

با موکب منصور همانا بسفر بود،
 از حسرت او آتش شوقم بجگر بود،
 شبهای فراقم ز شب گور بتر بود،
 روزم ز غم هجر سیه تر ز شب تار،
 دوشینه همان ز اول شب ناشده پاسی،
 زنگی شب افکنده برخ تیره پلاسی،
 با قیر بیندوده و پوشیده لباسی،
 مه بر سر گردون شده چون سیمین طاسی،
 آمد ز در آن دلبر بی ترس و هراسی،
 یکباره ببرد از دل من انده و تیمار،
 بر بسته میان و زده خنجر بکمر بر،
 مسکین دلم از خنجر تیزش بحد بر،
 سرداری سنجاب پوشیده بب بر،
 چوخای خراسانی آنرا بزیر بر،
 از بس هوس دیدن من داشت بسر بر،
 از ره سوی من آمده با چکمه و شلوار،
 پر خاک سر و زلف و رخ از گرد سپاهش،
 خشکیده دو عناب تر از صدمه راهش،
 از بس نزده شانه بنزلفین سپاهش،
 درهم شده و ریخته بر گرد کلاهش،
 چون کاسه خون سرخ شده چشم سپاهش،
 از صدمه بیخوابی و از زحمت بسیار،
 يك دسته گل سرخ ره آورد سفر داشت،
 از سنبل تر نیز یکی دسته بسر داشت،

از لعل بدخشانی يك حقه کهر داشت،
 از حقه عجبر که یکی تنگ شکر داشت،
 چون از دل بیمار من خسته خبر داشت،
 در تنگ شکر داشت دواي دل بیمار،
 گفتم صنما گرچه بسی رنج کشیدی،
 صد شکر که شاد آمدی و نیک رسیدی،
 جان رهی از دست غمان باز خریدی،
 برگو که در این راه چه کردی و چه دیدی
 در موکب منصور چه دیدی و شنیدی،
 چون بود سرانجام و چه شد عاقبت کار،
 گفتا که نبودى و ندیدی که چه سان بود،
 نخجیر که شاه یکی (الهستان بود،
 هر گوشه ز خون دجله بغداد روان بود،
 تا چشم همی کار کند تیر و کمان بود،
 تا ابر همی جای دهد گرز و سنان بود،
 نه دشت پدیدار بد از لاش و نه کُھسار،
 دلها همه آسوده ز رنج و ز حزن بود،
 در دشت و بیابان همه گل بود و سمن بود،
 کبک دری از هر طرفی قهقهه زن بود،
 نخجیر که از آهو چون دشت ختن بود،
 اینها همه از بخت شه شیر شکن بود،
 کاقبال وی افزوده بود بختش بیدار،
 بخ بخ چه تماشائی و وه وه چه شکاری،
 آراسته صحرا و بیابان چو نگاری،

گیتی بزمستان شده چون تازه بهاری،
هر گوشه ز آهو و ز نخچیر قطاری،

هر آهوئی آویخته از ترك سواری،
چون لاش بقناره، قصاب نگویند سار،

This poem is simple, sonorous and graphic; the court page, who has just returned from accompanying the Sháh on a winter hunting-expedition, and is in so great a hurry to visit his friend the poet that he enters in his riding-breeches and boots (*bá chakma wa shalwár*), with hair still disordered and full of dust, and eyes bloodshot from the glare of the sun, the hardships of exposure, and lack of sleep, bringing only as a present from the journey (*rah-dward-i-safar*) roses and hyacinths (his cheeks and hair), rubies of Badakhshán (his lips), and a casket of pearls (his teeth), is a vivid picture; and if a description of the Royal massacre of game reminds us of the immortal Mr Bunker's Bavarian battue¹, we must remember that the wholesale slaughters of game instituted by Chingiz Khán the Mongol in the thirteenth century, whereof the tradition still survives to some extent, were on a colossal scale, altogether transcending any European analogy².

In 1887, the year before I met Dáwarí's brother Farhang at Shíráz, two of his unpublished poems were shown to and copied by me in London. One was a *qaṣṭda* in praise of Queen Victoria, composed on the occasion of her Jubilee, which I was asked to translate so that it might perhaps be brought to her notice, a hope not fulfilled. The other, composed in May of the same year (Sha'bán, 1304), contained a quaint description

Farhang's
description
of Paris.

¹ See J. Storer Clouston's *Lunatic at Large* (shilling edition, 1912, p. 241).

² See Baron d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* (the Hague and Amsterdam, 1834), vol. i, pp. 404-6; and p. 59, n. 2 *supra*.

of Paris, laudatory for the most part, but concluding with some rather severe reflections on the republican form of government. It differs widely from the poems of Farhang cited in the *Majma'ul-Fuṣahá* (ii, pp. 384-8), is full of French words, and produces, as was probably intended, a somewhat comic and burlesque effect. It contains 78 verses and is too long to be cited in full, but I here give the opening and concluding portions:

چشم بکشا بیا بین انوار،	سوی پاریس از در و دیوار،
دیده راز بین خود بکشای،	تا ببینی ز هر طرف اسرار،
سر آزادگان و آزادی،	حق نموده برایشان اظهار،
همگی خواجه‌های آزادند،	نیست مملوک جمله شان احرار،
همه شهر پادشاه و شنند،	هم زن و مرد و هر صغار و كبار،
همه دارای مکنّت و ثروت،	همه با مال و دولت بسیار،
همه دارای شغل و کار خودند،	نیست در ملک يك نفر بیکار،
همگی صاحبان منصب و شغل،	همه سر کرده و همه سالار،
شهر آراسته چو خلد برین،	باغی آراسته چو باغ بهار،
شب زبس مشعل است و شمع و چراغ،	نیست فرقی میان لیل و نهار،
ماه رویان و گلعداران را،	بنگر از هر طرف قطار قطار،
کوچه‌هایی همه چو باغ ارم،	هر طرف بر نشسته سرو و چنار،
در خیابان و کوچه‌ها بینی،	کُرسی و صندلی دویست هزار،
همه کالسکه‌های پُر دلبر،	همه آواتورها پُر از دلدار،
و چه کالسکه‌ها چو حجله حور،	و چه واتورها های خوش رفتار،
از ترم و آ و آمبوس بسی،	هست چندان که ناید او بشمار،
ز اول شهر تا باخر شهر،	در خیابان و کوچه و بلوار،
گوئیا حجله ز قصر بهشت،	می برندش همی یمین و یسار،

¹ Voiture.

² Tramway.

³ Omnibus.

⁴ Boulevard.

حجله^۱ پُر ز حوریانِ بهشت، دور آن حجله بر نشسته قطار،
هر طرف بگذری گل و نسرین، هر طرف بنگری گل و گلزار،
* * * * *
از گل و عطر و بوی ریحانها، گشته پاریس طبله^۲ عطار،
* * * * *
تا نیائی و خود نه بینی تو، نکنی بر کلام من اقرار،
* * * * *
راست گویند و راست کردارند، راستیشان شده همیشه شعار،
هرچه گیرند و هرچه بفروشند، راست گویند در همه بازار،
کس نکوید کلام نا مربوط، نشود کس کلام نا هنجار،
مهربانی و لطف و خوشخوئی، همه با یکدگر کنند ایثار،
همه^۳ خلق عیسوی مذهب، همه ملک عیسوی آثار،
همه روحانی و مسیحائی، همه در کیش و دین خود هشیار،
در کلیسا برای خدمت دین، هر کشیشی نموده استظهار،
آن یکی طیلسان کشیده بسر، آن یکی بسته بر کمر زَنار،
در کلیسای^۱ نتر دام دیدم، معتکف مردی نماز گذار،
صورتی نقش کرده بر لوحی، شکل عیسی کشیده بر سر دار،
سجده گاه همه همان صورت، قبله گاه همه همان دیوار،
از سر صدق و از سر اخلاص، همه در دین خویش بر خوردار،
همه پاک و منزه و خوشخوی، همه عیسی صفت همه احرار،
همه در کار خویشان محکم، همه در شغل خویشان مختار،
همه در مشورت بهم هر رای، همه در گفتگوی بهم همکار،
همه با عقل و هوش و با تدبیر، همه با علم و دانش و افکار،
لیک با این همه صنایع و علم، رمزکی گویمت بکن اقرار،

¹ *Notre-Dame*

حکمت و طبشان دروغ بود، کس ندیده که به شود بیمار،
همه شان پادشاه و سلطانند، زین سبب نیست سلطنت در کار،
شهرشان منضبط نه با سلطان، فوجشان منتظر نه با سردار،
قومی از عاقلان و دانایان، متفق میروند در دربار،
مجلسی منعقد برای همه، می نشینند متحد گفتار،
گفتگوی میکنند در هر امر، مشورت میزنند در هر کار،
مجلسی منعقد ز هفت صد تن، همگان عاقلان و کار گذار،
متفق قول و متفق کارند، متفق رای و متفق گفتار،
نام این جمع و نام این مجلس، گشته جمهور در همه اقطار،
همه دولت فرانسه را، قوم جمهور می دهند مدار،
بعد لوئی فلیپ و ناپلیان، کس نکرده بسلطنت اقرار،
همه سلطان دولت خویشند، همگی پادشاه ملک مدار،
از ره علم و از ره دانش، نیست کاری برایشان دشوار،
هرچه این گوید آن دگر شنود، نبودشان به قبل هر انکار،
گفتم این شعرها مه شعبان، سال هجری هزار و سیصد و چار،

Lack of space compels me to pass over several poets of some note, such as Āqá Muḥammad Ḥasan *Zargar* ("the Goldsmith") of Iṣfahán, who died in 1270/1853-4¹; Āqá Muḥammad '*Áshiq*, a tailor, also of Iṣfahán, who died at the age of seventy in 1281/1864²; Mírzá Muḥammad '*Alí Surúsh* of Sidih, entitled *Shamsu'sh-Shu'ard*, who died in 1285/1868-9³; and Āqá Muḥammad '*Alí Jayhún* of Yazd, of whose life I can find no particulars save such as can be gleaned from his verses, but who composed, besides numerous poems of

¹ See *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, ii, pp. 151-2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 346-9.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-95.

various types, a prose work entitled *Ẓammiyyat* ("the Salt-cellar") on the model of the *Gulistán*, and whose complete works were lithographed at Bombay in 1316/1899, making a volume of 317 pp. Others who are reckoned amongst the poets were more distinguished in other fields of literature, such as the historians Riḍá-qulí Khán *Hidáyat*¹, so often cited in this chapter (born 1215/1800, died 1288/1871-2), and Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí *Sipíhr* of Káshán², entitled *Lisánu'l-Mulk* ("the Tongue of the Kingdom"), author of the *Násikhū't-Tawárikh* ("Abrogator of Histories") and of another prose work entitled *Baráhtnu'l-'Ajám* ("Proofs of the Persians"); the philosopher Hájji Mullá Hádí of Sabzawár, who was born in 1212/1797-8, wrote a small amount of verse under the pen-name of *Asrár* ("Secrets"), and died in 1295/1878³; and others. Of the remaining modern representatives of the "Classical School" Qá'ání is by far the most important, and after him Yaghmá, Furúghí and Shaybání, of whom some account must now be given.

(7) Qá'ání (d. 1270/1853-4).

Qá'ání is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the nineteenth century. He was born at Shíráz about 1222/1807-8, for, according to his own statement at the end of the *Kitáb-i-Paríshán*, he completed that work on Rajab 20, 1252 (October 31, 1836), being then two or three months short of thirty years of age:

¹ His autobiography concludes the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, ii, pp. 581-678.

² *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 156-81.

³ See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 131-4; and the *Riyāḍu'l-'Ariftn*, pp. 241-2, which, however, puts his birth in 1215/1800-1, and adds that he was sixty-three years of age at the time of writing (1278/1861-2).

سدر که از یاری یردانِ من
جمع شد اوراقِ پَریشانِ من
نیست درو عاریتِ هیچ کس
خاصّ منست آنچه درو هست و بس
جز دو سه بیتی ز عرب وز عجم
کآمده جاری بزبانِ قلم
خاصّه که در طّی عبارت همی
رفته بدانجمله اشارت همی
تا ز حسودان نرسد ذق مرا
سخره باطل نشود حق مرا
رفته ز ماهِ رجب آیام بیست
پنجه و دو سال و هزار و دو بیست
کم بود از سی دو سه مه سالِ من
لیک بسی خسته بود حالِ من
بسکه ز غم کوزتر از هاله‌ام
راست چو پیرانِ نود ساله‌ام
لیک غمِ من غمِ عشقست و بس
ز آنکه چُز او نیست کسمر داد رس
شادی عالم همه در این غم‌است
عاشق ازین غم بجان خرم است
غم اگر اینست فزونتر خوش است
هر صفتِ قند مکرر خوش است
هر که ازین غم بدش پرتوی است
در نظرش مُلکِ دو عالم جوی است
بارب ازین غم دل من شاد کن
وز غم دنیا دلم آزاد کن

His proper name was Ḥabīb, under which he originally wrote, and which he uses as his *takhalluṣ*, or *nom de guerre*, in many of his earlier poems. Later when he and Mírzá ‘Abbás of Bistám, who originally wrote under the pen-name of Miskín, had attached themselves to Ḥasan ‘Alí Mírzá *Shujá’u’s-Saltána*, for some time Governor of Khurásán and Kirmán, that prince changed their pen-names respectively to Qá’ání and Furúghí, after his two sons Ogotáy Qá’án and Furúghu’d-Dawla¹.

Qá’ání was born at Shíráz. His father, Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí, was also a poet who wrote under the pen-name of Gulshan. Though Qá’ání was but a child when he died, his statement in the *Kitáb-i-Paríshán*² that “though thirty complete years have elapsed since the death of my father, I still imagine that it was but two weeks ago” cannot be reconciled with the other statement quoted above that he was not yet thirty when he completed the book in question. The *Tadhkíra-i-Dilgushá* consecrates articles to both father and son, but unfortunately in my manuscript the last two figures of the date of Gulshan’s death are left blank, while it is also omitted in the notice contained in the *Majma’u’l-Fuṣahá*³, which is very meagre.

About Qá’ání’s seemingly uneventful life there is not much to be said. He appears to have spent most of it at Shíráz, where in the spring of 1888 I had the honour of occupying the room in the house of the Nawwáb Mírzá Ḥaydar ‘Alí Khán which he used to inhabit; and, as we have seen, he resided for some time at Kirmán. The latter part of his life, when he had established himself as a recognized Court poet, was spent at Tíhrán, where he died in

¹ *Majma’u’l-Fuṣahá*, ii, p. 394.

² Tíhrán lithographed edition of Qá’ání’s works of 1302/1884-5, p. 35.

³ Vol. ii, p. 426.



ḤÁJJI MÍRZÁ AQÁSÍ

1270/1853-4. Two of his latest poems must have been those which he wrote to celebrate the escape of Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh from the attempt on his life made by three Bábís on August 15, 1852, quoted in my *Traveller's Narrative*¹.

Qá'ání is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles. Not only does he flatter great men while they are in power, and turn and rend them as soon as they fall into disgrace, but he is prone to indulge in the most objectionable innuendo and even the coarsest obscenity. In numerous *qaştdas* he extols the virtues and justice of Hájji Mírzá Áqásí², the Prime Minister of Muhammad Sháh, but in a *qaştda* in praise of his successor Mírzá Taqí Khán *Amír-i-Kabír* he alludes to the fallen minister thus :

بجای ظالمی شقی نشسته عادلی تقی
 که مؤمنان متقی کنند افتخارها

"In the place of a vile tyrant is seated a just and God-fearing man,
 In whom pious believers take pride."

Of his innuendo the following is a good specimen :

خندان خندان دوید و پیش من آمد
 دوخت دو لب بر لبم که بوسه بزن ها
 الحق شرر آمدم بدین لب منکر
 بوسه زدن بر لبی چو لاله حمرا
 کاین لب همچون زلوی من نه سزا بود
 بر لبکی سرخ تر ز خون مصفا

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 325-6.

² Tihrán ed. of 1302/1884-5, pp. 19, 35, 40, 41, 43, 70, 82, 94, 95, 115, 123, 130 etc.

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¹ Vol. ii, pp. 325-6.

² Tíhrán ed. of 1302/1884-5, pp. 19, 35, 40, 41, 43, 70, 82, 94, 95, 115, 123, 130 etc.

جميع مست و غزلخوان ولی نه از باده،
 تمام محو و پریشان ولی نه از افیون،
 ۷۰ چگونه داد خیر دانیال از امروز،
 چگونه کرد اثر قول اشعیا اکنون،
 چگونه گشت وفا وعده، جميع کتب،
 بطبق مصحف و تورات و صحف وانگلیون،
 گهی بدار سلام و گهی باورشلمیم،
 گهی بکرمل و گاهی ادومر و گه صیون،
 معین آمده ارض مقدس مسعود،
 مؤرخ آمده یوم مبارک میمون،
 وَ كَيْفَ جَاءَ لَنَا الْحَقُّ كَمَا أَشَارَ لَنَا،
 نَبِيَّنَا الْعَرَبِيِّ وَالْأُمَّةَ الْهَادُونَ،
 ۷۰ چسان بوعده جمال قدم نمود جمال،
 از آن جمال مبارک زمانه یافت شگون،
 چگونه گشت عیان حق بوادی و آلتین،
 چگونه گشت پدید او بکوه و آلتیون،
 چگونه بی سپه او قاهر است و کل مقهور،
 چگونه یکتنه او غالب است و خلق زبون،
 سروده بی سبب علم خوشترین آیات،
 نهاده بی مدد غیر بهترین قانون،
 چرا ندیده باو صد هزار جان قربان،
 چرا ندیده باو صد هزار دل مفتون،
 ۸۰ ز جنبش قلمش جنبش قلوب و صدور،
 ز رامش نظرش رامش ظهور و بطون،
 عائم علما مشعلش نکرد خموش،
 کتاب امرا رایتش نکرد نگون،

ببین رود سخنش در جهان چو در تن جان،
 ببین جهد اثرش در روان چو در رگ خون،
 خصومت خصما آب سوده در هاون،
 رقابت رقبا باد بوده بر هامون،
 ثبوت حکمش در قلب با روان همد،
 دوام امرش در دهر با قرون مقرون،
 ۸۰ چدونه آتشی افروخته است در دلها،
 که هیچ آب نیارد نشاندن این کانون،
 گرفته حکمش روی زمین و زیر زمین،
 گذشته صیتش از چین و هند و از ژاپون،
 بیک نظر بکشوده دو صد بلاد و بلوک،
 بیک قلم بستانده صد قلاع و حصون،
 چگونه کرد بپا محفلی بدعوت دین،
 که تا بحشر نگردند منهی از ناهون،
 پی بنای شریعت ز کس نخواست مدد،
 بلی نداشت بپا آسمان خدا بستون،
 ۹۰ بفضل و رحمتش اقرار کی نمائی کی،
 بعلم و قدرتش انکار چون نمائی چون،
 تو خود که نظم بیک خانواده نتوانی،
 مکن معارضه با ناظم جميع قرون،
 تو خود که مصلحت کار خود نمیدانی،
 مکن لجاج بسطان ملک کن فیکون،
 تو با پدر بستیزی بیک پشیز ضرر،
 دهند در ره او مال و جان وزو ممنون،
 هزار حیف که دارم درین قوافی تنگ،
 هزار نکته که نتوان نمودنش موزون،

۹۰ سخن ز دست شد و درد دل تمام نشد،
 روم دو باره کنون بر سر همان مضمون،
 مرا دلیست در این روزگار بو قلمون،
 فریب خورده، باز چیه‌های گوناگون،
 زمانه جلوه کند رنگ رنگ چون طاوس،
 سپهر عشوه دهد گونه گون چو بو قلمون،
 بس است تابشت ای مهر شد دلبر بریان،
 بس است گردش ای چرخ شد تنم مطحون،
 مرا سرپست چه سازد باین همه سودا،
 مرا دلیست چه سازد باینهمه افسون،
 ۱۰۰ بجز بجانان جان را کجاست تاب و شکیب،
 بجز بدلبی دل را کجاست صبر و سکون،
 هـی بخویش بگویم که الکمال وبال،
 گهی بخویش بخندم که الجنون فنون،
 دود خیالم گاهی بدشت چون ماشین،
 پرد هوایم گاهی بچرخ چون بالون،
 ز تن گسسته‌ام و جان نمی‌رود از تن،
 ز جان گذشته‌ام و دل نمیشود مأمون،
 دلم گرفت ز ویران سرای فضل و هنر،
 خوشا ممالک عشق و خوشا دیار جنون،
 ۱۰۰ ز پای بُختی بختم عقال عقل گسیخت،
 کجاست لیلی من ای خدا شدم مجنون،
 بجز اراده رحمانی از در قدرت،
 که میتواند از این ورطه‌ام برد بیرون،
 هلا اراده حق من اراده الله است،
 که شد اراده حق با اراده‌اش مقرون،

یگانه عبد بها آنکه از اراده حق،
 إِذَا أَرَادَ لِشَيْءٍ يَقُولُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ،
 شهبی که مارا حق سوی اوست راه نما،
 مهی که مارا سوی حق اوست راه نمون،
 ۱۱۰ خجسته گوهر بحر وصال سر الله،
 که اوست در صدف علم حق در مکنون،
 بنزد فضلش فضل است فاقد الافضال،
 بنزد جودش معن است مانع الماعون،
 عدوی اوست بخود خصم و یار ازو بیزار،
 مطیع اوست ز خود امن و خلق ازو مأمون،
 بوصف طلعت من طاف حوله الأسماء،
 سرودمی سخن او بودمی از او مأذون،
 بمدح ذاتش میگفتم آنچه گفته خدای،
 نه شعر الشعراء يتبعهم الغاؤون،
 ۱۱۰ تو ای خلیفه رحمان و ای سفینه نوح،
 غمین مشو که حقیقت ز نقض شد موهون،
 بعهد حضرت آدم بجور و کین قابیل،
 بدون جرم و گنه ریخت از برادر خون،
 بعهد نوح چو کنعان شکست عهد پدر،
 بذل نفی نسب شد غریق بحر الهون،
 بعهد حضرت یعقوب یوسف صدیق،
 ز کید اخوان در قید بندگی مسجون،
 بعهد حضرت موسی ز سبط اسرائیل،
 یکی چو حضرت هارون و دیگری قارون،
 ۱۲۰ بعهد حضرت روح الله از حواریین،
 یک از جفا چو یهودا یک از صفا شمعون،

گفتمش ای تَرَك داده گیر دو صد بوسه
 كز لبِ لعلِ تو قانعم بتماشا
 روی ترش کرد و گفت كبر فرو هل
 كز تو تولا نكو بود نه تبرا
 شاعر و آنگاه رد بوسه شیرین
 كودك و آنگاه تَرَك جوز مُنقا
 ماذج شاهی تورا رسد كه بروبد
 خاك رخترا بزلفِ تافتة حورا
 بوسه بزن مر مرا ؛ لطف و گزنه
 نزد بُتان سرشكسته گردهم و رسوا
 در همه عَضُومِ مخپیری پی بوسه
 از سرم اینك بگیر و بوسه بزن تا
 بوسه به باشد كه مستحقِ كناری
 شاکرم اینك ببوسه تو ولی با
 روی و لبم هر دو نيك درخور بوسند
 این من و اینك تو یا ببوس لبم یا
 گفتمش ای تَرَك تَرَك این سخنان گوی
 بس کن ازین غمز و رمزو عشوه و ایما

The beauty of Qá'ání's language can naturally only be appreciated by one who can read his poems in the original, which is fortunately easily accessible, as his works have been repeatedly published¹. I have chiefly used the Tíhrán lithographed edition of 1302/1884-5, and in a lesser degree the Tabríz lithographed edition of 1273/1857, and the "Selections...recommended for the Degree of Honour

¹ See E. Edwards's *Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, 1922, columns 237-9.

Examination in Persian" printed at Calcutta in A.D. 1907. Like most of the Qájár poets, he excels chiefly in the *qaṣída*, the *musammaṭ* and the *tarkíb-band*, but the following *ghazal*¹ is extraordinarily graceful and melodious:

یارکی مراست رند و بذله‌گو
 شوخ و دلربا خوب و خوش سرشت
 طره‌اش عبیر پیکرش حریر
 عارضش بهار طلعتش بهشت
 نقش‌بند روح گوئی از نخست
 صورت و لبش تا کشد درست
 لعل‌پاره‌ها ز آب خضر سُست
 پس نمود حل با شکر سرشت
 در قمارِ عشق از من آن پسر
 برده عقل و دین جسم و جان و سر
 هوش و صبر و تاب مال و سیم و زر
 قولِ لوطیان هرچه بود کُشت
 پیش از آنکه خط رویدش ز روی
 بود آن پسر سخت و تند خوی
 وینك از رخس سر زدست موی
 تا از آن خطم چیست سر نوشت
 چون خطش دمید خاطرم فسرد
 كآن صفای حسن شد بدل بَدُرْد
 نكبتِ رخس باغ وُرد بُرْد
 غنچه از لبش داغ و درد هشت
 موی عارضم داشت رنگِ قیر
 در فراقِ او شد بهرنگِ شیر

¹ Tíhrán ed. of 1302, p. 355.

در جوانیم عمر گشت پیر،
 دهر پنبه کرد چرخ هرچه رشت،
 خواهر از خدا در همه جهان،
 يك قفس زمين يك نفس زمان،
 تا بكار دل مای خورم در آن،
 بی حریف بد بی نگار زشت،
 خوش دهد بهار نشأ سرخ مل،
 که کنار رود که فراز پُل،
 که بزیر سرو که بهای گُل،
 که بصحن باغ که بطرف کشت،
 مرد چون شناخت مغز را ز پوست،
 هرچه بنگرد نیست غیر دوست،
 هر کجا رود ملك ملك اوست،
 خواه در حرم خواه در کنشت،
 چون ملك مرا گفت کای حبيب،
 يك غزل بگو نغز و دلفریب،
 پس از آن غزل او برد نصیب،
 زرع زان کس است کز نخست کشت،
 زین عابدین زیب مجد و جاه،
 بنده امیر نیکخواه شاه،
 ملك را شرف خلق را پناه،
 هم ملك لقا هم ملك سرشت،

Wonderful also is the swing and grace of the poem in praise of the Queen-mother (*Mahd-i-'Ulyá*) beginning¹:

بنفشه رسته از زمین بطرف جویبارها،
 و یا گسته حور عین ز زلف خویش تارها،

¹ Tīhrán ed. of 1302, p. 309.

ز سنگ اگر ندیده چه سان جهد شرارها،
 بمرگهای لاله بین میان لاله زارها،
 که چون شراره میجهد ز سنگ کوهسارها،

"Are these violets growing from the ground on the brink of the streams,
 Or have the houris [of Paradise] plucked strands from their tresses?
 If thou hast not seen how the sparks leap from the rock,
 Look at the petals of the red anemones in their beds
 Which leap forth like sparks from the crags of the mountains!"

Not inferior to this is another similar poem in praise of Mīrzá Taqī Khán *Amīr-i-Kabīr*, beginning¹:

نسیم خلد میوزد مگر ز جویبارها،
 که بوی مشک میدهد هوای مرغزارها،
 دراز خاک و خشتها دمیده سبزه کشتها،
 چه کشتها بهشتها نه ده نه صد هزارها،

Instead of the far-fetched and often almost unintelligible conceits so dear to many Persian poets, Qā'ānī prefers to draw his illustrations from familiar customs and common observances, as, for example, in the following verses², wherein allusion is made to various popular ceremonies connected with the *Naw-rúz*, or Persian New Year's Day:

عید شد ساقی بیآ در گردش آور جامرا،
 پشت پا زن دور چرخ و گردش ایامرا،
 سین ساغر بس بود ای توك ما را روز عید،
 گو نباشد هفت سین³ رندان دُرُد آشامرا،

¹ Tīhrán ed. of 1302, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

³ *Haft Sín*. It is customary at the *Naw-rúz* to collect together seven objects whereof the names begin with the letter S, such as *sunbul* (hyacinth), *stb* (apple), *súsan* (lily), *stn* (silver), *stí* (garlic), *sírka* (vinegar), and *sípand* (rue).

خلق را بر لب حدیث جامه نو¹ هست و من
 از شراب کهنه میجویر لبالب جامرا
 هر کسی شکر نهد بر خوان و بر خواند دعا
 من ز لعل شکرینت طالبم دشنامرا
 هر تنی را هست سیم و دانه گندم بدست
 مایلم من دانه خال تو سیم اندامرا
 سیر بر خوانست مردمرا و من از عمر سیر
 بی دلآرامی که برده است از دلم آرامرا
 پسته و بادام نقل روز نوروزست و من
 با لب و چشمت نخواهم پسته و بادامرا
 عود اندر عید میسوزند و من نالان چو عود
 بی بتی کز خال هندو ره زند اسلامرا
 یگدگرا خلق میبوسند و من زین غم هلاک
 کز چه بوسد دیگری آن شوخ شیرین کامرا
 سرکه بردستار خوان خلق و همچون سرکه دوست
 میکند بر ما ترش رنگین ریخ گلفامرا
 خلق را در سال روزی عید و من از چهار شاه
 عید دارم سال و ماه و هفته صبح و شامرا²
 لا جرم این عید خاص من که بادا پایدار
 کَر و فرش بشکند بازار عید عامرا

¹ All the people put on new clothes at this great national festival, distribute sugar-plums amongst their friends, fill their hands with silver and corn, eat pistachio-nuts and almonds, burn aloe-wood and other fragrant substances, and greet one another with kisses.

² The first verse of a poem by Imámí of Herát cited on p. 116 of my *Persian Literature under Tartar dominion* contains a very similar thought.

Qá'ání is also one of the very few Persian poets who has condescended to reproduce actual peculiarities of speech or enunciation, as in his well-known dialogue between an old man and a child both of whom are afflicted with a stammer. This poem, which may more conveniently be transcribed into the Roman character, is as follows¹:

Qá'ání's
stammering
poem.

"Pírákí lál sahar-gáh bi-tífí alkan
 Mí-shunfdam ki badín naw' hamí-ránd sukhan :
 'K'ay zi zulfat sha-sha-shubham sha-sha-shám-i-tárík,
 W'ay zi chíhrat sha-sha-shámam sha-sha-shubh-i-rawshan!
 Ta-ta-tiryákiyam, u az sha-sha-shahd-i-la-labat
 Sha-sha-sabr u ta-ta-tábam ra-ra-raft az ta-ta-tan.'
 Tífí guftá, 'Ma-ma-man-rá tu-tu taqlíd ma-kun!
 Ga-ga-gum shaw zi baram, ay ka-ka-kamtar az zan!
 Mi-mí-khwáhí mu-mu-mushtí bi-ka-kallat bi-zanam,
 Ki biyuftad ma-ma-maghzat ma-mayán-i-da-dihan?'
 Pír guftá, 'Wa-wa-wa'lláhi ki ma'lúm-ast ín
 Ki-ki zádám man-i-bíchára zi mádar alkan!
 Ha-ha-haftád u ha-hashtád u si sál-ast fuzún
 Ga-ga-gung u la-la-lálam ba-bi-Khalláq-i-Zaman!
 Tífí guftá : 'Kha-khudá-rá sha-sha-shad bár sha-shukr
 Ki bi-rastam bi-jahán az ma-la-lál u ma-mihan!
 Ma-ma-man ham ga-ga-gungam ma-ma-mithl-i-tu-tu-tú:
 Tu-tu-tú ham ga-ga-gungí ma-ma-mithl-i-ma-ma-man!"

Besides his poems, Qá'ání wrote a collection of stories and maxims in the style of Sa'dí's *Gulistán* entitled *Kitáb-i-Partshán*, comprising one hundred and thirteen anecdotes, and concluding with thirty-three truly Machiavellian counsels to Kings and Princes. This book, which contains a certain amount of autobiographical material, occupies pp. 1-40 of the Tíhrán lithographed edition of Qá'ání's works, and numerous other editions exist, several of which are mentioned by Mr Edwards in his *Catalogue*².

¹ See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 118-19, and pp. 345-6 of the edition of Qá'ání cited above.

² Columns 237-9.

(8) Furúghí (d. 1274/1858).

Mention has already been made of Mírzá 'Abbás, son of Áqá Músá of Bistám, who wrote verse first under the pen-name of Miskín and later of Furúghí. He is said to have written some twenty thousand verses, of which a selection of some five thousand is placed at the end (pp. 4-75) of the Tīhrán edition (1302/1884-5) of the works of Qá'ání, with whom he was so closely associated. Unlike him, however, he seems to have preferred lyric to elegiac forms of poetry; at any rate the selections in question consist entirely of *ghazals*. According to the brief biography prefixed to them he adopted the Šúfí doctrine in the extremer forms which it had assumed in ancient times with Báyazíd of Bistám and Ḥusayn ibn Mansúr al-Ḥalláj, and so incurred the suspicion and censure of the orthodox. Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh, in the beginning of whose reign he was still flourishing, once sent for him and said, "Men say that like Pharaoh thou dost advance the claim 'I am your Lord the Supreme', and that thou dost openly pretend to Divinity." "This assertion," replied Furúghí, touching the ground with his forehead, "is sheer calumny....For seventy years I have run hither and thither, and only now have I reached the Shadow of God!"¹ The first three verses from the first ode cited seem to me as good and as typical as any others. They run as follows:

کی رفتہ ز دل کہ تمنا کنم ترا
 کی بودہ نہفتہ کہ پیدا کنم ترا
 غیبت نکرده کہ شور طالب حضور
 پنهان نکشته کہ هویدا کنم ترا
 با صد هزار جلوه برون آمدی کہ من
 با صد هزار دیدہ تماشا کنم ترا

¹ *Qur'án*, lxxix, 24.² *I.e.* the King.Furúghí
(d. 1274/1858).His Šúfí
tendencies.

"When didst thou depart from the heart that I should crave for Thee?
 When wert thou hidden that I should find Thee?
 Thou hast not disappeared that I should seek Thy presence:
 Thou hast not become hidden that I should make Thee apparent.
 Thou hast come forth with a hundred thousand effulgences
 That I may contemplate Thee with a hundred thousand eyes."

(9) Yaghmá of Jandaq.

Mírzá Abu'l-Ḥasan of Jandaq, chiefly celebrated for his abusive and obscene verses (*Hazaliyyát*), and commonly known, from his favourite term of coarse invective, as *Zan-qahba*, is the last poet mentioned by the author of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*¹ before the autobiography with which he concludes. He was for some time secretary to a very violent and foul-mouthed nobleman named Dhu'l-Fiqár Khán of Samnán, for whose amusement he is said to have written these offensive poems, collectively known as the *Sardáriyya*². Though he wrote a quantity of serious verse and a number of elegant letters in prose, which are included in the large Tīhrán edition of his works lithographed in 1283/1866-7, it is on his *Hazaliyyát*, or "Facetiae," that his fame or infamy is based. The author of the *Tadhkira-i-Dilgushá*³ devotes but three lines to him, and was not personally acquainted with him, but had heard him well spoken of as "an amiable and kindly man and a good-natured and eloquent youth, who did not believe in making a collection of his poems." Qá'ání attacked him in his own style in the following abusive verses⁴:

هفت اختر ز نقچه و نه کُنبد دوار
 پُرگشته ز زنجبگی مرشدِ اشرار

Qá'ání's attack
on Yaghmá.¹ Vol. ii, p. 580.² These poems, which occupy pp. 204-217 of the Tīhrán lithographed edition of 1283/1866-7, are, however, only a fraction of the *Hazaliyyát*.³ F. 53^b of my MS.⁴ P. 372 of the lithographed Tīhrán edition of 1302/1884-5.

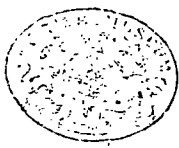
آن شاعر ز نقحبه که یغماش ستایند،
 شعرش همه ز نقحبه و ز نقحبه گیش کار،
 کوئی همه ز نقحبه و از خویش نگوئی،
 خوانی همه ز نقحبه و از خود نه خبردار،
 ز نقحبه تو ز نقحبه تری از همه مردم،
 عالم همه ز نقحبه مجبول و تو مختار،
 عکس تو فتاده است در آینه عالم،
 تا آنکه بز نقحبه گی خود کنی اقرار،

Yaghmá's *Kulliyát*, or Complete Works, as represented in the Tīhrán lithographed edition above mentioned, comprise the following:

A. *Prose writings* (pp. 2-145), consisting of numerous letters written to friends and acquaintances, unfortunately, so far as I have seen, undated. A careful examination of these letters would undoubtedly furnish abundant materials for the poet's biography. Many of them are addressed to unnamed friends, acquaintances or patrons, but some were written to his sons, Mírzá Isma'íl who wrote poetry under the pen-name of *Hunar*, Mírzá Aḥmad *Şafá'í*, Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí *Khaṭar*, and Mírzá Ibráhím *Dastán*, while others were written to men of more or less note whose names are given. In many of these letters he elects to write in pure Persian (*Pārsī-nigāri*), avoiding all Arabic words, while others, called *nāma-i-bastī*, are written in a very simple style.

B. *Verse.*

1. Early odes (*ghazaliyyát-i-qadīma*), pp. 146-183.
2. Later odes (*ghazaliyyát-i-jadīda*), pp. 184-203.
3. The *Sardáriyya* mentioned above (pp. 204-217), written in the *ghazal* form with the pen-name *Sardár*.



Handwritten Persian text in Nasta'liq script, likely an autograph of the poet Yaghmá. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words written in a larger, more decorative hand. The content appears to be a collection of verses or a letter, consistent with the description of the poet's works.

Autograph of the poet Yaghmá

4. The *Qaṣṣabiyya* (pp. 218-231), similar to the last-mentioned work in form and contents, but with the pen-name *Qaṣṣáb* ("Butcher").
5. The *Kitáb-i-Aḥmad* (pp. 232-247), similar to the two last, but with the pen-name *Aḥmad*.
6. The *Khulāṣatu'l-Iftidāh* ("Quintessence of Disgrace," pp. 248-265), an account in *mathnawt* verse of a scandalous incident fully described in a marginal note on p. 248.
7. The *Kitáb-i-Ṣukūku'd-Dalll* (pp. 266-280), another *mathnawt* in the metre of the *Sháhnáma* outwardly praising but inwardly satirizing a certain Sayyid Qanbar-i-*Rawḍa-khwán*, entitled by Yaghmá *Rustamí's-Sádat*.
8. *Maráthi* or Elegies on the deaths of the Imáms (pp. 282-301).
9. *Tarjī-bands* and *Tarkīb-bands* (pp. 302-331), mostly of a ribald character.
10. *Qita'át* or Fragments (pp. 332-355), mostly ribald and satirical.
11. *Rubá'iyyát* or Quatrains (pp. 356-389), also ribald.

The odes, old and new, and the elegies (Nos. 1, 2 and 8 in the above list) constitute the respectable part of Yaghmá's verse, in all about one-third of the whole. As for the rest, with the possible exception of No. 7, it is for the most part not fit to print, much less to translate. The poet's favourite term of abuse *Zan-qahba*, by which he himself is commonly known, is by no means a nice expression, but it is delicacy itself compared with much of the language he employs. On the other hand, his serious odes and elegies show that he can write fine poetry, while his command of language is almost greater than that of Qá'ání, even though the melody of his verse be less. He also appears to have invented a type of *marthiya* or elegy which he calls *Núḥa-i-Sina-zaní*, or Lamentation accom-

Yaghmá's
abusive verse.

His religious
elegies.

panied by beating of the breast. This I supposed till lately to have been one of the new models which sprang into existence after the Revolution of 1905-6, and I gave several specimens of it in my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*¹. The following are the initial lines of eight of Yaghmá's elegies of this type:

ذوچه^۱ سینه زنی^۱

می‌رسد خشک لب از شطّ فرات اکبر من^۱

نو جوان اکبر من^۱

سیلانی بکن ای چشمه^۱ چشمه^۱ تر من^۱

نو جوان اکبر من^۱

کسوتِ عمر تو تا این خمِ فیروزه نمون^۱

لعلی آورد بخون^۱

گیمتی از نیلِ عزا ساخت سیه معجز من^۱

نو جوان اکبر من^۱

تا ابد داغ تو ای زاده^۱ آزاده نهاد^۱

نتوان برد ز یاد^۱

از ازل کاش نمیزاد مرا مادر من^۱

نو جوان اکبر من^۱ آخ

وله ایضاً^۱

شکوه از چرخ ستمگر چکنم گر نکنم^۱ چکنم گر نکنم^۱

گله از گردش اختر چکنم گر نکنم^۱ چکنم گر نکنم^۱

غمِ عباسِ بلاکش چکنم گر نکنم^۱ چکنم گر نکنم^۱

ناله بر حسرتِ اکبر چکنم گر نکنم^۱ چکنم گر نکنم^۱ آخ

¹ See No. 19 (pp. 216-218) and No. 31 (pp. 246-248).

وله ایضاً^۱

در شبست پوشیده بینم روز محشر آفتاب^۱

آفتاب^۱ باز سرکش آفتاب^۱

وز صباحت آشکارا شام دیگر آفتاب^۱

آفتاب^۱ باز سرکش آفتاب^۱

سُست ازین سخت ابتلا ذرات را بالا و پست^۱

هرچه هست^۱ باز راه از کار دست^۱

شرم کن آخر نه^۱ از ذره کمتر آفتاب^۱

آفتاب^۱ باز سرکش آفتاب^۱ آخ

وله ایضاً^۱

کوه و صحرا خضر و شاه کم سیه تنها دریغ^۱

وا دریغ^۱ نصرتِ اعدا دریغ^۱

قلبِ ایمان را شکست و نصرتِ اعدا دریغ^۱

وا دریغ^۱ نصرتِ اعدا دریغ^۱

آه کز بیدولتان دین بدنیا باخته^۱

تاخته^۱ کشت کارش ساخته^۱

پادشاه کشور دین خسرو دنیا دریغ^۱

وا دریغ^۱ نصرتِ اعدا دریغ^۱ آخ

وله ایضاً^۱

محشری بینم عیان در هفت کشور آسمان^۱

آسمان^۱ شرمی آخر آسمان^۱

شام عاشوراست این یا صُبح محشر آسمان^۱

آسمان^۱ شرمی آخر آسمان^۱

آفتابیی شد ز دُورَت تیره اختر آسمان
 آسمان، شرمی آخر آسمان
 با چنین دوران نکردی کاش دیگر آسمان
 آسمان، شرمی آخر آسمان، آخ

و له ایضاً

زین مصیبت نه همین از خاکیان ماتم بهاست
 کی رواست، سرنگون گردی فلک
 چار ارکان شش جهت تا نه فلک ماتم سراسر
 کی رواست، سرنگون گردی فلک
 نعره جن و ملک در ماتم فخر امم
 از قدم تا دم شام عدم
 از ثری هم تا ثریا از ثریا تا تراست
 کی رواست، سرنگون گردی فلک

و له ایضاً

هفته کین مه شَر سالِ دغل قرن دغاست
 خون هدر مال هباست
 شب غم روزِ ستم شامِ الم صبحِ عزاست
 خون هدر مال هباست
 فتنه بیدار و امان خفته و خصم از در کین
 ترکتازان بکمین
 رسته بی شحنه و خوان چیده فرمان یغماست
 خون هدر مال هباست، آخ

و له ایضاً

زاده زهرا بکام زاده مروان نگر
 آه آه، گردش دوران نگر
 این بخواری آن بعزت این بپین و آن نگر
 آه آه، گردش دوران نگر
 آل مروان تیغ بر کف آل یس نقد جان
 زین و آن، گر نظر داری عیان
 نفی حق اثبات باطل کفر بین ایمان نگر
 آه آه، گردش دوران نگر، آخ

This last poem in form most closely approaches No. 19 in my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*.

The above poems are interesting as regards their form. The following, an ordinary *Núha*, or "Lamentation," without refrain, partly in colloquial dialect, is simple and rather beautiful. I quote only the first six of the nineteen verses which it comprises:

دلر از زندگانی سخت سیره، بهیرم هرچه زوتر باز دیره
 زنان را دل سرای درد و ماتم، تن مردان نشان تیغ و تیره
 پسر در خون تپان دختر عزادار، برادر گشته و خواهر اسیره
 بکام مادران نخت جگر خون، بخلق کودکان خوناب شیر
 اسپران را بجای اشک و افغان، شر در چشم و آتش در ضمیره
 خروش تشنه کامان زیر و بالا، ز خاک تیره تا چرخ اثیره

"My heart is very weary of life; however soon I die, it is still too late. The women's hearts are the abode of grief and mourning; the men's bodies are the target of swords and arrows. Their sons welter in their blood; their daughters mourn; the brother is slain; the sister is a captive. The morsel in the mothers' mouths is their own heart's blood; the milk in the children's throats is liquid gore.

The captives, in place of tears and lamentations, have sparks in their eyes and fire in their souls.

The outcry of the thirsty reaches down and up from the dark earth to the Sphere of the Ether."

It is curious to find in two such ribald poets as Yaghmá and Qá'ání¹ so deep a religious sense and sympathy with the martyrs of their faith as are manifested in a few of their poems. Verlaine, perhaps, offers the nearest parallel in modern European literature.

Ribaldry and piety.

Of the remaining poets who flourished during the long reign of Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh, whose assassination on May 1, 1896, may be regarded as the first portent of the Revolution which bore its full fruit ten years later, two, Mírzá Muḥammad Taqí of Káshán with the pen-name of *Sipihr*, and Mírzá Ridá-qulí Khán *Hidáyat*, are better known as historians and will be mentioned as such in a later chapter, though notices of both are given by the latter in his often-quoted *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*². Another poet of some note is Abu'n-Naşr Fathu 'lláh Khán *Shaybánt* of Káshán, a copious selection of whose poems was printed by the *Akhtar* Press at Constantinople in 1308/1890-1³, and of whom a long notice (pp. 224-245) is also given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*. The list might be increased almost indefinitely, did space permit, but the most notable names have been mentioned, and even to them it has been impossible to do justice.

¹ For his beautiful *marthiya* on the tragedy of Karbalá, see pp. 177-181 *supra*.

² See vol. ii, pp. 156-181 for *Sipihr*, and pp. 581-678 for the autobiography of *Hidáyat*. This great anthology was concluded in 1288/1871-2.

³ It was edited by Isma'íl Naşírf Qarája-Dághí, published at the instigation of Mírzá Ridá Khán, afterwards entitled *Arfa'u'd-Dawla*, and comprises 312 pp.



MUZAFFARU'D-DÍN MÍRZÁ (afterwards SHÁH) seated, with his tutor (*Lala-báshí*) RIDÁ-QULÍ KHÁN, poet and historian, standing on his right (the reader's left)

Or. 4938 (Brit. Mus.), 14

Of the new school of poets produced by the Revolution in 1906 and the succeeding years I have treated in a separate work, the *Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*¹, more fully than would have been possible in this volume. The most eminent of these contemporary poets are, perhaps, Dakhaw (Dih-Khudá) of Qazwín, 'Árif of Qazwín, Sayyid Ashraf of Gílán, and Bahár of Mashhad. Dakhaw is probably the youngest and the most remarkable of them, though I do not think he has produced much verse lately. The versatility of his genius is illustrated by two of his poems (Nos. 3 and 14) cited in my above-mentioned work, on the one hand the riotous burlesque of "*Kabláy*," and on the other the delicate and beautiful *In Memoriam* addressed to his former colleague Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz, editor of the *Şúr-i-Isrâfil*, of which the former was published in that admirable paper on November 20, 1907, and the latter on March 8, 1909. Bahár, entitled *Maliku'sh-Shu'ará*, "King of the Poets," or Poet Laureate, was the editor of the *Naw Bahár* (which after its suppression reappeared under the title of *Táza Bahár*), and was the author of several fine poems (Nos. 20, 34 and 36-47) published in my book, while 'Árif is represented by No. 33, and Ashraf by Nos. 4-7, 9-13, 16-19, and 27. I do not think that the works of these or any others of the post-Revolution poets have been published in a collected form. They appeared from time to time in various newspapers, notably the *Şúr-i-Isrâfil*, *Nastim-i-Shimál* and *Naw Bahár*, and must be culled from their pages. Many of the now numerous Persian papers contain a literary corner entitled *Adabiyyát* in which these poems appear. The importance of the fact that their aim must now be to please

¹ Camb. Univ. Press, 1914, pp. xl+357, with a Persian foreword of 5 pp. The poems (originals and translations) occupy pp. 168-308, comprise 61 separate pieces, and can be obtained separately for 5s.

the increasing public taste and reflect the growing public opinion, not to gratify individual princes, ministers and noblemen, has been already emphasized¹.

Of one other poet, lately deceased, who is very highly esteemed by his countrymen, but whose writings are not yet readily accessible, something more must be

The late Adibu'l-Mamálik. said. This is Mírzá Şádiq Khán, a great-grandson of the celebrated Qá'im-maqám², best known by his title *Adibu'l-Mamálik*, who died on the 28th of Rabí' ii, 1335 (Feb. 21, 1917). Three sources of information about him are at my disposal, viz. (1) a notice in my MS. marked J. 19³ on modern Persian poets (pp. 39-50); (2) an obituary notice in No. 20 of the old *Káwa* of April 15, 1917; and (3) a pamphlet published at the "Kaviani Press" in 1341/1922 by Khán Malik-i-Husayn-i-Sásání, a cousin of the poet, announcing his intention of collecting and publishing his poems, and asking help from those who possess copies of verses not in his possession. Some particulars concerning him are also given in my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* in connection with the various

papers he edited or wrote for at different times, viz. the *Adab* of Tabríz (pp. 37-8), Mashhad (p. 38) and Tíhrán (p. 39), which extended over the period 1316-1322/1898-1905; the Turco-Persian *Irshád* (p. 39), which he edited in conjunction with Aḥmad Bey Aghayeff of Qarábágh at Bákú in 1323/1905-6; the *Rúz-náma-i-Irán-i-Sultánt* (pp. 88-91), to which he contributed in 1321/1903-4; the *'Iráq-i-'Ajam* (pp. 118-19), which he edited in 1325/1907; and the *Majlis* (pp. 132-3), for

¹ See p. 302 *supra*.

² See pp. 311-316 *supra*.

³ See p. 302 *supra*. Since writing this, my attention has been called by my friend Mírzá Salmán-i-Asadí to an interesting article on the *Adibu'l-Mamálik* in the periodical entitled *Armaghán* (No. 1 of the third year, pp. 15-25).

which he wrote in 1324/1906. One of the most celebrated of his poems is also given on pp. 300-302 of the same work.

The *Adibu'l-Mamálik* was born in 1277/1860-1, and was a descendant in the third degree of Mírzá 'Ísá Qá'im-maqám, and in the thirty-fifth degree of the Imám Zaynu'l-'Ábidín. In 1307/1889-90 he was at Tabríz in the service of the Amír Nizám (Ḥasan 'Alí Khán-i-Garrúsf), in honour of whom he changed his pen-name from *Parwána* ("Moth") to *Amírí*. In 1311/1893-4 he followed the Amír Nizám to Kirmánsháh and Kurdistán. During the two following years (1894-6) he was employed in the Government Translation Office (*Dáru't-Tarjuma-i-Dawlatí*) in Tíhrán, but in Şafar 1314/July-August, 1896, he returned with the Amír Nizám to Adharbáyján, where, in 1316/1898-9, he adopted the turban in place of the *kuláh*, became Vice-master of the Luqmáníyya College at Tabríz, and founded the *Adab* newspaper, which, as stated above, he afterwards continued at Mashhad and Tíhrán. During the years 1318-20/1900-02 he travelled in the Caucasus and Khwárazm (Khiva), whence he came to Mashhad, but at the end of A.H. 1320 (March, 1903) he returned to Tíhrán, and for the next two years, 1321-2/1903-5, was the chief contributor to the *Rúz-náma-i-Irán-i-Sultánt*. In 1323/1905-6 he was joint editor of the *Irshád* at Bákú; in 1324/1906 he became chief writer for the *Majlis*, edited by Mírzá Muḥammad Şádiq-i-Ṭabátabá'í; and in 1325/1907 he founded the *'Iráq-i-'Ajam*. In July, 1910, he took part in the capture of Tíhrán by the Nationalists, and subsequently held the position of President of the High Court of Justice (*Ra'ís-i-'Adliyya*) in 'Iráq and afterwards at Samnán. He lost his only daughter in 1330/1912. Two years later he was appointed editor of the semi-official newspaper *Aftáb* ("the Sun"). In 1335/1916-17 he was appointed President of the High Court of Justice at

Brief chronology of his life.

Yazd, but soon afterwards, as we have seen, he died at Tīhrán, aged fifty-eight¹.

The special value and interest of his poems, according to Khán Malik, his cousin and intimate friend, lie not only in their admirable and original style, but in their faithful reflection of the varying moods of the Persian people during the fateful years 1906-

1912. In satire it is said that no Persian poet has equalled him since the time of old Súzaní of Samarqand², who died in 569/1173-4. In his pamphlet Khán Malik gives the opening verses of all the poems in his possession, with the number of verses in each, and invites those who possess poems lacking in his collection to communicate them to him before Jumáda i, 1342 (December, 1923), when he proposes to publish as complete an edition as possible. The *Káwa* quotes the following verses from one of his poems on the Russian aggressions in Persia, which it compares with the celebrated poems of Sa'dí on the destruction of the Caliphate by the Mongols³, Anwarí on the invasion of the Ghuzz Turks⁴, and Háfiz on Tímúr's rapacity⁵:

چون برّه بیچاره بچوپانش نپیوست
از بیم بصحرا در نه خفت و نه بنشست
خرسی بشکار آمد و بازوش فرو بست
شد برّه ما طعمه آن خرس زبردست

¹ These dates are taken from Khán Malik's pamphlet, pp. 4-6.

² See *Lit. Hist. Persia*, ii, pp. 342-3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-9.

⁵ The reference here is to the well-known verse—

فغان کین لولیان شوخ شیرین کار شهر آشوب
چنان بردند صبر از دل که ترکان خوان یغمارا

It is, however, but a vague and casual allusion.

افسوس بر آن برّه نوزاده سرمست

فریاد از آن خرس کهن سال شکر خوار

"Since the poor lamb did not forgather with its shepherd, through fear it neither slept nor rested in the plain.

A bear came forth to hunt, and bound its limbs: our lamb became the prey of that high-handed bear.

Alas for that new-born and bemused lamb! Alack for that aged and greedy bear!"

My manuscript J. 19¹ (p. 44) enumerates twelve of his works, which include an Arabic and a Persian *Díwán*, a collection of *Maqámát*, a rhymed vocabulary, a volume of travels, and several books on Astronomy, Geography, Prosody, and other sciences.

¹ See p. 302 *supra*.

PART III.
PERSIAN PROSE DURING THE
LAST FOUR CENTURIES

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORTHODOX SHÍ'A FAITH AND ITS EXPONENTS, THE MUJTAHIDS AND MULLÁS.

One of the chief results of the Shí'a revival effected by the Şafawí dynasty was the establishment of the powerful hierarchy of *mujtahids* and *mullás*, often, but not very accurately, described by European writers as "the clergy." This title is, however, more applicable to them than to the '*ulamá*, or "doctors," of the Sunnís, who are simply men learned in the Scripture and the Law, but not otherwise possessed of any special Divine virtue or authority. The great practical difference between the '*ulamá* of the Sunnís and of the Shí'a lies in their conception of the doctrine of *Ijtihád*, or the discovery and authoritative enunciation of fresh religious truths, based on a comprehensive knowledge of the Scripture and Traditions, and arrived at by supreme effort and endeavour, this last being the signification of the Arabic word. One who has attained to this is called a *mujtahid*, whose position may be roughly described as analogous to that of a Cardinal in the Church of Rome. No such dignitary exists amongst the Sunnís, who hold that the *Bábu'l-Ijtihád*, or "Gate of Endeavour" (in the sense explained above), was closed after the death of the founders of their four "orthodox" schools or sects, Abú Hanífa (d. 150/767), Málík ibn Anas (d. circá 179/795), ash-Sháfi'í (d. 204/820), and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855). Thus the "Gate of Endeavour," which, according to the Shí'a view, is still open, has for the Sunnís been closed for more than a thousand years; and in this respect the Shí'a doctrine must be credited with a greater flexibility and adaptability than that of the

Sunnís, though in other respects narrower and more intolerant.

As will appear in the course of this chapter, the power and position attained by these prelates tended to divert the ambitions of young men who possessed, or believed themselves to possess, the necessary intellectual qualifications from poetry, *belles lettres*, and other forms of mental activity to theology, and from this tendency in part resulted the dearth of poets and abundance of divines under the Şafawís. Those were spacious times for the "turbaned classes" (*ahlu'l-'amd'im*), and every poor, half-starved student who frequented one or other of the numerous colleges (*madrassa*) founded, endowed and maintained by the piety of the Şafawí Sháhs, who delighted to call themselves by such titles as "Dog of the Threshold of the Immaculate Imáms," or "Promoter of the Doctrine of the Church of the Twelve," dreamed, no doubt, of becoming at last a great *mujtahid*, wielding powers of life and death, and accorded honours almost regal.

No class in Persia is so aloof and inaccessible to foreigners and non-Muslims as that of the *mullás*. It is easy for one who has a good knowledge of Persian to mix not only with the governing classes and officials, who are most familiar with European habits and ideas, but with merchants, tradesmen, artisans, landowners, peasants, *darwishes*, Bábís, Bahá'ís, Şúfís and others; but few Europeans can have enjoyed intimacy with the "clergy," whose peculiar, exclusive, and generally narrow life is, so far as my reading has gone, best depicted in an otherwise mediocre and quite modern biographical work entitled *Qişaşu'l-'Ulamá* ("Tales of the Divines")¹ by Muḥammad

Aloofness of the clerical class.

The *Qişaşu'l-'Ulamá*, or "Tales of the Divines."

¹ I possess two lithographed editions of this book, the (second) Tíhrán edition, published in Şafar, 1304 (Nov. 1886), and another published (apparently) in Lucknow in 1306/1888-9.

ibn Sulaymán of Tanukábun, who was born in 1235/1819-20, wrote this book in three months and five days, and concluded it on the 17th of Rajab, 1290 (Sept. 10, 1873). It contains the lives of 153 Shí'a doctors, ranging from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries of the Muhammadan (tenth to nineteenth of the Christian) era, arranged in no intelligible order, either chronological or alphabetical. To his own biography, which he places fourth in order, the author devotes more than twenty pages, and enumerates 169 of his works, besides various glosses and other minor writings. From this book, which I read through during the Easter Vacation of 1923, having long ago made use of certain parts of it bearing on the Shaykhís and Bábís, I have disentangled from much that is tedious, trivial or puerile, a certain amount of valuable information which is not to be found in many much better biographical works, whereof, before proceeding further, I shall here speak briefly.

What is known as *'Ilmu'r-Rijál* ("Knowledge of the Men," that is of the leading authorities and transmitters of the Traditions) forms an important branch of theological study, since such knowledge is necessary for critical purposes. Of such *Kutubur-Rijál* ("Books of the Men") there are a great many. Sprenger, in his edition¹ of one of the most important of these, the *Fihrist*, or "Index," of Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alí of Tús, entitled *Shaykhu't-Tá'ifa*, who died in 460/1067, ranks with it in importance four other works, the *Asmá'u'r-Rijál* ("Names of the Men") of Shaykh Aḥmad ibn 'Alí an-Najáshí² (d. 455/1063); the *Ma'álimu'l-'Ulamá* of Muḥammad ibn 'Alí ibn Shahr-áshúb of Mázandarán,

'Ilmu'r-Rijál, or theological biography.

¹ Printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

² Lithographed at Bombay in 1317/1899-1900. In the *Kashfu'l-Hujub* (see pp. 357-8 *infra*) the date of the author's death is given as 405/1014.

who died in 588/1192; the *Iddhu'l-Ishtibdh* ("Elucidation of Confusion") of Ḥasan ibn Yúsuf ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillí (b. 648/1250; d. 726/1326); and the *Lá'lu'atu'l-Bahrayn*¹, a work of a more special character, dealing especially with the 'ulamá of Bahrayn, by Yúsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibráhm al-Bahrání (d. 1187/1773-4). Another work, similar to the last in dealing with a special region, is the *Amalu'l-Ámil ft 'Ulamá'i Jabal-'Ámil*, composed by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alí...al-Ḥurr al-'Ámilí (b. 1033/1623-4) in 1097/1686. All these works are written in Arabic, but of the older books of this class there is one in Persian (compiled in 990/1582) which must on no account be overlooked. This

The *Majdlisu'l-Má'minín*.

is the *Majdlisu'l-Mú'minín* ("Assemblies of Believers") of Sayyid Núru'lláh ibn Sharíf al-Mar'ashí of Shúshtar, who was put to death in India on account of his strong Shí'a opinions in 1019/1610-11. This book is both of a wider scope and a more popular character than those previously mentioned, since it contains, in twelve chapters, notices of eminent Shí'as of all classes, not merely theologians, and includes not only those who adhered to the "Sect of the Twelve" (*Ithná-'ashariyya*) but all those who held that 'Alí should have immediately succeeded the Prophet.

Of modern works of this class, composed within the last sixty years, three, besides the above-mentioned *Qišasu'l-'Ulamá*, deserve special mention. The most general in its scope, entitled *Rawdātu'l-Jannát ft Ahwáli'l-'Ulamá wa's-Sáddát* ("Gardens of Paradise: on the circumstances of Divines and Sayyids"²), was composed in Arabic by Muḥammad Báqir ibn Ḥájji Zaynu'l-'Ábidín al-Músawí al-Khwánsári, whose auto-

¹ Lithographed in Bombay, n. d.

² An excellent lithographed edition (four vols. in one, containing in all about 750 pp. and 713 biographies) was published at Tíhrán in 1306/1888.

biography is given on pp. 126-8 of vol. i, in 1286/1869-70. The biographies, which are arranged alphabetically, include learned Muslims of all periods, and are not confined to theologians or members of the Shí'a sect. Thus we find notices of great Mystics, like Báyzázid of Bistám, Ibráhm ibn Adham, Shiblí and Ḥusayn ibn Manşúr al-Ḥalláj; of Arabic poets, like Dhu'r-Rumma, Farazdaq, Ibnu'l-Fárid, Abú Nuwás and al-Mutanabbí; of Persian poets, like Saná'í, Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár, Náşir-i-Khusraw, and Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí; and of men of learning like al-Bírúní, Thábit ibn Qurra, Ḥunayn ibn Isháq and Avicenna, etc., besides the accounts of Shí'a theologians down to comparatively modern times which give the book so great a value for our present purpose.

Another important work, composed in the same year as that last mentioned (1286/1869-70) but in Persian, is entitled *Nujúmu's-Samá* ("Stars of Heaven")¹. It deals with Shí'a theologians of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the *hijra* (A.D. 1592-1882), and the biographies are arranged on the whole chronologically. The author was Muḥammad ibn Şádiq ibn Mahdí. Like most of these books its utility is impaired by the lack of an Index or even a Table of Contents, but it contains a great deal of useful information.

The third work of which I desire to make special mention here is primarily a bibliography, though it also contains a good deal of biographical matter. It is entitled *Kashfu'l-Hujub wa'l-Astár 'an Asmá'íl-Kutub wa'l-Asfár* ("the Removal of Veils and Curtains from the Names of Books and Treatises"), contains notices of 3414 Shí'a books arranged alphabetically, and was composed in Arabic by Sayyid I'jáz Ḥusayn, who was born in 1240/1825, and died in 1286/1870. The editor, Muḥammad Hidáyat Ḥusayn, discovered the manuscript in the excellent

The *Nujúmu's-Samá*.

The *Kashfu'l-Hujub*.

¹ Lithographed at Lucknow in 1303/1885-6 (pp. 424).