

گردش اقبال دارد لغزش ادبارها

يك دو خطوه باز رفتن پر دهد و ثابرا

"The march of good fortune has backward slips: to retreat one or two paces gives wings to the jumper."

موج از حقیقت گهر بحر غافلست

حادث چگونه درك نماید قدیررا

"The wave is ignorant of the true nature of the sea: how can the Temporal comprehend the Eternal?"

معیار دوستان دغل روز حاجتست

قرضی برسرم تجربه از دوستان طلب

"The touchstone of false friends is the day of need: by way of proof, ask a loan from your friends."

در میان اهل دنیا مردم دانا غریب

همچو انگشت شهادت در كف ترسا غریب

"The learned man is a stranger amidst the people of the world, just as the 'witness-finger' [i.e. the index-finger] appears strange on the Christian's hand."

چه سود ازین که کتبخانه جهان از تست

نه علم هرچه عمل میکنی همان از تست

"What doth it profit thee that all the libraries of the world should be thine? Not knowledge but what thou dost put into practice is thine."

هستی دنیای فانی انتظار مُردنست

ترك هستی ز انتظار نیستی وا رستن است

"The life of this transitory world is the expectation of death: to renounce life is to escape from the expectation of annihilation."

ترا ز جان غم مال ای عزیز بیشترست

علاقه تو بدستار بیشتر ز سرست

"O my dear friend! thou hast more care for wealth than for life: Thy attachment to the turban is greater than to the head."

با کمال قُرب از جانان دل ما غافلست

زنده از دریاست ماهی و ز دریا غافلست

"Our heart is heedless of the Beloved, notwithstanding our complete proximity:

The fish lives through the sea, yet heeds not the sea."

گریه شمع از برای ماتم پروانه نیست

صُبح نزدیکست در فکر شبِ تارِ خودست

"The weeping of the candle is not in mourning for the moth: the dawn is at hand, and it is thinking of its own dark night."

رفتن از عالم پرشور به از آمدنست

غنچه دلتنگ بباغ آمد و خندان برخواست

"To quit this troubled world is better than to enter it: the rose-bud enters the garden with straitened heart and departs smiling."

اگر میان دو دل هست دوستی بقرار

نمی شوند بآمد شد خبر محتاج

"If friendship is firmly established between two hearts, they do not need the interchange of news."

آدمی پیر چو شد حرص جوان میگردد

خواب در وقت سحرگاه گران میگردد

"When a man becomes old, his greed becomes young: sleep grows heavy at the time of morning."

خموشی حُجّت ناطق بود جوای گوهررا

که از غواص در دریا نفس بیرون نمی آید

"To the seeker after pearls silence is a speaking argument, for no breath comes forth from the diver in the sea."

یا سبو یا خمر می یا قدح باده کنند

يك كف خاك درین میکده ضایع نشود

"Not one handful of earth is wasted in this tavern: they make it either into a pitcher, a wine-jar, or a wine-cup."

حریص را نکند نعمتِ دو عالم سیر، همیشه آتشِ سوزنده اشتها دارد،

"The enjoyments of both worlds will not satisfy the greedy man :  
Burning fire has always an appetite."

پیرانه سر همای سعادت بمن رسید،

وقتِ زوال سایه دولت بمن رسید،

شد مهربان سپهر بمن آخرِ حیات،

در وقتِ صبح خواب فراغت بمن رسید،

"The *humd*<sup>1</sup> of happiness came to me in old age; the shadow of  
fortune came to me at the time of [the sun's] decline :

Heaven became kind to me at the close of my life : peaceful slumber  
visited me at morning-time."

از پشیمانی سخن در عهدِ پیری میزنم،

لب بدندان میزنم اکنون که دندانم نماند،

"I talk of repentance in the days of old age; I bite my lip [in re-  
morse] now that no teeth remain to me."

میشود غارتگرِ جان چون کمال افتد زیاد،

شاخ نازک بشکند چون بیشتر بار آورد،

"When perfection<sup>2</sup> is unduly increased it becomes the destroyer of life :  
The tender branch breaks when it bears too much fruit."

اگر مجنون منم پس کیست در روی زمین عاقل،

اگر عاقل توئی دیوانه در عالم نمی باشد،

"If I am mad, then who on the face of the earth is sane? If thou art  
sane, then there is no madman in the world."

مرا بروزِ قیامت غمی که هست اینست،

که روی مردمِ عالم دو باره باید دید،

<sup>1</sup> The *humd* is a mythical bird of whom it is supposed that if its shadow falls on anyone he will become a king.

<sup>2</sup> As already pointed out, perfection is regarded as a danger because it is specially obnoxious to the Evil Eye, which the Arabs call '*Aynu'l-Kamdl*, "the Eye of Perfection." See *supra*, p. 117, n. 2, and p. 216, n. 2.

"The only thing which troubles me about the Resurrection Day is  
this,

That one will have to look once again on the faces of mankind."

لا مکانی شو که تبدیل مکانِ آب و گِل،

نقل کردن باشد از زندانِ بزندانِ دیگر،

"Become placeless, for to change this place of water and clay is but  
to move from one prison to another."

نگویمت که دل از حاصلِ جهان بردار،

بهرچه دست رست نیست دل از آن بردار،

"I do not bid thee detach thy heart from the sum of the world : de-  
tach thy heart from whatever lies beyond thy reach."

انجام بت پرست بود به ز خود پرست،

در قیدِ خود مباش و بقیدِ فرنگ باش،

"In the end the idolator is better than the worshipper of self : better  
be in bondage to the Franks than in the bondage of self."

گر پُشتِ پا بعالمِ صورت نمی زنی،

تا حشر در شکنجه این کفش تنگ باش،

"If thou dost not trample under foot this world of form, then suffer  
until the Resurrection the torments of this tight boot."

درون خانه خود هر گدا شهنشاهیست،

قدم برون منه از حدِ خویش و سلطان باش،

"Within his own house every beggar is an emperor : do not overstep  
thine own limit and be a king."

گر سجودِ گل کمر بر سنتِ بلبل خطاست،

من که در آتش پرستی اُمّتِ پروانه‌ام،

"If I worship the rose according to the rites of the nightingale, it is  
a fault—I, who in the worship of fire am of the religion of the  
moth."

چون شمع هر که افراشت گردن بافسر زر'

در اشك خود نشیند بسیار تا بگردن'

"Everyone who like the candle exalts his head with a crown of gold will oft-times sit [immersed] in his tears up to the neck."

پیش ازین بر رفتگان افسوس می خوردند خلق'

می خوردند افسوس در ایام ما بر ماندگان'

"Formerly people used to grieve over the departed, but in our days they grieve over the survivors."

یا ز سیلاب حوادث رو نباید تافتن'

یا نباید خانه در صحرای امکان ساختن'

"Either one should not avert one's face from the torrent of vicissitudes, Or one should not make one's home in the plain of the Phenomenal World."

هر لوح مزاری ز فراموشده خاک'

دستبست برون آمده بهر طلب تو'

"Every tombstone is a hand stretched forth from the house of oblivion of the earth to search for thee."

شد از فشار گردون موی سفید و سر زد'

شیری که خورده بودم در روزگار طفلی'

"The hair has become white through the squeezing of the sphere, and the milk which I had drunk in the time of childhood has re-appeared [on my head]."

در وطن گر میشدی هر کس باسانی عزیز'

کی ز آغوش پدر یوسف بزندان آمدی'

"If everyone could easily become honoured in his own country, How would Joseph have passed from his father's embrace to a prison?"

### III. Between A.D. 1700 and 1800 (A.H. 1111-1215).

From the literary point of view this century is perhaps the most barren in the whole history of Persia<sup>1</sup>, so much so

that the only notable poem produced by it is, so far as I know, the celebrated *tarjī-band* of Hâtif-i-Işfahânî, of which I shall speak presently.

On the other hand we have two full and authoritative accounts of the period by two men of letters who were

personally involved in the disastrous events which befell Persia during and after the Afghân invasion, and who have left us a fairly clear and

detailed picture of that sad and troubled epoch. These men

were Shaykh 'Alî Ḥazîn (b. 1103/1692, d. 1180/1766-7), and Luţf 'Alî Beg poetically surnamed *Ādhar* (b. 1123/1711,

d. 1195/1781). Both were poets, and the former even a prolific poet, since he composed three or four *diwâns*, but

their prose writings are, from our point of view, of much greater interest and value than their verse.

Shaykh 'Alî Ḥazîn, whose proper name was Muḥammad ibn Abî Ṭâlib of Gîlân, is best known by his "Memoirs"

(*Tadhkiratu'l-Aḥwâl*), which he composed in

India in 1154/1741-2, twenty years after he had become an exile from his native land, and which

are easily accessible to students in the text and

English translation published by F. C. Belfour in 1830-31.

He was born, as he himself tells us, on Monday the 27th of Rabî' ii, 1103 (Jan. 19, 1692) at Işfahân, and was

directly descended in the eighteenth degree from the famous Shaykh Zâhid of Gîlân, of whom some account was given

in a previous chapter<sup>2</sup>. The family continued to reside in Gîlân, first at Astârá and then at Lâhijân, until the author's

Barrenness of the eighteenth century.

Two important contemporary records.

Shaykh 'Alî Ḥazîn (b. 1103/1692; d. 1180/1766-7).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 168 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 38-43 *supra*.

father, Shaykh Abú Ṭálib, at the age of twenty, went to Iṣfahán to pursue his studies, and there married and settled. He died there in 1127/1715 at the age of sixty-nine, leaving three sons, of whom our author was the eldest, to mourn his loss<sup>1</sup>. Shaykh 'Alí Ḥazín speaks in the highest terms of his father's character and ability, and quotes a few lines from an elegy which he composed on this mournful occasion. He also mentions that, amongst other final injunctions, his father addressed to him the following remarkable words<sup>2</sup>: "If you have the choice, make no longer stay in Iṣfahán. It were meet that some one of our race should survive." "At that time," the author continues, "I did not comprehend this part of his address, not till after some years, when the disturbance and ruin of Iṣfahán took place<sup>3</sup>."

Since the "Memoirs" can be read in English by anyone interested in their contents, it is unnecessary to discuss or analyse them here, and it will be sufficient to emphasize their importance as a picture of the author's times, and to note a few points of literary interest. In 1135/1722-3 he began to compile a kind of literary scrap-book or magazine (*majmú'a*), probably somewhat similar in character to the *Kashkúl* of Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín 'Ámillí, and entitled *Muddatu'l-'Umr*<sup>4</sup> ("Lifetime"), but it was lost with the rest of his library in the sack of Iṣfahán by the Afgháns a few months later. About the same time or a little earlier he wrote, besides numerous philosophical commentaries, a book on the Horse (*Faras-náma*), and

<sup>1</sup> A fourth son died in infancy. The mother survived the father by two years.

<sup>2</sup> Belfour's text, p. 16; translation, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Compare text, p. 107; translation, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 93-4 of Belfour's translation, to which henceforth references will be given. There is a MS. of this work in the British Museum. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 483, where two other works by the same author, one on wine and measures and another on beasts of venery, are mentioned.

published his second *Díván* of poetry, and soon afterwards his third<sup>1</sup>.

The Afghán invasion and the misery which it caused, especially in Iṣfahán, put a stop to Shaykh 'Alí Ḥazín's literary activities for some time. "During the latter days of the siege," he says<sup>2</sup>, "I was attacked by severe illness; and my two brothers, my grandmother, and the whole of the dwellers in my house died, so that my mansion was emptied of all but two or three infirm old women-servants, who attended me till my disorder began to abate." Being somewhat recovered, he escaped from Iṣfahán early in Muḥarram, 1135 (October, 1722), only a few days before it surrendered to, and was entered by, the Afgháns. During the next ten years he wandered about in different parts of Persia, successively visiting or residing at Khurramábád in Luristán, Hamadán, Niháwand, Dizful, Shúshtar (whence by way of Baṣra he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return journey visited Yaman), Kirmánsháh, Baghdád and its holy places, Mashhad, Kurdistán, Ádharbáyján, Gílán and Ṭíhrán. From the last-named city he returned once more to Iṣfahán, to find "that great city, notwithstanding the presence of the King<sup>3</sup>, in utter ruin and desertion. Of all that population and of my friends scarcely any one remained." It was the same at Shíráz, whither he made his way six months later. "Of all my great friends there," he says<sup>4</sup>, "the greatest I had in the world, not one remained on foot; and I met with a crowd of their children and relatives in the most melancholy condition and without resource." From Shíráz he made his way by Lár to Bandar-i-'Abbás, intending to go thence in

<sup>1</sup> See Belfour's translation, pp. 106 and 111, and for his fourth *Díván*, which was published somewhat later, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205. This was after the expulsion of the Afgháns by Nádir.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

a European ship to the Hijáz, "because their ships and packets are very spacious and are fitted up with convenient apartments, and their navigators also are more expert on the sea and more skilful in their art than any other nation<sup>1</sup>." He was, however, prevented by illness and poverty (caused partly by the loss of his patrimony in Gílán, partly by the exorbitant and oppressive taxation which now prevailed) from carrying out this plan. A subsequent attempt carried him in a Dutch vessel as far as Muscat, which he found little to his liking, so that after a stay of rather more than two months he returned again to Bandar-i-'Abbás. He next visited Kirmán, but, finding "the affairs of that ruined country in utter confusion by reason of the insurrection of a body of the Balúch tribe and other accidents<sup>2</sup>," he returned thence after a few months' stay to Bandar-i-'Abbás in the hope of being able to go thence once again to Baghdád and the Holy Shrines. Finding this impracticable owing to Nádir's operations against the Turks, and unable to endure any longer the sight of the misery prevailing throughout Persia, he embarked on the 10th of Ramaḍán, 1146 (Feb. 14, 1734) for India, where, in spite of the deep dislike which he conceived for that country, he was destined to spend the remaining forty-five years of his long life. "To me," he says<sup>3</sup>, "who do not reckon the time of my residence in this country as a portion of my real life, the beginning of my arrival on the shores of this empire appears as it were the end of my age and vitality." A little further on he says, "Altogether my nature had no agreement with the fashions and manners of this country, nor any power of patiently enduring them," and adds a few lines lower "the sight of these dominions became more and more hateful to me, and being continually in hope of escape from them, I reconciled

Shaykh 'Alí  
Ḥazín's deep  
dislike for India.

<sup>1</sup> See Belfour's translation, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

my mind to the incidents in the affairs of Persia, and bent my thoughts on my return thither<sup>1</sup>." Although unhappily disappointed in this hope, and compelled to spend the long remainder of his days in "a country traced...with foulness and trained to turpitude and brutality<sup>2</sup>," where "all the situations and conditions...are condemned by fate to difficulty and bitterness of subsistence<sup>3</sup>," he declined to include in his "Memoirs" any account of his personal experiences in India, save in so far as they were connected with such important historical events as Nádir Sháh's invasion and the terrible massacre he made in Dihlí on March 20, 1739. So, though the "Memoirs" were penned at "the end of the year [A.H.] 1154<sup>4</sup>" (beginning of A.D. 1742), they deal chiefly with the author's personal history before he left Persia twenty years earlier. The accounts of contemporary scholars and men of letters (many of whom perished during the siege of Iṣfahán in A.D. 1722) with whom he was personally acquainted constitute one of the most valuable features of this interesting book.

Eleven years later (1165/1752) Shaykh 'Alí Ḥazín composed an account of about a hundred contemporary poets entitled *Tadhkiratu'l-Mu'āṣirín*, which is included in the lithographed edition of his complete works published at Lucknow in 1293/1876, and of which MSS. exist in the British Museum and elsewhere<sup>5</sup>.

Shaykh 'Alí  
Ḥazín's bio-  
graphy of con-  
temporary poets.

<sup>1</sup> See Belfour's translation, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 372, and Sprenger's *Catalogue*, pp. 135-141, where the contents are fully stated. Through the kindness of my friend Professor Muḥammad Shafi' of the Oriental College, Lahore, I have recently (September, 1923) received a copy of the *Kulliyát*, or Complete Works, of Shaykh 'Alí Ḥazín, lithographed at Kánpúr in 1893. It comprises 1032 pp., of which this *Tadhkira* occupies pp. 931-1025. I make the number of biographies contained in it 96, and of all these

Another and more accessible contemporary account of the poets of this period forms the last portion of the well-known *Ātash-kada* ("Fire-temple") of Luṭf 'Alī Beg *Ādhar*. The greater part of this book deals with the Persian poets who flourished before the author's time, arranged in alphabetical order under the various towns and countries which gave birth to them, including Túrán and Hindústán. This is followed by an account of sixty of the author's contemporaries, which begins with a brief historical survey of the misfortunes of Persia during the fifty years succeeding the Afghán invasion down to the re-establishment of security and order in the South by Karím Khán-i-Zand<sup>1</sup>. The author recognizes the dearth of poets and men of letters during this period and ascribes it to the prevalent chaos and misery, "which," he says, "have reached such a point that no one has the heart to read poetry, let alone to compose it":

تفریقِ بال و اختلالِ حالِ بحدیست که کسی را حالِ خواندنِ  
شعر نیست تا بگفتنِ شعر چه رسد

To most of these poets the author devotes only a few lines. The longer notices include Mullá Muḥammad Mú'min, poetically surnamed *Dá'ī*, who died in 1155/1742-3 at the age of ninety; Mullá Husayn *Rafiq* of Iṣfahán; Sayyid Muḥammad *Shu'la* of Iṣfahán; Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣádiq of Tafrish; Mírzá Ja'far *Ṣáfi* of Iṣfahán; a young friend of the author's named Sulaymán, who wrote under the name *Ṣabdht*, and to whose poems he devotes no less than thirteen pages; Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alī *Ṣubūh* of Iṣfahán;

poets there are only about four of whom I ever heard even the names, to wit, Ṭáhir of Qazwín, Shawkat of Bukhárá, Shafí'á Athar of Shíráz, and Luṭf 'Alī Beg Shámí.

<sup>1</sup> "That peerless Prince of happy fortune Abu'n-Naṣr Sulṭán Karím."

Áqá Taqí *Ṣahbá* of Qum; Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Báqí *Ṭabīb* ("the physician"), whose father Mírzá Muḥammad Raḥím was court-physician to Sháh Sulṭán Husayn, as he himself was to Nádir Sháh; *Túfán* of Hazár-jarīb, whose death was commemorated by the author in a chronogram giving the date 1190/1776-7; Áqá Muḥammad 'Áshiq of Iṣfahán (d. 1181/1767-8), to whom he devotes eight pages; and his own younger brother Isháq Beg, who wrote under the pen-name of 'Udhri and died in 1185/1771-2, according to the chronogram:

بادا در بهشت جاودان اسحق بیگ

Other poets noticed are Muḥammad 'Alī Beg the son of Abdál Beg, a Frankish painter who embraced Islám; Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn *Ghálīb*, who spent fourteen years of his earlier life in India and married the daughter of the Nawwáb Sar-afráz Khán; Mír Sayyid 'Alī *Mushtáq* of Iṣfahán; Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣádiq, nephew of the above-mentioned court-physician Mírzá Muḥammad Raḥím, who, besides several *mathnawí* poems dealing with the somewhat threadbare romances of Laylá and Majnún, Khusraw and Shírín and Wámiq and 'Adhrá, was engaged on a history of the Zand dynasty; Mírzá Naṣír, son of the physician Mírzá 'Abdu'lláh (d. 1192/1778); and Sayyid Aḥmad *Hátif*, the most notable of all these poets, of whom we shall shortly have to speak.

Luṭf 'Alī Beg concludes his *Ātash-kada* with an autobiography of himself, from which we learn that he was born on the 20th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1123 (June 7, 1711) at Iṣfahán, but spent fourteen years of his earlier life at Qum, whither his family migrated in consequence of the Afghán menace. At the beginning of Nádir Sháh's reign his father was made governor of Lár and the coasts of Fárs, and he resided in Shíráz. On the death of his father two years later he accompanied his uncle Hájji Muḥammad Beg on the

pilgrimage to Mecca, and, after visiting that and the other holy places, returned to Persia, and was at Mashhad when Nádír's victorious army returned from India. After accompanying them to Mázandarán he returned to Isfahán, and, after the assassination of Nádír Sháh, was attached for a while to the service of 'Alí Sháh, Ibráhím Sháh, Sháh Isma'íl and Sháh Sulaymán. He then seems to have retired from public life and devoted himself to the cultivation of poetry under the guidance and tuition of Mír Sayyid 'Alí Mushtáq. With selections of this poetry, largely drawn from his *Yúsuf u Zulaykhá*, he concludes the book<sup>1</sup>.

Of Sayyid Aḥmad *Hátif* of Isfahán, though he was the contemporary and friend of Luṭf 'Alí Beg, no biographical particulars are given in the *Atash-kada*, but only praises which appear somewhat exaggerated, since he is described as "in Arabic and Persian verse and prose the third after A'shá and Jarír, and second only to Anwarí and Zahr." Nearly ten pages are filled with citations from his poems, but of all these we need only concern ourselves with the beautiful and celebrated *tarjít-band* by which alone *Hátif's* name has been immortalized.

(بند اول)

ای فدای تو هم دل و هم جان  
وی نثارِ رخت هم این و هم آن  
دل فدای تو چون توئی دلبر  
جان نثارِ تو چون توئی جانان  
دل رهندن ز دستِ تو مشکل  
جان فشاندن بپای تو آسان

<sup>1</sup> I have used the *Atash-kada* in the Bombay lithographed edition of 1277/1860. It has three defects: the numeration of the pages stops at 189; the dates are often omitted; and the accuracy of the text leaves a good deal to be desired.

راه وصلِ تو راهِ پُر آسیب  
دردِ عشقِ تو دردِ بی درمان  
• بندگانیم جان و دل در کف  
چشم بر حکم و گوش بر فرمان  
گر سرِ صلح داری اینک دل  
ور سرِ جنگ داری اینک جان  
دوش از شورِ عشق و جذبه شوق  
هر طرف می شتافتم حیران  
آخرِ کار شوق دیدارم  
سوی دیرِ مغان کشید عنان  
چشمِ بد دور خلوتی دیدم  
روشن از نورِ حق نه از نیران  
۱۰ هر طرف دیدم آتشی کآن شب  
دید در طور موسی عمران  
پیری آنجا آتش افروزی  
بادب گردِ پیرِ مغبچگان  
همه سیمین عذار و گل رخسار  
همه شیرین زبان و تنگ دهان  
عود و چنگ و نی و دف و بربط  
شمع و نقل و گل و می و ریحان  
ساقی ماهروی و مشکین موی  
مطرب بذله گوی خوش الحان  
۱۰ مغ و مغ زاده موبد و دستور  
خدمتِشرا تمام بسته میان  
من شرمنده از مسلمانانی  
شدم آنجا بگوشه پنهان

پیر پرسید کیست این گفتند  
 عاشقی بی قرار و سرگردان  
 گفت جامی دهدش از می ناب  
 گرچه ناخوانده باشد این مهمان  
 ساقی آتش دست و آتش پرست  
 ریخت در ساغر آتش سوزان  
 ۲۰ چون کشیدم نه عقل ماند و نه هوش  
 سوخت هم کفر از آن و هم ایمان  
 مست افتادم و در آن مستی  
 بزیانی که شرح آن نتوان  
 این سخن می شنیدم از اعضا  
 همه حتی الوریث و الشریان  
 که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او  
 وحده لا اله الا هو  
 (بند دویم)  
 از تو ای دوست نگسلم پیوند  
 ورت بتیغم بُرند بند از بند  
 ۲۰ الحق ارزان بود از ما صد جان  
 وز دهان تو نیم شکر خند  
 ای پدر پند کم ده از عشقم  
 که نخواهد شد اهل این فرزند  
 پند آنان دهند خلق ای کاش  
 که ز عشق تو میدهندم پند  
 من ره کوی عافیت دانم  
 چکنم کاو فتاده ام بکمند

در کلیسا بدلبری ترسا  
 گفتم ای دل بدام تو در بند  
 ۳۰ ای که دارد بتار زنارت  
 هر سر موی من جدا پیوند  
 ره بوحدت نیافتن تا کی  
 ننگ تلیث بر یکی تا چند  
 نام حق یگانه چون شاید  
 که اب و ابن و روح قدس نهند  
 لب شیرین کشود و با من گفت  
 وز شکرخند ریخت از لب قند  
 که گر از سر وحدت آگاهی  
 تهمت کافری بما مپسند  
 ۳۰ در سه آئینه شاهد ازلی  
 پرتو از روی تابناک افکند  
 سه نگرودد بپیشم ار اورا  
 پرنیان خوانی و حریر و پرند  
 ما درین گفتگو که از یکسو  
 شد ز ناقوس این ترانه بلند  
 که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او  
 وحده لا اله الا هو  
 (بند سوم)  
 دوش رفتم بکوی باده فروش  
 ز آتش عشق دل بجوش و خروش  
 ۴۰ مجلسی لغز دیدم و روشن  
 میر آن بزم پیر باده فروش



چاکران ایستاده صف در صف  
 باده خواران نشسته دوش بدوش  
 پیر در صدر و میکشان گردش  
 پاره مست و پاره مدهوش  
 سینه بی کینه و درون صافی  
 دل پر از گفتگو و لب خاموش  
 همه را از عنایت ازلی  
 چشم حق بین و گوش راز نیوش  
 \* سخن این بآن هنماً لك  
 پاسخ آن باین که بادت نوش  
 گوش بر چنگ و چشم بر ساغر  
 آرزوی دو کون در آغوش  
 بادب پیش رفتم و گفتم  
 ای ترا دل قرارگاه سروش  
 عاشقم دردمند و حاجتمند  
 درد من بنگر و بدرمان کوش  
 پیر خندان بطنز با من گفت  
 ای ترا پیر عقل حلقه بگوش  
 .. تو کجا ما کجا ای از شرم  
 دختر رز نشسته برقع پوش  
 گفتمش سوخت جانم آبی ده  
 و آتش من فرو نشان از جوش  
 دوش میسوختم ازین آتش  
 آه اگر امشبم بود چمن دوش

گفت خندان که هین پیاله بگیر  
 ستدم گفت هان زیاده منوش  
 جرعه در کشیدم و گشتم  
 فارغ از رنج عقل و محنت هوش  
 .. چون بهوش آمدم یکی دیدم  
 ما بقی را همه خطوط و نقوش  
 ناگهان در صوامع ملکوت  
 این حدیثم سروش گفت بگوش  
 که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او  
 وحده لا اله الا هو  
 (بند چهارم)  
 چشم دل باز کن که جان بینی  
 آنچه نا دیدنیست آن بینی  
 گر باقلیم عشق رو آری  
 همه آفاق گلستان بینی  
 ۱. بر همه اهل این زمین بمراد  
 گردش دور آسمان بینی  
 آنچه بینی دلت همان خواهد  
 و آنچه خواهد دلت همان بینی  
 بی سر و پا گدای آنجارا  
 سر ز مالک جهان گران بینی  
 هم در آن پا برهنه قومی را  
 پای بر فرق فرقدان بینی  
 هم در آن سر برهنه جمعی را  
 بر سر از عرش سایبان بینی

گاه وجد و سماع هر یکی را'  
 بهر دو کون آستین نشان بینی'  
 دل هر ذره که بشگافی'  
 آفتابیش در میان بینی'  
 هرچه داری اگر بعشق دهی'  
 کافرم گر جوی زیان بینی'  
 جان کدازی اگر بآتش عشق'  
 عشق را کیمیای جان بینی'  
 از مضیق جهات در گذری'  
 وسعت ملک لا مکان بینی'  
 آنچه نشنیده گوش آن شنوی'  
 و آنچه نا دیده چشم آن بینی'  
 تا بجائی رساندت که یکی'  
 از جهان و جهانیان بینی'  
 با یکی عشق ورزی از دل و جان'  
 تا بعین الیقین عیان بینی'  
 که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او'  
 وحده لا اله الا هو'  
 (بند پنجم)  
 یار بی پرده از در و دیوار'  
 در تجلی است یا اولو الأبصار'  
 ۷۰ شمع جوئی و آفتاب بلند'  
 روز بس روشن و تو در شب تار'  
 گر ز ظلمات خود رهی بینی'  
 همه عالم مشارق النوار'

کوروش قاید و عصا طلبی'  
 بهر این راه روشن و هموار'  
 چشم بکشا بگلستان و ببین'  
 جلوه آب صاف در گل و خار'  
 زآب بیرنگ صد هزاران رنگ'  
 لاله و گل نگر درین گلزار'  
 ۸۰ پا براه طلب نه و از عشق'  
 بهر این راه توشه بر دار'  
 شود آسان ز عشق کاری چند'  
 که بود پیش عقل بس دشوار'  
 یار گو بالغدو و الاصال'  
 یار جو بالعشی و الایکار'  
 صد رخت کن ترانی ار گویند'  
 باز میدار دیده بر دیدار'  
 تا بجائی رسی که می نرسد'  
 پای اوهام و دیده افکار'  
 ۸۰ بار یابی بمحفلی کآنجا'  
 جبرئیل امین ندارد بار'  
 این ره این توشه تو این منزل'  
 مرد راهی اگر بیا و بیار'  
 و نه مرد راه چون دگران'  
 یار میگوی و پشت سر میخار'  
 هاتف ارباب معرفت که گهی'  
 مست خواندشان و که هشیار'  
 از می و جام و مطرب و ساقی'  
 از مغ و دیر و شاهد و زتار'

۹. قصد ایشان نهفته اسرار است  
 که بایما کنند گاه اظهار  
 بی بری گر برارشان دانی  
 که همین است سر آن اسرار  
 که یکی هست و هیچ نیست جز او  
 وحده لا اله الا هو

*(Strophe I)*

“O Thou to whom both heart and life are a sacrifice, and O Thou in whose path both this and that are an offering !  
 The heart is Thy sacrifice because Thou art a charmer of hearts ; life is Thine offering because Thou art the Life of our lives<sup>1</sup>.  
 Hard it is to deliver the heart from Thy hand ; easy it is to pour out our life at Thy feet.  
 The road to union with Thee is a road full of hardships ; the pain of Thy love is a pain without remedy.  
 We are servants holding our lives and hearts in our hands, with eyes [fixed] on Thy orders and ears [waiting] on Thy command. 5  
 If Thou seekest peace, behold our hearts ; and if Thou seekest war, behold our lives !  
 Last night, [impelled] by the madness of love and the impulse or desire, I was rushing in bewilderment in every direction.  
 At last desire for the [Beatific] Vision turned my reins towards the temple of the Magians.  
 Far from it be the Evil Eye ! I beheld a secret gathering bright with the Light of Truth, not with the Flames [of Hell].  
 On every side I beheld that fire which Moses the son of ‘Imrán saw that night on Sinai. 10  
 There was an elder [busied] with tending the fire, round about whom respectfully stood the young Magians,  
 All silver-skinned and rose-cheeked, all sweet-tongued and narrow-mouthed.  
 [There were] lute, harp, flute, cymbals and barbiton ; candles, desert, roses, wine and basil ;  
 The moon-faced and musky-haired cup-bearer ; the witty and sweet-voiced minstrel.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible adequately to preserve in English the play between *dil* and *dilbar*, *ján* and *jánán*.

Magian and Magian boy, Fire-priest and High Priest, all with loins girt up for His service. 15  
 I, ashamed of my Muhammadanism, stood there concealed in a corner.  
 The elder enquired, ‘Who is this?’ They answered, ‘A restless and bewildered lover.’  
 He said, ‘Give him a cup of pure wine, although he be an unbidden guest.’  
 The fire-handed and fire-worshipping cup-bearer poured into the goblet the burning fire.  
 When I drained it off, neither reason remained nor sense ; thereby were consumed both Infidelity and Faith. 20  
 I fell down intoxicated, and in that intoxication, in a tongue which one cannot explain,  
 I heard this speech from [all] my limbs, even from the jugular vein and the carotid artery :  
 ‘He is One and there is naught but He :  
 There is no God save Him alone!’

*(Strophe II)*

O Friend, I will not break my ties with Thee, even though with a sword they should hew me limb from limb !  
 Truly a hundred lives were cheap on our part [to win] from Thy mouth a sweet half-smile. 25  
 O Father, counsel me not against love, for this son [of thine] will not prove susceptible [to counsel] !  
 People counsel these [others] : O would that they would counsel me concerning Thy love !  
 I know the road to the street of safety, but what can I do ? for I am fallen into the snare.  
 In the church I said to a Christian charmer of hearts, ‘O thou in whose net the heart is captive !  
 ‘O thou to the warp of whose girdle each hair-tip of mine is separately attached ! 30  
 ‘How long [wilt thou continue] not to find the way to the Divine Unity ? How long wilt thou impose on the One the shame of the Trinity ?  
 ‘How can it be right to name the One True God “Father,” “Son,” and “Holy Ghost” ?’  
 She parted her sweet lips and said to me, while with sweet laughter she poured sugar from her lips :

'If thou art aware of the Secret of the Divine Unity, do not cast on us the stigma of infidelity!

'In three mirrors the Eternal Beauty cast a ray from His effulgent countenance. 35

'Silk does not become three things if thou callest it *Parniyân*, *Hartr* and *Parand*<sup>1</sup>.'

Whilst we were thus speaking, this chant rose up beside us from the church-bell:

'He is One and there is naught but He:  
There is no God save Him alone!'

(*Strophe III*)

Last night I went to the street of the wine-seller, my heart boiling and seething with the fire of love.

I beheld a bright and beautiful gathering presided over by the wine-selling elder. 40

The attendants stood row on row, the wine-drinkers sat shoulder to shoulder.

The elder sat in the chief seat and the wine-drinkers around him, some drunk and some dazed,

With breasts devoid of malice and hearts pure, the heart full of talk and the lips silent.

The eyes of all, by the Eternal Mercy, beholding the Truth, and their ears hearkening to secrets.

The greeting of this one to that one, 'Wassail!' the response of that one to this one, 'Drink-hale'! 45

With ears for the harp and eyes on the goblet, and the desire of both worlds in their embrace.

Advancing respectfully, I said, 'O thou whose heart is the abode of the Angel *Surûsh*<sup>2</sup>,

'I am an afflicted and needy lover: behold my pain and strive to remedy it!'

The elder, smiling, said to me mockingly: 'O thou to whom the Guide of Reason is a devoted<sup>3</sup> slave!

<sup>1</sup> All these words, of which the first and last are Persian and the other Arabic, mean silk.

<sup>2</sup> *Surûsh* with the Zoroastrians, like *Jibra'îl* (Gabriel) with the Muhammadans, is the Angel who brings revelation.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "with a ring in the ear," a sign of servitude.

'Where art thou, and where are we<sup>1</sup>, O thou for shame of whom the daughter of the grape<sup>2</sup> sits with veiled face?' 50

I said to him, 'My soul is consumed! Give me a draught of water, and abate my fire from its vehemence!

'Last night I was consumed by this fire: alas if my to-night be as my yestere'en!'

He said smiling, 'Ho! Take the cup!' I took it. He cried, 'Ha! Drink no more!'

I drained a draught and became free from the pain of understanding and the trouble of sense.

When I came to my senses I saw for a moment One, and all else mere lines and figures. 55

Suddenly in the temples of the Angelic World the *Surûsh*<sup>3</sup> whispered these words into my ear:

'He is One and there is naught but He:  
There is no God save Him alone!'

(*Strophe IV*)

Open the eye of the heart that thou mayst behold the spirit, that thou mayst see that which is not to be seen.

If thou wilt turn thy face towards the Realm of Love thou wilt see all the horizons a garden of roses.

Thou wilt behold the revolution of the cycle of heaven favourable to all the people of this earth. 60

That which thou seest thy heart will desire, and that which thy heart desireth thou wilt see.

The headless and footless beggar of that place thou wilt see heavy-headed with the dominion of the world<sup>4</sup>.

There also thou wilt see a bare-footed company with their feet set on the summit of the Guard-stars<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That is, how far apart are we.

<sup>2</sup> Wine, who must veil her face before the stranger (*nd-mahram*).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 294 *supra*, n. 2 *ad calc.*

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* even the veriest beggar in the Realm of Love exercises in this lower world such authority as do the kings and rulers of earth, and is as much preoccupied by his responsibility as they are.

<sup>5</sup> *Farqadân*, two bright stars in Ursa Minor, called "the Guards" or "Guardians" (from the Spanish word *guardare*, "to behold") because of their "singular use in navigation." See vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 125, *ad calc.*

There also thou wilt see a bare-headed assembly canopied overhead  
by the throne of God.

Each one at the time of ecstasy and song thou wilt see shaking his  
sleeves over the two worlds<sup>1</sup>. 65

In the heart of each atom which thou cleavest thou wilt behold a sun  
in the midst.

If thou givest whatsoever thou hast to Love, may I be accounted an  
infidel if thou shouldst suffer a grain of loss!

If thou meltest thy soul in the fire of Love, thou wilt find Love the  
Alchemy of Life;

Thou wilt pass beyond the narrow straits of dimensions, and wilt  
behold the spacious realms of the Placeless;

Thou shalt hear what ear hath not heard, and shalt see what eye  
hath not seen; 70

Until they shall bring thee to a place where of the world and its  
people thou shalt behold One alone.

To that One shalt thou make love with heart and soul, until with  
the eye of certainty thou shalt clearly see

**'That He is One and there is naught but He:  
There is no God save Him alone!'**

(*Strophe V*)

From door and wall, unveiled, the Friend shines radiant, O ye who  
have eyes to see!

Thou seekest a candle whilst the sun is on high: the day is very  
bright whilst thou art in darkest night. 75

If thou wilt but escape from thy darkness thou shalt behold all the  
universe the dawning-place of lights.

Like a blind man thou seekest guide and staff for this clear and level  
road.

Open thine eyes on the Rose-garden, and behold the gleaming of  
the pure water alike in the rose and the thorn.

From the colourless water [are derived] a hundred thousand colours:  
behold the tulip and the rose in this garden-ground.

Set thy foot in the path of search, and with Love furnish thyself with  
provision for this journey. 80

By Love many things will be made easy which in the sight of Reason  
are very difficult.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* snapping his fingers at them, taking no account of them.

Speak of the Friend in the mornings and the evenings: seek for  
the Friend in the gloaming and at dawn.

Though they tell thee a hundred times '*Thou shalt not see me*<sup>1</sup>,' still  
keep thine eyes fixed on the Vision,

Until thou shalt reach a place to which the foot of Fancy and the  
eye of Thought cannot attain.

Thou shalt find the Friend in an assembly whereunto not even  
Gabriel the trusted hath access. 85

This is the Road, this thy Provision, this the Halting-place: if thou  
art a roadsman, come and bring!

And if thou art not equal to the Road, then, like the others, talk of  
the Friend and scratch the back of thy head<sup>2</sup>!

O Hâtif, the meaning of the Gnostics, whom they sometimes call  
drunk and sometimes sober,

[When they speak] of the Wine, the Cup, the Minstrel, the Cup-  
bearer, the Magian, the Temple, the Beauty and the Girdle,

Are those hidden secrets which they sometimes declare in cryptic  
utterance. 90

If thou shouldst find thy way to their secret thou wilt discover that  
even this is the secret of those mysteries,

**'He is One and there is naught but He:  
There is no God save Him alone!'**

<sup>1</sup> *Lan tarâni*, the answer given to Moses when he desired to see  
God face to face. See *Qur'an*, vii, 139.

<sup>2</sup> Like one bewildered or undecided.

## CHAPTER VII.

## POETS OF THE QAJÁR PERIOD.

The Qájár rule was strong though severe, and, in spite of its harshness, was, perhaps, welcome on the whole to a country which had suffered seventy years of anarchy and civil war. The brief and bloody reign of the eunuch Áqá Muḥammad Khán<sup>1</sup>, who once more carried the Persian standards into Georgia and captured Tiflis, was followed by the milder administration of his nephew Faḥ-‘Alí Sháh (A.D. 1797–1834), to whose influence Riḍá-qulí Khán, in the Introduction to his *Majma‘u‘l-Fuṣāḥá*, ascribes the revival of poetry and the restoration of a better literary taste. He himself wrote verses under the pen-name of Kháqán, and gathered round him a host of poets to whose lives and work several monographs are devoted, such as the *Zinatu‘l-Madd‘ih*, the *Anjuman-i-Kháqán*, the *Gulshan-i-Maḥmúd* and *Saft-natu‘l-Maḥmúd*, the *Nigáristán-i-Dárá*, and the *Tadhkiratu‘l-Muḥammad-Sháhi*, all of which are described by Rieu in his *Supplementary Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (pp. 84–91), and most of which were utilized by the above-mentioned Riḍá-qulí Khán. One of them, the *Gulshan-i-Maḥmúd*, contains notices of forty-eight of Faḥ-‘Alí Sháh’s sons who wrote poetry, and at a later date the Royal Family supplied Persia with another verse-making autocrat in Náṣiru‘d-Dín Sháh (A.D. 1848–1896), but these kingly outpourings need detain only those who accept the dictum *Kalámu‘l-Mulúk Mulúku‘l-Kalám* (“the Words of Kings are the Kings of Words”).

<sup>1</sup> Though practically supreme for eighteen years (A.D. 1779–1797), he was not crowned until 1796 and was assassinated in the following year.

These poets of the earlier Qájár period might very well have been included in the preceding chapter, but for the inordinate length which it has already attained.

Reversion to earlier models.

The only respect in which they differed from their immediate predecessors was in their reversion to earlier models and their repudiation of the school typified by ‘Urffí, Şá‘ib, Shawkat, and their congeners. This fact is established from two opposite quarters. On the one hand Shiblí, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, takes the view that Persian poetry, which began with Rúdakí, ended with Şá‘ib, and that Qá‘ání and the moderns did but imitate the older classical poets, especially Farrukhí and Minúchihrí. Riḍá-qulí Khán

Divergent taste of Persian and Indian critics.

takes the same view of the facts, but puts on them a quite different interpretation. According to him<sup>2</sup>, Persian poetry had long been on the decline and at the end of the pre-Qájár period had become thoroughly decadent, so that the early Qájár poets did well to break away from the ideals of their immediate predecessors and revert to earlier models, amongst which he especially mentions the poems of Kháqání, ‘Abdu‘l-Wási‘i-Jabalí, Farrukhí, Minúchihrí, Rúdakí, Qaṭrán, ‘Unṣurí, Mas‘úd-i-Sa‘d-i-Salmán, Saná‘í, Jalálu‘d-Dín Rúmí, Abu‘l-Faraj-i-Rúní, Anwarí, Asadí, Firdawsí, Nizámí, Sa‘dí, Azraqí, Mukhtárí, Mu‘izzí, Lámi‘í, Náṣir-i-Khusraw and Adíb Şábir, all of whom flourished before the Fall of the Caliphate and the Mongol Invasion in the middle of the thirteenth century. Of the later poets Ḥáfiz was perhaps the only one who retained an undiminished prestige in the eyes of his countrymen, and it is doubtful how far even he served as a model, though this was perhaps rather because he was inimitable than because he was out of fashion, like Jámí, ‘Urffí and Şá‘ib, who lost and never regained the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 164 and 265 *supra*, and *Shi‘ru‘l-‘Ajám*, vol. iii, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth (unnumbered) page of the Introduction to the *Majma‘u‘l-Fuṣāḥá*.

position they had once held in their own country. Henceforth, therefore, the divergence between Turkish and Indian taste on the one hand and Persian taste on the other increases, while the action of the British rulers of India<sup>1</sup> in substituting Urdú for Persian as the polite language of that country in 1835-6 tended still further to cut off India from the intellectual and literary currents of modern Persia.

It would be easy with the help of the Biographies of Poets mentioned above and others of a later period to compile a list of a hundred or two more or less eminent poets of the Qājār period, but it will be sufficient for our purpose to mention ten or a dozen of those who followed the classical tradition. Nor is it necessary to group them according to the reigns in which they flourished, though it

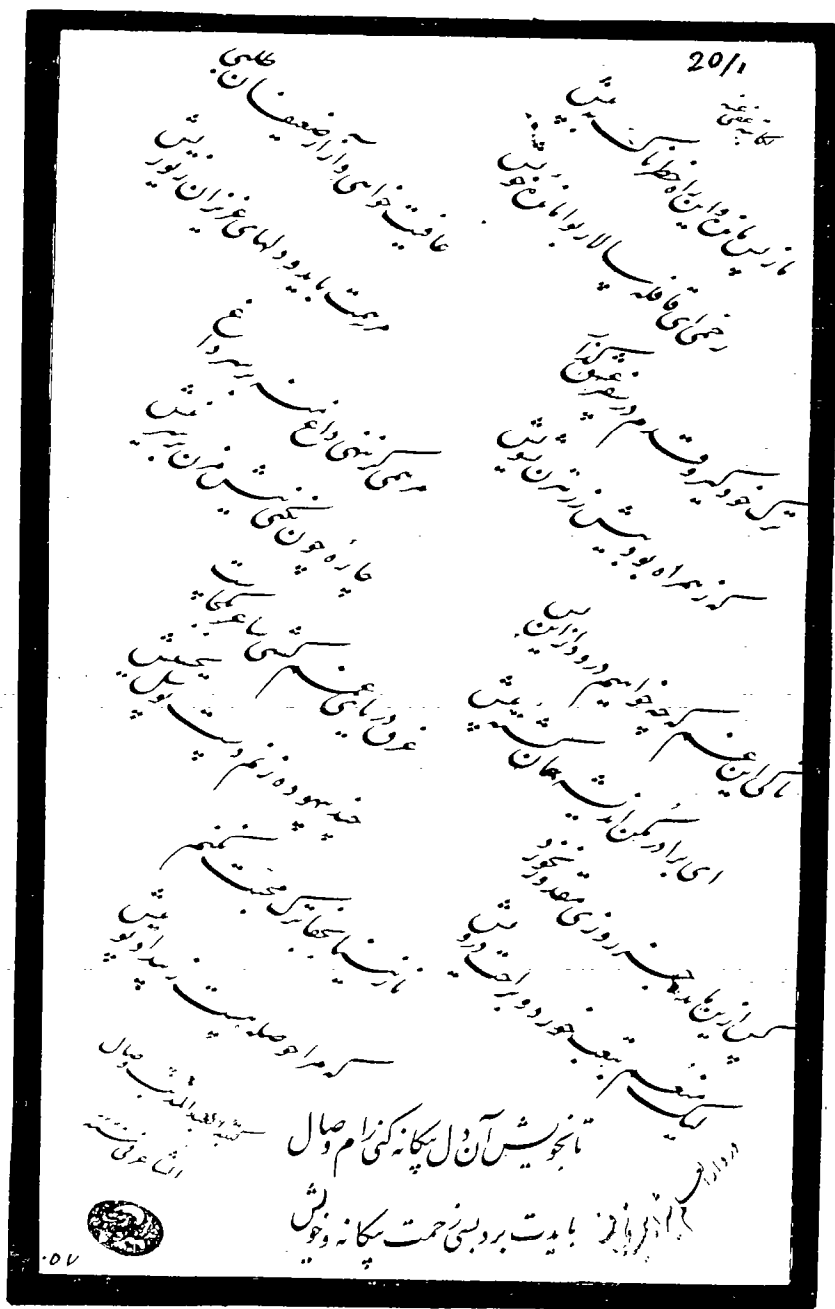
Wiṣál and his family.

will be convenient to arrange them in chronological order. Of one great family of poets, the sons and grandsons of Wiṣál (Mírzá Shaffí, commonly called Mírzá Kúchuk) who died in 1262/1846, it was my privilege to meet several, including the brothers Farhang and Yazdání, at Shíráz in the spring of 1888<sup>2</sup>. The latter was accompanied by his own son and the son of his deceased brother who wrote under the pen-name of Himmat. Of the three elder brothers, sons of Wiṣál, the eldest, Wiqár, was about forty-two years of age when Ridá-qulí Khán<sup>3</sup> met him in Tíhrán in 1274/1857-8, while the second, Mírzá Maḥmúd the physician, who adopted the *takhalluṣ* of Ḥakím, died in 1268/1851. Of the third, Dáwarí, a specimen of whose work is quoted in translation in vol. ii of my *Literary History*, pp. 41-42, I do not know the date of decease. As his poems have not, I think, been published, I here give the Persian text on which the trans-

<sup>1</sup> At or about the same time they ceased to subsidise the publication of Oriental texts, thus inflicting a great injury on Oriental studies.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 267-8, and also p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, vol. ii, p. 548.



Autograph of the poet Wiṣál

lation above mentioned is based. It is taken from a small manuscript selection of his poems<sup>1</sup> given to me in Tīhrán in the winter of 1887-8 by my late friend the Nawwáb Mírzá Ḥasan 'Alí Khán, one of his admirers and patrons.

Two stanzas of a  
*musammaʿ* by  
Dáwari.

ای بجه عرب صبَّحَكَ اللهُ بِخَيْرِا  
صبح است صبوحی بده آن ساغرِ می‌را  
زآن می که بقطب ار بدهی جرعه ویرا  
بر پات بساید سر اکلیل جُدی‌را  
کردند بناتش بفسدا چون تو بُنی‌را  
چون چرخ زنی گردِ خمِ باده جُدی وار  
گر نیست ترا باده یکی شیشه ببر کش  
بر خیز و عبارا عربی وار بسر کش  
همچون عربان دامنِ خود تا بکمر کش  
یکدست عبا شیشه بدان دستِ دگر کش  
با دامنِ ترممت از آن دامن تر کش  
وز خانه برو تا بدرِ خانه خمار

This mention of my kind friend the Nawwáb reminds me of a quaint incident which occurred while I was his guest at Tīhrán in the early part of the year 1888, and which shows how relatively unprofitable is the profession of a Persian poet now compared to what it was in the "good old days" when a poet's mouth was sometimes filled with gold or pearls as the reward of a successful poem which hit the taste of his patron. A minor poet, whose name I forget, if ever I knew it, came one day to the Nawwáb's house and

The modest  
reward of a  
modern  
panegyrist.

<sup>1</sup> These selections are now bound up in my MS. bearing the class-mark Y. 1. The whole *musammaʿ* contains eight strophes, of which only the first two are here given.



asked and obtained permission to recite a poem which he had composed in his praise. On its conclusion he received the sum of one *túmán* (at that time worth about six shillings), with which he departed, apparently very well contented. But so far from the gift being deemed insignificant, the Nawwáb was subsequently reproached by some of his friends for turning the poet's head and making him imagine that he could earn an honest livelihood by writing poetry!

This is no doubt one of the causes which are tending to put an end to the old style of poetry, especially the panegyric *qaṣída*. Another still more potent one is the position attained by the Press since the Revolution of 1905-6, for the poet now tends more and more to write for the people as a whole rather than for some special patron. The transition can be very well seen in the case of poets like the unfortunate Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz, the proprietor and editor of that remarkable product of the Revolution the weekly *Šúr-i-Isráfil*, whose life, death, and literary activities in connection with that great national upheaval are fully discussed in my previous works, the *Persian Revolution* and the *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*. As a poet and writer of the Revolution only did I know him until lately, when I received from my accomplished friend and former pupil Mr W. A. Smart, one of the most sympathetic Consular officers ever sent to Persia from this country, a large fragment (292 pages) of an untitled, anonymous, acephalous and incomplete Persian manuscript work<sup>1</sup> containing accounts of thirty-eight poets, mostly of Fárs, who were either still living in A.D. 1910 or who had died in the course of the preceding forty years. Amongst these mention is made of Mírzá Jahángír Khán (pp. 74-77), and specimens are given of his earlier pre-revolutionary poems, including one addressed to his friends at Shíráz from

<sup>1</sup> It bears the class-mark J. 19 in my library.

inran, which are quite in the classical style, and bear no traces of the modern peculiarities. Two other not less eminent "transition poets" mentioned in this extraordinarily interesting volume are Abu'l-Ḥasan Mírzá, a grandson of Fath-'Alí Sháh, born in 1264/1848, and commonly entitled Ḥájji Shaykhu'r-Ra'ís, chiefly known as a philosophical and political writer and a strong advocate of Pan-Islamism, who also wrote poetry, mostly topical, but in the classical forms, under the pen-name of Ḥayrat (pp. 102-121 of my MS.); and the eminent journalist *Adibu'l-Mamálik*<sup>1</sup> (born in 1277/1860-1), a descendant in the third degree of Mírzá 'Ísá the *Qá'im-Maqám*, who composed verse under the pen-name of Amírí of Faráhán (pp. 39-50 of my MS.). The new poets of the Revolution were therefore, except in the case of the younger ones who have appeared since that epoch-making event, to a large extent the poets of the old school who had sufficient enthusiasm and flexibility to adapt themselves to the new conditions. But the transition itself is marked by as hard and fast a line as can mark any such historical transition, that line lying in the years 1906-7. Of course an abundance of poetry of the old type is still being produced, and I myself was gratified and honoured on the occasion of my sixtieth birthday (February 7, 1922) by receiving an album of verses contributed by sixteen of the most notable contemporary poets, besides a separate *qaṣída* from 'Imádu'l-Kuttáb, that Benvenuto Cellini of contemporary Persia.

The older forms of poetry in no danger of extinction.

Nor is there any reason to apprehend the early disappearance of the old verse-forms. The panegyric (as opposed to the philosophical and didactic) *qaṣída* will probably become rarer for the reasons given above, but the *mathnawí*, *ghazal* and *rubá'í* will survive as long as mysticism, love and epigram continue to interest the Persians.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 37-39 of my *Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*.

After these preliminary general remarks on the poetry of the latest epoch, we may pass to the consideration of some of its chief representatives. For information as to those who flourished before about A.D. 1870 my chief sources have been the three works of that industrious writer Riḍá-qulī Khán, poetically surnamed Hidáyat, to wit the large general biography of Persian poets entitled *Majma'ul-Fuṣahá* ("the Concourse of the Eloquent"); the smaller biography entitled *Riyádu'l-'Arifín* ("Gardens of the Gnostics"), which deals chiefly with the mystical poets; and the Supplement to Mírkhwánd's *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá*, which carries that well-known general history down to about 1857 and was already well advanced in 1272/1855-6, when the author returned from the embassy to Khwárazm described in his

*Majma'ul-Fuṣahá.*

*Riyádu'l-'Arifín.*

*Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá* (Supplement).

*Safárat-náma*, of which the Persian text was published by the late M. Ch. Schefer with a French translation in 1876-9<sup>1</sup>. At the end of the ninth volume of the *Rawḍatu's-Ṣafá* (the second of the Supplement), which concludes the reign of Fath-'Alī Sháh, several pages (unfortunately unnumbered, so that exact references are impossible) are devoted to the notable statesmen, poets, theologians and other eminent men of that period which sometimes contain biographical material lacking in the two earlier monographs. From these three sources, so far as they extend, the following particulars are chiefly drawn, but I have also made use of a rare manuscript work (possibly an autograph) entitled *Tadhkira-i-Dilgushá*, a biography of contemporary poets by Mírzá 'Alī Akbar of Shíráz, who himself wrote poetry under the pen-name of

<sup>1</sup> Brief notices of these and other published works of the same author will be found in Mr E. Edwards's excellent *Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum* (London, 1922), columns 631-2.

*Bismil*, composed about 1237/1821-2. This fine MS., written throughout in a large, clear *naskh* with rubrications, formerly belonged to the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, and now bears in my library the class-mark J. 18. Mention is made of this author and his work by Riḍá-qulī Khán (who in his youth used to see him at Shíráz) both in the *Majma'ul-Fuṣahá* (ii, pp. 82-3) and the *Riyádu'l-'Arifín* (pp. 243-4).

(I) Saḥáb (d. 1222/1807-8).

Sayyid Muḥammad of Iṣfahán, poetically surnamed *Saḥáb*, was the son of that Sayyid Aḥmad *Hátif* mentioned at the end of the preceding chapter as almost the only notable Persian poet of the eighteenth century. Riḍá-qulī Khán (*M.F.*, ii, 207-11) says that he was held in high honour by Fath-'Alī Sháh, for whom he composed, besides numerous panegyrics, a book of memoirs (presumably of poets) entitled *Rashaḥát-i-Saḥáb*, which I have never met with, and that his *Díwán* comprises only some five thousand verses. The following, censuring the conceit and arrogance of certain poets, are of some interest<sup>1</sup>:

كس را كمالِ نفس بجز حُسنِ حال چيست،  
و آن را كه حُسنِ حال نباشد كمال چيست،  
شعرست هيچ و شاعری از هيچ هيچ تر،  
در حيرتم كه در سر هيچ اين جدال چيست،  
يك تن نپرسد از پي ترتيبِ چند لفظ،  
ای ابلهانِ بی هنر این قيل و قال چيست،  
از بهر مصرعی دو كه مضمونِ ديگريست،  
چندین خيالِ جاه و تمنای مال چيست،

<sup>1</sup> *M.F.*, ii, p. 211.

شعر اصلش از خیال بود حُسنش از مُحال  
تا از خیالی این همه فکرِ مُحال چیست  
از چند لفظِ یابوه نَزْدِ لَافِ برتری  
هر کس که یافت شرم چه و انفعال چیست  
صد نوع از این کمال بر اهل رای و هوش  
با حُسنِ ذاتِ عامی نیکو خصال چیست  
گیرم که نظمِ بحرِ دُر و کانِ گوهرست  
با نثرِ کَلکِ داورِ دریا نوال چیست

"Wherein save in good nature lies anyone's 'perfection',<sup>1</sup> and what 'perfection' can there be to him who has not good nature?

Poetry is naught, and the poet's vocation less than naught: I wonder what is all this quarrel about nothing!

No one will ask about the arrangement of a few words: O fools devoid of merit, what is all this talk?

On account of one or two hemistichs expressing some one else's ideas, what is all this thought of position and hope of wealth?

The root of poetry is phantasy, and its beauty lies in the impossible<sup>2</sup>: what can result from the imagining of all these impossible ideas?

Whoever has discovered what shame and modesty are will not boast of superiority on account of a few silly words.

What in the eyes of men of judgment and sense are a hundred sorts of such 'perfection' compared with the good nature of an ordinary well-disposed man?

I grant that the *naẓm* (arrangement, or verse) of the ocean is pearls and mines of precious stones: but what is it compared with the *ṣathr* (scattering, or prose) of the pen of that Lord whose bounty is as that of the ocean?"

<sup>1</sup> *Kamāl* ("Perfection") means especially literary attainments. Cf. pp. 26-7 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs say "the best poetry is that which contains most lies," and the exaggeration characteristic of most Persian panegyrist is notorious. Cf. *Lit. Hist. Persia*, ii, pp. 69-70.

## (2) Mijmar (d. 1225/1810-11).

Sayyid Ḥusayn-i-Ṭabāṭabā'ī of Ardistān near Isfahān, who earned the title of *Mujtahidu'sh-Shu'arā*, is noticed by Riḍā-qulī Khān in all three of his above-mentioned works. He owed his introduction to the Persian Court to his fellow-townsmen and fellow-poet Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb *Nashdt*, who survived him by eighteen or nineteen years. He appears to have died young, for Riḍā-qulī Khān, after praising his verse, of which but a small collection was left, says that "had he lived longer, he would probably have attained the utmost distinction," but even as it is he is one of the five poets of this period whom my accomplished old friend Ḥājji Mīrzā Yaḥyā of Dawlatābād placed in the first class<sup>1</sup>. Copies of his poems are rare, but the British Museum possesses a manuscript of his *Kulliyāt*, or collected works<sup>2</sup>. I can find nothing very noteworthy in Riḍā-qulī Khān's selections, but the two following riddles, the first on the Wind and the second on the Pen, taken from the *Tadhkira i-Dilgushā*, may serve as specimens of his work.

## لُغز باد

چیست آن پیکِ مبارکِ مقدمِ فرخِ جناب  
روز و شب اندر تحرکِ سال و مه اندر شتاب  
نافه‌اش در دامن و اندر گریبان‌ش عبیر  
عنبرش در جیب و اندر آستینش مشکِ ناب  
رهروی بی پا و سردیوانه بی عقل و هوش  
عاشقی بی خان و مان آواره بیخورد و خواب

<sup>1</sup> See p. 225 *supra*. The others are *Furūghī*, *Ṣabā* (not *Ṣafā*), *Nashdt*, and *Qā'ānī* in the first class; *Wiṣāl* and Riḍā-qulī Khān *Hidāyat* in the second; and *Wiqār* and *Surūsh* in the third.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 3543. See *B.M.P.S.*, No. 354, pp. 222-3.

کس نمیداند که از عشقِ که باشد بیقرار'

کس نمی یابد که از هجرِ که دارد اضطراب'

آب از او چون دلِ عشاق از زلفِ بُتـان'

گاه باشد در سلاسل که بود در پیچ و تاب'

مُرده که از او زمین و زنده که از او جهان'

چون قوی از پیری و همچون طبیعت از شباب'

"What is that messenger of auspicious advent and fortunate presence who is moving every day and night and hastening every year and month?

Who carries musk-pods in his skirt and perfume in his collar, ambergris in his pocket, and pure musk in his sleeve?

A traveller without foot or head, a madman without sense or reason, a lover without abode or habitation, a wanderer without food or sleep.

None knoweth for love of whom he is so restless; none discovereth through separation from whom he is so troubled.

Through him water becomes, like the hearts of lovers through the tresses of their idols, now wreathed in chains, now twisted and tormented.

Now the earth dies through him, and again the world lives through him, like the faculties through old age and like the nature through youth."

### لُغزِ قَلَمِ

کُلْبَنِ بَاغِ نَفْسِ نَاطِقَهـرَا' مَن بَکِی اَبْرِ گُوهرِ افشَانَم'

هَم شَکَر رِیزِ و هَم عَمِیرِ افشَان' لَبِ دِلدَارِ و زَلْفِ جَانَانَم'

دَر دُرِ افشَانِی و کَمَرِ رِیزِی' طَبِیعِ دَسْتورِ و دَسْتِ سُلْطَانَم'

"To the rose-bush of the garden of the reasoning faculty I am a cloud raining down pearls,

Both pouring forth sugar and diffusing perfume [like] the darling's lips and the sweetheart's tresses.

In scattering pearls and pouring forth jewels I am [like] the nature of the Minister and the hand of the King."

(3) Şabā (d. 1238/1822-3).

Fath-'Alī Khān of Kāshān, with the pen-name of Şabā, was poet-laureate (*Maliku'sh-Shu'arā*) to Fath-'Alī Shāh.

Riḍā-qulī Khān, who mentions him in all three of his works, says that no poet equal to him

had appeared in Persia for nearly seven hundred years, and that some critics prefer his *Shahinshāh-nāma* to the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī<sup>1</sup>. He also composed a *Khudā-wand-nāma*, an *Ibrat-nāma*, and a *Gulshan-i-Şabā*, while his *Dīwān* is said to comprise ten or fifteen thousand verses. He was for a time governor of Qum and Kāshān, but latterly devoted himself entirely to the Shāh's service. In his youth he was the pupil of his fellow-townsmen the poet Şabāhī, who was a contemporary of Hātif and Ādhar, and died, according to the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā*, in 1206/1791-2. His eldest son Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān, poetically surnamed 'Andalīb ("Nightingale"), succeeded him in the laureateship. His poetry, being mostly panegyric, has little attraction for us, but is extraordinarily melodious, as the following extract from a *qaṣīda* quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Dilgushā* (which I think it unnecessary to translate, since the beauty lies in the form only) will show:

عیدست و عشرت را بقا بردرگه شه ره نما'

در دم نوای مَرَحبا بر لب سرودِ آفرین'

عیدست و شاهان جهان گویان بهم در آستان'

بر خاست بانگِ بارهان بنشست شاهِ راد هین'

عیدست و از نوبت سرا آوازِ کوس و بانگِ نای'

در کاخِ هفت اختر صدا در کاسِ نه گردون طنین'

شهرزادگان خورشید فر بر کله' پروین سپر'

بر جانسان پا تا بسر در آفرین جان آفرین'

<sup>1</sup> *Riyādu'l-'Arifin*, p. 264. The *Shahinshāh-nāma* was lithographed in Bombay in 1890.

بر ز آسمان‌شان پایگه بل آسمان‌شان خاک ره،  
 دیدار رشکِ مهر و مه گفتار رازِ داد و دین،  
 شهرا مهین بر آستان با شه سرایان داستان،  
 گوهر فشان بر آستان چندانکه شه از آستین،  
 فضل و هنر آب و گلش آسان از آن هر مشکش،  
 گنجِ جواهر در دلش گنجورِ قدرت را دفین،  
 در پیشداهی کآسمان بنهاده سر در آستان،  
 عکسی از آن باغِ جنان فرشی برآن عرشِ برین،  
 شاهنشہ فرخنده خو با صدرِ اعظم راز گو،  
 گلبرگِ رُو کافور مُو آن پس نگر این پیش بین،  
 برجیس سان خورشید سا آن در سخن این در سخا،  
 چون پورِ پیر برخیا چون رودِ رادِ آب‌تین،<sup>1</sup>  
 کار آگهی فرخ لقا از آن صفاهان در صفا،  
 بر رنجِ درویشی دوا بر گنجِ سلطانی امین،  
 برتر ز گردون پایه‌اش افزون ز آنچر مایه‌اش،  
 زین دو بهین پیرایه‌اش روی نکو رای رزین،  
 زیبِ بساط شه نشاط آری نشاط و انبساط،  
 اطفالِ معنی را قماط از کلک و از حبر انگبین،  
 هر طفلِ معنی کآورد گر بخردش از جان خرد،  
 نهدد بلی چون بگذرد ناقص ثمن مثنی ثمین

<sup>1</sup> The "aged son of Barkhiyá" is Āṣaf, Solomon's *Wazir*; the "noble son of Ābtín" is the legendary King Firídún. I have made a slight but necessary emendation in the penultimate and antepenultimate words of this line.

## (4) Nashāt (d. 1244/1828-9).

Passing over Mírzá Muḥammad-qulí Afshár *Ulfat* (d. 1240/1824-5) and Āqá 'Alí Ashraf *Āgáh* (d. 1244/1828-9), the younger brother of the poet *Bismil*, both of whom were personally known to Ridá-qulí Khán, we come to Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Iṣfahán, celebrated as a calligraphist as well as a poet, and master of the three languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. After nearly ruining himself by his prodigal hospitality and liberality to poets, mystics and men of letters, he gained the favour of Fath-'Alí Sháh, who conferred on him the title of *Mu'tamadu'd-Dawla*. He excelled in the *ghazal*, and his best-known work is entitled *Ganjína* (the "Treasury"). The following chronogram gives the date of his death (A.H. 1244):

از قلب جهان نشاط رفته،

"Nashāt (Joy) hath departed from the heart of the world."

## (5) Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim Qā'im-maqám (put to death in 1251/1835).

Two eminent men, father and son, bore this title (of which the literal meaning is exactly equivalent to "lieutenant," in the sense of vicar or deputy), Mírzá 'Ísá of Faráhán, called Mírzá Buzurg, who acted as Deputy Prime Minister to Prince 'Abbás Mírzá and died in 1247/1831-2; and his son Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim, who, on the death of Fath-'Alí Sháh, fell into disgrace, and was put to death by his successor Muḥammad Sháh on June 26, 1835<sup>1</sup>. The latter was, from the literary point of view, the more remarkable, but though he wrote

<sup>1</sup> See R. G. Watson's *History of Persia*, pp. 271-2 and 287-8. His estimate of this Minister's character differs very widely from that of Ridá-qulí Khán.

poetry under the pen-name of *Thand'í*, he is more celebrated as a prose-writer, his numerous published letters being regarded by his countrymen as models of good style. I possess a collection of his writings, both prose and verse, compiled at the instance of the late Prince Farhád Mírzá in 1281/1864-5, and lithographed at Tabríz in 1282/1865-6, of which the letters, addressed to various more or less eminent contemporaries but only occasionally bearing dates<sup>1</sup>, occupy by far the larger portion. Many of them are diplomatic documents of some historical importance, e.g. the apology addressed to the Tsar of Russia for the murder of the Minister Grebaïodoff and his staff at Tīhrán on February 11, 1829<sup>2</sup>, which is here given as a specimen of the Qá'im-maqám's much admired style.

نامه شاهنشاهی بامپراطور اعظم در باب گذشتن خون ایلچی

بآن طور که خواهش کرده بودند

اول دفتر بنام ایزد دانا، صانع پروردگار حقّ و توانا

وجودی بی مثل و مانند مبرا از چون و چند که عادل و عالم است و قاهر هر ظالم پاداش هر نیک و بد را اندازه و حدّ نهاده بحکمت بالغه خود بدکاران را زجر و عذاب کند و نیکوکاران را اجر و ثواب بخشد، و درود نامعدود بر روان پیغمبران راست کار و پیشوایان فرخنده کردار باد، و بعد بر رای حقایق نمای پادشاه ذی جاه انصاف کیش عدالت اندیش تاجدار با زیب و فر شهربار بحر و بر برادر والا گهر خجسته اختر امپراطور ممالک روسیه و مضافات که دولتش با جاه و خطر است و رایتش با فتح و ظفر مخفی و مستور نهاد که ایلچی آن

<sup>1</sup> Shawwál, 1238 (June-July, 1823), is the earliest date I have noticed.

<sup>2</sup> The circumstances are fully given by R. G. Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-57.

دولت را در پای تخت این دولت باقتضای حوادث دهر و غوغای کسان او با جهال شهر آسیمی رسید که تدبیر و تدارک آن بر ذمه کارگذاران این دوست واقعی واجب و لازم افتاد، لهذا اولاً برای تمهید مقدمات عذرخواهی و پاس شوکت و احترام آن برادر گرامی فرزند ارجمند خود خسرو میرزرا بیای تخت دولت بهیه روسیه فرستاد، حقیقت ناگاهی این حادثه و نا آگاهی امنای این دولت را در تلو نامه صادقانه مرقوم و معلوم داشتیم و ثانیاً نظر بکمال یگانگی و اتفاق [که] ما بین این دو حضرت آسمان رفعت هست انتقام ایلچی مزبور را بر ذمت سلطنت خود ثابت دانسته هر کرا از اهالی و سگان دار الخلافه گمان میرفت که درین کار زشت و کردار ناسزا اندک مدخلیتی تواند داشت باندازه استحقاق مورد سیاست و حد و اخراج بلد نمودیم حتی داروغه شهر و کدخدای محله را نیز بهمین جریم که چرا دیر خبردار شده و قبل از وقوع این حادثه ضابطه شهر و محله را محکم نداشته اند عزل و تنبیه و ترجمان کردیم بالاتر از اینها همه پاداش و سزائی بود که نسبت بعالیجناب میرزا مسیح وارد آمد با مرتبه اجتهاد در دین اسلام و اقتفا و اقتدائی که زمره خواص و عوام باو داشتند بواسطه اجتماعی که مردم شهر هنگام حدوث غایله ایلچی در دایره او کرده بودند گذشت و اغماض را نظر باتحاد دولتین شایسته ندیدیم و شفاعت هیچ شفیع و توسط هیچ واسطه در حق او مقبول نیفتاد، پس چون اعلام این گذارش بآن برادر نیکو سیر لازم بود بتحریر این نامه دوستی علامه پرداخته اعلام تفصیل اوضاع را بفرزند مؤید موقت نایب السلطنه عباس میرزا محمول داشتیم امید از درگاه پروردگار داریم که دم بدم مراتب و داد این دو دولت ابدیت بنهاد در

ترقی و ازدیاد باشد و روابط دوستی و یکانگی حضرتین پیوسته  
بآمد و شد رسل و رسایل متأكد و متضاعف گردد و العاقبة  
بالعافیة

تحریراً فی شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۲۴۰

"The Royal Letter to the Most Great Emperor concerning the reparations for the murder of the Envoy in such wise as was desired.

"The beginning of the record is in the Name of the All-Knowing God, The Living and All-Powerful Creator and Provider,—

—that Peerless and Incomparable Being, exempt from every 'how' and 'how much', Who is just and wise, and subdueth every wrongdoer, Who hath set a measure and limit to the recompense of every good and evil deed, and Who, by His far-reaching wisdom, reproveth and punisheth the doers of evil, and rewardeth and recompenseth the well-doers. And countless blessings be upon the spirits of the righteous Prophets and beneficent Leaders<sup>2</sup>.

*But to proceed.* Be it not hidden and concealed from the truth-discerning judgment of that most eminent, equitable, and just King, that brilliant and glorious Sovereign, that Lord of land and sea, my noble-natured and fortunate-starred brother, the Emperor of the Russian domains and their dependencies, whose rule is mighty and glorious, and whose standards are triumphant and victorious, that a disaster hath overtaken the Envoy of that State in the capital of this, by impulse of the vicissitudes of the time and the quarrels of his people with certain ignorant townfolk, for which it is incumbent and obligatory on the acting officials of this Government to make reparation and give satisfaction. Therefore, in order to express our preliminary apologies and to satisfy the self-respect and honour of that esteemed brother, I have sent my dearly beloved son Khusraw Mírzá<sup>3</sup> to the capital of the glorious Russian State. In the course of a friendly letter we have expressed and explained the truth as to the suddenness of

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* transcending quality and quantity.

<sup>2</sup> As the letter is addressed to a Christian sovereign, the usual specific mention of Muḥammad is replaced by this more general phrase.

<sup>3</sup> See R. G. Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-6. He was the son of 'Abbás Mírzá and therefore the grandson of Faṭḥ-'Alí Sháh.

this tragedy and the non-complicity of those responsible for the conduct of our Government; and secondly, having regard to the perfect accord and agreement existing between these two Heaven-high Courts, we have recognized it as incumbent on Our Royal Person to avenge the above-mentioned Envoy, and, according to his deserts, have chastised, punished or expelled from the country everyone of the inhabitants and dwellers in our Capital who was suspected of having participated in the slightest degree in this foul deed and improper action. We have even reprimanded and dismissed the chief constable of the city and the headman of the quarter, merely for the crime of being informed too late and of not having established a firmer control over the town before the occurrence of this catastrophe. Beyond all this was the retribution and punishment which befel His Reverence Mírzá Masḥ, notwithstanding the rank of *mujtahid* which he holds in the religion of Islám and the respect and influence which he enjoys alike with gentle and simple, by reason of the assembly made by the townfolk in his circle. Having regard to the concord of our two Governments, we have regarded as improper any overlooking of, or connivance at, such matters, nor hath the intercession or intervention of anyone been admitted in regard to him. Wherefore, since it was necessary to make known this procedure to that brother of goodly disposition, we have applied ourselves to the writing of this friendly letter, committing the elucidation of the details of these events to our divinely aided and favoured son Prince 'Abbás Mírzá, our Viceroy. The hope which we cherish from the Court of God is that every moment the extent of the mutual affection of these two States of ancient foundation may expand and increase, and that the bonds of friendship and unity of these two Courts may be continually confirmed and multiplied by the interchange of messengers and messages: and may the end be in welfare!

"Written in the month of the First Rabí', 1245" (September, 1829).

This letter, although professedly from Faṭḥ-'Alí Sháh, was, of course, really written by the Qá'im-maqám. It must have been gall and wormwood to him to be compelled to write so civilly, indeed so humbly, to the Russians, of whom he says in a poem commemorating a Persian victory by 'Abbás Mírzá over them and the Turks<sup>1</sup>:

"Rás-i-manḥús."

<sup>1</sup> *Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥá*, ii, p. 88.

رومِ شوم و روسِ منحوس از دو جانب،

قصدهشان تسخیرِ آذربایجان شد

"The unlucky Turks and the ill-starred Russians on either side attempted the subjugation of Ádharbáyján,"

and in one of his letters to Mírzá Buzurg of Núr, written after the conclusion of peace with Russia (probably in 1243/1828), he laments that he no longer dares speak of the "*Rús-i-manhús*" (the "sinister" or "ill-starred Russians"):

تالان سیم که در مقدمهٔ روس میترسم بگویم منحوس

A later, greater, and more virtuous, but equally unfortunate, Persian Prime Minister, Mírzá Taqí Khán *Amtr-i-Kabir*<sup>1</sup>, still further simplified the style of official correspondence; but the *Qá'im-maqám's* letters, though they may not strike one unused to the flowery effusions of the preceding age as very simple, mark an immense advance on the detestable rhodomontades which had for too long passed as eloquent and admirable, and probably deserve the high esteem in which, as already mentioned, they are held by the best contemporary Persian taste and judgment. A critical annotated edition of these letters would be of considerable literary and historical value, and might with advantage engage the attention of some Persian scholar whose interests are not confined to a remote past.

(6) Wişál (d. 1262/1846) and his sons.

I have already mentioned Wişál, some of whose gifted sons and grandsons I was privileged to meet at Shíráz in the spring of 1888. He is generally regarded by his countrymen as one of the most eminent of the modern poets, and both Riḏá-qulí Khán, who devotes lengthy notices to him in all three of his works,

Wişál (d. 1262/  
1846) and his  
sons.

<sup>1</sup> For a most favourable sketch of his character, see R. G. Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-6.

and the poet Bismil, the author of the *Tadhkira-i-Dilgushá*, were personally acquainted with him, the latter intimately. His proper name was Mírzá [Muḥammad] Shaff', but he was commonly entitled "Mírzá Kúchuk," and he was a native of Shíráz. Bismil speaks in the most glowing terms of his skill in calligraphy and music as well as in verse, wherein he holds him "incomparable" (*admu'l-mithál*), and praises his lofty character and fidelity in friendship, but describes him as "rather touchy" (*andak zú'd-ranj*), a description illustrated by Riḏá-qulí Khán's remark (in the *Rawḍatu's-Şafá*) that he was much vexed when the Sháh, meaning to praise him, told him that he was "prodigal of talents<sup>1</sup>." He is said to have written twelve thousand verses, which include, besides *qaşıdas* and *ghazals*, the *Bazm-i-Wişál* and the continuation and completion of Waḥshí's *Farḥad u Shírín*, described as "far superior to the original<sup>2</sup>." He also translated into Persian the *Aṭwá-qu'dh-Dhahab* ("Collars of Gold") of Zamakhsharí. Bismil, who professes to have read all his poems, only cites the relatively small number of 213 couplets, of which the following are fairly typical, and afford a good instance of what Persian rhetoricians call the "attribution of praise in the form of blame," for the *qaşıda* begins:

"The sea, the land, heaven and the stars—  
Each one of them declares the King a tyrant—

an opening calculated to cause consternation to courtiers, until it is stated that the sea considers itself wronged by his liberality, the mountain because he has scattered its hoarded gold like dust, the stars because they are eclipsed in number and splendour by his hosts, and so forth. As

<sup>1</sup> باسراف در کمالات نسبت داد

<sup>2</sup> فرهاد و شیرین وحشی را تمام فرموده و کمال فصاحت ظاهر نموده و بمراتب به از وحشی گفته



such far-fetched conceits can hardly be made attractive in translation, I again confine myself to quoting a few lines of the original:

هرکس شها ز بحر و بر و چرخ و اخترست،  
 اقرار میکنند که خسرو ستمگوست،  
 ز آنها یکیست بحر که نالد ز دست شاه،  
 کآبم ازو برفت و کنون خاک بر سرست،  
 اندخته‌ام تمام بپردخت و خود نگفت،  
 کاین سنگریزه نیست که مرجان و گوهرست،  
 دریا نشست و کوه بر آورد سر که داد،  
 زین شاه جود همیشه مرا دل پر آدرست،  
 بر من هر آنچه رفت بدریا ز شه نرفت،  
 مرجان کجا بپایه یاقوت احمرست،  
 لعلی که جز بر افسر شاهان حرام باد،  
 بی آب تر ز افسر شاهانش بر درست،  
 ز مرا ندیدی و آن عزتی که داشت،  
 با خاک ره ز جود وی اکنون برابرست،  
 کوه‌است و سنگ خویش کنون از سخای شاه،  
 و آن نیز پیش حلم وی از گاه کمترست،  
 افراخت چرخ سر که مرا شکوه بیشتر،  
 برفش فزون ترست که بامش فزون ترست،  
 اختر مرا شمار نه و پیش لشکرش،  
 اختر مگو که مهره چندم بخش درست،  
 خورشیدرا که چشم و چراغ زمانه بود،  
 آتش بدل ز مجمر شاهش چو مجمرست،

تا کرد شیر رایتش آهنگ آسمان،  
 شیر من از هراس چو رویاه لاغرست،  
 از پیش نسر گرسنه چشمم بباز شاه،  
 صد عجز نامه بیش ببال کبوترست،  
 این شاه نیست دشمن بحرست و معدنست،  
 این شاه نیست آفت چرخ است و اخترست،

Wişál's *Farhád u Shírlín* has been lithographed, and ample selections from his poems are given by Riḍá-qull Khán in his *Riyádu'l-'Arifín* (pp. 337-50) and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* (ii, pp. 528-48), which latter work also contains (pp. 548-58) an ample notice of his eldest son Wiqár, who was presented to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh in 1274/1857-8 at Tíhrán, where his biographer met him again "after twenty years' separation." The same work contains notices of Wiqár's younger brothers, Mírzá Maḥmúd the physician, poetically named Ḥakím (d. 1268/1851-2: pp. 102-5), and Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim Farhang, of whom I have already spoken (p. 300 *supra*), but not of the three other brothers Dáwarí, Yazdání and Himmat. The following fine *musammaṭ* by Dáwarí, copied for myself in the house of the late Nawwáb Mírzá Ḥasan 'Alí Khán at Tíhrán early in the year 1888, and, as it has never been published, and I know of no other copy in Europe, I cannot resist the temptation of here assuring a survival hitherto so precarious, for it was copied on a loose half-sheet of note-paper which I only accidentally came across just now while searching for something else.

يك چند جدا از برم آن شوخ پسر بود،  
 از وی نه نشان بود مرا و نه خبر بود،