

that is, he regarded about one out of every forty mentioned as having a claim to real distinction.

In any case, therefore, a very rigorous selection must be made, the more so when it is a question of poets whose

beauty does not depend solely on form, and can, therefore, be preserved in some degree in translation. In making this selection I have included such poets as enjoy any considerable fame in their own country, and any others whom I happen to have come across in the course of my reading (a mere fraction of the total number) who make any special appeal to myself. It is doubtful how far a foreigner is competent to criticize; he may say that he personally admires or dislikes a particular poet, but I doubt if he should go so far as to class him definitely on

this ground as good or bad. The taste of even the Turks and Indians, who are more familiar with Persian poetry than we can easily become, differs very considerably from that of the Persians themselves, who must be reckoned the most competent judges of their own literature. In this connection I should like to direct the reader's attention to a very apposite passage in P. G. Hamerton's *Intellectual Life*<sup>1</sup>. Speaking of a Frenchman who had learned English entirely from books, without being able either to speak it, or to understand it when spoken, and "had attained what would certainly in the case of a dead language be considered a very high degree of scholarship indeed," he says: "His appreciation of our authors, especially of our poets, differed so widely from English criticism and English feeling that it was evident he did not understand them as we understand them. Two things especially proved this: he frequently mistook declamatory versification of the most mediocre quality for poetry of an elevated order; whilst, on the other hand, his ear failed to perceive the music of the musical poets, as

<sup>1</sup> New ed., London, Macmillan & Co., 1890, pp. 86-94.

Criterion of selection.

Divergence of foreign from native taste.

Byron and Tennyson. How *could* he hear their music, he to whom our English sounds were all unknown?" Transform this Frenchman into an Indian or a Turk, and substitute "Persian" for "English" and "Qá'ání" for "Byron and Tennyson," and the above remarks admirably apply to most Turkish and Indian appreciations of Persian poetry.

Of the poets who died between A.D. 1500 and 1600 some ten or a dozen deserve at least a brief mention; of those between A.D. 1600 and 1700 about the same number; between A.D. 1700 and 1800 only one or two; between A.D. 1800 and 1885 about a score. Those who outlived the date last-mentioned may be conveniently grouped with the moderns, who will be discussed separately. The following are the poets of whom I propose to speak briefly, arranged in chronological order of their deaths (the dates of birth are seldom recorded) in the four periods indicated above.

#### I. Between A.D. 1500 and 1600 (A.H. 906-1009).

Several of the poets who really belong to this period have been already mentioned in my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, namely, Mír 'Alí Shír Nawá'í, d. 906/1500-1 (pp. 505-6); Husayn Wá'iz-i-Káshifí, d. 910/1504-5 (pp. 503-4); Banná'í, killed in the massacre at Qarshí in 918/1512-3 (p. 457); and Hilálí, killed by 'Ubaydu'lláh Khán the Uzbek as a Shí'a in 936/1529-30 (p. 459). Of the last-named only need anything further be said here.

##### 1. Hátifí (d. 927/Dec. 1520 or Jan. 1521).

Mawláná 'Abdu'lláh Hátifí of Kharjird in Khurásán derives his chief fame from the fact that he was the nephew of the great Jámí, who, according to the well-known story<sup>1</sup>, tested his poetical talent before allowing him to write by bidding him compose

Hátifí  
(d. 927/1520).

<sup>1</sup> See, besides the Persian *tadhkiras*, Sir Gore Ouseley's *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets* (London, 1846), pp. 143-5.

a "parallel" to the following verses in Firdaws's celebrated satire<sup>1</sup> on Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna:

درختی که تلخ است وی را سرشت'  
گوش در نشانی بباغ بهشت'  
ور از جوی خلدش بهنگام آب'  
به بیخ انگبین ریزی و شهید ناب'  
سر انجام گوهر بکار آورد'  
همان میوه تلخ بار آورد'

"A tree whereof the nature is bitter, even if thou plantest it in the Garden of Paradise, And if, at the time of watering, thou pourest on its roots nectar and fine honey from the River of Paradise<sup>2</sup>, It will in the end give effect to its nature, and bring forth that same bitter fruit."

Hátiff produced the following "parallel," which his uncle Jámí approved, except that he jocularly observed that the neophyte had "laid a great many eggs on the way"<sup>3</sup>:

اگر بیضه زاغ ظلمت سرشت، نهی زیر طارِسِ باغ بهشت'  
بهنگام آن بیضه پروردنش، ز انجیرِ جنتِ دهی ارزش'  
دهی آبش از چشمه سلسبیل، بدان بیضه دمدر دمدم جبرئیل'  
شود عاقبت بیضه زاغ زاغ، برد رنج بیهوده طاوس باغ'

"If thou should'st place an egg of the crow compounded of darkness under the Peacock of the Garden of Paradise, And if at the time of nourishing that egg thou should'st give it grain from the Fig-tree of the Celestial Gardens,

<sup>1</sup> The satire is given at the end (pp. 63-6) of the Persian Introduction to Turner Macan's edition of the *Sháh-náma* (Calcutta, 1829). These verses occur on p. 66, ll. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the celestial river of Salsabil is intended.

<sup>3</sup> *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, vol. ii, p. 54. Hátiff's verses are given on the last page (436) of vol. iii of Ziyá Bey's *Kharábat*.

And should'st water it from the Fountain of Salsabil, and Gabriel should breathe his breath into that egg, In the end the crow's egg will become a crow, and vain will be the trouble of the Peacock of Paradise."

Hátiff was one of the innumerable poets who strove to compose a "Quintet" (*Khamsa*) rivalling that of Nizámí of Ganja. Two of his five subjects were the same, the romances of *Laylá and Majnún*<sup>1</sup> and of *Shírin and Khusraw*; the *Haft Manẓar* formed the parallel to the *Haft Paykar*; while the *Tímúr-náma*<sup>2</sup> formed the counterpart to the *Sikandar-náma*, except that, as Hátiff boasts<sup>3</sup>, his poem was based on historical truth instead of on fables and legends. He also began, but did not complete, a similar historical poem on the achievements of Sháh Isma'íl the Şafawí, who paid him a surprise visit as he was returning from a campaign in Khurásán in 917/1511-12. This poem is in the style and metre of the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí, and is entitled *Sháh-náma-i-Ḥazrat-i-Sháh Isma'íl*<sup>4</sup>.

Hátiff belongs essentially, like so many other representatives of Art and Letters in the early Şafawí period, to the circle of Herát formed under the liberal patronage of the later Tímúrids.

## 2. Bábá Fighání of Shíráz (d. 925/1519).

Fighání appears to be one of those poets who are much more highly esteemed in India than in their own country, for while Shiblí in his *Shí'ru'l-'Ajám* (vol. iii, pp. 27-30), like Wálih in his *Riyádu'sh-Shu'arâ*<sup>5</sup>, deems him the creator of a new style of poetry,

Fighání  
(d. 925/1519).

<sup>1</sup> Published at Calcutta by Sir W. Jones in 1788.

<sup>2</sup> Lithographed at Lucknow in Oct. 1869. It comprises about 4500 verses.

<sup>3</sup> Rieu's *British Museum Persian Catalogue*, p. 654.

<sup>4</sup> There is another similar and homonymous poem by Qásimí. See *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 660-1. The Library of King's College, Cambridge, possesses a MS. of this latter (*Pote Collection*, No. 238).

<sup>5</sup> See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 651.

Ridá-qulí Khán only accords him a brief mention in his *Riyádu'l-'Arifín*<sup>1</sup> and entirely omits him in his larger *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahá*, while the notices of him in the *Atash-kada* and the *Tuhfa-i-Sámi* are very brief. He was of humble origin, the son of a cutler<sup>2</sup> or a vintner according to different accounts, and seems to have lived the life of a somewhat antinomian dervish. In Khurásán, whither he went from Shíráz, he was unappreciated, even by the great Jámí, with whom he forgathered; but at Tabríz he subsequently found a more appreciative patron in Sulṭán Ya'qúb the Prince of the "White Sheep" Turkmáns. He repented in later life and retired to the Holy City of Mashhad, so that perhaps this verse of his ceased to be applicable:

آلوده شرابِ فغانی بخاك رفت، آه ار ملائكتش كفن تازه بو كند

"Stained with wine Fighání sank into the earth: alas if the Angels should sniff at his fresh shroud<sup>3</sup>!"

The longest extracts from his poems are given in the *Majálisu'l-Mi'mintn*, but these are all *qaṣída*s in praise of 'Alí, presumably composed towards the end of his life, and, though they may suffice to prove him a good Shí'a, they are hardly of a quality to establish his reputation as a great poet.

### 3. Ummídí (or Umídí) of Ṭíhrán (d. 925/1519 or 930/1523-4).

Little is known of Umídí except that his proper name was Arjásp<sup>4</sup>, that he was a pupil of the celebrated philosopher

<sup>1</sup> Lithographed at Ṭíhrán, 1305/1887-8, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> On this account he originally wrote verse under the "pen-name" of Sakkákí.

<sup>3</sup> Lest they should by the smell of the wine know him for the toper he was.

<sup>4</sup> One is tempted to conjecture from this name that he may have been a Zoroastrian, but I have found no further evidence to support this supposition.

Jalálu'd-Dín Dawání, that his skill was in the *qaṣída* rather than the *ghazal*, that he was on bad terms with his fellow-townsmen, on whom he wrote many satires, and that he was finally killed in Ṭíhrán in a quarrel about a piece of land, at the instigation of Qiwámu'd-Dín Núr-bakhshí. Námí, one of his pupils, composed the following verses and chronogram on his death:

نادرِ عصرِ امیدي مظلوم، كو بنا حق شهيد شد ناگاه،  
شبِ بخوابِ من آمد و فرمود، كای ز حالِ درونِ من آگاه،  
بهرِ تاريخِ قتلِ من بنويس، آه از خونِ نا حقِ من آه،

"The much-wronged Umídí, wonder of the Age, who suddenly and contrary to right became a martyr, Appeared to me at night in a dream and said, 'O thou who art aware of my inward state, Write for the date of my murder<sup>1</sup>: "Alas for my blood unjustly shed, alas!"

Reference has already been made (p. 59 *supra*) to a *qaṣída* composed by him in praise of *Najm-i-Thání*, and probably his poetry consisted chiefly of panegyrics, though he also wrote a *Sáqt-náma* ("Book of the Cup-bearer") of the stereotyped form. Manuscripts of his poems are very rare, but there is one in the British Museum<sup>2</sup>, comprising, however, only 17 leaves, and even these few poems were collected long after his death by command of Sháh Saíf. Mention is, however, made of him in most of the *tadhkiras*, and the *Atash-kada* cites 24 verses from his *Sáqt-náma*,

<sup>1</sup> This chronogram gives A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519), but 930/1523-4 is the date given by Sám Mírzá, and 929/1522-3 in the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh*, and, by implication, in the *Haft Iqlím*.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 3642, ff. 180-197. See Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, p. 269. The author of the *Haft Iqlím*, writing more than seventy years after the death of Umídí, his fellow-townsmen and apparently kinsman, says that in his day the well-known verses of the poet consisted of 17 *qaṣída*s, 3 *ghazals*, a few fragments and quatrains, and the *Sáqt-náma*.

and 70 verses from his other poems. Amongst these are the following, also given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā* (vol. ii pp. 7-8):

رواقِ مدرسه گر سرنگون شود سهل است،

قصورِ میکده<sup>۱</sup> عشق را مباد قصور،

بنایِ مدرسه از جنسِ عالی و سافل،

خراب گشت و خرابات همچنان معمور،

"If the College hall should be turned upside down it matters little; but may no injury befall the halls of the Wine-houses of Love! The College buildings, high and low, were destroyed, while the taverns continued to flourish just the same."

تو ترکِ نیمِ مستی من مرغِ نیمِ بسمل،

کارِ تو از من آسان کارِ من از تو مشکل،

تو پا نپی بمیدان من دست شویر از جان،

تو خوی چکانی از رخ من خون فشانم از دل،

دنبالِ آن مسافر از ضعف و نا توانی،

بر خیزم و نشینم چون گرد تا بمنزل،

کو بختِ آنکه گیرم مستش ز خانه<sup>۲</sup> زین،

و آن ساعدِ بلورین در گردنم حمایل،

خنجر کشی و ساغر اهلِ وفا سراسر،

خون خورده در برابر جان داده در مقابل،

مداحیم چو شد طی بشنو حکایتِ ری،

ویرانه ایست در وی دیوانه ایست عامل،

دیوانه<sup>۳</sup> که تدبیر در وی نکرده تأثیر،

دیوانه<sup>۴</sup> که زنجیر او را نکرده عاقل،

دیوانه ایست پُر فن دیرینه دشمنِ من،

از وی مباحش ایمن وز من مباحش غافل،

بر داورِ سخندان این نکته ایست پنهان،

کاندیشه<sup>۱</sup> پریشان نبود بنظمِ مایل،

طبعم ز هرکه بودی گوی سخن ربودی،

اما اگر نبودی در خانه امر محصل،

"Thou art a half-drunk Turk, I am a half-slain bird<sup>1</sup>; thy affair with me is easy, my desire of thee is difficult.

Thou settest thy foot in the field, I wash my hands of life; thou causeth sweat to drip from thy cheek, I pour blood from my heart.

Behind that traveller in weakness and helplessness I rise up and subside like the dust until the halting-place [is reached].

When shall the luck be mine to lift him drunken from the saddle, while that crystal-clear arm embraces my neck like a sword-belt?

Thou bearest a dagger and a goblet: the faithful with one accord drink blood beside thee and give their lives before thee.

Now that my scroll of praise is rolled up, hearken to the tale of Ray: it is a ruin wherein a madman is governor:

A madman on whom counsel produced no effect; a madman whom chains did not render sensible.

He is a madman full of craft, my old enemy; be not secure of him, and be not heedless of me.

From the arbiter of eloquence this point is hidden, that a distracted mind is not disposed to verse.

My genius would snatch the ball<sup>2</sup> of verse from all and sundry, if only the bailiff were not in my house!"

#### 4 and 5. The two Ahlífs.

These two homonymous poets, the one of Turshíz in Khurásán (d. 934/1527-8) and the other of Shíráz (d. 942/1535-6), of both of whom the names are more familiar than the works, must, as Rieu has pointed out<sup>3</sup>, be carefully distinguished. Both are ignored by Ridá-qulí Khán, and both belong,

Ahlí of Turshíz  
(d. 934/1527),  
and Ahlí of  
Shíráz  
(d. 942/1535).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 166, n. 1 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> This common simile is derived from the game of polo.

<sup>3</sup> *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 657-8. See also Ethé's *India Office Persian Catalogue*, col. 785, No. 1432, where a very valuable autograph MS., made in 920/1514, is described.]

the former actually, the latter spiritually, to the Herát school which gathered round Sulţán Ĥusayn and Mír 'Alf Shír. This school, to which also belonged Żuhúrí (d. 1024/1615), likewise of Turshíz, seems never to have been popular in Persia, except, perhaps, in their own day in Khurásán, but enjoys a much more considerable reputation in India, where Żuhárí, whose very name is almost unknown in Persia, enjoys an extraordinary, and, as I think, quite undeserved fame, especially as a writer of extremely florid and bombastic prose. Ahlí of Shíráz excelled especially in elaborately ingenious word-plays (*tajnisát*) and other rhetorical devices.

#### 6. Hilálí (killed in 935/1528-9).

Hilálí, though born in Astarábád, the chief town of the Persian Province of Gurgán, was by race a Chaghatáy Turk, and was in his youth patronized by Mír 'Alf Shír Nawá'í. His most famous poem, entitled *Sháh u Darwtsh*, or *Sháh u Gadá* ("the King and the Beggar"), has been harshly criticized by Bábur himself<sup>1</sup> and in later times by Sprenger<sup>2</sup>, but warmly defended by Ethé, who translated it into German verse<sup>3</sup>. He composed another *mathnawí* poem entitled *Şifátu'l-'Ashiqín* ("the Attributes of Lovers") and a number of odes collected into a *Díván*. Ridá-qulí Khán says<sup>4</sup> that in Khurásán he was regarded as a Shí'a, but in 'Iráq as a Sunní. Unhappily for him 'Ubaydu'lláh Khán, the fanatical Uzbek, took the former view, and caused him to be put to death as a "*Ráfidí*." It is curious, in view of this, that he is not mentioned in the *Majálisu'l-Mú'minín* amongst the Shí'a poets; and perhaps, as asserted in the *Haft Iqlím*, the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Oude Catalogue, p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> *Morgenländische Studien*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 197-282.

<sup>4</sup> *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, vol. ii, p. 55.

envy of two of his rivals at the Uzbek Court, Baqá'í and Shamsu'd-Dín Kúhistání, rather than his religious views, may have caused his execution, which 'Ubaydu'lláh Khán is said to have subsequently regretted. The following verses, however, seem to indicate Shí'a propensities:

محمّد عربی آبروی هر دو سرای  
 کسی که خاک درش نیست خاک بر سر او  
 شنیده ام که تکلم نمود همچو مسیح  
 بدین حدیث لب لبّ لعل روح پرور او  
 که من مدینه علم علی درست مرا  
 عجب خجسته حدیثیست من سگ در او

"Muhammad the Arabian, the honour of both worlds: dust be upon the head of him who is not as dust at his Door!

I have heard that his life-sustaining ruby lip uttered, like the Messiah, this tradition:

'I am the City of Knowledge and 'Alf is my Door': a marvellously blessed tradition! I am the dog of his Door!"

#### 7. Lisání (d. 940/1533-4).

Lisání of Shíráz is the last of the twenty-two Persian Shí'a poets mentioned in the *Majálisu'l-Mú'minín* and deserves mention rather on account of his devotion to that faith than by reason of his poetic talent; for, although he is said to have produced more than 100,000 verses, they are little known and seldom met with<sup>2</sup>, and, though mentioned in the *Atash-kada* and the *Haft Iqlím*, he is ignored by Ridá-qulí Khán. Most of his life was spent at Baghdád and Tabríz, in which latter

Lisání  
(d. 940/1533).

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the dog of 'Alf. *Kalb-'Alí* is not uncommon as a name amongst the Shí'a, and, as we have seen, the Şafawí kings gloried in the title "Dogs of the Threshold of 'Alf ibn Abí Ṭálib." These verses are taken from the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a copy of his *Díván* (Or. 307) in the British Museum. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 656-7.

town he died just before it was taken by the Ottoman Sultán Sulaymán. "On account of his devotion to the Twelve Imáms," says the author of the *Majális*, "Lisání would never remove from his head the twelve-gored kingly crown<sup>1</sup> until, when Sultán Sulaymán the Turk was advancing to occupy Tabríz, it happened that news of his near approach reached Lisání when he was engaged in prayer in the great Mosque of Tabríz. On hearing this news, he raised his hands in prayer, saying, 'O God, this usurper is coming to Tabríz: I cannot remove this crown from my head, nor reconcile myself to witnessing his triumph, therefore suffer me to die, and bring me to the Court of Thy Mercy!' He then bowed his head in prayer, and in that attitude surrendered his soul to the Beloved." The following quatrain is characteristic:

گر بند لسانی گسلد از بندش ' در خاک شود وجود حاجتمندش  
بالله كه ز مشرق دلش سر نزند ' جز مهر علی و یازده فرزندش

"If the joints of Lisání break apart, and his needy body passes into the dust,

By God, from the horizon of his heart naught will appear save the love [or sun] of 'Alí and his eleven descendants!"

His poems, in the preservation of which he seems to have been very careless, were collected after his death by his pupil Sharíf of Tabríz, but so slovenly was the compilation that, according to the *Atash-kada*, it was known as *Sahwul-Lisán*, or "Lapsus Linguae."

#### 8. Fuḏúlí (Fuzúlí) of Baghdád (d. 970/1562-3).

Fuḏúlí is reckoned amongst the Turkish rather than the Persian poets, and is fully discussed by Gibb in vol. iii of his monumental *History of Ottoman Poetry* (ch. iv, pp. 70-107). That he became an Ottoman subject was due to the fact that Baghdád,

Fuḏúlí  
(d. 970/1562).

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this distinctive head-dress, which gave to the Persian Shí'a their name of *Qizil-básh* ("Red-heads"), see p. 48 *supra*.

where he was probably born, and where he spent nearly all his life, was taken from the Persians by the Turks in 940/1535; but, as Gibb says<sup>1</sup>, "he composed with equal ease and elegance in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic." He is described by the same scholar<sup>2</sup> as "the earliest of those four great poets who stand pre-eminent in the older literature of Turkey, men who in any age and in any nation would have taken their place amongst the Immortals." That his status in the Persian Parnassus is so much lower is due rather to the greater competition and higher standard of excellence prevailing there than to any lack of skill on his part in the use of the Persian language<sup>3</sup>. That he was of the Shí'a faith is clear from several of his verses, and from his *Hadíqatu's-Su'addá*<sup>4</sup>, a Turkish martyrology modelled on the Persian *Rawḍatu'sh-Shuhadá* of Ḥusayn Wá'iz-i-Káshifí.

As I have referred to Gibb's great work on Ottoman Poetry, I may here express a doubt as to his claim<sup>5</sup> that the kind of poem entitled *Shahr-angiz* (or "City-thriller," as he renders it) is a Turkish invention, and that "there is no similar poem in Persian literature." Sám Mírzá in his *Tuhfa-i-Sámt* (compiled in 957/1550) mentions at least two poets, Wahídí of Qum and Ḥarfí of Işfahán, who composed such poems, the former on Tabríz, the latter on Gílán, and though these were probably written later than Masḥfí's Turkish *Shahr-angiz* on Adrianople, there is nothing to suggest that they were regarded as a novelty or innovation in Persia. Ḥarfí's poem, called *Shahr-dshúb* ("City-disturber") seems to have been bitterly satirical, for the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> He has a complete Persian *Díván*, of which a MS. (Add. 7785) exists in the British Museum, and which has been printed at Tabríz. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 659.

<sup>4</sup> See Rieu's *Turkish Catalogue*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii, p. 232.

unhappy poet was deprived of his tongue in consequence, as Sám Mírzá relates :

شهر آشوبی جهت آنجا (یعنی گیلان) و مردم آنجا گفته و اورا  
با مریدی متهر ساخته زبانش را بُریدند اما این جائزه اورا از  
برای اشعار دیگرش میبایست نه جهت هجو اهل گیلان'

9. Waḥshí of Báfq (d. 991/1583).

Though born at Báfq, a dependency of Kirmán, Waḥshí spent most of his life at Yazd. His poetry, especially his *Farhád u Shírin* and his *ghazals*, are highly praised in the *Tārīkh-i-Álam-árá-yi-Abbásí*, the *Átash-kada*, and the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*.

He also wrote panegyrics on Sháh Tahmásp and his nobles, concerning which the author of the work last-named remarks that in this branch of the poetic art none of the poets of the middle period can compare with the ancients. He did not finish the *Farhád u Shírin*, which was completed long afterwards (in 1265/1848-9) by Wiṣál. He wrote two other *mathnawí* poems, the *Khuld-i-Barín* ("Supreme Abode of Bliss") and *Názir u Manzúr*, besides *ghazals* (odes) and *qiṭ'as* (fragments), a large selection of which are given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* and the *Átash-kada* (pp. 111-120)<sup>2</sup>. The following *murabba'*, or "foursome," given in both these anthologies, is rather pretty and unusual.

دوستان شرح پریشانی من گوش کنید  
داستانِ غمِ پنهانی من گوش کنید  
قصه بی سر و سامانی من گوش کنید  
گفتگوی من و حیرانی من گوش کنید

شرح این قصه جانسوز نهفتن تا کی  
سوخته سوخته این راز نگفتن تا کی

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, pp. 51-4.

<sup>2</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 663-4.

روزکاری من و دل ساکنِ کوئی بودیم  
ساکنِ کوی بُتِ عربده جوئی بودیم  
دین و دل باخته ویرانه روئی بودیم  
بسته سلسله سلسله موئی بودیم  
کس در آن سلسله غیر از من و دل بند نبود  
یک گرفتار ازین جمله که هستند نبود  
نرگس غمزه زنش این همه بیمار نداشت  
سنبلِ پر شکنش هیچ گرفتار نداشت  
این همه مشتری و گرمی بازار نداشت  
یوسفی بود ولی هیچ خریدار نداشت  
اول آن کس که خریدار شدم من بودم  
باعث گرمی بازار شدم من بودم  
عشق من شد سبِ خوبی و رعنائی او  
داد رسوائی من شهرتِ زیبائی او  
بسکه کردم همه جا شرحِ دلآرائی او  
شهر پر گشت ز غوغای تماشائی او  
این زمان عاشقِ سر گشته فراوان دارد  
کی سر و برک من بیسر و سامان دارد  
چون چنین است پی کارِ دگر باشیم به  
مرغ خوش نغمه گلزار دگر باشیم به  
عندلیبِ گلِ رخسار دگر باشیم به  
چند روزی پی دلدار دگر باشیم به  
نو گلی کو که شوم بلبلِ دستان سازش  
سازم از تازه جوانانِ چمن ممتازش  
کزچه از خاطر وحشی هوسِ روی تو رفت  
وز دلش آرزوی قامتِ دلجوی تو رفت

شده دل آزرده، آزرده از کوی تو رفت،  
 با دل پرگله از ناخوشی روی تو رفت،  
 حاش لله که وفای تو فراموش کنم،  
 سخن مصلحت آمیز کسان گوش کنم،

"O friends, hearken to the account of my distraction! Hearken to the tale of my hidden sorrow! Hearken to the story of my disordered state! Hearken to my description of my bewilderment! How long shall I hide the account of this grievous story? I burn! I burn! How long shall I refrain from telling this secret?

For a while I and my heart dwelt in a certain street: the street of a certain quarrelsome beauty. We had staked Faith and heart on one of dissolute countenance; we were fettered in the chains of one with chain-like tresses. In that chain was none bound save me and my heart: of all that exist, not one was captive then.

Her bewitching narcissus-eyes had not then all these love-sick victims; her curling hyacinthine locks held then no prisoner; she had not then so brisk a business and so many customers; she was a Joseph [in beauty] but found no purchaser. I was the first to become a purchaser; it was I who caused the briskness of her market.

My love was the cause of her beauty and comeliness; my shame gave fame to her beauty; so widely did I everywhere describe her charms that the whole city was filled with the tumult of the spectators. Now she has many distracted lovers, how should she think or care for poor distracted me?

Since it is so, it is better that we should pursue some other aim, that we should become the sweet-voiced songsters of some other rose-bower, that we should become the nightingales of some other rose-cheeked beauty, that for a few days we should follow some other charmer. Where is some fresh young rose whose eloquent nightingale I may become, and whom I may [thus] distinguish amongst the youthful beauties of the garden?

Although the fancy for thy face hath passed away from Wahshí's mind, and the desire for thy charming figure hath departed from his heart, and one vexed in heart hath departed in vexation from thy street, and with a heart full of complaints hath departed from the displeasure of thy countenance, God forbid that I should forget thy constancy, or should listen to man's counsels of expediency!"

10. Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd (d. 993/1585).

11. Muḥtasham of Káshán (d. 996/1587-8).

Maḥmúd Qárí of Yazd, the poet of clothes, who died two years after Wahshí and three years before Muḥtasham, was mentioned in the preceding volume of this work<sup>1</sup> in connection with the two earlier parodists 'Ubayd-i-Zákání and Bushāq (Abú Ishāq) of Shíráz; while the far more notable Muḥtasham has been already discussed at some length in the preceding chapter<sup>2</sup> in connection with the religious poetry on which his fame chiefly rests. Of the erotic verse of his early youth and of his panegyrics on Sháh Ṭahmásp copious specimens are given in the *Atash-kada*, but these are neither so distinguished nor so characteristic as his elegies (*maráthí*) on the martyrdom of Ḥusayn and the other Imáms, from which the extracts given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*<sup>3</sup> are chiefly taken.

Maḥmúd Qárí  
 of Yazd  
 (d. 993/1585),  
 and Muḥtasham  
 of Káshán  
 (d. 996/1587-8).

12. 'Urfí of Shíráz (d. 999/1590-1) and his circle.

Though less highly appreciated in his own country than in Turkey and India, 'Urfí is probably on the whole the most famous and popular poet of his century<sup>4</sup>. Though born and brought up in Shíráz, his short life was chiefly spent in India, where he died in 999/1590-1 at the early age of thirty-six, some say of dysentery, others of poison. He is one of the three poets of this century (A.D. 1500-1600) discussed by Shibli Nu'mání in his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*<sup>5</sup>, the other two being his

'Urfí of Shíráz  
 (d. 999/1590-1).

<sup>1</sup> *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 257 and 351-3. Maḥmúd is not mentioned in the *Atash-kada*, the *Haft Iqlím*, or the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*; no particulars of his life are known to me, and the date of his death must be regarded as uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 172-7 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 667.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iii, pp. 82-133.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii, pp. 36-38.



fellow-townsmen Bábá Fighání, already mentioned<sup>1</sup>, and Fayḍí (Fayẓí), brother of Akbar's celebrated minister Abu'l-Faḍl (Abu'l-Faẓl), who, in Shiblí's opinion, was one of the two Indian poets who wrote Persian verse which would pass as the work of a genuine Persian<sup>2</sup>. 'Abdu'l-Qádir Badá'úní says<sup>3</sup> that 'Urff and Thaná'í were the two most popular Persian poets in India in his time, and that manuscripts of their works were to be found in every bazaar and book-shop, while Fayḍí's poems, in spite of the large sums of money which he had expended in having them beautifully copied and illuminated, were little sought after. Gibb says<sup>4</sup> that, after Jámí, 'Urff and Fayḍí were the chief Persian influences on Turkish poetry until they were superseded by Şá'ib, and that "the novelty in this style lay, apart from the introduction of a number of fresh terms into the conventional vocabulary of poetry, in the deposition of rhetoric from the chief seat, and the enthronement of loftiness of tone and stateliness of language in its stead."<sup>5</sup> Ziyá (Diyá) Pasha, in that portion of his metrical Introduction to the *Kharábat* which discusses the Persian poets, after praising Jámí, proceeds to speak of 'Urff and Fayḍí as follows :

Great popularity of 'Urff and Fayḍí in Turkey and India.

سر جمله آخر الزماندر	فیضی ایله عرُفی همعناندر
عرُفیده عذوبت و حلالت	فیضیده بلاغت و طراوت
عرُفیده قصیده لر متیندر	فیضیده مواظ آتشیندر
فیضیده قالمورینه فضیلت	اما آرانورسه اولویت
تفسیرینه نقطه قونماز اصلا	فیضی معجزه ایکن سراپا
شاگردی یدی ایله شهادت	بولدی او یگانه فضیلت

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 229-230 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The other was Amír Khusraw of Dihlí.

<sup>3</sup> *Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh*, vol. iii, p. 285 (Calcutta, 1869).

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, pp. 5, 127, 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 129.

"Fayḍí and 'Urff run neck-and-neck ; they are the leaders of the later time.

In Fayḍí is eloquence and freshness, in 'Urff sweetness and fluency.

In Fayḍí are fiery exhortations, while 'Urff is strong in elegies.

But if pre-eminence he sought, excellence still remains with Fayḍí.

Fayḍí is clear throughout: no dots need be added to his commentary.

But that paragon of excellence suffered martyrdom at his pupil's hands."

I can find no evidence in support of the last statement, which, indeed, is at variance with Badá'úní's exultant description<sup>1</sup> of his painful and unpleasant death<sup>2</sup>, though perhaps the swollen face and blackened lips, which his bitter enemy describes with unconcealed *Schadenfreude*, may have aroused suspicions of poison. The same fanatical writer gives a series of most uncomplimentary chronograms composed by the orthodox to commemorate the death of an arch-heretic, such as :

فیضی بیدین چو مُرد سالِ وفاتش فصیح  
گفت سگی از جهان رفته بحالِ قبیح

"When infidel Fayḍí died, Faṣíḥ said as the date of his death, 'A dog departed from the world in a foul fashion.'"

The simplest of them all are "Fayḍí was a heretic" (بود فیضی ملحدی), "he died like a dog-worshipper" (قاعده), and "the rule of heresy broke" (چه سگ پرستی مرد), all of which yield the required date A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595). Badá'úní also says that, with a view to restoring his shattered religious reputation, he composed a commentary on the *Qur'an* consisting entirely of undotted letters, adding unkindly that he was drunk and in a state of legal uncleanness when he wrote it. The author of the *Majma'u'l-*

<sup>1</sup> *Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh*, vol. iii, pp. 299-310, especially p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> This took place on 10 Şafar, 1004 (October 15, 1595). See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 450, where the chief sources are fully enumerated.

*Fuṣahā*<sup>1</sup> in alluding to this book (which he only knew by repute) says that the author "troubled himself to no purpose" (كلفتی بیحاصل کشیده), and has no word of praise for his poems, on which the author of the *Ātash-kada* has the tepid encomium that "they are not bad." The fullest and most appreciative account of him which I have met with is that given by Shiblī Nu'mání in his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*<sup>2</sup>. He composed a *Khamsa* ("Quintet") in imitation of Nizámí, the titles of these five poems being *Markaz-i-Adwār*, *Sulaymán u Bilqís*, *Nal u Daman* (the most celebrated), *Haft Kishwar*, and *Akbar-náma*, but some of them remained incomplete. He also wrote many *qaṣidas* and *ghazals*, and produced several translations from the Sanskrit. None of his verses quoted by Shiblī appear to me so affecting as the following on the death of his child:

ای روشنی دیده روشن چگونه  
 من بی تو تیره روز تو بی من چگونه  
 ماتم سراسر خانه من در فراق تو  
 تو زیر خاک ساخته مسکن چگونه  
 بر خار و خس که بستر و بالین خواب تست  
 ای یاسمین عذار سمن تن چگونه

Fayḍí's verses  
 on the death  
 of his child.

"O brightness of my bright eyes, how art thou? Without thee my days are dark; without me how art thou? My house is a house of mourning in thine absence; thou hast made thine abode beneath the dust: how art thou? The couch and pillow of thy sleep is on thorns and brambles: O thou whose cheeks and body were as jasmine, how art thou?"

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 26. This commentary was entitled, according to Shiblī Nu'mání (*loc. cit.*, p. 65), *Sawāfi'ul-Ihām*.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii, pp. 31-81.

Fayḍí was a man of varied learning and a great lover of books. His library contained four thousand six hundred choice manuscripts, mostly autographs or copied during the authors' lifetimes<sup>1</sup>. He was generous and hospitable, and amongst those who enjoyed his hospitality was 'Urfí of Shíráz, to whom we now turn.

'Urfí, whose proper name was Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad and whose father was named Badru'd-Dín, was born and educated at Shíráz, but at an early age migrated to India, and, as already mentioned, attached himself to Fayḍí, with whom, however, he presently quarrelled. Badá'uní says<sup>2</sup> that one day he called on Fayḍí and found him caressing a puppy, whereupon he enquired what the name of "the young master" (*makhdúm-záda*) might be. "'Urfí," replied Fayḍí, to which 'Urfí promptly replied, "*Mubárák báshad!*" which means "May it be fortunate!" but may be taken as alluding to Fayḍí's father Shaykh Mubárák and as meaning, "It should be Mubárák!"

'Urfí next won the favour of the Ḥakím Abu'l-Faḥ of Gílán<sup>3</sup>, by whom he was introduced to that great nobleman and patron of letters 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, who succeeded to the title of Khán-khánán borne by his father Bayram Khán on the assassination of the latter in 968/1560-1. In due course he was presented to the Emperor Akbar himself, whom he accompanied on his march to Cashmere in 997/1588-9.

In spite of his opportunities and undoubted talents, 'Urfí's intolerable conceit and arrogance prevented him from being popular, and made him many enemies. Riḍá-qulí Khán accords him but a brief notice<sup>4</sup>, and observes that "the style of his poems is not admired by the people of this age." Criticism

Unamiable  
 character of  
 'Urfí.

<sup>1</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, iii, p. 50, and *Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh*, iii, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> *Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh*, iii, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh*, iii, p. 167. He died in 997/1588-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, vol. ii, pp. 24-5.

and disparagement are, indeed, courted by a poet who could write<sup>1</sup>:

نازشِ سعدی بُمُشْتِ خَاكِ شیراز از چه بود'  
گر نمی دانست باشد مولد و مأوای من'

"Wherefore did Sa'dī glory in a handful of the earth of Shíráz  
If he did not know that it would be my birthplace and abode?"

Nor is this an isolated example of his conceit, for in like fashion he vaunts his superiority to Anwarí, Abu'l-Faraj, Kháqání, and other great Persian poets, and this unamiable practice may have conduced to his unpopularity amongst his compatriots, who do not readily tolerate such disparagement of the national heroes. In Turkey, on the other hand, he had, as we have seen, a great influence and reputation, and likewise in India, so that Shiblí devotes to him fifty-two pages (pp. 82-133) of his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, rather more than he devotes to Faydí, and much more than he gives to any other of the seven poets he mentions in the third volume of his work. But even Shiblí admits that his arrogance made him generally unpopular, a fact of which he was fully aware, as appears from the following poem<sup>2</sup>, wherein he complains of the hypocritical sympathy of the so-called "friends" who came to visit him when he was confined to bed by a severe illness:

تن اوفتاد درین حال و دوستان فصیح'  
بدور بالش و بستر ستاده چون منبر'  
یکی بریش کشد دست و کج کند گردن'  
که روزگار وفا با که کرد جانِ پدر'  
بجاه و مالِ فرومایه دل نباید بست'  
کجاست دولتِ جمشید و نامِ اسکندر'

<sup>1</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, iii, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, iii, pp. 92-3.

یکی بنرمی آواز و گفتگوی حزین'  
کند شروع و کشد آستین بدیده' تر'  
که جانِ من همه را این رهست و باید رفت'  
تمام راه روانیم و دهر راکب بر'  
یکی بچرب زبانی سخن طراز شود'  
که ای وفاتِ تو تاریخ انقلابِ خبر'  
فراهر آیی و پریشان مدار دل زنهار'  
که نظم و نثر تو من جمع میکنم یکسر'  
پس از نوشتن و تصحیح میکنم انشا'  
بمدعای تو دیباچه' چو درج گهر'  
چنانچه هستی فهرستِ دانش و فرهنگ'  
چنانچه هستی مجموعه' صفات و هنر'  
بنظم و نثر در آویزم و فرو ریزم'  
اگرچه حصرِ کمالِ تو نیست حدِ بشر'  
خدای عزّ و جلّ صحتم دهد بینی'  
که این منافقان را چه آورم بر سر'

'Urfí on Job's comforters. "My body hath fallen into this state, and my eloquent friends stand like pulpits round my bed and pillow.

One draws his hand through his beard and cocks his neck, saying,  
'O life of thy father! To whom is fortune constant?

One should not set one's heart on ignoble rank and wealth: where  
is the Empire of Jamshíd and the name of Alexander?"

Another, with soft voice and sad speech, begins, drawing his sleeve  
across his moist eyes:

'O my life! All have this road by which they must depart: we are  
all travellers on the road, and time bears forward the riders.'

Another, adorning his speech with smooth words, says, 'O thou  
whose death is the date of the revolution of news (*inqiláb-i-khabar*)!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I think the words انقلابِ خبر must be taken as a chronogram, giving the date 986/1578-9, in which case this cannot, as Shiblí suggests (*loc. cit.*, p. 92), have been 'Urfí's last illness, since he did not die until 999/1590-1.

Collect thyself, and beware, let not thy heart be troubled, for I will with single purpose collect thy verse and prose.  
 After copying and correcting it, I will compose an introduction like a casket of pearls in support of thy claims;  
 An index of learning and culture such as thou art, a compendium of good qualities and talents such as thou art,  
 I will pour forth, applying myself both to verse and prose, although it is not within the power of man to enumerate thy perfections!<sup>1</sup>  
 'May God, mighty and glorious, give me health again, and thou shalt see what wrath I will pour on the heads of these miserable hypocrites!'<sup>1</sup>"

Space does not allow us to follow in detail Shiblī's interesting and exhaustive study of this poet, to whose verse he assigns six salient merits, such as "forceful diction" (زورِ کلام), new and original combinations of words, fine metaphors and comparisons, and continuity or congruity of topics (مسلسل مضامین). Except for a little-known prose treatise on Śūfīism entitled *Nafsiyya* all his work was in verse, and included, according to Shiblī, two *mathnawī* poems in imitation of Nizāmī's *Makhzanu'l-Asrar* and *Khusraw wa Shirin*, and a *Diwān*, compiled in 996/1588, only three years before his death, containing 26 *qaṣīdas*, 270 *ghazals*, and 700 fragments and quatrains. The following chronogram gives the date of its compilation<sup>2</sup>:

این طرفه نکاتِ سحری و اعجازی  
 چون گشت مکمل برقم پردازای  
 مجموعه طرازِ قدس تاریخش یافت  
 اول دیوانِ عرفی شیرازی

One of his most famous *qaṣīdas*, given in the *Kharābāt* (vol. i, pp. 169-174), is in praise of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and contains 181 verses. It begins:

<sup>1</sup> This final verse is, of course, spoken by the poet himself.

<sup>2</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. iii, p. 95.

جهان بگشتم و دردا که هیچ شهر و دیار  
 ندیده‌ام که فروشند بخت در بازار

"I have wandered through the world, but alas! no city or country have I seen where they sell good fortune in the market!"

'Urfī is not, however, included amongst the Persian Shī'a poets to whom notices are consecrated in the *Majdlisu'l-Mū'minin*.

Concerning the numerous Persians—theologians, scholars, philosophers and poets—attracted to Akbar's brilliant court, the third volume of Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhabu't-Tawdrīkh* is a mine of information, but space will not permit us as a rule to go beyond the frontiers of the Persian Empire. The late Mr Vincent Smith in his otherwise admirable monograph on Akbar<sup>1</sup> is perhaps unduly hard on these poets when he says (pp. 415-6):

"The versifiers, or so-called poets, were extremely numerous. Abu'l-Faḥr tells us that although Akbar did not care for them, 'thousands of poets are continually at court, and many among them have completed a *diwān* (collection of artificial odes), or have written a *mathnawī* (composition in rhymed couplets).' The author then proceeds to enumerate and criticize 'the best among them,' numbering 59, who had been presented at court. He further names 15 others who had not been presented but had sent encomiums to His Majesty from various places in Persia<sup>2</sup>. Abu'l-Faḥr gives many extracts from the writings of the select 59, which I have read in their English dress, without finding a single sentiment worth quoting; although the extracts include passages from the works of his brother Fayḍī (Fayḍī), the 'king of poets,' which Abu'l-Faḥr considered to enshrine 'gems of thought.'"

The third volume of Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhabu't-Tawdrīkh*, which is entirely devoted to the biographies of the poets and men of learning who adorned Akbar's court, contains notices of 38 *Shaykhs* (religious leaders), 69 scholars, 15 philosophers and phy-

Valuable data  
 furnished by  
 Badā'ūnī.

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1542-1605 (Oxford, 1917).

<sup>2</sup> "*A'in-i-Akbari*, translated by H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873-1894 in 3 volumes, vol. i, pp. 548, 611."

sicians, and no fewer than 167 poets, most of whom, however, though they wrote in Persian and were in many cases Persians by birth, are unknown even by name in Persia.

Amongst the most eminent names belonging, in part at any rate, to the century which we here conclude, are those of Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín 'Ámilí, Mullá Muhsin-i-Fayd (Fayz) of Káshán, Mír Dámád, and Mír Abu'l-Qásim-i-Findariskí, who, however, will be more suitably considered amongst the theologians or philosophers.

## II. Between A.D. 1600 and 1700 (A.H. 1008-1111).

Four of the seven poets discussed at length by Shibli in the third volume of his *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* fall within the period indicated above. These are Nazírí (d. 1021/1612-13), Tálíb-i-Ámulí (d. 1036/1626-7), Abú Tálíb Kalím (d. 1061/1651), and Šá'ib (d. 1088/1677-8)<sup>1</sup>. Ridá-qulí Khán in the enumeration of eminent contemporaries of the Šafawí kings with which he concludes the supplementary eighth volume written by him in continuation of Mírkhwánd's *Rawdatu's-Šafá* mentions not one of these, but, in the period now under consideration, names only Zuhúrí (d. 1024/1615) and Shifá'í (d. 1037/1627). Another poet ignored by both these writers but highly esteemed in Turkey, where, according to Gibb<sup>2</sup>, "he continued for more than half a century to be the guiding star for the majority of Ottoman poets," being "deservedly famous for his marvellous ingenuity and fertility in the invention of fresh and picturesque images and similes," is Shawkat (or Shevket, according to the Turkish pronunciation) of Bukhárá (d. 1107/1695-6). To these seven we may add, besides four or five<sup>3</sup> who, though

<sup>1</sup> Other dates, e.g. 1080/1669-70, are also given. See Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 693.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, p. 130. See also vol. iv, p. 95, of the same.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, Mír Dámád, Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín, Abu'l-Qásim Findariskí, Muhsin-i-Fayd and 'Abdu'r-Razzáq-i-Láhiǰí, called *Fayyáǰ*.

they wrote occasional verse, were primarily philosophers, and will be discussed in connection with that class, the following six, who were, perhaps, a trifle more distinguished than their innumerable competitors: Saḥábí of Astarábád (d. 1010/1601-2), Zulálí of Khwánsár (d. about 1024/1615), Jalál Asír (d. 1049/1639-40), Qudsí of Mashhad (d. 1056/1646-7), Salím of Ṭíhrán (d. 1057/1647-8), and Amání of Mázandarán (d. 1061/1651). Although I think that Rieu<sup>1</sup> goes too far when he describes Šá'ib as "by common consent the creator of a new style of poetry, and the greatest of modern Persian poets," he is without doubt the greatest of those who flourished in the seventeenth century of our era, and, I think, the only one deserving a detailed notice in this volume, notwithstanding Ridá-qulí Khán's remark that "he had a strange style in the poetic art which is not now admired<sup>2</sup>."

Here follows a list of these seventeen poets, arranged chronologically according to the dates of their deaths, with brief references to the authorities who may be consulted for further particulars concerning them. These are, besides Rieu's incomparable Persian Catalogue, Shibli's *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. iii (*Sh.*), the *Átash-kada* (*A. K.*), the *Haft Iqlím* (*H. I.*, available in manuscript only), the *Rawdatu'l-Jannát* (*R. J.*), the *Rawdatu's-Šafá* (*R. Š.*), the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahá* (*M. F.*), and the *Riyádu'l-'Árifín* (*R. 'Á.*).

(1) Saḥábí of Astarábád (d. 1010/1601-2). Rieu, p. 672; *A. K.*, pp. 141-2, and *H. I.*, s.v. Astarábád in both; *M. F.*, ii, p. 21; *R. 'Á.*, pp. 85-6. He spent forty years of his life in tending the holy shrine of Najaf, and composed, besides *ghazals*, many quatrains, of which 6000 are said to be extant.

Saḥábí of  
Astarábád  
(d. 1010/1601-2).

<sup>1</sup> *Persian Catalogue*, p. 693.

<sup>2</sup> *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahá*, vol. ii, p. 24, باری در طریق شاعری طرزى غریب داشته که اکنون پسندیده نیست.

(2) **Naẓírí of Níshápúr** (d. 1021/1612-3). Rieu, pp. 817-8; *Sh.* iii, pp. 134-64; *A. K.*, pp. 131-3; *H. I.*, s.v. Níshápúr (a long notice); *M. F.*, ii, pp. 48-9; *R. 'A.*, pp. 236-7. The last thirty years of his life were spent in India, chiefly at Aḥmadábád in Gujerát, where he died. He was one of the many poets who benefited by the bounty of 'Abdu'r-Raḥím Khán-khánán, who provided him with money to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1002/1593-4, in response to a *qaṣída* beginning:

ز هنر بخود ننگم چو بخم می مغانی

بدرّ لباس بر تن چو بجوشدم معانی

همه عیش این جهانی بعنایت تو دیدم

چه عجب اگر بیایم ز تو زاد آن جهانی

"Through genius I cannot contain myself, like the Magian wine in the jar; the very garments are rent on my body when my ideas ferment.

Through thy beneficence I experienced all the pleasure of this world: what wonder if through thee [also] I should obtain provision for the other world?"

In matters of religion he was something of a fanatic, and wrote verses attacking "the heretic" Abu'l-Faḍl. He also wrote verses in praise of tobacco, some of which are quoted by Shiblí (p. 134).

(3) **Zulálí of Khwánsár** (d. 1024/1615). Rieu, pp. 677-8; *H. I.*, s.v. Khwánsár (a long notice). He was the panegyrist of Mír Dámád, and composed seven *mathnawís*, of which that on Maḥmúd and Ayáz (begun in 1001/1592-3, and concluded in 1024/1615), shortly before his death, is the most popular. Two others mentioned by Rieu are "the Wine-Tavern" (*May-khána*), and "the Mote and the Sun" (*Dharra u Khurshíd*).

Zulálí of  
Khwánsár (d.  
c. 1024/1615).

(4) **Zuhúrí of Turshíz** (d. 1024/1615, murdered in an affray in the Deccan together with his fellow-poet and father-in-law Malik of Qum). Rieu, pp. 678-9; *A. K.*, pp. 68-70; *R. S.*, at end of vol. viii. He is, as Rieu observes, little known in Persia, though much admired in India, especially as a writer of extremely florid prose. The author of the *A. K.* says that in his opinion this poet's *Sáql-náma* ("Book of the Cup-bearer") has no great beauty, in spite of the fame which it enjoys.

Zuhúrí of  
Turshíz  
(d. 1024/1615).

(5) **Bahá'u'd-Dín 'Ámilí**, commonly called **Shaykh-i-Bahá'í** (d. 1030/1620-1), was primarily a theologian, and to some extent a philosopher and mathematician, but he wrote at least two short *mathnawí* poems, entitled respectively *Nán u Halwá* ("Bread and Sweetmeats") and *Shír u Shakkar* ("Milk and Sugar"). Extracts from both are given in the *M. F.* (vol. ii, pp. 8-10), besides a few *ghazals* and quatrains, and also in the *R. 'A.*, pp. 45-9. Apart from his mathematical and astronomical treatises, his best-known prose work is the *Kashkúl* (or "Beggar's Bowl"), which has been printed at Buláq and lithographed in Persia. This work, though written in Arabic, contains many Persian poetical citations, which, however, are omitted in the Egyptian edition. The famous *mujtahid* Mullá Muḥammad Taqí-i-Majlisí (d. 1070/1659-1660) was one of the most eminent of his disciples.

Shaykh Bahá'u-  
'd-Dín 'Ámilí  
(d. 1030/1620-1).

(6) **Tálib-i-Ámulí** (d. 1036/1626-7). Rieu, p. 679; *Sh.* iii, pp. 165-188; *A. K.*, pp. 155-6, where it is said that "he had a peculiar style in verse which is not sought after by eloquent poets." In India, whither he emigrated in early life, he was so highly appreciated that Jahángír made him his poet-laureate (*Malikú sh-Shu'ará*) in 1028/1619. He was far from modest, for he

Tálib of Ámul  
(d. 1036/1626-7).

boasts that before he reached his twentieth year he had mastered seven sciences<sup>1</sup>:

پا بر دومین پایه<sup>۱</sup> اوج عشراتم<sup>۲</sup>  
و اینک عددِ فنم از آلف زیادست<sup>۳</sup>  
بر هندسه و منطقی و هئیت و حکمت<sup>۴</sup>  
دستی است مرا کش ید بیضا ز عبادست<sup>۵</sup>  
وین جمله چو طی شد نمکین علمِ حقیقت<sup>۶</sup>  
کاستارِ علومست برین جمله مزادست<sup>۷</sup>  
در سلسله<sup>۸</sup> وصفِ خط این بس که ز کلکم<sup>۹</sup>  
هر نقطه سویدای دل اهل سوادست<sup>۱۰</sup>  
پوشم نسبِ شعر چو دانم که تو دانی<sup>۱۱</sup>  
کاین پایه مرا ثامن این سبع شاداست<sup>۱۲</sup>

Tálib's  
boasted  
accomplish-  
ments.

"My foot is on the second step of the zenith of the decades, and behold the number of my accomplishments exceeds the thousands!

In mathematics, logic, astronomy and philosophy I enjoy a proficiency which is conspicuous<sup>2</sup> amongst mankind.

When all these are traversed the savoury knowledge of the Truth<sup>3</sup>, which is the Master of the Sciences, is added to the sum total.

In the concatenated description of my writing this is enough, that every dot from my pen is the heart's core of men of letters<sup>4</sup>.

I put on the attribute of poetry, for I know that thou knowest that this step is to me the eighth of these 'seven severe ones.'<sup>5</sup>

In the following quatrain, also cited by Shibli (p. 168), he alludes to his proposed journey to India and bids himself

<sup>1</sup> The verses are given by Shibli, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "which has the White Hand," in allusion to one of the miracles of Moses.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Sūffism, as explained by Shibli.

<sup>4</sup> The word-play between *suwaydá* and *sawád* cannot be reproduced in translation.

<sup>5</sup> This expression occurs in *Qur'an* xii, 48, where it denotes the "seven lean years."

"leave his black (*i.e.* bad) luck in Persia, because no one would take a Hindú as a present to India":

طالب گلِ این چمن بیستان بگذار<sup>۱</sup>  
بگذار که می شوی پریشان بگذار<sup>۲</sup>  
هندو نبرد تحفه کسی جانب هند<sup>۳</sup>  
بختِ سیه خویش به ایران بگذار<sup>۴</sup>

He had an elder sister to whom he was deeply attached and after a long separation she came from Persia to Ágra to see him. He thereupon sought leave of absence from the Emperor Jahángír in the following verses<sup>1</sup>:

صاحباً ذره پرورا عرضی<sup>۱</sup> بزبان سخن ورست مرا<sup>۲</sup>  
پیر همشیره ایست غم خوارم<sup>۳</sup> که باو مهرِ مادرست مرا<sup>۴</sup>  
چارده سال بلکه بیش گذشت<sup>۵</sup> کز نظر دور منظرست مرا<sup>۶</sup>  
دور گشتم ز خدمتش بعراق<sup>۷</sup> وین گنه جریر منکرست مرا<sup>۸</sup>  
او نیارود تاب دوری من<sup>۹</sup> که بمادر برابرست مرا<sup>۱۰</sup>  
آمد اینک باکوه وز شوقش<sup>۱۱</sup> دل طهان چون کبوترست مرا<sup>۱۲</sup>  
می کند دل بسوی او آهنگ<sup>۱۳</sup> چه کنم شوق رهبرست مرا<sup>۱۴</sup>  
گر شود رخصت زیارت او<sup>۱۵</sup> به جهانی برابرست مرا<sup>۱۶</sup>

"O Master, Patron of the humble<sup>2</sup>! I have a representation [to make] in eloquent language.

I have an old and sympathetic sister, who entertains for me a mother's love.

Fourteen years or more have passed since my eyes were parted from the sight of her face.

I was removed from her service in 'Iráq, and this sin is a grievous fault of mine.

<sup>1</sup> Shibli, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180.

<sup>2</sup> *Dharra* means a mote, then metaphorically any very small thing or person, so that *dharra-parwar* is equivalent to the common Indian *gharb-parwar*, "protector of the poor."

She could not bear to remain far from me, for she is as a mother to me.  
Lo, she hath come to Ágra, and in longing for her my heart flutters  
like a pigeon.

My heart craves after her: what can I do? Yearning impels me on  
the road.

If leave should be granted me to visit her, it would be worth a world  
to me."

Of love-poems there are only too many in Persian, but poems such as this, testifying to deep and sincere family affection, are rare enough to make them worthy of record.

(7) *Shifá'í* (d. 1037/1627). There exists in the British Museum (Or. 1372, f. 7<sup>a</sup>) a portrait of this poet, as well as

one of his satires, entitled *Sizdah-band*<sup>1</sup> (Add.

*Shifá'í*  
(d. 1037/1627). 12,560, ff. 134-140): see Rieu, pp. 786 and 822.

I cannot find in my manuscript of the *Tárikh-i-'Álam-drá-yi-'Abbásí*, either amongst the poets or the physicians of the court of Sháh 'Abbás, the notice of him to which Rieu refers, but there is a long account of him in *M. F.* (vol. ii, pp. 21-23) and in the *R. 'A.* of the same author (pp. 213-218), as well as in *A. K.* (pp. 168-9). His proper name was *Hakím* (Doctor) *Sharafu'd-Dín Hasan*, and he was court-physician and boon companion to Sháh 'Abbás the Great. *Ridá-qulí Khán* says that "his medicine eclipsed his scholarship, as his poetry eclipsed his medicine":

فضلِ حكيمِ را طبابت و طبابتِ اورا شاعری محبوب داشته

Besides satires and odes he composed a *mathnawí* poem entitled *Namakdán-i-Haqiqat* in imitation of *Saná'í's* *Hadíqatú'l-Haqiqat*.

(8) *Mír Muḥammad Báqir-i-Dámád* of *Astarábád* (d. 1040/1630-1). The title *Dámád* ("Son-in-law") really

applies to his father, who was the son-in-law  
of the celebrated *mujtahid* *Shaykh 'Alí ibn 'Abdu'l-'Ál al-'Ámilí*. *Mír Dámád*, who wrote

*Mír Báqir-i-Dámád*  
(d. 1040/1630-1).

<sup>1</sup> So called, I suppose, because it contains 13 strophes.



SHIFÁ'Í, POET AND PHYSICIAN



verse under the pen-name of *Ishráq*, was more notable as a theologian and philosopher than as a poet. See Rieu, p. 835; *M. F.*, ii, p. 7; *R. 'A.*, pp. 166-7; *A. K.*, p. 159. There are long notices of him in the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát* (pp. 114-116), and in the *Tārīkh-i-'Álam-árá-yi-'Abbásí*, written in 1025/1616, while he was still living. He is there described as skilled in most of the sciences, especially philosophy, philology, mathematics, medicine, jurisprudence, exegesis and tradition, and about a dozen of his prose works are mentioned. He was one of the teachers of the great philosopher Mullá Ṣadrá of Shíráz.

(9) Mír Abu'l-Qásim-i-Findariskí (d. about 1050/1640-1) was also more notable as a philosopher than as a poet, but is mentioned in *M. F.*, vol. ii, pp. 6-7; *R. 'A.*, pp. 165-6; *A. K.*, pp. 143-4; and Rieu, pp. 815-816. One poem of his, written in imitation of Náṣir-i-Khusraw, is cited in all the *tadhkiras*, and is therefore, presumably, his best known if not his best production. It begins:

چرخ با این اخترانِ نغزو خوش زیباستی  
 صورتی در زیر دارد هرچه بر بالاستی  
 صورتِ زیرین اگر با نردبانِ معرفت  
 بر رود بالا همان با اصلِ خود یکتاستی  
 این سخن را در نیابد هیچ فهمِ ظاهری  
 گر ابو نصرستی و گر بو علی سیناستی

"The heaven with these fair and pleasant stars should be beautiful;  
 it hath an aspect beneath, whatever there may be above.

If this lower aspect should ascend by the ladder of knowledge, it  
 would indeed be at one with its original.

No exoteric understanding can comprehend this speech, though it  
 be Abú Naṣr [al-Fárábí] or Abú 'Alí [ibn] Síná (Avicenna)."

Abu'l-Qásim was extraordinarily careless of appearances, dressing like a *darwísh*, avoiding the society of the rich

and the respectable, and associating with disreputable vagabonds. One day Sháh 'Abbás, intending to rebuke him for keeping such low company, said to him, "I hear that certain students cultivate the society of vagabonds and look on at their degrading diversions." "I move constantly in those circles," replied Mír Abu'l-Qásim, "but I have never seen any of the students there." He made a journey to India, and there, according to the *Dabistán*<sup>1</sup>, came under the influence of certain disciples of Ádhar Kaywán and imbibed Zoroastrian and Hindú or Buddhist ideas which led him to declare that he would never perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, since it would involve his taking the life of an innocent animal. Though his attainments are rated high by Ridá-qulí Khán, very meagre details are given concerning his life; perhaps because, while more a philosopher than a poet, and more a *darwish* than a philosopher, he does not exactly fall into any one of these three classes, and is consequently apt to be omitted from the special biographies of each.

Among the better-known minor poets of this period are Jalál Asír (d. 1049/1639-40), Qudsí (d. 1056/1646-7), Salím of Tíhrán (d. 1057/1647-8), Abú Ṭálib Kalím and Amání of Mázandarán (both died in 1061/1651), Muḥammad Ṭáhir Wahíd (d. about 1120/1708-9), and Shawkat of Bukhárá (d. 1107/1695-6). Besides Šá'ib (d. 1088/1677-8), the greatest of them all, only the fourth, the sixth and the last of these demand any separate notice.

(10) Abú Ṭálib Kalím (d. 1061/1651) was born at Hamadán, but, until he went to India, lived chiefly at Káshán (whence he is often described as "Káshání") and Shiráz. Ridá-qulí Khán (*M. F.*, ii, p. 28) gives a very meagre notice of him, but Shiblí (*Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, iii, pp. 205-230) discusses him at some length.

<sup>1</sup> Shea and Troyer's translation, vol. i, pp. 140-1.

Abú Ṭálib Kalím  
(d. 1061/1651).

About 1028/1619 he paid a visit to his native country, but after remaining there for about two years, he again returned to India, where he became poet-laureate to Sháh Jahán. He accompanied that monarch to Cashmere and was so charmed with that country that he remained there until his death. He was a man of genial disposition, free from jealousy, and consequently popular with his fellow-poets, of whom Šá'ib and Mír Ma'súm were his special friends, so that Šá'ib says:

بغیر صائب و معصومِ نکته سنج و کلیم'

دگر که ز اهلِ سخن مهربانِ یكدگرند'

"Except Šá'ib, the epigrammatic Ma'súm, and Kalím, who of all the poets are kind to one another?"

When the poet Malik of Qum died, Abú Ṭálib composed the following verses giving the date of his death:

مَلِكِ آن پادشاهِ مُلْكِ معنی، که نامش سگه نقد سخن بود'

چنان آفاق گیر از مُلْكِ معنی، که حد ملکش از قمر تا دکن بود'

بجستم مالِ تاریخش ز ایام' بگفتا او سرِ اهلِ سخن بود'

"Malik, that king of the realm of ideas, whose name is stamped on the coin<sup>1</sup> of poetry,

So enlarged the horizons of this realm of ideas that the frontiers of his domains extended from Qum to the Deccan.

I sought for the date of the year [of his death] from the days: they said 'He was the chief of the Masters of Speech'" (*ú Sar-i-ahl-i-sukhun búd* = 1025/1616)<sup>2</sup>.

Most of the Persian poets who went to India to seek a fortune, or at least a livelihood, had, according to Shiblí<sup>3</sup>, nothing but evil to say of the country, but Kalím speaks of it with appreciation<sup>3</sup>:

Dislike of most  
of the Persian  
poets for India.

<sup>1</sup> *Malik* is, of course, the Arabic equivalent of *Pádisháh*, "king," and one of the two distinctive symbols of kingship is the imposition of the royal name on the current coin of the realm.

<sup>2</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, iii, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> He also learned more of the vernacular than most of his countrymen. See a poem full of Hindí words cited by Shiblí (*op. cit.*, p. 211).

توان بهشتِ دوم گفتنش باین معنی<sup>۱</sup>

که هرکه رفت ازین بوستان پشیمان شد<sup>۲</sup>

"One can call it the second Paradise, in this sense, that whoever quits this garden departs with regret."

On one occasion the Sultán of Turkey wrote a letter to the Emperor Sháh Jahán reproaching him with arrogance in calling himself by this title, which means "King of the World," when he was in reality only king of India. Kálm justified his patron in the following verse:

هند و جهان ز روی عدد هر دو چون یکیست<sup>۱</sup>

شہرا خطابِ شاهِ جهانی مبرهن است<sup>۲</sup>

"Since both Hind (India) and Jahán (world) are numerically identical<sup>1</sup>, the right of the king to be called 'King of the World' [and not merely 'King of India'] is demonstrated."

Shiblí discusses Kálm's merits very fully, and cites many of his verses to illustrate them. He includes amongst them especially novelty of topics (مضمون آفرینی), original conceits (خیال بندی), and aptness of illustration (مثالیہ). In this last respect, illustrated by the following amongst other verses, Kálm resembles the more famous Šá'ib:

روزگار اندر کمینِ بختِ ماست<sup>۱</sup> دزدِ دایم در پیِ خوابیده است<sup>۲</sup>

"Fate sets an ambush against our luck: the thief always pursues the sleeper<sup>2</sup>."

دل گمان دارد که پوشیده است رازِ عشقِ را<sup>۱</sup>

شمعِ را فانوسِ پندارد که پنهان کرده است<sup>۲</sup>

"The heart imagines that it has hidden the secret of love: the lantern imagines that it has hidden the candle."

<sup>1</sup> Both words yield the numerical equivalent 59.

<sup>2</sup> Luck is called *biddár* ("awake") when it is good, and *khwábláda* ("asleep") when it is bad.

از خاک بر گرفته<sup>۱</sup> دورانِ چو نی سوار<sup>۲</sup>

دایم پیاده رفت اگرچه سوار شد<sup>۳</sup>

"He who has been raised up from the dust by fortune, like the rider of the hobby-horse, always goes on foot, although he is mounted."

از هنر حالِ خرابم نشد اصلاح پذیر<sup>۱</sup>

همچو ویرانه که از گنجِ خود آباد نشد<sup>۲</sup>

"My desolate state is not mended by my virtues, just like the ruin, which does not prosper through its treasure<sup>1</sup>."

سفله از قربِ بزرگان نکند کسبِ شرف<sup>۱</sup>

رشته پُر قیمت از آمیزش گوهر نشود<sup>۲</sup>

"The mean man does not acquire nobility by proximity to the great: The thread does not become precious through its connection with the pearls."

دستِ هر کس را بسانِ سبچه بوسیدم چه سود<sup>۱</sup>

هیچ کس نکشود آخر عقده<sup>۲</sup> کارِ مرا<sup>۳</sup>

"What profits it that I, like the rosary, kissed the hands of all? After all, no one loosed the knots of my affair."

با من آمیزشِ او الفتِ موجست و کنار<sup>۱</sup>

دمبدم با من و پیوسته گریزان از من<sup>۲</sup>

"Her converse with me is as the association of the wave and the shore,

Ever with me, yet ever fleeing from me."

چو هست قدرت دست و دلِ توانگر نیست<sup>۱</sup>

صدف کشاده کف است آن زمان که گوهر نیست<sup>۲</sup>

"Where there is power, the hand and heart are not able [to use it]: The oyster-shell opens its palm when there is no pearl therein."

(This last verse is very similar to one by Šá'ib which runs:

شگوفه با ثمر هرگز نگردد جمع در یک جا<sup>۱</sup>

مُحالست آنکه باهم نعمت و دندان شود پیدا<sup>۲</sup>

"Flowers and fruit are never found together in one place: it is impossible that teeth and delicacies should exist simultaneously."

<sup>1</sup> Treasures are popularly supposed to be found in ruins.

واصل ز حرفِ چون و چرا بسته است لب،

چون ره تمام گشت جرس بی زبان شود،

'He who has reached [the goal] shuts his lips on 'Why?' and 'Wherefore?'

When the journey is finished the [camel-]bell becomes tongueless."

گر بقسمت قانعی بیش و کم دنیا یکیست،

تشنه چون يك جرعه خواهد کوزه و دریا یکیست،

"If thou art satisfied with thy portion, the more or less of the world is the same:

When the thirsty man requires but one draught, the pitcher and the ocean are alike."

ما ز آغاز و ز انجام جهان بیخبریم،

اول و آخر این کهنه کتاب افتاده است

"We are without knowledge of the beginning and end of the world: the first and last [pages] of this ancient book have fallen out."

زود رفت آنکه ز اسرار جهان آگه شد،

از دبستان برود هرکه سبق روشن کرد،

"He who becomes acquainted with the mysteries of the world soon departs:

Whoever does his work brilliantly leaves the school."

The following ode, cited by Shibli<sup>1</sup>, is typical of Kalīm, and with it we may conclude this brief notice:

پیری رسید و مستی طبع جوان گذشت،

ضعف تن از تحمل رطل گران گذشت،

وضع زمانه قابل دیدن دو باره نیست،

رو پس نکرد هرکه ازین خاکدان گذشت

از دست بُرد حسن تو بر لشکر بهار،

يك نیزه خون گل ز سر ارغوان گذشت،

<sup>1</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. iii, p. 229.

طبعی بهم رسان که بسازی بعالمی،

یا همتی که از سرِ عالم توان گذشت،

در کیش ما تجردِ عنقا تمام نیست،

در فکر نام ماند اگر از نشان گذشت،

بی دیده راه اگر نتوان رفت پس چرا،

چشم از جهان چو بستی ازو می توان گذشت،

بدنامی حیات دو روزی نبود بیش،

آن هم کلیم با تو بگویم چسان گذشت،

يك روز صرف بستن دل شد باین و آن،

روزی دگر بکندن دل زین و آن گذشت،

"Old age hath come, and the exuberance of the youthful temperament hath departed;

The weakness of the body can no longer support the heavy [wine-] cup.

The way of the world is not worth seeing a second time:

Whoever passes from this dust-heap looks not back.

Through the triumph of thy beauty over the army of Spring

The blood of the roses hath risen a fathom above the top of the Judas-tree.

Acquire such a disposition that thou canst get on with the whole world,

Or such magnanimity that thou canst dispense with the world.

According to our creed the detachment of the 'Anqā is not complete,

For, though it retains no sign, it continues to think of name<sup>1</sup>.

If one cannot travel the road without sight, then how

Canst thou forsake the world when thou hast closed thine eyes to it?

The ill repute of Life endureth no more than two days:

O Kalīm, I will tell thee how these too passed:

One day was spent in attaching the heart to this and that,

And another day in detaching it from this and that."

<sup>1</sup> The mythical bird called in Arabic 'anqā and in Persian *stmurgh* is often spoken of as "having name but not substance" (*marjūdu'l-ism, mafqudu'l-jism*).

(11) Muḥammad Ṭáhir Wahíd of Qazwín (d. 1120/1708-9)<sup>1</sup> was an industrious rather than a great poet: he is said by Ridá-qulí Khán<sup>2</sup> to have left a *Díwán* containing 90,000 verses, which, however, were for the most part "tasteless" (*maláhatt na-dásht*), and of which only six are quoted as "the best of his poetry," amongst them the following quatrain testifying to his Shí'a proclivities:

از مهر علی طینتِ هر کس که سرشت  
 هر چند بود همیشه در دیر و کنشت  
 در دوزخ اگر در آورندش بمثل  
 جا گرم نکرده میببرندش بمهشت

"Whosoever's nature is leavened with the love of 'Alí,  
 Though he be the constant frequenter of church or synagogue,  
 Even if, for example, they should bring him into Hell  
 They would bear him thence to Paradise ere his place there had  
 been heated."

The main facts of Wahíd's life are given by Rieu<sup>3</sup>. He was secretary to two successive Prime Ministers of Persia, Mírzá Taqiyu'd-Dín Muḥammad and Khalífa Sultán. In 1055/1645-6 he was appointed court-historiographer to Sháh 'Abbás II, became a Minister in 1101/1689-90, retired eighteen years later into private life, and died about 1120/1708-9. Five manuscripts of his historical monograph are described by Rieu, one of which (Or. 2940) comes down to the twenty-second year of the reign, 1073-4/1663. The remark of the *Átash-kada*, that these poems were only

<sup>1</sup> The date of his death is uncertain. See Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 40-41, and Ethé's *India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS*, cols. 900-1.

<sup>2</sup> *M. F.*, ii, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 189-190, and the *Supplement* cited in the last note but one.

praised on account of the author's rank, is probably justified. He was, according to Ethé, a friend of the poet Şá'ib.

(12) Shawkat<sup>1</sup> of Bukhárá (d. 1107/1695-6) is at the present day almost unknown in Persia. He is not even mentioned in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* and but briefly in the *Riyádu'l-'Arifín*, where only two of his verses are cited, together with the description of his eccentric demeanour given by his contemporary Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alí Láhijí, called Ḥazín, who saw him wandering about in mid-winter, bare-headed and bare-footed, with a piece of felt (*namad-pára*) over his shoulders and his head covered with snow, which he did not trouble to shake off. Shawkat only deserves mention because of the reputation which he enjoys in Turkey and the influence which he exerted over Turkish poetry, an influence which Gibb emphasizes in several places in his *History of Ottoman Poetry*<sup>2</sup>.

(13) Şá'ib of Tabríz<sup>3</sup> (d. 1088/1677-8) is considered by Shibli<sup>4</sup> as the last great Persian poet, superior in originality to Qá'ání, the greatest and most famous of the moderns, whom he regards as a mere imitator of Farrukhí and Minúchihri. Ridá-qulí Khán, on the other hand<sup>5</sup>, says that Şá'ib has "a strange method in the poet's path, which is not now admired." He is, in short, like 'Urfí, one of those poets who, while greatly esteemed in Turkey and India, are without honour in their own country. I have already expressed<sup>6</sup> my own personal opinion as to his high merits.

<sup>1</sup> See Rieu's *Persian Cat.*, p. 698; Ethé's *India Office Persian Cat.*, cols. 891-2.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 130; vol. iv, pp. 96-7, 185. Cf. p. 250 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Though he was born in Tabríz he was educated and grew up in Işfahán, and is therefore often called "of Işfahán."

<sup>4</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. iii, p. 189.

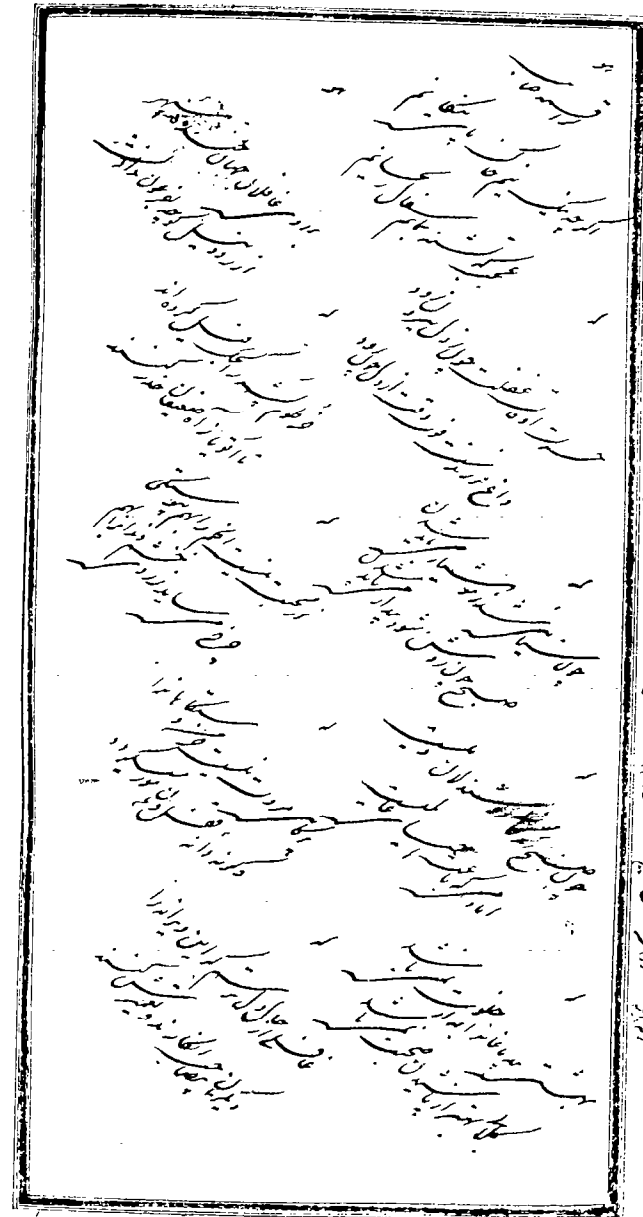
<sup>5</sup> *M. F.*, vol. ii, p. 24. Cf. p. 251, n. 2 *supra*. <sup>6</sup> Pp. 164-5 *supra*.

According to the *Atash-kada*<sup>1</sup>, Šá'ib, whose proper name was Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí, was born in the village of 'Abbás-ábád near Iṣfahán, whither his father's family had been transferred from Tabríz by Sháh 'Abbás. Having completed his studies in Iṣfahán, he visited Dihlí and other cities of India at an early age, certainly before 1039/1629-30, and was patronized by Zafar Khán and other nobles. He had only spent two years there, however, when his father, though seventy years of age, followed him to India in order to induce him to return home, for which journey he sought permission from his patron Zafar Khán in the following verses<sup>2</sup>:

شش سال بیش رفت که از اصفهان بپند  
 افتاده است توسنِ عزمِ مرا گذار  
 آورده است جذبه گستاخِ شوقِ من  
 از اصفهان باگره و لاهورش اشکبار  
 هفتاد ساله والدِ پیرست بنده را  
 کز تربیت بود بمنش حقِ بی شمار  
 ز آن پیشتر کز آگره بمعموره دکن  
 آید عنان گسسته تر از سیل بیقرار  
 این راه دور را ز سرِ شوق طی کند  
 با قامت خمیده و با پیکر نزار  
 دارم امید رخصتی از آستان تو  
 ای آستانت کعبه امید روزگار  
 مقصود او ز آمدنش بُردنِ منست  
 لبرِ بحرفِ رخصتِ من کن گهر نثار  
 با جیبه کشاده تر از آفتابِ صبح  
 دستِ دعا بیدرقه راهِ من بر آر

<sup>1</sup> Bombay lith. 1277/1860-1, pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Shibl's *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. iii, p. 194.



Autograph of the poet Šá'ib

"More than six years<sup>1</sup> have passed since the passage of the steed of my resolve from Işfahán to India took place.

The bold attraction of my longing has brought him weeping from Işfahán to Agra and Lahore.

I your servant have an aged father seventy years old, who has countless claims upon me by reason of the education [he gave me].

Before he comes from Agra to the flourishing land of the Deccan with reins looser than the restless torrent,

And eagerly traverses this far road with bent body and feeble form, I hope for permission from thy threshold, O thou whose threshold is the Ka'ba of the age's hopes!

His object in coming is to take me hence, therefore cause thy lips to scatter pearls [of speech] by [uttering] the word of permission,

And, with a forehead more open than the morning sun, raise thy hand in prayer to speed me on my way."

On his return to Işfahán, Şá'ib became poet-laureate to Sháh 'Abbás II, but had the misfortune to offend his successor Sulaymán. He died in Işfahán after an apparently uneventful life in 1080/1669-70. The words "Şá'ib found death" (صائب وفات یافت) give the date of his decease<sup>2</sup>.

Amongst the merits ascribed to Şá'ib by Shibli is an appreciation of Indian poets rare with the Persians. Shibli

quotes thirteen verses in which Şá'ib cites with approval, by way of *tadmín* or "insertion," the words of Faydí, Malik, Tálib-i-Ámulí, Naw'í, Awḥadí, Shawqí, Fathí, Shápúr, Muṭ'í, Awjí,

Adham, Ḥádhiq and Ráqim. In the following verses he deprecates the jealousy which too often characterizes rival singers:

خوش آن گروه که مستِ بیانِ یكدگرند،  
ز جوشِ فكرِ مې ارغوانِ یكدگرند،

نمی زنند بستگیِ شكستِ گوهرِ هم،  
پی رواجِ متاعِ دكانِ یكدگرند،

پس رواجِ متاعِ دكانِ یكدگرند،

<sup>1</sup> If, as Shibli says, these verses were composed in or about 1041/1631-2, Şá'ib must have come to India about 1035/1625-6.

<sup>2</sup> These words, however, yield the number 1081, not 1080.

زنند بر سرِ هر گُل ز مصرع رنگین  
 ز فکر تازه گُلِ بوستانِ یکدگرند  
 سخن تراش چو کردند تیغِ الماسند  
 زند چو طبع بگنددی فسانِ یکدگرند  
 بغیر صائب و معصومِ نکته سنج و کلیم  
 دگر که ز اهلِ سخن مهربانِ یکدگرند

"Happy that company who are intoxicated with each other's speech ;  
 who, through the fermentation of thought, are each other's red  
 wine.

They do not break on the stone [of criticism] one another's pearls  
 [i.e. verses], but rather strive to give currency to the wares of  
 one another's shops.

They pelt one another with tender-hued verses as with roses, with  
 fresh ideas they become the flowers of one another's gardens.

When they shape their poetry it is with blades like diamonds, and  
 when their genius tends to become blunted, they are each other's  
 whetstones.

Except Šá'ib, the epigrammatic Ma'súm, and Kalím, who of all the  
 poets are kind to one another<sup>1</sup>?"

Šá'ib was a great admirer of Ḥáfiz, and is also compli-  
 mentary to his masters Rukná and Shifá'í. Of the latter  
 he says

در اصفهان که بدرِ سخن رسد صائب  
 کنون که نبض شناسِ سخن شفائی نیست

"Who will care for poetry in Işfahán, O Šá'ib,  
 Now that Shifá'í, whose discerning hand was on the pulse of poetry,  
 is no more?"

He puts Nazírí not only above himself but above 'Urfí.  
 "So far," says Shiblí<sup>2</sup>, "no objection can be made, but it is  
 a pity that, yielding to popular approbation and fame, he  
 makes himself also the panegyrist of Żuhúrí and Jalál-i-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 259 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, vol. iii, p. 198.

Asír.... This was the first step in bad taste, which finally  
 established a high road, so that in time people came to bow  
 down before the poetry of Náşir 'Alí, Bí-dil, and Shawkat  
 of Bukhárá. "The edifice of wrong-doing was at first small  
 in the world, but whoever came added thereunto<sup>1</sup>."

Though Šá'ib tried his hand at all kinds of poetry, it was  
 in the ode (*ghazal*) that he excelled. He was a ready wit.  
 One of his pupils once composed the following absurd  
 hemistich:

از شیشه بی می می بی شیشه طلب کن

"Seek for the bottleless wine from the wineless bottle."

Šá'ib immediately capped it with the following:

حقرا ز دلِ خالی از اندیشه طلب کن

"Seek for the truth from the heart which is empty of thought."

On another occasion one of his friends produced the  
 following meaningless hemistich and apparently invited  
 Šá'ib to complete the verse and give it a meaning:

دویدن رفتن استادان نشستن خفتن و مردن

Šá'ib immediately prefixed the following hemistich:

بقدرِ هر سکون راحت بود بنگر تفاوترا

so that the completed verse runs in translation:

"Peace is in proportion to every pause: observe the difference between  
 'to run, to walk, to stand, to sit, to lie, to die.'"

Šá'ib was a very careful student of the works of his  
 predecessors, both ancient and modern, and himself com-  
 piled a great anthology of their best verses, of which,  
 according to Shiblí<sup>2</sup>, a manuscript exists at Ḥaydar-ábád  
 in the Deccan, and which appears to have been utilized by  
 Wálíh of Dághistán and other *tadhkira*-writers. Shiblí

<sup>1</sup> This is a quotation from the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí (ed. Platts, p. 32).

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 201.



compares Ṣá'ib to Abú Tammám, the compiler of the great anthology of Arabic poetry called the *Hamása*, inasmuch as his taste is shown even more in his selective than in his creative powers. The following are the verses by Ṣá'ib which I selected from the *Kharábdt* and copied into a note-book many years ago<sup>1</sup>. They pleased me when I was a beginner, they still please me, and I hope that some of them at any rate may please my readers.

Selected verses  
from Ṣá'ib.

چو شد زهر عادت مضرت نبخشد' بهرگ آشنا کن بتدریج جان را'  
"When poison becomes a habit it ceases to injure: make thy soul gradually acquainted with death."

ریشه نخل کهن سال از جوان افزونترست'

بیشتر دلبستگی باشد بدنيا پیررا'

"The roots of the aged palm-tree exceed those of the young one; the old have the greater attachment to the world."

هر سری دارد درین بازار سودائی دگر'

هر کسی بندد بآئین دگر دستاررا'

"In this market every head has a different fancy: everyone winds his turban in a different fashion."

تهی دستان قسمت را چه سود از رهبر کامل'

که خضر از آب حیوان تشنه باز آرد سکندررا'

"What profit accrues from a perfect guide to those whom Fate hath left empty-handed, for even Khidr brings back Alexander athirst from the Water of Life?"

سبحه بر کف توبه بر لب دل پر از شوق گناه'

معصیت را خنده می آید ز استغفار ما'

"The rosary in the hand, repentance on the lips, and the heart full of sinful longings—sin itself laughs at our repentance!"

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 164-5 *supra*. My copy of these selected verses was completed on Sept. 4, 1885.

مقام کوهر شهوار در گنجینه می باید'

بیاض از سینه باید ساخت شعر انتخابی را'

"The place of a royal pearl should be in a treasury: one should make one's breast the common-place book for chosen verses."

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر بیکجا میکشد'

خواب يك خوابست اما مختلف تعبیرها'

"All this talk of infidelity and religion finally leads to one place: The dream is the same dream, only the interpretations differ."

از تیر آه مظلوم ظالم امان نیابد'

پیش از نشانه غیزد از دل فغان کمان را'

"The tyrant finds no security against the arrows of the victim's sighs: Groans arise from the heart of the bow before [they arise from] the target."

چاره نا خوشی وضع جهان بیخبريست'

اوست بیدار که در خواب گرانست اینجا'

"The cure for the unpleasant constitution of the world is to ignore it: Here he is awake who is plunged in heavy sleep."

شکوفه با ثمر هرگز نگردد جمع در یکجا'

محالست آنکه با هر نعمت و دندان شود پیدا'

"Flowers and fruit are never combined in one place; it is impossible that teeth and delicacies should exist simultaneously."

ده در شود کشاده اگر بسته شد دری'

انگشت ترجمان زبان است لال را'

"Ten doors are opened if one door be shut: the finger is the interpreter of the dumb man's tongue."

ساده لوحان زود میگیرند رنگ همنشین'

صحبت طوطی سخنور میکند آئینه را'

"The simple-minded quickly acquire the colour of their companions: The conversation of the parrot makes the mirror [seem to] speak."