 'Alâ-ud-Dîn Mîkâl, Sulṭân Muḥammad Nûr, Sulțân Muḥammad Khandân and others, were engaged in transcribing the manuscripts. It was here that Sultân 'Alî trained a band of earnest students of calligraphy who in their turn rose to the rank of ustâd or master. Sultuan 'Alî was adored and appreciated universally and glorious tributes to his great talent as a pen-man have been paid him by two of his royal admirers, the Emperor Bâbur and Prince Sâm Mîrzâ Șafawî. The former observes in his Memoirs :-
' Of fine pen-men there were many; the one standingout in Naskh-ta-liq was Sl. 'Alî of Mashhad who copied many books for the Mîrzâ (Sultân Husayn) and for 'Ali-sher

[^0]Beg, writing daily thirty couplets for the first, twenty for the second., ${ }^{2}$

Prince Sâm Mîrzâ, a scion of the Șafawids of Persia, states in his Tuhfa-i-Sâm $\hat{\imath},{ }^{3}$ a biography of the 'Contemporary Poets ' : -
' The pen of creation has not inscribed on the page of existence a calligraphist of the excellence of Sultuân 'Alî al-Mashhadî.'

Further, he observes in another place :-

- Mawlânâ Sulțân 'Alî Mashhadî is more famous in Nasta' $\ell \imath q$ calligraphy than words can describe...... In spite of the fact that he had passed the age of sixtythree, he wrote a beautiful hand, as will appear from the following two Mathnawî verses which he composed about himself :-



Besides the above two works, notices of Sulṭann 'Alî will also be found in Khulâṣat-ul-Akhbâr, ${ }^{4}$ Habîb-us-Siyar, ${ }^{5}$ Târı̂kh-i-Rasĥ̂d̂̂, ${ }^{6}$ Majâlis-ul-Mu'minîn, ${ }^{7} \quad$ Risâla-i-Khushnawîsî, ${ }^{8} \quad$ Mir'ât-ul-‘Alam, ${ }^{\circ} \quad$ Tadhkira-i-Khushnawîsân, ${ }^{10}$

- Tadhkirat-ul-Khattaṭtinn, ${ }^{11}$ etc., but they are usually very brief and sketchy and throw very little light on his life-history. But Sulṭân 'Alî himself has furnished some important data regarding his life in his well-known treatise on calligraphy,

[^1]entitled Risâla-i-Khushnawîsî, ${ }^{12}$ which he composed at the age of eighty-four, in 920 A.н. We learn from the Risâla that Sulṭạn 'Alî was born about 836/1432-33, for he states that, at the time of the composition of the Risâla (i.e., in 920 А.н.) he had attained the age of eighty-four (fol. 11b) :-

بود هشتاد و هار عمر عنيز گشته زايل تمام عقل و, تميز
His father died when he was a boy of seven only, i.e. in 843 A.H. ; while his uncle left this mortal world when he (Sultan 'Alî) was forty (fol. $4 a$ ) :-



رشهت ايزدى بريشـــان باد
He worked hard in his youth to improve his handwriting (fol. $3 a$ ): —


He learnt the rudiments of calligraphy from Mir Muflisî (fol. $3 a$ ) :-


 زانك ابدال بود و صاحب هال مشتـه مالم مبــلـ الاحوال


[^2]At the age of twenty he entered a Madrasah, where he practised calligraphy from morning till evening. Afterwards, he used to visit the Holy Shrine of Imâm Riḍâ at Mashhad and then come back to his house, where his mother awaited. his return (fol. $3 b$ ) :-


Soon he acquired fame and distinction, and students of calligraphy began to flock round him in the Madrasah (fol. $4 a$ ) :-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { آهندى ز دور و از نزديك خواه از ترك و خواه از تاجيك }
\end{aligned}
$$

After some time Sulṭân 'Alî left the Madrasah and - began to practice fine penmanship in his own house, in Mashhad (fol. Aa) :-

Sultan 'Alî observes complete silence regarding his departure to Herat, where he lived for nearly fifty years. He only states that for a period of five years, preceding the composition of the Risâla (i.e., between the years 915 and 920 A.H.), he suffered from âbilah-i-farang or French pox:-



- These are the more important events of Sulṭann 'Alî's life which are recorded in his Risâla.

Of the extant specimens of his calligraphy, the earliest signed specimen known to me (if we exclude the British Museum MS. No. Add. $7738^{13}$ and the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS., Ancien Fonds, No. $71{ }^{14}$ ) is the beautiful manuscript of Nizâmî's Makhzan-ul-Asrâr in the British Museum, Or. 25801, ${ }^{15}$ which was copied by him in 865/ 1461, at the age of twenty-nine.

Probably, about this time Sulṭân 'Alî was commissioned by Sulṭân Abû Saî̀d (855-872/1452-1467) to complete a copy of the Shâhnâma which was lying incomplete in his library. It is stated that Mawlânâ Ja'far, a well-known calligraphist of the age, was engaged in copying the manuscript for the Sulṭân, but before he could complete it, 'the pen of Destiny removed him from the page of Existence'. Sulṭân Abû Sa'îd did not like to hand over this superb manuscript to mediocres, and so he waited to find out a worthy successor of the Mawlânâ, and such he found in the person of Mawlânâ Sulṭân 'Alî. It is recorded in Risâla-iKhushnawîsî that ' the courtiers of the Sulṭân reported to him Sulṭân 'Alî's excellence in calligraphy and his everincreasing fame as a penman. Indeed, he received greater approbation from the general public than the calligraphists themselves. So the Mawlânâ was summoned

[^3]${ }_{15}$ Rieu, Persian Catalogue, Vol. ii, pp. 572b, $573 a$.
at the instance of the Sulṭan and was charged with the duty of completing the unfinished copy '. ${ }^{16}$

Sulṭân Abû Sa'îd occupied Herât in 861/1456-57 and remained in possession of the town (except for a temporary interruption by Jahân Shâh in 862/1457-58), till his death in 872/1467-68. It is certain that Sulṭân 'Alî came to Herât before 872/1467-68 and that, on the death of that Sulṭân, entered the service of his successor Abu'l Ghâzî Sulțân Husayn, who occupied Herât on Ramaḍân 10, А. Н. 872 (April 3, 1506). Sulṭân 'Alî enjoyed the patronage and personal favour of that king for some forty years and, on his death in $911 / 1506$, joined the service of Shaybânî Khân, the great Uzbeg leader who occupied Herât in 913/1507-8. Shaybânî Khân, ruthless and savage though he was, is nevertheless acknowledged to have been a good poet, painter and penman. But 'he formed too high an estimate of his own achievements, for he took upon himself to correct the drawings of Bihzâd, just as he would touch up the handwriting of Sultên 'Alî of Mashhad, the greatest calligraphist of his day '. ${ }^{17}$

Probably Sulṭân 'Alî returned to his native town, Mashhad, sometime after the death of Shaybânî Khân, which took place in $916 / 1510$, or possibly earlier, for he was attacked with 'âbilah-i-farang (morbus gahliens), or French pox, about 915/1509.

Several conflicting dates have been assigned to the death of Sulṭân 'Alî. According to Mir'ât-ul-'Alam, ${ }^{18}$ he died in 910 А. Н., while the author of Tadh7irat-ul-Khattaṭî̀n ${ }^{19}$

[^4]places his death in 914 A.H. The authors of Ḥab̂̂b-usSiyar ${ }^{20}$ and Majâlis-ul-Mu'minîn ${ }^{21}$ record his death in 919 A.H., but we cannot accept any of the above dates as correct for the reasons given here :-
(i) He composed the aforesaid Risâla on calligraphy in 920 A.H., as he states in the conclusion :-
\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { بود ماه نخست ز اول سال كا آخر رسيد قال و هقال }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

(ii) A Persian MS. exhibited in Paris, in 1912, was copied by him in 920 А.н., as appears from the following colophon ${ }^{22}$ :-

(iii) A copy of Risâla-i-Khwâja 'Abdullâh Anṣârî, transcribed by him in 921 А.н., is preserved in the Râmpûr State Library. ${ }^{23}$
The only conclusion which we can possibly draw from the above facts is that he did not die before 921/1515-16.

We learn from the Majâlis-ul-Mu'minîn that Sulṭân 'Alî was buried at Mashhad, beside the library which is attached to the Holy Shrine of Imâm Riḍâ. ${ }^{24}$

To judge from the extant specimens of his calligraphy, Sulṭân 'Alî was undoubtedly an indefatigable worker; he even copied manuscripts at the advanced age of eighty-four. I have been able to trace some thirty manuscripts which bear his signature, but it must not be assumed from this fact only that they were all transcribed by Sulṭân 'Alî

[^5]himself, for besides the possibility of a forged signature in the colophon, it is quite probable, indeed certain, that some of these manuscripts were copied by other calligraphists who were his namesakes. The author of Tadhkira-iKhushnawîsân gives us the names of four ${ }^{25}$ namesakes of Sulțân 'Alî, namely, Sulṭân 'Alî Fânî,,' Sultân 'Alî Tabrîzî, Sulṭân 'Alî Khurâsânî, Sulṭân 'Alî Qazwînî. To the above list we may add the names of (1) Sulṭân 'Alî Qâ'inî, who also enjoyed the patronage of 'Alî Shîr Nawâ'î and died (according to Mir' ${ }^{3}$ t-ul-‘Alam) in A.H. 914, ${ }^{27}$ (2) Sulṭân 'Alî al-Haravî, who transcribed a Persian treatise on the astrolabe ${ }^{28}$ in 999/1590-91, (3) Sulṭân 'Alî Shûshtarî, who was a distinguished painter and, as appears from his. signature on one of the paintings, was probably a calligraphist too, ${ }^{29}$ and (4) Sulṭ̣̂n 'Alî Shîrâzî. ${ }^{30}$

We are unable to say whether or not Sulṭân 'Alî left any male issue, but it is rather curious to note that Schule, ${ }^{31}$ Jackson, ${ }^{32}$ Marteau and Vever, ${ }^{33}$ Huart ${ }^{34}$ and several other writers on Persian painting are almost unanimous in declaring that Sulṭ̣̂n Muḥammad Nûr, a distinguished calligraphist of the period, was his son. I have consulted some of the most important and trustworthy contemporary authorities on the subject but have failed

[^6]to find any statement supporting the assertion of these distinguished writers. ${ }^{35}$

Sulṭân 'Alî transcribed our manuscript of the Rubâ' $\hat{\imath} y \hat{a} t$ on the last day of Rajab, A.H. 911. Probably it was the last copy which he prepared for his great patron Sulṭân Husayn Bayqarâ, who died only a few months later, on the 11th of Dhu'l-Hijja, 911 (May 5, 1506). The colophon runs thus:-

 كتبه العبد المذنب سلطان على الكاتب
'Finished the Rubâ' $\hat{\imath} y \hat{a} t$ of Shaykh 'Umar-i-Khayyâm, the King of Philosophers, May Allâh make his dust fragrant, on the last day of Rajab-al-Murajjab, in the year Nine Hundred and Eleven of the Hijra of the Prophet. Transcribed by this sinful slave, Sulṭân 'Alî al-Kâtib.'

Here Sulṭân 'Alî has signed his name 'Sulṭân 'Alî al-Kâtib', and has omitted to add 'al-Mashhadî', after his name, but we need not attach any importance to this omission which is probably incidental only: The fact that Sulṭân 'Alî used to sign his name as Sulṭân 'Alî alKâtib also is proved beyond all doubt from the following

35 Khwând Amîr, who wrote his Habîb-us-Siyar (in 930/1524) during the life time of Sulṭân Muhammad Nûr, calls him Sulṭân Muḥammad bin (i.e., son of) Nûrullâh (Vol. iii, Juzv iii, p. 350). The above statement is conclusively proved from the signature of the calligraphist himself, which appears on a MS. of Chahl Hadîth in the St. Petersburg Library. It runs as follows :-
سلطان يُد بن نوراشَ
(Sulțân Muhammad, son of Nûrullâh). See Dorn's Catalogue des Manuscrits et Xylographes Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Imperiale Publique de St.-Petersbourg,
No. CDXXXVII. Another signature: بنده ساطان تُما بن نور (The slave, Sulṭân Muhammad, son of Nûr) appears on a MS. of Subhat-ul-Marjan (dated, A.H. 913) in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. (See Khân Bahâdur 'Abdul Muqtadir's Catalogue, Vol. 1, p. 74.) It is quite clear from the above quotations that Sulṭan Muhammad was the son of Nûrullâh and not of Sulṭân 'Alî al-Mashhadî.
note on a Waṣl̂, included in the Album of the Emperor Jahângîr, in the Berlin Library ${ }^{36}$ :مشقه •إلبد المذنب المحتاج الى رمهة الته تحالى سلطان على الكاتب المشهدى غفر ذنوبه و ستز عيوبه بدارالسلطنة هر الماه

36 Goetz (H.) and Kühnel (E.), Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin, Plate 24.

## III. THE MINIATURES.

There are five beautiful miniatures (on folios $30 b, 31 a$, $40 b, 41 a, 50 b$ ) which adorn the manuscript. They are interesting specimens of the pictorial art of Persia that flourished at Herât in the 15 th and early 16th centuries A.D. Although four of the miniatures lack the artistic perfection of Bihzâd or Maḥmûd, yet there can be no doubt as to their having been drawn by a painter who had received his training in the studio of Bihzâd. There is one miniature however (on fol. 41 $\alpha$ ) which appears to have been executed by the great Bihzâd himself. This one, which is undoubtedly the finest in the manuscript, is characterized by that excellence of workmanship, finish and refinement which have long been recognized to be the most pleasing features of the miniatures executed by that great artist. Simple in design and execution, charming in its colour scheme and supremely decorative in character, it has a fascination of which the observer never wearies. The signature of Bihzâd, which is in microscopic letters, has been cleverly concealed in the fringe of the Kamar band (or, belt) of the youth sitting on the right. In fact, the artist has so cleverly concealed his signature that it escaped my notice for more than a year.

I regret, however, that in spite of the best endeavours of the photographer and the engraver it has not been possible for them to reproduce the signature of the artist; it is in fact, so minute that they cannot be detected even in the original without the help of a magnifying glass.

It is a matter of common knowledge to the students of Persian painting that Bihzâd employed certain very clever devices in concealing his signatures. Dr. Martin, a. notable authority on Islamic painting, has laid down
the following test for identifying the authentic signatures of that artist:-
' Real signatures executed by the artist (ice. Bihzâd) are extremely rare, being recognized at once by the care and discretion shewn in their application. It may be taken as a rule that all conspicuous and carelessly written signatures are of a far later date. Those who know Bihzâd's real signature are aware that most of those ascribed to him are false, and have not the slightest resemblance to the microscopic character of the master. If the signature is placed within a small shield or anything similar, its authenticity is pretty certain.' ${ }^{37}$

By applying the above test we find little difficulty in asserting that the signature on our miniature is probably authentic. But is the quality of the miniature such that the great Bihzâd might have painted it? I am inclined to answer the question in the affirmative, but I should like to emphasize at the same time that its quality must not be judged by the reproduction given here. The art of process-engraving in India is still in its infancy, and therefore it is impossible to reproduce in print the extreme delicacy of the lines or the dazzling beauty of the colours that the painter has used. In fact, the reproduction gives only a very hazy idea of the consummate skill of the artist. I leave the matter here, and now it rests with the expert to examine the original miniature and to pronounce his judgment on the authenticity or otherwise of the signature of Bihzâd.

All the miniatures, with the exception of the last, go in pairs. In the first set of double-page illustrations the artist has illustrated the subject-matter of the following Quatrain :-


چون عاقبت كار همين خوراهد ابود


[^7]In paradise, they tell us, Houris dwell, And fountains run with wine and oxymel : If these be lawful in the world to come, Surely 'tis right to love them here as well.
(Whinfield).
The first two lines of the Quatrain are illustrated in the first miniature, while the last two are illustrated on the page facing it. We find in both the miniatures youth and beauty meeting 'to snatch and to turn to good account a few moments from annihilation's waste'. The lawn is green and the light crimson background is overshadowed by a golden sky. The colour scheme is immensely pleasing, but it must be admitted, however, that the artist has not displayed his skill to the best advantage. He was apparently a mediocre one only.

In the second set of paintings we find two youths sitting on the green lawn, with a 'Cup of Wine' and a 'Book of Verses', reminding us of 'Umar's dream of 'Paradise on Earth ' :-

A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread-and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness-
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow !
(Fitz-Gerald).
The blossoming tree, the fine landscape behind and the golden horizon above, flecked with white and blue, curling patches of cloud, transform us to a 'fairy world of unearthly vividness and beauty'. The picture on the opposite page, which is no doubt the finest in the manuscript and was perhaps painted by the great Bihzâd himself, depicts a scene of close intimacy. The lawn is as usual green but the background is of dazzling gold and the horizon of wonderful lapis lazuli, a pigment which 'must have been worth its weight in gold '. The effect produced
by the alternate use of gold and blue, both charmingly fresh and bright, is immensely pleasing.

The text, illustrated in the minatures, is as follows :-
 اين عالم فانى چو خرابست و بياب الم الم باده درو هست و خراب اولـيّز

Youth is the time to pay court to the Vine, To quaff the cup, with revellers to recline ; A flood of water once laid waste the earth, Hence learn to lay you waste with. floods of wine. (Whinfield).
The fifth and the last painting, which is a single page illustration, is the least attractive of all the paintings in the manuscript. Further, it has been badly mutilated by some over-zealous moralist who was probably annoyed with the scene depicted. The Quatrain illustrated here, runs as follows:-


The following is a free rendering of the text:-
Now that the Nightingale has struck his lyre, Fill full the cup of joy for the days that be ; Awake, arise, for the spring is in full array, Accept naught but the brimming cup from Sâqî's lily hands.

## IV. CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

The manuscript $\left(6 \times 4 \frac{1}{2} ; 4_{10}^{3} \times 3 \frac{1}{10}\right)$ should have, as originally numbered, comprised 62 folios, but we notice that:

Fol. 1 is numbered $3(r)$, from which we may conclude that 2 folios which apparently contained a double-page miniature, are missing ; and, as such, it is probable that three quatrains are missing from the copy. I have counted the number of quatrains in the following manner: fol. $1 a$ (or fly-leaf) blank; foll. $1 b$ and $2 a$, which might have contained miniatures, one $R u b \hat{a}^{\star} \hat{\imath}$; fol. $2 b$, two $R u b \hat{a} ‘ \hat{\imath} s$.

Fol. 33, which should have been originally numbered 35 , is actually numbered 36 , which is either due to the fact that fol. 35 is missing, or that the page has been numbered wrongly.

Fol. 37, which should have borne 40, is actually numbered 41.

Foll. 49, 50, 51, and 52 (numbered originally 53, 54, 55 , and 56 ) are blank. But these pages do not form a part of the original MS., for the paper of these folios is very modern. Probably these pages were actually meant for the outer cover of the MS., and were added towards the end of the last century by the book-binder who remounted the copy on new margins. An exactly similar leaf actually precedes the MS.

Foll. 12 and 55 are misplaced; the former should come after fol. 55 and the latter should follow fol. 45.

## V. THE 'GENUINENESS ' OF THE QUATRAINS IN THE MANUSCRIPT.

The manuscript, which contains two quatrains to a page (except fols. $31 b, 32 a, 41 b, 42 a, 50 b$, and $54 a$ which contain miniatures), comprises 206 quatrains, arranged alphabetically. The number of $R u b \hat{a} ‘ \hat{\imath} s$, under each letter of the alphabet is as follows :-

Alif (7) ; bâ (3) ; tâ (85) ; jîm (1) ; hâa (1) ; khâa (1); dâl (45) ; râ (13) ; zâ (8) ; sîn (2) ; shîn (5) ; kâf and gâf, which are not separated, (3) ; mîm (11) ; nûn (8) ; wâw (4); and $y \hat{a}(9)=206$. But we find that under rad $\hat{\imath} f$ ' $t \hat{a}$ ' Quatrains 44 and 45 are identical ; thus the total number of quatrains in our copy is 205 .

It may now be asked: How many of these quatrains may be safely attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyâm? I cannot attempt to answer this question without referring to the methods pursued by scholars to test the genuineness of the Rubâ‘ $\imath \mathrm{\imath} y$ ât attributed to 'Umar. As pointed out by Sir Denison Ross, the following four methods have ordinarily been followed by scholars :-
'(1) To eliminate from the attributed verses all those which are found in old MSS. of early poets,
(2) To eliminate verses which have from the first been claimed for later poets,
(3) To accept as genuine incidental quotations from 'Omar, occurring in early works of biography and in anthologies, and
(4) To take the style and subject-matter as the test of genuineness. ${ }^{9}{ }^{38}$
The first two methods were adopted, for the first time, by the late Professor Zhukovski in his monograph, "Umar-i-Khayyâm and the Wandering Quatrains', which

[^8]appeared in the al-Muzaffarîyya ${ }^{39}$-a volume of studies presented to Baron Victor Rosen, in 1897. Zhukovski was able to show in that monograph that at least eighty-two quatrains included in the edition of Nicolas ${ }^{40}$ could, on equally good authority, be attributed to other poets. The study was taken up later by Professor Arthur Christensen, in his Researches sur les Rubâ't̂yât d'Omar Hayyâm (Heidelberg, 1905), who was able to add 19 quatrains to Zhukovski's list of 'Wandering Quatrains'-thus raising the number to 101 . He was later able to find 7 more. ${ }^{41}$

It must not.be supposed, however, that this method is not fraught with danger or difficulty. As pointed out by Dr. Rosen in his article, Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler Omar's des Zeltmachers, ${ }^{42}$ 'the fact that a quatrain is ascribed at the same time to 'Umar and to another poet, does not necessarily mean that 'Umar is not the author of the quatrain in question. Two quatrains which are ascribed to 'Umar and likewise to Tâlib-i-'Âmulî cannot be composed by the latter, for they occur in the Bodleian MS. from A.D. 1460-61 and Tâlib died in 1625 or 1626. Only two out of sixteen quatrains that are ascribed to Ḥafiẓ are to be found in a MS. of Ḥâfiz' Dîvân from • A.D. 1639, and none at all from about A.D. 1500. ${ }^{43}$ Of four quatrains attributed to 'Umar and to Jalâlud-dîn Rûmî not a single one exists in a Rûmî MS. from about A.D. 1500.' He concludes: 'We are not justified in rejecting a priori as

[^9]spurious a 'wandering quatrain' that exists in the 'Rubâ‘îyât of 'Umar.'

I find on an examination of the text of the present manuscript that out of a total of 206 Rubâ'îyât, 30 are included in Zhukovski's, 2 in Christensen's, and 1 in Rosen's list of the 'Wandering Quatrains'. I suppose there are still quite a good number of quatrains in this copy which can be traced in the Dîwâns of other poets, and as an instance I may point out that Quatrain No. 62 is present in the Kullîyât of Ibn-i-Yamîn, dated A.н. 1026, preserved in the Bûhâr Library, Calcutta.

I append here a list of the 'Wandering Quatrains' of the present MS. :-

| Serial <br> No. | N. Ashraf <br> MS. | Bodleian <br> MS. | Whinfield's <br> Edition. | Nicolas's <br> Edition. |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


| ' Wandering Quatrains ' included in Zhukovski's list. |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 'Ațtâr. |
| 2 |  | .. | 2 | - |  |
| 3 | 13 |  | 52 | 49 | Hâfiz. |
| 4 | 17 | 11 | 28 | 24 |  |
| 5 | 29 | .. | 57 | 54 | Atrâf-ud-Dîn Hasanî. |
| 6 | 32 |  | 66 | 59 63 | Najm-ud-Din Râzi. |
| 7 | 52 | 19 | 42 | ${ }_{38}$ | Naṣir-ud-Dîn Ṭasî. |
| 9 | 65 | .. | 73 | 70 | Hââfiz. |
| 10 | 81 | $\cdots$ | 72 | 69 |  |
| 11 | 87 | . | 93 | 91 | 'Abdullâh Ansârî. |
| 12 | 95 99 |  | 76 164 | 74 141 | Sirâj-ud-Dîn Qumrî. <br> Râzî, Ni‘matullâh Kirmânî. |
| 13 14 | 99 106 | $\ldots$ | 164 177 | 158 | Râzî, Ni‘matullâh Kirmâni. Rûmî. |
| 15 | 151 | $\ldots$ | 142 | 113 | Fakhr-ud-Dîn Râzî. |
| 16 | 114 |  | 140 | 110 | Afdal-i-Kâshî. |
| 17 | 119 |  | 185 | 168 | Hấfiz, Majd-ud-Dîn Hamgar. |
| 18 | 124 | 77 | 194 | 179 | Maid-ud-Dîn Hamgar. |
| 19 | 152 | . | ${ }_{246}^{243}$ | 199 | Shâhi, 'Akifi. |
| 20 | 156 |  | 246 | 202 | Heâtiz. |
| 21 22 | 158 160 | 99 | 268 269 | ${ }_{23 \text { 2 }}$ | Kämâl Isma'îl. |
| 23 | 165 |  | 276 | 236 | Abû Sa îd, Anṣ̂rî. |
| 24 | 166 | .. | 278 | 238 | Rûmî. |
| 25 | 175 |  | 333 | 296 | Abû Sa‘̂d, Saif-ud-Dîn |
| 26 | 177 |  | 306 | 263 | Athîr-ud Dîn. |
| 27 | 195 | 130 | 393 | 351 | Afdal-i-Kâshî, Ḥâfiz. |
| 28 | 196 |  | 395 | 353 | Hâ̂iz. |
| 29 30 | 197 | 129 | 390 463 | 348 426 | 'Abtuâr. Sâo. |
| 30 | 206 |  | 463 | $426$ | Aba Sa'îd. |


| Serial <br> No. | N. Ashraf <br> MS. <br> . | Bodleian <br> MS. | Whinfield's <br> Edition. | Nicolas's <br> Edition. | Attributed to |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |



In connection with the third method, namely 'to accept as genuine incidental quotations from 'Umar, occurring in early works of biography and anthologies ', Zhukovski, Rosen, and Ross have examined a large number of Persian works and they have been able to discover 2 quatrains in Najm-ud-Dîn Râzî's Mirṣâd-ul-‘Ibâd (composed in 620/1223) ; 1 in Juwaynî's Târı̂kh-i-Jahân Gushâ ${ }^{44}$ (composed 658/1260) ; 2 in Shahrazûrî's Nuzhat-ul-Arwâh (13th c., A.D.) ; 1 in Hamdullâh Mustawfî's Târîkh-iGuzîda ${ }^{45}$ (composed in 730/1330); 2 (one being identical with the quatrain in Târ̂̂lh-i-Guzîda) in Firdaws-utTawârı̂kh (compiled 808/1405) ; and 13 in Mu'nis-ul-Aḥrâr ${ }^{46}$ (741/1340-1), a unique anthology of the works of Persian poets. There is good reason to believe that all these 18 quatrains are genuine and may be taken as the basis of the text of 'Umar's Rubâ' $\hat{y} \hat{a} t$. Christensen, however, considers 10 of these quatrains as genuine, 3 uncertain and 5 spurious. ${ }^{47}$

[^10]Of the quatrains in the above-mentioned books, the following are found in our copy also :-

No. 19 of our copy is No. 1 in the Mirs $\stackrel{̣}{d} d-u l-‘$ Ibâd and No. 11 in the $M u$ 'nis-ulAhrâr.
No. 37 ", ", No. 5 in the Mu'nis-ul-Aḩrâr.
No. 52 , , is included in Târîkh-i-Jahân Gushâ.

| No. 105 | , | No. 1 in the Mu'nis-ul-Ahrâr. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| No. 173 | $"$ | No. 8 | $"$ |

Of the 12 quatrains which contain the pen-name of 'Umar, only six (including No. 8 of Jâjarmî) have been declared by Rosen to be genuine. ${ }^{48}$ Our copy contains 5 quatrains (Nos. 43, 82, 167, 173, and 192) which bear the pen-name of 'Umar, and three of them (i.e. Nos. 167, 173, and 192) are included in Rosen's list of 'genuine' quatrains, while one more (No. 43) is declared by Christensen to be genuine. ${ }^{49}$

I have myself pursued these two methods with some amount of success and have discovered a quatrain of 'Umar in a unique and exceedingly valuable manuscript of Târikh-i-Herât, ${ }^{50}$ which was composed by Sayf Ibn Muḥammad bin Ya'qûb al-Harawî and dedicated to Malik Ghiyâth-ud-Dîn Kurt, the fourth King of the Kurt dynasty of Herât, who reigned during the years 708-729/1308-1328. The MS. does not bear the date of transcription 'but the

[^11]nature of the handwriting and the general appearance of the copy tend to suggest ', as pointed out by Khân Bahâdur 'Abdul Muqtadir, 'that it was transcribed during the lifetime of the author or immediately after his death '. ${ }^{51}$ The quatrain occurs on fol. $45 b$ of the MS. and bears the name of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm, in red ink, on the margin :-


The quatrain also occurs, as appears from Christensen's ' concordance ? (No. 516), in several collections of 'Umar's Rubâ‘‘̂yât, namely Rosen's MS. (dated, A.H. 721) Bibliothèque Nationale MS., Suppl. Persian, 823 (dated, A.H. 902) ; Bodleian MS., No. 376 (circa, 16th century); the British Museum MS., Or. 5966 (dated, A. ․ 977), etc. It is also found in the Amritsar (No. 638), Lucknow (No. 516), and Nicolas's (No. 280) editions of the Rubấ‘$\hat{\imath}$ ât, but in all these editions the quatrain has two lines quite distinct from the Târ̂̂kh MS. I quote the text from Nicolas's edition (No. 280) and refer the reader to Rosen for variants, etc. ${ }^{52}$



A comparison of the above text with the text in the Târ̂̂kh MS. will hardly leave any doubt in our mind regarding the excellence of the text in the latter manuscript. I am of opinion that, as the Rub $\hat{a}^{\hat{\imath}} \hat{\imath}$ occurs in a MS. which was written before $729 / 1328$, and, further, as it is also found in several fairly old collections of the Rubâं $\hat{\imath} y \hat{a} t$, it

[^12]should be included among the genuine quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm.

I should also like to refer here to another discovery of 16 quatrains which I made in 1929 in Taqî-i-Kâshî's ${ }^{53}$ extremely rare Khulâṣat-ul-Ash'âr wa Zubdat-ul-Aflâ̂r (1016/1607) preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. ${ }^{54}$ Of these 16 quatrains, I was able to trace 9 in certain collections of 'Umar's Rubầîyât, but the remaining 7 could not be found in any available edition of the Rubâ'îyât. As I have already discussed the value and importance of Kâshî's codex in an article which I contributed to Vol. III of Islamic Culture ${ }^{55}$ (Hyderabad, Deccan), I do not propose to re-open the discussion. I shall, therefore, give only a brief summary of the remarks that I made in that paper :-

1. Taqî-i-Kâshî is a remarkably accurate biographer.
2. The Patna MS. was revised and corrected by Taqî-i-Kâshî himself.
3. The Patna MS. presents a more correct text of the Rubâ‘‘$y \hat{\imath} t$ than some of the older codexes transcribed by the professional calligraphists. The value of the text is proved from the fact that 3 of the 'traced' quatrains (Nos. $5,{ }^{56} 8$, and $9{ }^{57}$ ) are present in Jâjarmî's
[^13]Mu'nis-ul-Ahrâr, 4 (Nos. $1,{ }^{58} 2,3,{ }^{59}$ and $4{ }^{60}$ ) in the Bodleian MS., and the remaining 3 (Nos. 6 and 7) in Rosen's MS. (the colophon of which is dated, А.H. 721).
4. In view of the above facts, there is reason to believe that the 'new', or 'untraced', quatrains are also probably genuine and that some of them at least can be traced in the unpublished codexes of 'Umar's Rubâ'îyât.
Our MS. includes 5 of these 'traced' quatrains, ie. Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, and 9 corresponding to Nos. 200, 38, 111, 81, and 19 of our manuscript.

The text of the Rubâ‘र̂yât in Taqî1-i-Kâshî's Khulâṣa is printed as a supplement at the end.

I may also mention here that ar-Râwandi's Râhat-uṣŞudûr (composed in 599) and Ṣadr-ud-Dîn Warâwînî's Marzubân Nâma (composed towards the beginning of the 7 th century Hijra) contain two $R u b \hat{a}$ ' $\hat{\imath} s$ which are ordinarily attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyâm. Although neither arRawandî nor al-Warâwînî mentions the name of 'Umar-iKhayyâm yet there is good reason to believe that the following Quatrain, quoted in the Râhat-uṣ-Șudûr, probably belongs to 'Umar ${ }^{61}$ :-



The Quatrain in the Marzubân Nâma runs as follows ${ }^{62}$ :--



[^14]but as it is included in the list of the 'Wandering Quatrains' and is attributed to 'Abdullâh Anṣârî, we are not quite sure regarding its authorship.

In connection with the fourth method, namely 'to take the style and the subject-matter as the test of genuineness ', some useful work has been done by Dr. Rosen, but he was unable to make much progress owing mainly to the fact that ' nearly all quatrains are', as pointed out by Professor Browne, 'so similar in form, metre, style, and diction, so brief in extent, so much more prone to treat of the Universal than of the Particular, and so easy to make or paraphrase, that not even the most accomplished Persian man of letters could seriously pretend to decide by their style as to their authorship '. ${ }^{63}$

Professor Arthur Christensen has, however, followed a new method. Besides applying the aforesaid tests, he has further relied on the occurrence of a quatrain in a certain number of fairly old codexes before declaring it to be genuine. He had for this purpose 18 collections ${ }^{64}$ of the Rubâ‘îyât before him, which he divided into two main groups : (A) Alphabetical and (B) Non-alphabetical. ${ }^{65} \mathrm{He}$ laid the following general rule for testing the genuineness of the Rubâ' $\hat{\imath} y \hat{a} t$ attributed to 'Umar. "If a quatrain is so amply represented in texts of both groups $A$ and $B$, that it has been in their common source, its existence in the Rubâ'îyât of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm is warranted for so early a date that we safely consider it genuine ". ${ }^{88}$ Further, he laid down that if a quatrain occurs in at least five texts of group B and (generally speaking) in three or four texts of group A it is fairly safe to assume its genuineness. He has, after applying these rules, selected only 121

[^15]quatrains as genuine, out of a total of 1,213 Rubâ‘îyat attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyâm.

Our copy contains 78 Rubâ‘̂$\hat{\imath}$ out of a total of 121 quatrains selected by Christensen as genuine.

They are :-

| Serial No. | N. Ashraf MS. | Christensen's List. | Serial No. | N. Ashraf MS. | Christensen's List. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 1 | L (5). | 40 | 102 | XCV (234). |
| 2 | 4 | LXXVI (13). | 41 | 103 | XCIV (235). |
| 3 | 10 | LXVI (29). | 42 | 104 | XCVII (245). |
| 4 | 19 | LXXX (45). | 43 | 105 | XVII (247). |
| 5 | 31 | LXXIX (44). | 44 | 108 | XLVIII (262). |
| 6 | 32 | LXXXI (62). | 45 | 110 | X (264). |
| 7 | 35 | XXXII (94). | 46 | 116 | VII (277). |
| 8 | 36 | LXXXII (69). | 47 | 119 | IV (285). |
| 9 | 37 | LI (104). | 48 | 124 | XLII (305). |
| 10 | 38 | XXXVII (84). | 49 | 127 | XCVIII (308). |
| 11 | 39 | LXI (61). | 50 | 129 | VIII (310). |
| 12 | 41 | LXXXVIII (122). | 51 | 130 | XTV (312). |
| 13 | 42 | LXXXIV (92). | 52 | 132 | XX (243). |
| 14 | 43 | LXVII (74). | 53 | 133 | LXXV (267). |
| 15 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}44 \\ 45\end{array}\right\}$ | XI (158). | 54 | 135 145 | XII (358). |
| 16 | 48 | XLIX (68). | 56 | 146 | CII (402). |
| 17 | 50 | LXXXIII (80). | 57 | 150 | CIII (409). |
| 18 | 51 | XXV (51). | 58 | 157 | LII (427). |
| 19 | 52 | LXXVII (50). | 59 | 158 | CIV (423). |
| 20 | 55 | XXXIX (96). | 60 | 160 | LXXII (435). |
| 21 | 60 | XXIX (181). | 61 | 162 | V.I (443). |
| 22 | 63 | II (189). | 62 | 164 | LXV (446). |
| 23 | 65 | LXXXIX (191). | 63 | 167 | III (454). |
| 24 | 66 | XV (192). | 64 | 169 | CV (462). |
| 25 | 67 | XXIII (193). | 65 | 173 | XXXI (474). |
| 26 | 68 | XC (194). | 66 | 177 | XXIV (519). |
| 27 | 69 | XCI (195). | 67 | 178 | CVII (518). |
| 28 | 72 | XIII (198). | 68 | 181 | IX (537). |
| 29 | 73 | LVIII (199). | 69 | 184 | XXVI (546). |
| 30 | 74 | LIX (200). | 70 | 186 | CX (58). |
| 31 | 81 | XLIV (210). | 71 | 189 | CXII (605). |
| 32 | 84 | LXXXVII (115). | 72 | 192 | LVII (617). |
| 33 | 85 | LXIII (215). | 73 | 195 | CXIV (624). |
| 34 | 86 | XXII (216). | 74 | 197 | XXXV (634). |
| 35 | 87 | XCII (217). | 75 | 198 | CXVII (698). |
| 36 | 88 | LV (89). | 76 | 201 | XXVIII (697). |
| 37 | 89 | XXI (218). | 77 | 202 | XVIII (713). |
| 38 39 | 98 100 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { XCIII (229). } \\ & \text { XCIV (232). } \end{aligned}$ | 78 | 203 | XXVII (723). |

It must not be supposed, however, that only 78 'genuine' quatrains are included in our copy, nor should it be supposed that all these 78 quatrains are absolutely
genuine; we can call them 'probably genuine' only. ${ }^{67}$ I should like to make it clear also that Professor Christensen has not made use of a very large number of fairly old collections of 'Umar's Rubâ' $\hat{y}$ ât in making his selections and, as such, his list can by no means be called complete. It has to be revised from time to time, whenever a new and important codex of 'Umar's Rubâ'îyât comes to light. A very good start can be made, even to-day, with the help of the following manuscripts which were not available to Professor Christensen :-

Bibliothèque Nationale MSS. of the Rubâ‘ îyât:-

1. Schefer Collection, No. 1425. This beautiful, illustrated manuscript contains selections from the Dîwâns of the Persian poets, including 'Umar-i-Khayyâm. Blochet ascribes the MS. to the 16 th century, A.D. ${ }^{68}$
2. Schefer Collection No. 1481. This undated, but apparently 16 th century, MS. comprises, 34 folios. ${ }^{69}$
3. Schefer Collection, No. 1366. This 16th century manuscript of 'mixed contents' contains another collection of 'Umar's Rubâ't̂yât. ${ }^{70}$

## Manuscripts of the Rubâ‘‘̂yât in India :-

4. The most valuable MS. of 'Umar's Rubâ'îyât in India is a copy, dated 826/1422-23, in the collection of Mr. Gourî Prashâd Saxenâ, a well-known art-dealer of Lucknow. The MS., which is some forty years older than the famous
[^16]Bodleian MS., forms part of a collection of $15^{71}$ 'Miscellaneous Works' of Persian poets and prose writers. The collection was made by Qiwâm bin Muhammad al-Mâzandarânî, at Kirmân, in $826 / 1423$, as appears from the colophons of MSS. No. $2^{72}$ (i.e. a prose version of the story of Joseph made apparently by Qiwâm himself), No. $3^{73}$ (i.e. selections from Farîd-ud-Dîn 'Ațṭâr's Mukhtâr Nâma) and No. II ${ }^{74}$ (i.e. Abû Ishâq's Risâla-i-Qalandarîya). The Rubâ'îyât of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm (No. 12 in

71 The Risalas are arranged in the following order :-
(1) Ẓafar-Nama, composed for Jamshîd.
(2) Firdawsî's Yûsuf wa Zulaikha.
(3) The story of Yûsuf and Zulailcha in prose, probably written by the scribe himself.
(4) Selections from 'Ațtêr's Mukhtâr Nama made by the scribe, as he says:-
. ... . . .

(5) Farîd al-Aḥwal's Risala on Astronomy.
(6) Qaṣida by Khwâjû of Kirmân.
(7) Qasîda of Anwarî.
(8) Qaṣîda of Amîr Maḥmûd Yamînî.
(9) Qasîda of Ibn-i-Saif.
(10) Risalla-i-Sham' (in prose) by Jalâl-ud-Dîn Khwâfî.
(11) Risala-i-Qalandarîya (in prose) by Abû Ishâq.
(12) Ruha'îyitt of Sulṭân al-Ḥukamâ 'Umar al-Khayyâm.
(13) Qaṣîda by Rabî‘î Fûshanjî.
(14) Qaṣîda by 'Alî Ḥasan al-Bâkharzî.
(15) Qaṣîda by 'Imâdî in praise of Sâlâr Abu'l Qâsim.

72 The colophon runs thus:-

و عشرين و ثاثماية بمقام كرمان

73 The colophon runs as follows :-
"ت كت
74 The colophon runs thus :-


* AYY هن هج الحرام
order of sequence) are introduced with the following heading in beautiful Naskh :-
رباعيات سلطان الحمكا مرم الخيام

There are six quatrains to a page with additional quatrains on the margin. The total number of the Rubâ'îs is 206 - 126 in the middle, 79 on the margin and 1 on the title page. The quatrains are not arranged alphabetically, which fact enhances the value of the text, for, as pointed out by Prof. Christensen, "non-alphabetical texts represent a textual representation which is older than that of single alphabetical texts '. The MS. opens with the following Rubâ'î:-


and concludes with :-



5. MS., dated $868 / 1463-4$, in the collection of Khwâja Muhammad Salîm of Lahore. The copy which was made by Ḥâjjî Farajullâh at Baghdâd, in 868/1463-4, comprises 143 quatrains, arranged alphabetically. The text is written in beautiful Nasta'lîq, on gold-sprinkled paper. ${ }^{75}$ Of the 143 quatrains the manuscript has 135 in common with the Bodleian MS. ${ }^{76} 6$ can be traced

[^17]in other printed editions ${ }^{77}$, and 2 (which Prof. Muhammad Iqbal was unable to trace in any available edition of 'Umar's Rubấìyât ${ }^{78}$ ) have been traced by me in the Dîwân of Hafiz, and in two MSS. of the Rubâ'îyât of 'Umar-iKhayyâm. ${ }^{79}$
6. An undated, but apparently 16 th century, MS. in the Oriental Public Library at Patna. The

[^18]The quatrain beginning with بردار بیاله و سبو الى دبو, which Professor Iqbal was unable to trace in the Bodleian MS., is given there under the letter Yd (No. 151 of Heron-Allen's edition).

78 Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 18.
${ }_{79}$ The Quatrains are :
 ثعدان دلم رستم دستـان غان غمت
بر كين سياؤش جهان كوده خراب
 سبرّ است لبت باده ازان دور مباد

The former Quatrain is quoted thus in the Oriental Public Library MS. of Ruba'ryat-i-'Umar-i-Khayyâm, No. 16 (fol. Sb, No. 40):-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { الى بیزن غ } \\
& \text { بر كين سياؤش جهان ك5ده خراب }
\end{aligned}
$$

It is also quoted in the Calcutta Madrasah MS. No. 14, 19/1 :-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text {. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The next Quatrain is quoted in almost all the editions of Diwan-i-Hafiz, including the Tehrân edition (1930), which is edited from a MS. dated 827/1424.

Rubâ'ìyât, 613 in all, are arranged alphabetically. ${ }^{80}$
7. An undated, but apparently late 17 th century, MS. (No. Nl., 160) in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The MS. includes 78 Rubấîs of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm. ${ }^{81}$
8 and 9. An undated, but probably early 17 th century, MS. (foll. 31) in the library of the Calcutta Madrasah. The quatrains, 316 in all, are not arranged alphabetically. ${ }^{* 2}$ The MS. is bound with the Kullîyât of Khâqânî, which is dated $917 / 1511-12$. The same library possesses another non-alphabetical collection of the Rubâîyât, apparently belonging to the 19 th century. ${ }^{83}$
Besides the above manuscripts, Professor Christensen did not have access to the following valuable collections of 'Umar's Rubâ'îyât, whose existence has very recently been brought to my notice by Herr C. Herrnhold Rempis (of Tübingen, Germany).
10 and 11. Two MSS., dated 1448 A.D., in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, comprising 56 and 47 Rubâ‘îs, respectively.
12. A MS., dated 1451 A.D., in Vienna, comprising 42 Rubâ'îs.
13. A MS., dated c. 1474 A.D., in Uppsala, Sweden, comprising 256 Rubâ'îs.
$14,15,16$, and 17. Manuscripts, dated 1456, 1460, 1462,1472 A.D. and comprising 139, 313, 372,

[^19]and 336 Rubâ'îs respectively in Istambûl (Constantinople).
Thus we find that four MSS., i.e. Nos. 4, 10, 11, and 12 of the above list are even older than the famous Bodleian MS., dated $865 / 1460$ (which was up to now believed to be the oldest MS. of 'Umar's Rubâ'îyât in existence), while No. 13 was transcribed in the same year as the Bodleian MS. (i.e. in 1460 A.D.).

## VI. 'CONCORDANCE' OF THE RUBÂ‘YYÂT.

In preparing 'the concordance' of the Rubâ'îyât (which, I must confess, is primarily meant for the use of Indian students, as the works of Rosen, Christensen and other Western scholars are, ordinarily, not available to them) I have made use of the following manuscripts and editions of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm :-
(1) Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. No. NL. 160 , dated c. 16 th century.
(2) Calcutta Madrasah Library MS. No. 14, 19/1, dated c. 16th century.
(3) Edward Heron-Allen's edition of the Bodleian MS. (dated 865 А.н.), B.
(4) Dr. Rosen's edition of the Berlin MS. (dated 721 А.н. ?).
(5) Dr. Rosen's edition of the MS. of Rubâ' $\hat{\imath} y a ̂ t-i-$ Khayyâm, transcribed by Sulṭân Muhammad Nûr in 930 A.H., R. N.
(6) J, B. Nicolas's edition (Paris, 1867) based on the Ṭehrân edition.
(7) E. H. Whinfield's edition based on the Nawal Kishore edition and other MSS. (London, 1883).
(8) Shaykh Ghulâm Muḥammad's edition of 906 quatrains (Amritsar).
(9) Nawal Kishore edition of 770 quatrains (Lucknow, 1024 A.н.).
I have also referred to Muhammad bin Badr-iJâjarmî's 'Anthology' which contains 13 quatrains only, and to Khwâja Muḥammad Salîm's MS., dated А.H. 868, from which only eight quatrains are at my disposal.


|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hi } \\ & \text { fín } \\ & \text { ivi } \\ & \text { an } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { an } \\ & \text { z. } \\ & \text { dig } \\ & \text { did } \\ & \text { and } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | .. | 69 | . | 179 | 48 |  |  | 92 | 68 |  |
| 49 | . | 35 | . | 142 |  |  |  | 62 | 38 |  |
| 50 | .. | 70 | .. | 66 | . . | 95 | 96 | 104 | 80 |  |
| 51 |  | 61 | . | 134 | $\ldots$ | 65 | 68 | 75 | 51 |  |
| 52 | 19 | 10 | .. | 129 | . |  | 42 | 64 | 40 | Also in |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 53 <br> 54 | $\because$ |  | $\because$ |  | .. |  | 130 | $\begin{array}{r}132 \\ \cdot \\ \hline 77\end{array}$ | 108 53 |  |
| 55 | $2 \dot{5}$ | 47 | $\because$ | 233 | $\ldots$ | 82 | 84 | 127 | 96 |  |
| 56 | . | 52 | $\ldots$ |  | $\ldots$ | 72 |  | 157 | 134 |  |
| 57 | . |  |  |  |  | 73 | 75 | 202 | 179 |  |
| 58 | .. |  | - |  |  | 87 | 89 | 203 | 180 | Also in |
|  |  |  |  | 175 |  |  |  |  | 66 |  |
| 60 | $\ddot{24}$ | 45 |  |  | $\ldots$ | 46 | 49 | 204 | 181 |  |
| 61 |  | . |  |  |  |  |  | 206 | 183 |  |
| 62 |  |  | $\cdots$ |  | $\cdots$ | 77 | 79 | 207 | 184 |  |
| 63 | 38 |  | $\cdots$ | 258 | . | 93 | 95 | 212 | 189 |  |
| 64 | .. |  |  |  |  | 84 | 86 | 213 | 190 |  |
| 65 |  |  | $\cdots$ | 197 | 40 | 70 | 73 | 214 | 191 |  |
| 66 67 | 26 |  | $\ldots$ | 228 79 | $\ldots$ | 85 | 87 112 | 215 216 | 192 |  |
| 67 | 17 | 25 17 | $\cdots$ | 79 | $\ddot{23}$ | 99 | 112 100 | 216 50 | 193 194 |  |
| 69 | 31 | 58 | . |  | . | 31 | 35 | 217 | 195 |  |
| 70 | .. |  | . | .. | .. | 39 | 43 | 218 | 196 |  |
| 71 |  | $\because$ | . |  | . | 32 | 36 | 219 | 197 |  |
| 72 |  | 23 | $\cdots$ | 151 | . |  | 119 | 220 | 198 |  |
| 73 | 33 | 59 |  |  | . | 90 | 92 | 221 | 199 |  |
| 74 75 | 27 | 43 | $\because$ | 159 | $\ldots$ | 48 | 51 37 | 222 115 | 200 99 |  |
| 76 | $\cdots$ | 33 | $\ldots$ |  |  | 8 | .. | 223 | 201 |  |
| 77 | $\ldots$ | 55 | . | 108 | 46 |  | $\ldots$ | 224 | 202 |  |
| 78 | .. | 21 | .. | .. | . . | 67 | 70 | 225 | 203 |  |
| 79 | . |  | . | . | $\cdots$ | 68 | 71 | 228 | 206 |  |
| 80 | $\cdots$ |  |  |  |  |  | 118 | 231 | 209 |  |
| 81 82 | . | 13 | $\cdots$ | 121 | 73 | 69 80 | 72 82 | ${ }_{1}^{232}$ | 210 100 |  |
| 83 | .. |  | $\because$ | 196 | $\ldots$ |  | .. | 235 | 213 |  |
| 84 | .. | 41 | $\ldots$ | 216 | . |  |  | 138 | 115 |  |
| 85 |  | 74 | $\cdots$ |  | . | 98 | 99 | 237 | 215 |  |
| 86 | 10 | 22 | $\cdots$ |  |  |  | 117 | 238 | 216 |  |
| 87 |  | 66 | .. | 313 | 11 | 91 | 93 | 239 | 217 |  |
| 88 89 | 40 | 67 | $\cdots$ |  | $\cdots$ | 92. | 94 | 113 | 89 |  |
| 90 |  | 30 | $\ldots$ | 60 | $\cdots$ | 97 | 98 | 240 241 | 218 219 |  |
| 91 |  |  | $\ldots$ | : | : |  |  | 243 | 221 |  |
| 92 | $\cdots$ |  |  |  | . | 58 | 62 | 244 | ${ }^{222}$ |  |
| 93 | . |  | . | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 36 | 40 | 245 | 223 |  |
| 94 | .. | .. | $\cdots$ | .. | $\cdots$ | 35 | 39 | 247 | 225 |  |
|  |  | 79 | .. | 171 | .. | 74 | 76 | 246 248 | 224 226 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


|  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \infty \\ & \dot{2} \\ & \dot{n} \\ & \dot{n} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 会: } \\ & \text { dig } \\ & \text { and } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 97 |  |  |  |  |  | 104 |  | 252 | 227 |  |
| 98 | 47 | 81 |  |  |  | 105 | 134 | 254 | 229 |  |
| 99 |  | 108 |  | 205 | 60 | 141 | 164 | 301 | 231 |  |
| 100 101 | 51 | 125 |  | 46 | $\ldots$ | 157 | 176 | 302 303 3 | 232 233 |  |
| 101 |  | 89 |  | 87 |  | 107 | 137 | 303 304 3 | $\stackrel{233}{234}$ |  |
| 103 |  | 110 |  | 225 | 65 |  | 233 | 305 | 235 |  |
| 104 | 60 | 97 |  | 157 |  | 106 | 136 | 315 | 245 |  |
| 105 |  | 115 | . |  | . |  |  | 317 | 247 | Jâjarmî, |
| 106 | . |  |  | . | . | 158 | 177 | 320 | 250 |  |
| 107 |  | 86 | $\bigcirc$ |  | $\ldots$ | 464 | 209 | 331 | 261 |  |
| 108 | 50 |  | $\because$ | 160 | $\because$ | $\ldots$ | 216 | 332 <br> 333 | 262 |  |
| 109 110 | 49 | 102 |  | 83 | $\because$ |  | 217 | 333 <br> 334 | 263 |  |
| 111 |  | 146 |  |  |  | 113 | 142 | 335 | 265 |  |
| 112 | . | 144 |  | 264 | 1 | 185 | 200 | 352 | 282 |  |
| 113 | . |  |  |  |  |  |  | 353 | 283 |  |
| 114 |  |  |  |  | $\ldots$ | 110 | 140 | 356 | 286 |  |
| 115 |  | 132 |  | .. | 8 |  | 228 | 346 | 276 |  |
| 116 | 68 | 124 | $\ldots$ | . | 8 | 156 | 175 | 347 | 277 |  |
| 117 | . | . . |  |  |  | 136 | 160 | 348 | 278 |  |
| 118 119 | . | 137 |  |  | 6 | 168 | 185 | 354 <br> 355 | 284 |  |
| 120 |  | 137 | . | 249 | 6 | 169 | 180 | ${ }_{367} 35$ | 297 |  |
| 121 | 79 | . | . | 277 | .. | . . |  | 363 | 293 |  |
| 122 | . . | $\cdots$ | .. | .. |  |  | 227 | 373 | 303 |  |
| 123 |  | $\cdots$ |  |  | $\cdots$ |  |  | 374 | 304 |  |
| 124 | 77 |  | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | .. | 179 | 194 | 375 | 305 |  |
| 125 | . |  |  |  |  | .. | 225 | 376 | 306 307 308 |  |
| 126 | 69 | 138 126 |  | $\cdots$ | 4 | 109 | 139 | 377 <br> 378 | 307 <br> 308 |  |
| 128 |  |  | $\because$ | $\because$ | $\cdots$ | 118 | 146 | 379 | 309 |  |
| 129 | 85 | 149 |  |  | $\ldots$ | 194 |  | 380 | 310 |  |
| 130 | 65 |  |  | 227 |  | 142 | 165 | 382 | 312 |  |
| 131 | 76 |  | $\cdots$ | 212 | . |  |  | 385 | 315 |  |
| 132 | 78 |  |  | 276 | $\cdots$ | 180 | 195 | 313 337 | ${ }_{2} 243$ |  |
| 133 134 134 |  | 95 82 |  | 290 300 | .. | 181 | 196 | 337 383 3 | 267 313 |  |
| 134 | 52 | 82 |  | 300 230 | . | 112 | 236 | 428 | ${ }_{358}$ |  |
| 136 |  |  |  |  | $\cdots$ |  | . | 431 | 361 |  |
| 137 | $\ldots$ | 83 |  | 52 |  |  |  | 435 | 365 |  |
| 138 | $\ldots$ | 111 | $\cdots$ | 308 |  | 139 | 162 | 400 | 330 |  |
| 139 | . |  |  | .. |  |  |  | 387 | 317 | Variants. |
| 140 | . | $\cdots$ | 23 | $\cdots$ |  | . | $\cdots$ | 397 398 3 | 327 |  |
| 141 | $\ldots$ |  | 24 28 | $\ldots$ |  | 128 | 155 | 398 <br> 402 | ${ }_{332}$ |  |
| 143 |  |  | 28 30 | $\cdots$ | 41 |  |  | 404 | 334 |  |
| 144 |  | 152 |  |  |  | 195 | 240 | 468 | 398 |  |
| 145 | 90 | 162 | . | 263 | $\ldots$ | 196 |  | 495 | 472 |  |
| 146 |  | 165 |  | 148 |  | 214 |  | 472 | 402 |  |
| 147 | $\cdots$ | 156 |  | 44 | 32 | 198 | 242 | 482 | 412 |  |
| 148 149 |  |  | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 209 | 254 | 478 | 408 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |


|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { H } \\ & \text { ت } \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 4 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { B } \\ & \text { I } \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | 范 | R.A.S.B.MS. |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 150 |  | 159 |  | 53 |  |  |  | 479 | 409 |  |
| 151 | 89 | 161 |  |  | 26 | 211 | 252 | 481 | 411 |  |
| 152 | . | 154 | 35 | 90 |  | 199 | 243 | 487 | 420 |  |
| 153 | $\ldots$ | 155 | 36 | 84 |  |  |  | 491 | 421 |  |
| 154 | . | 164 | 41 | 165 | 20 | 212 |  | 486 | 416 |  |
| 155 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 483 | 413 |  |
| 156 | . . | $157 n 2$ | 37 | 265 |  | 202 | 246 |  |  | Christ. $1014 .$ |
| 157 | 2 | 172 | 40 | . |  | 222 | 262 | 506 | 427 |  |
| 158 | 1 | 176 | 45 |  |  | 229 | 268 | . 502 | 423 |  |
| 159 |  |  | 46 |  |  | 233 | 272 | 513 | 434 |  |
| 160 | 99 | 175 | 47 | 214 | 52 | 230 | 269 | 514 | 435 |  |
| 161 | . | 166 | 50 | 219 |  |  | , | 529 |  | Christ. 1032. |
| 162 | 94 | 168 | . |  |  | 231 | 270 | 522 | 443 |  |
| 163 |  | 179 | $\ldots$ |  | 76 | 232 | 271 | 527 | 448 |  |
| 164 | 100 | 177 | $\ldots$ |  |  |  | 274 | 525 | 446 |  |
| 165 | . . |  | . . |  |  | 236 | 276 | 531 | 449 |  |
| 166 |  | 180 | . | 95 | 17 | 238 | 278 | 533 | 451 |  |
| 167 | 102 | 186 | $\ldots$ | 169 |  | 242 | 282 | 539 | 454 |  |
| 168 | . . | 184 | $\ldots$ |  | 27 | 241 | 281 | 540 | 455 |  |
| 169 | . . | 188 | . | 280 | . | 244 | 284 | 547 | 462 |  |
| 170 |  | 189 | . | 283 |  | 246 | 285 | 549 | 464 |  |
| 171 | 103 | 187 | . | 71 | 58 | 243 | 283 | 555 | 470 |  |
|  | . . |  | $\cdots$ |  |  | 251 | 292 | 567 | 479 |  |
| 173 | . . | 192 | . | 170 | 19 | 252 | . . | 571 | 474 | Jâjarmî, No. 8 also in Salîm MS. |
| 174 | .. | 191 | . | 224 | . . |  |  | 564 | 476 |  |
| 175 | . | 227 | $\ldots$ |  | $\ldots$ | 296 | 333 | 622 | 499 |  |
| 176 | . | 230 | $\ldots$ | 192 | $\ldots$ |  |  | 630 | 507 |  |
| 177 | . | 203 | $\ldots$ | $\ddot{8}$ | $\because$ | 263 | 306 | 641 | 519 |  |
| 178 | $\cdots$ | 235 | $\because$ | 189 | 49 | 299 | . . | 640 | 518 |  |
| 179 180 |  | 202 | 53 |  |  |  |  | 652 | 530 |  |
| 180 181 |  | 231 | 55 | 282 |  | 279 | $\cdots$ | 658 | 536 |  |
| 181 | $\cdots$ | 219 | 56 | 127 | $\cdots$ | 284 | 324 | 659 | 537 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Jâjarmî, } \\ & \text { No. } 4 . \end{aligned}$ |
| 182 |  | . | 57 |  | . | . | 354 | 660 | 538 |  |
| 183 |  |  | 59 | 223 |  |  |  | 667 | 545 |  |
| 184 | . | 204 | 60 | 82 | - | 269 | 312 | 668 | 546 |  |
| 185 | . . | 215 |  |  | . | 293 |  | 669 | 547 |  |
| 186 |  | 240 |  |  |  |  | 389 | 705 | 581 |  |
| 187 |  | 242 | . | 101 | 21 | 325 | 366 | 709 | 585 |  |
| 188 |  | 243 | $\ldots$ |  | . . | 346 | 384 | 711 | 587 |  |
| 189 | 124 | 246 |  |  | . |  | 387 | 729 | 605 |  |
| 190 |  |  |  |  |  | 321 | 364 | 736 | 612 |  |
| 191 |  |  |  |  |  | 332 |  | 739 | 615 |  |
| 192 | 123 | . | $\ldots$ | 215 | 61 | 327 | 368 | 741 | 617 |  |
| 193 |  |  | . |  |  | 323 |  | 744 | 620 |  |
| 194 | 151 | 263 | . | 291 | $\ldots$ | 354 | 396 | 761 | 625 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Also in } \\ & \text { S a lîm } \\ & \text { MS. } \end{aligned}$ |

## 41

|  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { घ } \\ & \text { gi } \\ & \text { in } \\ & \text { n } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \dot{\sim} \\ & \dot{\sim} \\ & \dot{m} \\ & \dot{n} \\ & \dot{\sim} \\ & \dot{\sim} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 195 | 130 | 259 | . |  | . . | 351 | 393 | 760 | 624 |  |
| 196 |  | 258 |  |  | . | 353 | 395 | 768 | 632 |  |
| 197 | 129 | 262 |  |  | . | 348 | 390 | 770 | 634 | Jâjarmî, <br> No. 12. |
| 198 | . | 310 |  | 70 | 54 | 431 | 466 | 858 | 698 |  |
| 199 |  | 313 |  | 105 | . | 434 | 469 | 877 | 717 |  |
| 200 |  | 321 |  |  | . | 447 | 478 | 854 | 694 |  |
| 201 | $\cdots$ | 320 | . | 93 | . | 448 | 479 | 857 | 697 |  |
| 202 |  |  |  | 299 | $\cdots$ | 420 | 459 | 873 | 713 |  |
| 203 |  |  |  |  |  | 389 | 431 | 883 | 723 | Jâjarmî, No. 13. |
| 204 |  | 292 | $\cdots$ | 180 | . . |  |  | 885 | 725 |  |
| 205 |  | 329 |  |  |  | 458 | 487 | 891 | 731 |  |
| 206 | . | 327 | 61 | 111 | . | 426 | 463 | 927 | 767 |  |

VII. TEXT
of the
RUBÂ‘ÎYÂT
of
'UMAR-I-KHAYYÂM

ربائـات
بسســم اللّه الرحمّ •لرحم

1 (1)
Fol. $1 a$.


r (2)
از آش

r (3)
Fol. $1 b$.


\& $(4)$



- (5)

Fol. $2 a$.

 ( 45 )

7 (6)


$\vee(7)$
Fol. $2 b$.


$\wedge(8)$
در راه نياز هـ دلى را در ياب هر كوى حضور هقبلى را در ياب


१ (9)
Fol. $3 a$.



1. ( 10 )
 فارغ ز اميد رمهت و بيم عناب آز

Fol. $3 b$.
در ons.

ir (12)



Fol. $4 a$.
病 الكّونی

1乏(14)



10 (15)
Fol. $4 b$.
ساقى چو زمانه در شكست من و تست


17 (16)



Fol. $5 a$.


$1 \wedge(18)$
كنه خردم در خخور اثبات تو نيست


Fol. $5 b$.
دورى كه درو آهدن و رونت ما ست اورا نه هايت نه بـايت پـيدا سـت




Fol. $6 a$.
تا هشيارم طرب ز من پنهانست

rr (22)
عمرى بكل و باده بوفتيم بكشت


Fol. $6 b$.





Fol. $7 a$.
ديريست كه هد هز ار عيسى ديد ست طوريست كه صد هز ار موسى ديد ست


Y7 (26)

كّ كشت من از كار جهان نیل نكشت

ك خوش نكشت بارى خوش خوش بكذشت
rv (27)
Fol. 76.


r^ (28)
الى

 تون عاقت كار تو بيــرون شدنس
4

Fol. $8 a$.


r. (30)



Fol. $8 b$.


rr (32)



Fol. $9 a$.


「そ (34)



Fol. 96.




rv (37)
Fol. 10 $a$.
كَ

r^ (38)



Fol. $10 b$.


$\varepsilon \cdot(40)$
 در بر بت دلفريب و در سر مئ ناب

Fol． $11 a$ ．



छr（42）



ぞ（43）
Fol． $11 b$.





そ०（45）
Fol． $12 a$ ．
The Same．
〔7（46）
 اين نقد بكير و دست از نسيه بدار كار كاو از دهل برادر از دور خوشست

Fol．126．


 تون از كف شاهلد و غام است خو شست
 ديريست كا هرهاهه حرام است خو شامست
§9 (49)
Fol. 13a.
左
-. (50)



Fol. $13 b$.

 or (52)

 or (53) Fol. $14 a$.

آباد خر اباب ز قى خوردن ما ست

o\& (54)


$00(55)$
Fol. $14 b$.



07 (56)


ov (57)
Fol. 15a.



- 1 (58)



خوش باش كا استاد تو شاكدد هن الست
09 (59)
Fol. $15 b$.
 "

7. (60)

در صو معله و هدر سهd و دير و كنشت

7) (61)

Fol. $16 a$.



7\% (62)
 .

7r (63)
Fol. 166.
 چون دانستم ك. میء عدوى دين است بـ بالّه بخورم خون عدو راكه روا ست

7乏 (64)


ها ها

70 (65)
Fol. $17 a$.



77 (66)



TV (67)
Fol. 176.

در صّن تچمن روى دل ['] فروز خوشست

خوش باش و ز دى مكو كه امهوز خوشست
$7 \wedge$ (68)





79 (69)
Fol. 18a.


v. (70)



VI (71)
Fol. 186.



Vr (72)



حالى خوش باش و دان كان كم هقصود اينست
vr (73)
Fol. $19 a$.



Vミ (74)



Vo (75)
Fol. 196.



چو
خواهى تو فلكَ هفت شمر خواهي هشت



VV (77)
Fol. $20 a$.
 إحو ال جهان و اصل اين عهر به بـين

VA (78)
اين .

Fol. 206.
اكنو مئ خور ك زمانه دشمنى غدار ست درياهتن روز تهنين دشوار ست

人. (80)



11 (81)
Fol. $21 a$.



Ar (82)



Ar (83)
Fol. $21 b$.
صرا

$\wedge 乏(84)$


$\wedge 0$ (85)
Fol. 22a.
 يا در طلب رضاى يزدان كوشيد
$\wedge 7$ (86)



AV (87)
Fol. $22 b$.
 ما را تو بهشت اكز بطاهت بڭشى اين بيع بود لطف و عطاى تو بكا ست ^1 (88)



Fol. $23 a$.
تا

9. $(90)$



91 (91)
Fol. 236.


ar (92)
نe

ar (93)
Fol. $24 a$.





9६ (94)
بيك


Fol. $24 b$.



97 (96)
تا بِّ خوش ميخور و قى بشش كزين دار سینج

१४ (97)
Fol. $25 a$.


$9 \wedge$ (98)

 $99 \quad(99)$

Fol. $25 b$.




$1.1 \quad(101)$
Fol. 26a.
.

I.r (102)


$1 \cdot r(103)$
Fol. 266.


$1 \cdot \xi(104)$
 شاقى غر فرداى حريفان پهه خورى
$1 \cdot 0(105)$
Fol. $27 a$.


1.7.(106)



I•V (107)
Fol. $27 b$.
 ره زين شب تاريكَ نبردند برون كفتند فسانهُ و در خواب شده
$1 \cdot \wedge(108)$


1.9 (109)

Fol. $28 a$.


11. (110)

آن عقل كه در راه سعادت پويد روزی صد بار خويش را تى كويد


111 (111)
Fol. 286.



IIr (112)
وقتّك طالوع صتح ازرق باشد بايد كه بك

$11 \%$ (113)
Fol. 29a.



11を(114)



110 (115)
Fol. $29 b$.

در حسن صفت كوش كه در روز جزا حشر تو بصورت صفت خواهـد بود
117 (116)



IIV (117)
Fol. 30a.


$11 \wedge$ (118)
در دهر تجو آوازه: كل تازه دهند فرمالى بتا كه مئ بإنازه دهنـد از دوزخ واز بهثتو از هوروتصور هاره فارغ بنشين كه آن باوازه دهند

119 (119)
Fol. $30 b$.

Fol. $31 a$.


Ir. (120)
Fol. $31 b$.


|r| (121)
 مشنو سیّن بهشت و دوز

Fol. $32 a$.
.


Irr (123)



Fol. $32 b$.


iro (125)



Ir7 (126)
Fol. 33a.
 ما با مئ و معشوق الزانم هدام

Irv (127)



IYA (128)
Fol. 33b.
 لكِن شرط است بنده تون توبه كند مخدوم بالطن از سر آن در كذرد

Ira (129)

در دوى زمين هيست ز باده خوشتر تانخى كه هنار ار هان شيرين ارزد

1r. (130)
Fol. 34a.



IHI (131)



IMr (132)
Fol. $34 b$.


(133)
 اول سه طالق عقل ودين خو او كفت

1ヶ६ (134)
Fol. 35a.
 .

1ro (135)
از دوْتر عهر پا


IM7 (136)
Fol. $35 b$.
 سالى يكار آب جويت نه دهنا روزی صل بار آب رويت بـرنا

Irv (137)



Fol. 36a.



Irq (139)



Fol. 366.
 ك5 باده خورى تو سرخ دو خواهى بود


lEr (142)
Fol. $37 a$.



1ぞ（143）



Fol． 376.


1६०（145）
 سوزنهه چپو آتشست ليكن غ

1 §（146）．
Fol． $38 a$ ．
 － 1ミV（147）


$1 ६ \wedge(148)$
Fol． 386.



1६१ (149)


10. (150)

Fol. 39a.



101 (151)


lor (152)
Fol. 396.

 lor (153)


$10 \%$ (154)
Fol. 40 a
كى باده خورى تو با خردمندان خور طا با صنىى للاله رنى خندان خور
بسيار خخور فاش مكن ورد هساز

100 (155)
 كفتى S بكام خويش دستى بزم

107 (156)
Fol. $40 b$.
ايام شبابسـت شراب اولْيزر با خوش شسران باده ناب اوليّز
Fol. $41 a$.
اين عالم فانى تو خرابست و بياب از باده درو هست و خراب اوليّر
lov (157)
Fol. $41 b$.


$10 \wedge$ (158)
F S.


109 (159)
Fol. $42 a$.
ما عاشق و آشفته و مستم اهـو

17. (160)



171 (161)
Fol. $42 b$.
 خْون دو هنار تايب نا هعلوم

ITr (162)



17\% (163)
Fol. $43 a$.
قى


17を(164)



170 (165)
Fol. $43 b$.


 اين يكَ دم نقد را غنيمت قى دان از رفته هينديش و ز آينده هترس


$17 \wedge$ (168)



179 (169)
Fol. 446.


IV. (170)


|V| (171)
Fol. $45 a$.



IVY (172)
الى


IVM (173)
Fol. $45 b$.



IV乏 (174)



IVo (175)
Fol. $46 a$.



IV7 (176)



IVV (177)
Fol. 466.


IV^ (178)



افسوس كه بي فايده فرسوده شديم وز وز آس سپهر سرنكون سوده شديم

11. (180)



111 (181)
Fol. $47 b$.



IAY (182)
,
lAr (183)
Fol. $48 a$.



1^乏 (184)



1^0 (185)
Fol. 486.



1^7 (186)
اسرار ازل را نه تو دانى و نه من ون وين حرف معما نه تو خوانى و نه من


IAV (187)
Fol. $49 a$.
بر خيز و شخور غ ج جهان كذران خوش باش و دمى بشادمانى كذران


1^1 (188)



1^9 (189)
Fol. 496.
 خرم دل آن كزين جهان زود برفت و اسون
19. (190)



191 (191)
Fol. $50 a$.



19r (192)



19ヶ (193)
Fol. 506.



19を (194)
Fol. $51 a$.



190 (195)
از آ آل


197 (196)
Fol. $51 b$.
 صد سال بإتتحان كنه خواه

19y (197)



19^ (198)
Fol. 52a.



199 (199)
زن

r.. (200)

Fol. $52 b$.


r.1 (201)


r.r (202)

Fol. 53a.
客 هصرا تو بثشت است زدوز
Y.Y (203)

أى آن S نتيجه

r-乏 (204)
Fol. 53b.
أى باده خوشكو ار در جام بام

Y.O (205)


r.7 (206)

Fol. 54a.

- هنا
 تمام شد رباعات ملC الحكما شيخ عمر خيام
طاب الته ثراه بتاريخ سلخ شهر رجب المرجب سنه الـدى عشر و تسعمائة المجرية النبوية كتبه العبد المذنب ساطلـان علي ال大اتب


## VIII. ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

The publication of the text of this MS. has been delayed by nearly a decade. I wrote the Preface in the early part of 1930 and extracts from it were read by me in the April (1930) meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. I need not enumerate here the causes which led to the delay but I may refer to one of them, namely the delay in obtaining the MS. for photographic reproduction. I feel that after a lapse of nearly ten years, some of the points discussed in my Preface are somewhat out of date but, nevertheless, they are expected to prove useful in some respects at least. I may add that a detailed descriptive note of the MS. will be useful to those who have perused. Sayyid Sulaimân Nadvî's Khayyâm ('Âzamgarh, 1933).
P. 23, l. 15. In Nukhbat-ush-Shârib wa 'Ijâlat-ur Râkib, (composed between 1258-1282, A.D.), a quatrain of 'Umar (beginning ( تزك ) is quoted with its Arabic translation (Mingana, Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the John Ryland's Library, Manchester, p. 774, No. 465).
P. 23, l. 16. 'Ubaid-i-Dhâkânî (d. 772/1370-71) quotes one quatrain (No. 203 of this copy) of 'Umar in his Alkhlâq-ul-Ashrâf (composed in 740/1340) and another in his Risâla-i-Dilgushâ (Constantinople, p. 91).
P. 23, l. 23. Sayyid Sulaimân Nadvî states in his Khayyâm ('Âzamgarh, 1933, p. 288) that the following quatrain is attributed to 'Umar in the Bombay edition (p. 5l) of the Qâbûs Nâma (composed in. 475/ 1082):

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { أى دل حذر از مستى و تُوردى كن } \\
& \text { وز هملمی } \\
& \text { از باده شفا خيزد و از مستى } \\
& \text { تو }
\end{aligned}
$$

But I have been unable to find it in the Tehrân edition (1312 Shamsî) of the Qâbûs Nâma, which is edited from a MS. dated 750/ 1349. Similarly, Dr. E. Edwards, who is editing the Qâbûs Nâma - for the Gibb Memorial Series, has been unable to find it in any old
codex of the work and considers it to be an interpolation (Rempis, Beiträge zur Hayyâm-Forschung, p. 88 n 1).
P. 30, l. 11. Dr. Csillik has published the text of nine Rubầ $\hat{y} y \hat{a} t ~ M S S . ~ i n ~$ his Les Manuscrits Mineurs des Rubâ'iyat de 'Omar Khayyâm dans la Bibliothèque Nationale (Szeged, 1933). The MSS. included in Dr. Csillik's edition are:-

He has also published the text of three more MSS. in his The Principal Manuscripts of the Rubá'iyát of 'Umar-i-Khayyám in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Vol. I, (Szeged, 1934). They are:-
(i) Suppl. Pers. 1417 (1475, A.D.)

268 quatrains.
(ii) Anc. Fonds 349 (1497, A.D.) 213
(iii) Suppl. Pers. 823 (1528, A.D.) " "

Of the above twelve MSS., Suppl. Pers. Nos. 1417, 823 and 826 and Anc. Fonds 349 were available to Dr. Christensen.
P. 34, l. 21. Dr. Csillik has published the text of 56 quatrains of this MS. (Suppl. Pers. 1777) in his Les Manuscrits Mineurs, but the text of the remaining $47 R u b \hat{a} \wedge \hat{\imath}$, occurring on foll. $326 a-328 a$ of this MS., is yet to be published.
P. 34, l. 27. The MS. is in the Nationalbibliothèque Wien and the Rub $\hat{a}$ ' $̂ s$ are on foll. $249 a-252 b$. The MS. was copied in $855 / 1451$.
P. 34, l. 28. The Istambûl MSS. of the Rubâ' îyât are:-
(i) A MS., copied at Shîrâz in $861 / 1456$ preserved in the 'Âyâ Ṣûfîya Library (foll. 194b-206b), comprising 139 quatrains.
(ii) A MS. copied in $865 / 1460$, preserved in the Nûr 'Uthmânîya Library (foll. $1 b-66 b$ ), containing 313 quatrains.
(iii) A MS., executed by Yâr Aḥad ibn. Ḥusayn, ar-Rashîdî in 867/1462 (foll. 1b-75a), preserved in the Nûr 'Uthmânîya Library, containing 372 quatrains.
(iv) A MS. (of Lama'at of 'Irâqî), copied in. Dhu'l Qa'da 876/1472 (foll. $39 b-82 a$ ) preserved in the Sulaimânîya Library, containing 336 quatrains.
P. 35, l. 2. The publication of Dr. C. H. Rempis's 'Omar Chajjâm und Seine Vierzeiler (Tübingen, 1935) and Beiträge zur Hुayyâm Forschung (Leipzig, 1937) constitute a most important contribution to 'Omarian literature during the present decade. Dr. Rempis has discussed the - question, of the identification of the $R u b a a^{\prime} \hat{\imath} y a ̂ t$ and of the 'Wandering Quatrains' and other allied subjects in a comprehensive manner. He has also brought to light the existence of another valuable codex of 'Umar's Rubá i $y$ ât, dated $731 / 1331$, which is ten years older than Jâjarmi's Mu'nis-ul-Ahrâr ( $741 / 1340$ ). The Rubâ' îs of 'Umar- 31 in number-are included in a MS. of Nuzhat-ut-Majâlis fi'l Ash'dir of Isma‘îl Ibn Isfandiyâr Ibn Muḥammad Isfandiyâr, dated 25th Shawwâl, 731 A.H. It is preserved in the Jârullâh Library, Istambûl. Dr. Rempis has very kindly sent me a transcript of the Rubấîs.
Another valuable collection of 11 Rubâ‘îs of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm has been discovered in a Majm $\hat{u}$ ' $a$ (or a manuscript of ' mixed contents ') of Abul Fadl Muḥammad bin Maḥmûd bin 'Alì bin Sadîd bin Aḥmad, dated Jumāda I, 750 A.H. (July, 1349), preserved in the Kitâbkhâna-i-Majlis (No. 9011 of that Library), Tehrân, 'Âqâ Sa'îd Nafîsî has published the Text in the Sharq of Ruabî‘ I, 1350 A.H. I am grateful to my friend Mr. Madan Murârî Lâl Saxena of Lucknow for sending me a transcript of the Rubá̀is. They are published here in Appendix B. Of the 11 Rub $\hat{a}^{\prime} \hat{\imath} s$ in that collection, Nos. 4, 6, 10 and 11 correspond with Nos. 3, 181, 105, 183 of our manuscript.

- P. 65, l. 7. Text : قدى.
P. 70, l. 2. Text : زور.
IX. APPENDIX A.

Text of the Rubâ'îyât of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm.
From Taqî Kâshî's Khulàṣat-ul Ash‘âr wa Zubdat-ul Afkâr (Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS. No. 684).

1 (1)
سس كس كم روانش اندرين ره فرسود

 بسيار تحو من كشت و بسى تجن تو درود
r (2)
از
از
بــــداد زمانه را نهــادم

$r(3)$
 نا

تا ههچو خليــل انـدر آت

$\varepsilon(4)$
دى آهـد

- و امروز ز نـ نـ


- (5) نا
 \%


7 (6)




$\vee(7)$
تّون روزی بهو ! تون ضرب سه يك شد سه شش نتوان خاست
$\wedge(8)$

 جانى تس تالي

9 (9)





1. (10)


 از سبل حهون توى و ريش هو منى

11 (11)
حون آب بيوبّبار , جون باد بدشت روز درى از نوبت عهـارم بكذشت
 روزى كه ناهد ست و روزى ك\$ كذشت


- ز
 , انان ك
ir (13)
屈 א



آن قصر كم جشيــــد درو جام كام آهو
.
اين نادره بين كه كور بهــرام گرفـ
10 (15)




$$
1
$$



17 (16)
دورى א\$ درو آمــن و رفتن ما ست

كس قینز
كين آمــدن از ككا و رفت رفت بكجا ست
X. APPENDIX B.

Text of the Rubâ`̂̀yât of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm.
From a Majmî‘ $a$ (or a manuscript of ' mixed contents') of Abul Faḍl Muḥammad bin Maḥmûd bin 'Alî bin Sadîd bin Aḥmad, dated Jumâda I, 750 A.H. (July, 1349), preserved in the Kitâbkhâna-i Majlis, TTehrân.

1 (1)
 اين كنه جهان بكس نكاند باقق رفتّنا و رويع و ديگر آيند و روند
r (2)


(3)

از

$\varepsilon(4)$



1 Text ران.
2 Text نسايندi.

- (5)



7 (6)
 تاكم ز قا قا
$\vee(7)$


$\wedge(8)$
 .

१ (9)
از ك
.


11 (11)
 كان

The compiler attributes the following well-known Rubâ' $\hat{\text {, }}$, usually attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyâm, to his cousin (ابن ع ) Majd-ud-Dîn :-



# XI. FACSIMILE <br> OF THE <br> <br> MANUSCRIPT 

 <br> <br> MANUSCRIPT}
(Plates I to LVII)


Fol. $1 a$.


Fol. 1b.


Fol. $2 a$.


Fol. $2 b$.

Plate III.


Fol. $3 a$.


Fol. 3b.


Fol. $4 a$.


Fol. $4 b$.


Fol. 5a.


Fol. $5 b$.


Fol. $6 a$.


Fol. 6b.

Plate VII.


Fol. 7a.


Fol. $7 b$.


Fol. 8 a.


Fol. 86 .

Plate IX.


Fol. $9 a$.


Fol. 9b.

Plate X.


Fol. 10a.


Fol. 10b.


Fol. 11a.


Fol. $11 b$.

Plate XII.


Fol. 12a.


Fol. $12 b$.

Plate XIII.


Fol. 13a.


Fol. 13b.

Plate XIV.


Fol. 14a.


Fol. $14 b$.


Fol. $15 a$.


Fol. 15b.


Fol. 16a.


Fol. 163.


Fol. 17a.


Fol. 176 .

Plate XVIII.


Fol. $18 a$.


Fol. $18 b$.

Plate XIX.


Fol. $19 a$.


Plate XX.


Fol. $20 a$.


Fol. $20 b$.

Plate XXI.


Fol. 21a.


Fol. $21 b$.

Plate XXII.


Fol. 22a.


Fol. $22 b$.

Plate XXIII.


Fol. 23a.


Fol. $23 b$.

Plate XXIV.


Fol. $24 a$.


Fol. $24 b$.


Fol. 25a.


Fol. $25 b$.


Fol. $26 a$.


Fol. 26b.


Fol. 27a.


Fol. $27 b$.

Plate XXVIII.


Fol. $28 a$.


Fol. $28 b$.


Fol. 29a.


Fol. 296.


Fol. 30a.


Fol. 306.


Fol. 31a.


Fol. 31b.


Fol. $32 a$.


Fol. 32b.


Fol. 33a.


Fol. 33b.


Fol. 34a.


Fol. 34b.


Fol. 35a.


Fol. 35b.

Plate XXXVII.


Fol. $36 a$.


Fol. 36b.


Fol. $37 a$.


Fol. $37 b$.


Fol. 38 a


Fol. 38b.


Fol. 39a


Fol. 39b.


Fol. 40a.


Fol. 406.

Plate XLI.


Fol. $41 a$.


Fol. $41 b$.

Plate XLII.


Fol. $42 a$.


Fol. 426.

Plate XLIII.


Fol. $43 a$.


Fol. 43b.

Plate XLIV.


Fol. $44 a$.


Fol, $44 b$.

Plate XLV.


Fol. $45 a$.


Fol. $45 b$.

Plate XLVI.


Fol. $46 a$.


Fol. 46 .


Fol. $47 a$.


Fol. 47 .


Fol. $48 a$.


Fol. 486.


Fol. 49a.


Fol. 496.


Fol. 50 a.


Fol. 50b.

Plate LI.


Fol. $51 a$.


Fol. $51 b$.

Plate LII.


Fol. 52a.


Fol. $52 b$.

Plate LIII.


Fol. $53 a$.


Fol. 53b.


Fol. $54 a$.

Plate LV:


Fol. $37 a$.

Plate LVI.


Fol. $40 b$.


Fol. $41 a$.


[^0]:    1 Sulṭân 'Alî was styled 'Zubdat-ul-Kuttab', or 'The Cream of the Calligraphists', by Sulṭân Ḥusayn. See Abu'l Qâsim Ivaghlî Husayn's, collection of letters in the British Museum, (Add. 7688), in which a letter of Sulṭân Husayn addressed to Zubrlat-ul Kuttâb Sulṭân 'Alî is included (Rieu, Pers. Cat., i, p. 390a).

[^1]:    2 Memoirs of Babur, (tr. by A. S. Beveridge), p. 291.
    3 Tuhfa-i-Sâî (my MS., transcribed from the Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS. No. 683, dated 971 A.H.), fol. 17 a.

    4 Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal MS., No. D155, fol. $369 b$.
    5 Vol. iii, Juzv iii, p. 344.
    ${ }^{6}$ (By Mîrzâ Ḥaydar Dûghlât), Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal MS., No. D46, fol. $45 a$.

    7 Tehrân, A.H. 1248, Majlis, 10.
    8 (By 'Abdullâh), Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS., No. 1076, fol. 23a.
    9 Bûhâr Tibrary, Calcutta, MS., No. 12, fol. $267 b, 268 a$.
    10 Bibliotheca Indica Series (edited by M. Hidâyat Husayn), pp. 48, 49:
    11 (By Mîrzê Sanglâkh), Tehrân, A.H. 1291.

[^2]:    12 Calcutta Madrasah Library MS., No. CXLLVI. I have also occasionally consulted the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal MS., No. II, 519.

[^3]:    13 Rieu, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. ii, pp. 637-638. This is a MS. of Kullîyât-i-Kdtib̂̂, which was transcribed by Sulṭân 'Alî in $857 / 1453$, but it is uncertain whether this Sulṭân 'Alî is identical with Sulṭân 'Alî of Mashhad.

    14 Schulz states in his Die Persische-Islamische Miniaturmaterei, (p. 165) that Sulṭân 'Alî al-Mashhadî transcribed this copy in $849 / 1445$, but in view of the fact .that Sultân 'Alî was then only 13 years old, we feel some hesitation in ascribing the transcription of the MS. to him (al-Mashhadì).

[^4]:    16 'Abdullâh, Oriental Public Library MS., No. 1076, fol. 23a. My translation is not quite literal.

    17 Arnold (Sir T. W.) Painting in Islam, p. 33. See also the Memoirs of Babur (tr. by A. S. Beveridge), p. 329, and Tuhfa-i-Sâmı (R.A.S.B. MS., fol. 20b), and the Islamic Book (Arnold and Grohmann), p. 74.

    18 Bûhâr MS., No. 12, fol. 29b. The MS. of Mir'at-ul-'Âlam consulted by the editor of Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan (Bib. Indica Series, p. 49, n. 1) gives A.H. 902.

    19 Țehrân, A.H. 1291.

[^5]:    ${ }^{20}$ Vol. iii, Juzv iii, p. 344.
    ${ }^{21}$ Majlis, 10.
    ${ }_{22}$ Marteau (G.) and Vever (H.), Miniatures Persanes, Paris, 1913, Forme, 8, No. 12.

    23 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1918, p. cxxxiv.
    ${ }^{24}$ Majlis, 10.

[^6]:    ${ }^{25}$ Bib. Indica Series, p. 42.
    26 According to Khwând Amîr's Khulạsat-ul-Akhbâr (A.S.B. MS., No. D. 155, fol. $369 b$ ) Fânî worked in the library of Sulṭân Husayn. He was alive in A.H. 950. According to 'Abdullâh's Risála (Oriental Public Library, Patna, MS., No. 1076, fol. 23a) Fânî was a pupil of Mawlânâ Ja'far.

    27 Bûhâr Library MS., No. 12, fol. 29b. According to 'Abdullâh (Risala-iKhushnawîsî, Oriental Public Library MS., No. 1076, fol. 23a), he was a pupil of Mawlânâ Aẓhar. See also Huart, Les Call., p. 214.

    28 Blochet, Schefer Catalogue, No. 1474.
    29 Martin, Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey (London, 1912), p. 112 (Figures 18 and 20).
    ${ }^{30}$ A MS. of Dîwân-i-Ḥafiz, copied by him in 991 A.H., is preserved in Patna.
    31 Die Persische-Islamische Miniaturmalerei, p. 165.
    ${ }^{32}$ Catalqgue of Persian Manuscripts (Cochran Collection, New York), p. 61.
    ${ }^{33}$ Miniatures Persanes, p. 26.
    ${ }^{34}$ Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de L'Orient Musulman, p. 223.

[^7]:    37 Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey, p. 49.

[^8]:    38 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. IV, Part III, (1927), p. 433.

[^9]:    39 The original article appeared in Russian. Dr. Ross published its summary in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April 1898, Vol. XXX, pp. 349-366.
    ${ }^{40}$ Paris, 1867. This edition comprises 464 quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyâm.
    41 Critical Studies in the Ruba'iydt of 'Umar-i-Khayyam, (Copenhagen, 1927), p. 8. Sir E. Denison Ross (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 356) and Professor Schaeder (Rosen's edition, Berlin, p. 34) also have discovered one 'Wandering Quatrain' each.

    42 Z.D.M.G., 1926, p. 285 et. seqq., I have been unable to make use of the original article, which is in German, and have, therefore, relied on Christensen's summary in his Studies, pp. 10,11.
    ${ }^{43}$ I may point, however, that Q. No. 202 of Nicolas's edition (Whinfield, No. 246) is present in a MS. of Divadn-i Ḥafiz, dated 827/1423 (see 'Abdur Raḥim Khalkhâli's edition, Țehrân, 1928).

[^10]:    ${ }^{44}$ Gibb Memorial Series, Part I, p. 128.
    45 Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. I, p. 818.
    46 The manuscript has been described by Mîrzâ Muḥammad Khân Qazwînî, its discoverer, in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. V, Part I, (1928), pp. 97-108. The text of the quatrains was first published by Dr. Rosen as an appendix to his Berlin edition of "Rubâ'îyât-i-'Umar-i-Khayyam' (1925), and, later, re-printed (from the original MS.) with an English translation by Sir Denison Ross, in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. IV, Part III, (1927), pp. 433-439.

    47 Studies, pp. 40-42.

[^11]:    48 Rubå $\mathfrak{\imath} y a ̆ t$ (Berlin, 1925), pp. 16-23. Christensen, however, does not agree with some of the conclusions of Dr, Rosen. See Studies, p. 40.

    49 Studies, p. 42.
    50 The MS. is preserved in the Bûhâr section of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. It is written in a beautiful, bold Naskh and is in an excellent condition of preservation. For a full description of the MS. see Khân Bahâdur Mawlawî 'Abdul Muqtadir's article 'Notes on a unique history of Herdt, discovered in the Buthar collection of MSS. in the Imperial Library (Calcutta)' in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol, XII (New Series), No. 4 (1916).

[^12]:    51 Catalogue Raisonne of the Bûhar Library, Vol. I, Persian Manuscripts (Calcutta, 1921), p. 43.
    ${ }_{52}$ Rubâ'îyat-i-'Umar-i-Khayyám, (Berlin, 1925), No. 198, p. 100.

[^13]:    ${ }^{53}$ He was born about 946/1539 and completed his Tadhkira of ancient and contemporary poets in six volumes, in 1016/1607. The Patna MS. comprises the fourth volume of the Tadhkira, followed by a Tadhnîb (foll. 270-395) in which he gives selections of the verses of a large number of poets. Taqi's Tadhkira contains (as remarked by Sprenger) 'the soundest critical and most exact and complete biographical remarks on the Persian poets ; the author seems to have consulted their Diwans and to have collected all the information concerning them he could ' (Oude Catalogue, p. 14).
    ${ }^{54}$ A full description of the MS. will be found in Khàn Bahâdur 'Abdul Muqtadir's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, Vol. VIII, pp. 73-75.
    ${ }_{55}$ Vol. III, No. 3, (1929), pp. 369-374.
    ${ }^{56}$ Also included in Rosen's edition of Sulṭan Muhammad Nûr's MS., dated A.H. 930 (No. 44).

    57 Also included in Rosen MS. (dated A,H. 721) (No. 50).

[^14]:    58 Also included in Rosen MS. (dated A.H. 721) (No. 90).
    59
    60 Sept Rosen, No. 33, $n 2$.
    61 Gibb Memorial Series (edited by Prof. Muhammad Iqbâl), p. 425.
    62 Gibb Memorial Series (edited by Mîrzâ Muhammad Khân), p. 216.

[^15]:    ${ }^{63}$ Literary History of Persia, Vol. II, p. 258.
    ${ }^{64}$ He has discussed the importance of these texts in his Studies, p. 15, et seq.
    ${ }^{65} \mathrm{He}$ is of opinion that 'the non-alphabetical texts represent a textual tradition which is oider than that of the single alphabetical texts, for the alphabetical arrangement, once adopted, has persisted '. (Studies, p. 26.)
    ${ }^{66}$ Studies, p. 39.

[^16]:    67 Christensen says: 'The 121 quatrains selected according to the principles resulting from the preceding enquiry certainly do not include all the verses composed by "Umar, and it is not impossible, on the other hand, that there may be among them a few spurious quatrains, which have found their way into the collection at an early date, but at all events the text given here is more authentical than that of any particular manuscript or printed edition......., (Studies, pp. 43-44.)

    68 Blocket, Schefer Collection, p. 97.
    ${ }^{69}$ Ibid., p. 106.
    70 Ibid., p. 112.

[^17]:    75 The MS. was noticed, for the first time, by Professor Muhammad Shafí ${ }^{6}$ of the Oriental College, Lahore, in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. VII, p. 56, and, later, by Professor Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 14-23.
    ${ }^{76}$ I cannot say which quatrains the manuscript has in common with the Bodleian copy, as the owner does not seem to be willing to supply me with informadion on this point.

[^18]:    77 The following quatrains, which are absent from the Bodleian MS., can be found in Nicolas's edition, except No. 5, which is present in the Nawal Kishore edition, Lucknow, 1024 :-
    (i) عمريست كه هداتى (Nicolas No. 87).
    (ii) ( " , 102).
    (iii) lb ( , , 217).
    (iv) (Lucknow, No. 459).
    (v) (Nicolas, No. 252).
    (vi) ( " , 428).

[^19]:    80 Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, Vol. I, pp. 16-18.

    81 (W. Ivanow), Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 798.

    82 See the Hand-list of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Books and MSS. in the Library of the Calcutla Madrasah (prepared by Mawlawî Abu'l Makârim Faḍlu'] Wahhâb), p. 358.

    83 Ibid., p. 376.

