

*yí'u'l-Islám* (No. 89), born 638/1240-1, died Muḥarram 726/Dec. 1325. As a youth he showed some poetic talent, which was, however, sternly repressed by his father, who told him that poets were accursed and poetry incompatible with a devout life.

9. *Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibnū'l-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī*, commonly called 'Alláma-i-Ḥillī ("the Sage of Ḥilla") (No. 83), died in the same month and year as the above-mentioned *Muḥaqqiq-i-Awwal*, who was ten years his senior. Of his works 75 are enumerated in the *Qīṣaṣ*. 'Alláma-i-Ḥillī came of a great family of theologians, which produced in a comparatively short period ten *mujtahids*. His father was one, and his son, entitled *Fakhrū'l-Muḥaqqiqīn* (No. 86), another.

10. *Shaykh Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkt̄ . . al-'Amīlī*, called Shahīd-i-Awwal ("the First Martyr") (No. 82), was put to death at Damascus about midsummer 786/1384<sup>1</sup> by judgement of the two *Qādis* Burhānu'd-Dīn the Málíkī and Ibn Jamá'a the Sháfi'ī.

## II. Ṣafawī and post-Ṣafawī divines.

11. *Nūru'd-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Abdu'l-'Alī*, known as *Muḥaqqiq-i-Thānī* ("the Second Investigator") (No. 84), came to Persia from Karak, his native place, and was highly honoured and esteemed by Sháh Tahmásp I. He died in 940/1533-4.

12. *Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad*, called *Muqaddas-i-Ardabīlī* "the Saint of Ardabīl" (No. 83), was highly honoured by Sháh 'Abbás the Great. He died in 993/1585.

13. *Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir-i-Dámád* (No. 77), the grandson of *Muḥaqqiq-i-Thānī* (No. 11 *supra*), also stood high in the favour of Sháh 'Abbás, and died in 1041/1631-2.

<sup>1</sup> This is the date given in the *Qīṣaṣ*, but the *Lá'lú'atu'l-Baḥrayn* gives 780/1378-9.

Concerning his book the *Ṣirdtu'l-Mustaḡīm* ("the Straight Path") a Persian poet composed the following epigram:

صراط المستقیم میر داماد  
مسلمان نشود کافر مبیناد<sup>1</sup>

He himself wrote poetry under the *takhalluṣ*, or pen-name, of *Ishráq*.

14. *Shaykh Muḥammad Bahá'u'd-Dīnal-'Amīlī*, commonly called *Shaykh-i-Bahá'ī* (No. 37), was equal in fame, influence and honour with the above-mentioned *Mīr Dámád*, these two being amongst the men of learning who gave most lustre to the court of Sháh 'Abbás the Great. The literary activities of *Shaykh-i-Bahá'ī*, who was born near Ba'labakk in 953/1546, and died in 1031/1622, were not confined to theology. In that subject his best-known work is the *Jámī'-i-'Abbásī*, a popular Persian manual of Shí'a Law, which he did not live to complete. He also compiled a great collection of anecdotes in Arabic named the *Kashkūl* ("Alms-bowl"), a sequel to his earlier and less-known *Mikhlāt*. He also wrote several treatises on Arithmetic and Astronomy, and composed the Persian *mathnawī* poem entitled *Nán u Ḥalwá* ("Bread and Sweetmeats").

15. *Muḥammad ibn Murtadā* of Káshán, commonly known as *Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayḍ* (No. 76), though reckoned "a pure Akhbárf" (اخباری صرف), and detested by *Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'ī* the founder of the *Shaykhī* sect, who used to call him *Must'* ("the Evil-doer") instead of *Muḥsin* ("the Well-doer"), was in fact more of a mystic and a philosopher than a theologian. His best-known theological work is probably the *Abwābu'l-Janán* ("Gates of Paradise"), composed in 1055/1645. Ten years later he went from Káshán to Shíráz to study philosophy with *Mullá Ṣadrá*, whose daughter he married. He was also a poet, and in the

<sup>1</sup> "May the Musulmán not hear nor the unbeliever see *Mīr Dámád's Ṣirdtu'l-Mustaḡīm*."

*Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥá*<sup>1</sup> the number of his verses is said to amount to six or seven thousand.

16. *Mír Abu'l-Qásim-i-Findarískí*, though omitted from the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Ulamá*, was accounted "the most eminent philosopher and Şúff of his time, and stood high in the estimation of Sháh 'Abbás I, whom he is said, however, to have scandalized by his habit of mixing with the lowest orders and attending cock-fights<sup>2</sup>." He spent some time in India in the reign of Sháh-Jahán and died in Iṣfahán about 1050/1640-1.

17. *Mullá Şadrü'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Ibráhm* of Shíráz, commonly called *Mullá Şadrá*, is unanimously accounted the greatest philosopher of modern times in Persia. That in the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Ulamá* no separate article should be devoted to one whose life was a constant conflict with the "clergy," and whose clerical disguise was even more transparent than that of his teachers *Mír Dámád* and *Shaykh-i-Bahá'í*, is not surprising, but much incidental mention is made of him in this and other similar works, like the *Lú'lü'atu'l-Bahrayn*, and his teaching affected theology, notably that of the Shaykhí school<sup>3</sup>, in no small degree. His death is placed by the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát* about 1070/1660<sup>4</sup>, but by the *Lú'lü'atu'l-Bahrayn* twenty years earlier.

18. *'Abdu'r-Razzáq-i-Láhijí*, like *Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayḍ*, was a pupil of *Mullá Şadrá*. His two best-known works, both in Persian, are the *Sar-máya-i-Ímán* ("Substance of Belief") and the *Gawhar-i-Murád* ("Pearl of Desire"). He

<sup>1</sup> Tíhrán lith. ed. of 1295/1878, vol. ii, pp. 25-6.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 815. See also p. 258 *subra*

<sup>3</sup> *Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsá'í* commentated his *Mashá'ir* and other works (*Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, p. 331), but, according to the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Ulamá* (Lucknow ed., p. 48), regarded him as an infidel.

<sup>4</sup> This is given by the *Qiṣaṣu'l-Ulamá* as the date of his son *Mírzá Ibráhm's* death. The earlier date 1050/1640-1 is therefore more probable for the father.

Handwritten autograph of Mullá Şadrá of Shíráz, the Philosopher. The text is in Persian script and includes the title "السوادنا مع صمد الشرف" (The Swadna with the glory of the Vamud). It features two circular seals and a date "۱۳۰۶" (1306). The signature "ابن سدر" (Ibn Sadra) is visible at the bottom right.

Autograph of Mullá Şadrá of Shíráz, the Philosopher

shared with Shaykh Ṭabarsí, the author of the *Majma'u'l-Bayán*, the curious belief in the "essential meaning" of words, by which he meant that there existed a real relation between the sound and meaning of every word, so that having heard the sound of a strange word it was possible by reflection to conjecture the sense<sup>1</sup>.

The last six persons mentioned were all philosophers as well as, or even more than, theologians. The following, except the last, Ḥájji Mullá Hádí, are all Shí'a divines of the strictest type.

19. *Mullá Muḥammad Taqt-i-Majlisí* (No. 36) is said to have been the first to compile and publish Shí'a traditions, which he received from the *Muḥaqqiq-i-thání*, in the Ṣafawí period. Allusion has already been made to his alleged Ṣúfí proclivities. He died in 1070/1659-60, a date expressed by the ingenious chronogram<sup>2</sup>:

افسر شرع اوفتاد بی سرو پا گشت فضل

"The crown of the Holy Law fell : scholarship become headless and footless."

By removing the "crown," *i.e.* the initial letter, of شرع, and the "head" and "foot," *i.e.* the initial and final letters of فضل, we get the three letters ع رض =  $800 + 200 + 70 = 1070$ .

20. *Mullá Muḥammad Bāqir-i-Majlisí* (No. 33), son of the above, who has been already mentioned repeatedly in this chapter, was even more famous than his father. His great work is the *Biháru'l-Anwár* ("Oceans of Light"), an immense compilation of Shí'a traditions; but he composed many other works, of which the following are in Persian: *'Aynu'l-Haydt* ("the Fountain of Life"); *Mishkátu'l-Anwár* ("the Lamp of Lights"); *Hilyatu'l-Muttaqín* ("the Ornament of the Pious"); *Ḥayátu'l-Qulúb* ("Life of Hearts"),

<sup>1</sup> *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá*, Lucknow ed., second part, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> These data are from the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, pp. 129-31. The notice in the *Qiṣaṣ* is very incomplete.

not completed; *Tuḥfatu'z-Zá'irín* ("the Pilgrims' Present"); *Jalá'u'l-Uyún* ("the Clearing of the Eyes")<sup>1</sup>, etc. He died, as already stated, in 1111/1699-1700.

21. *Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdí* of Burújird, entitled *Baḥru'l-'Ulúm* ("the Ocean of Learning") (No. 27), was born in 1155/1742-3, and appears to have died about 1240/1824-5.

22. *Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Taqí* of Rasht, entitled *Ḥujjatu'l-Islám* (No. 26), has been already mentioned for his severity in inflicting punishments for infractions of the *Shari'at*. He was wealthy as well as influential, and, according to the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát* (p. 125), spent 100,000 "legal *dínars*"<sup>2</sup> in building a great mosque in the Bídábád quarter of Iṣfahán. He was born about 1180/1766-7, went to 'Iráq to pursue his studies at the age of sixteen or seventeen, returned to Iṣfahán in 1216 or 1217 (1801-3), and died on Sunday the 2nd of Rabí' i, 1260 (March 23, 1844). According to his namesake, the author of the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, his death was mourned for a whole year by the people (presumably the devout and orthodox only!), because none after him dared or was able to enforce the rigours of the Ecclesiastical Law to the same extent. By a strange coincidence, the "Manifestation" of Mírzá 'Alí the *Báb*, and the subsequent rise of that heresy which did so much to weaken the power of the orthodox Shí'a faith, took place just two months after his death.

23. *Shaykh Ahmad ibn Zaynu'd-Dín ibn Ibráhm al-Aḥsá'i*, the founder of the Shaykhí school or sect, spent most of his life at Yazd, whence he went by way of Iṣfahán to Kirmánsháh. There he remained until the death of the

<sup>1</sup> *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, pp. 118-24.

<sup>2</sup> The *dínár* in modern Persia is of merely nominal value, and 100,000 (= 10 *Tímáns*) are only worth £.2 to £.4, but originally the *dínár* was a gold coin worth about 10 francs, and this latter is presumably what is here intended.

governor of that city, Prince Muḥammad 'Alí Mírzá, son of Fath-'Alí Sháh, who favoured him and invited him to make his abode there. He then retired to the Holy Shrines of 'Iráq, where he composed most of his numerous works, of which the most famous are the *Sharḥu'z-Ziydrati'l-Kabtra* and the *Sharḥu'l-Fawá'id*. He vehemently opposed Mullá Ṣadrá, Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayḍ, and the Ṣúfís, but was himself denounced as a heretic by Hájji Mullá Muḥammad Taqí of Qazwín, whose death at the hands of a Bábí assassin about A.D. 1847 earned for him the title of "the Third Martyr" (*Shahíd-i-Thálith*). Shaykh Ahmad died in 1243/1827-8, being then nearly ninety years of age<sup>1</sup>.

24. *Mullá Ahmad-i-Niráqí*, who died of cholera in 1244/1828-9, was a poet as well as a theologian, and composed a Persian poem entitled *Táqúts* in imitation of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí. His poetical name was Ṣafá'i, and an article is consecrated to him in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahá* (vol. ii, p. 330).

25. *Hájji Mullá Hádt* of Sabzawár<sup>2</sup>, the last great Persian philosopher, also wrote poetry under the *nom de guerre* of Asrár. He was born in 1212/1797-8 and died in 1295/1878.

<sup>1</sup> Most of these particulars are taken from the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, pp. 25-7.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of his life furnished by one of his disciples, see my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 131-43.

## CHAPTER IX.

## PROSE WRITERS UNTIL A.D. 1850.

Oriental writers on the art of rhetoric classify prose writings, according to their form, into three varieties, plain ('*árl*'), rhymed (*muqaffá*), and cadenced (*musajja'*). We may divide them more simply into natural and artificial. To us, though not always to our ancestors, as witness the Euphuists of Elizabethan days, artificial prose is, as a rule, distasteful; and if we can pardon it in a work like the Arabic *Maqámát* of al-Ḥarírí or the Persian *Anwár-i-Suhaylí*, written merely to please the ear and display the writer's command of the language, we resent it in a serious work containing information of which we have need. It is a question how far style can be described absolutely as good or bad, for tastes differ not only in different countries but in the same country at different periods, and a writer deemed admirable by one generation is often lightly esteemed by the next, since, as the Arab proverb says, "Men resemble their age more than they do their fathers!"

But when a serious historian takes a page to say what could be easily expressed in one or two lines, we have a right to resent the wilful waste of time inflicted upon us by his misdirected ingenuity. Before the Mongol Invasion in the thirteenth century Persian prose was generally simple and direct, and nothing could be more concise and compact than such books as Bal'amí's Persian version of Ṭabarí's great history, the *Siyásat-náma* of the Nizámu'l-Mulk, the *Safar-náma* of Násir-i-Khusraw, the *Qábú's-náma*, or the *Chahár Maqála*. Mongol, Tartar and Turkish influences

الناس أشبهُ بزمنهم منهم بآبائهم<sup>1</sup>

seem to have been uniformly bad, favouring as they did flattery and bombast. The historian Waṣṣáf, whose chronicle was presented to Úljáy tú in A.D. 1312<sup>1</sup>, was the first great offender, and unhappily served as a model to many of his successors. In recent times there has been a great improvement, partly due to the tendency, already remarked in the case of verse, to take as models the older writers who possessed a sounder and simpler taste than those of the post-Mongol period, and partly to the recent development of journalism, which, if not necessarily conducive to good style, at least requires a certain concision and directness. In point of style, arrangement, and, above all, documentation the quite recent but little-known "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (*Tárikh-i-Biddat-yi-Írániyán*) or the Názimu'l-Islám of Kirmán (1328/1910), unfortunately never completed, is incomparably superior to the more ambitious general histories of Ridá-qulí Khán and the Lisánu'l-Mulk (the Supplement to Mirkhwánd's *Rawdatu's-Ṣafá* and the *Násikhu't-Tawárikh*) compiled some fifty years earlier.

Of prose works written simply to display the linguistic attainments and rhetorical ingenuities of the authors I do not propose to perpetuate the memory, or to say more than that, when they embody historical and other matter of sufficient value to render them worth translating, they should, in my opinion, if they are to be made tolerable to European readers, be ruthlessly pruned of these flowers of eloquence. As an instance I will take one passage from that very useful and by no means very florid history of the early Ṣafawí period the *Aḥsanu't-Tawárikh* (985/1577-8), of which I have made such extensive use in the first part of this volume. It describes the war

Corruption under Mongol and other foreign dominion.

Recovery in recent times.

An instance of misplaced floridity.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 67-8.

waged on the blind Sháhrukh Dhu'l-Qadar by Muḥammad Khán Ustájlú in the spring of 914/1508-9, and begins thus<sup>1</sup>:

در بهار كه سلطانِ گل با حشمت و تجملِ روى بتاختِ الوس  
رياحين آورد و بزخمِ پيكانِ خار جنودِ شتوى را از گلزارِ منهزم  
گردانيد

بر آمد ز كوسِ سحابىِ خروش،

در آمد سپاهِ رياحينِ بجوش،

رخِ خويش را ابرِ درهمِ كشيد،

بدعوىِ كمانهاى رستمِ كشيد،

بر آورد شاخِ شگوفه عَلم،

رياحين بياراست خيل و حشم،

ز ژاله پيِ فرقِ افراسياب<sup>2</sup>،

بدامانِ كشانِ سنگِ هرسو سحاب،

خانِ محمد استاجلو به ييلاقِ ماردین نزول فرمود،

"In the spring, when the Rose-king with pomp and splendour turned his face to attack the tribes of the Basil, and, with thrusts of his thorn-spear, drove in rout from the Rose-garden the hibernal hosts—

A roar<sup>3</sup> arose from the cloud-drums, the army of the basils was stirred;

The cloud contracted its brows, and drew Rustam-bows<sup>4</sup> for the contest;

The flowering branches raised their standards, the basils prepared their cavalry and their hosts;

The cloud in its skirts bore in every direction hail-stones for the head of Afrásiyáb—

Khán Muḥammad Ustájlú encamped in summer quarters at Márdín."

<sup>1</sup> F. 75<sup>a</sup> of Mr A. G. Ellis's MS.

<sup>2</sup> This reading is conjectural. The MS. has افسر سحاب, which is obviously wrong, since it is neither sense nor verse.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the spring thunder.

<sup>4</sup> The rainbow is called "Rustam's bow" (*Kamán-i-Rustam*) in Persian.

All this could much better be said in one line:

در بهار خان محمد استاجلو به ييلاقِ ماردین نزول فرمود،

"In the spring Khán Muḥammad Ustájlú encamped in summer quarters at Márdín."

Graceful poetic fancies are all very well in their proper place, but in a serious history they are inappropriate and irritating. The trouble is that, as has been remarked already, nearly all literary Persians, and consequently historians, are poets or poetasters, and they unhappily find it easier and more entertaining to mix poetry with their history than history with their poetry, even their professedly historical poetry. In discussing the later prose literature of Persia I shall therefore confine myself to what has substantial value apart from mere formal elegance, and shall treat of it, according to subject, under the five following headings:

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Classification of<br>prose works. | (1) Theology.                                       |
|                                   | (2) Philosophy.                                     |
|                                   | (3) The Sciences—mathematical, natural and occult.  |
|                                   | (4) History—general, special and local.             |
|                                   | (5) Biography and autobiography, including travels. |

#### I. THEOLOGY.

Theology in Persia during the period with which we are dealing, that is from the establishment of the Şafawí dynasty to the present day, means Shí'a theology, and by extension the semi-heterodox doctrines of the Shaykhís and the wholly heterodox doctrines of the Bábís and Bahá'ís. A large portion of this theological literature—in older times almost all, and even now a considerable amount—is in Arabic, the sacred language of Islám and of the *Qur'án*, and much of it in all Muslim countries is almost unreadable, save for a few professional

Theological  
literature.

theologians, and, it may be added, quite unprofitable. Some learned man writes a theological, philological, or logical treatise which achieves renown in the Colleges where the *'ulamá* get their mediaeval training. Some one else writes a commentary on that treatise; a third produces a super-commentary on the commentary; a fourth a gloss on the super-commentary; a fifth a note on the gloss; so that at the end we are confronted with what the immortal Turkish wit Khoja Naşru'd-Dín Efendí called "soup of the soup of the soup of the hare-soup," a substance devoid of savour or nutriment, and serving rather to conceal than to reveal its original material. Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, late Grand Muftí of Egypt and Chancellor of the University of al-Azhar, than whom, perhaps, no more enlightened thinker and no more enthusiastic lover of the Arabic language and literature has been produced by Islám in modern times, used to say that all this stuff should be burned, since it merely cumbered bookshelves, bred maggots, and obscured sound knowledge. This was the view of a great and learned Muhammadan theologian, so we need not scruple to adopt it; indeed the more we admire and appreciate the abundant good literature of Islám, the more we must deplore, and even resent, the existence of this rubbish. In reading the lives of the *'Ulamá* in such books as the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát* and the *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá* we constantly find a theologian credited with forty, fifty, or sixty works of this type, which nobody reads now, and which, probably, no one but his pupils ever did read, and they only under compulsion. Even to enumerate these treatises, were it possible, would be utterly unprofitable.

The great achievement of the Shí'a doctors of the later Şafawí period, such as the Majlisís, was their popularization of the Shí'a doctrine and historical *Anschaung* in the vernacular. They realized that to reach the people they must employ the language of

A worthless  
class of books.

Popular theo-  
logical works in  
Persian.

the people, and that in a simple form, and they reaped their reward in the intense and widespread enthusiasm for the Shí'a cause which they succeeded in creating. We have already seen<sup>1</sup> how few Shí'a books were available when Sháh Isma'íl first established that doctrine as the national faith of Persia, and, according to the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*<sup>2</sup>, Mullá Muḥammad Taqí Majlisí was "the first to publish the Shí'a traditions after the appearance of the Şafawí dynasty." His even more eminent son Mullá Muḥammad Báqir compiled on this subject the immense *Biháru'l-Anwár* ("Oceans of Light") in Arabic, and in Persian the following works<sup>3</sup>: *'Aynu'l-Hayát* ("the Fountain of Life"), containing exhortations to renunciation of the world; *Mishkátu'l-Anwár* ("the Lamp of Lights"); *Hilyatu'l-Muttaqín* ("the Ornament of the Pious"), on example and conduct; *Hayátu'l-Qulúb* ("the Life of Hearts") in three parts, the first on the Prophets before Muḥammad, the second on the Prophet Muḥammad, and the third on the Twelve Imáms, but only part of it was written and it was never completed; *Tuḥfatu'z-Záirín* ("the Pilgrims' Present"); *Jaldá'u'l-Uyún* ("the Clearing of the Eyes"); *Miqbásu'l-Maşábit̄h*, on the daily prayers; *Rabí'u'l-Asábit̄* ("the Spring of Weeks"); *Zádu'l-Ma'ád* ("Provision for the Hereafter"), and numerous smaller treatises. Oddly enough one of the most notable of his Persian theological works, the *Ḥaqqu'l-Yaqín* ("Certain Truth"), which was compiled in 1109/1698, and beautifully printed at Tíhrán so early as 1241/1825, is omitted from this list. The late M. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski began to translate this book into French, but abandoned his idea, sent his manuscript translation to me, and urged me to continue and complete the work he had begun;

Achievement of  
the Majlisí.

Works of Mullá  
Muḥammad  
Báqir-i-Majlisí.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 54-5 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Tíhrán lithographed ed. of 1306/1888, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

a task which, unfortunately, I have never had leisure to accomplish, though it would be well worth the doing, since we still possess no comprehensive and authoritative statement of Shí'a doctrine in any European language.

The basic works of the Shí'a faith, namely the *Qur'án* (the Word of God) and the Traditions (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet and the Imáms), are naturally in Arabic. The numerous Persian religious treatises may be roughly classified in three groups—the doctrinal, the historical, and the legal. In practice doctrine and history are almost inevitably inter-mixed, especially in the sections dealing with the Imámate, where attempts are made to prove that the Prophet intended 'Alí to succeed him; that Abú Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmán were usurpers of his rights; that the Imáms were twelve in number, no more and no less, and that they were the twelve recognized by the "Sect of the Twelve" (*Ithná-'Ashariyya*) and none other. Thus while the earlier sections of these doctrinal works dealing with God and His Attributes border on Metaphysics, the later sections are largely composed of historical or quasi-historical matter, while the concluding portions, dealing with Heaven, Hell, the Last Judgement, and the like, are eschatological.

The style of these books is generally very simple and direct, and totally devoid of rhetorical adornment, but commonly affects an imitation of the Arabic idiom and order of words; not only in passages translated from that language, but throughout, as though these theologians had so steeped their minds in the *Qur'án* and the Traditions that even when using the Persian language the thought must follow Arabic lines. The following example, taken from the beginning of the second volume of the *Haqqu'l-Yaqtu*<sup>1</sup>, will suffice to illustrate this peculiarity:

<sup>1</sup> Tíhrán printed ed. of 1241/1825, f. 142<sup>b</sup>.

مقصد هر در اثبات رجعت است، بدانکه از جمله اجماعیات شیعه بلکه ضروریات مذهب حق فرقه محققه حقیقت رجعت است یعنی پیش از قیامت در زمان حضرت قایم جمعی از نیکان بسیار نیک و بدان بسیار بد بدنیها بر میگرددند نیکان برای آنکه بدیدن دولت ائمه خود دیدههای ایشان روشن گردد و بعضی از جزای نیکیهای ایشان در دنیا بایشان برسد و بدان از برای عقوبت و عذاب دنیا و مشاهده اضعاف آن دولتی که نمیخواستند باهل بیت رسالت آ برسد و انتقام کشیدن شیعیان از ایشان و سایر مردم در قبرها میمانند تا در قیامت مدحشور شوند چنانچه در احادیث بسیار وارد شده است که رجوع نمیکند در رجعت مگر کسی که محض ایمان داشته باشد یا محض کفر اما سایر مردم پس ایشانرا بحال خود میگذارند

"*Maqṣad IX: establishing the 'Return'* (Raj'at).

"Know that of the number of those things whereon the Shí'a are agreed, nay, which are of the essentials of the true doctrine of that Truth-pursuing body, is the 'Return.' That is to say that in the time of His Holiness the *Qā'im*<sup>1</sup>, before the Resurrection, a number of the good who are very good and of the bad who are very bad will return to the world, the good in order that their eyes may be brightened by seeing the triumph of their Imáms, and that some portion of the recompense of their good deeds may accrue to them in this world; and the bad for the punishment and torment of the world, and to behold the double of that triumph which they did not wish to accrue to the Imáms, and that the Shí'a may avenge themselves on them. But all other men will remain in their tombs until they shall be raised up in the general Upraising; even as it has come down in many traditions that none shall come back in the 'Return' save he who is possessed of pure belief or pure unbelief, but as for the remainder of mankind, these will [for the time being] be left to themselves."

It is true that here the sentence most Arabian in construction may be the literal translation of a tradition not

<sup>1</sup> "He who shall arise," i.e. the Imám Mahdí or Messiah of the Shí'a.



given in the original Arabic, which must evidently run something like this:

لا يرجع في الرجعة إلا من له محض الايمان او محض الكفر

but the influence of Arabian syntax is constantly apparent.

Another class of Shí'a theological writings consists of polemical works directed against the Sunnis, the Šúfis, the Shaykhís, the Bábís and Bahá'ís, and the Christians. The Sunnis are naturally attacked in all manuals of doctrine with varying degrees of violence, for from Nádir Sháh downwards to Abu'l-Hasan Mírzá ("Hájji Shaykhu'r-Ra'ís"), an eager contemporary advocate of Islamic unity<sup>1</sup>, no one has been able to effect an appeasement between these two great divisions of Islám, and a more tolerant attitude in the younger generation of Persians, so far as it exists, is due rather to a growing indifference to Islám itself than to a religious reconciliation. Attacks on the Šúfis, especially on their Pantheism (*Wahdatu'l-Wujúd*), are also often met with in general manuals of Shí'a doctrine, but several independent denunciations of their doctrines exist, such as Áqá Muḥammad 'Alí Bihbihání's *Risála-i-Khayrátiyya*<sup>2</sup>, which led to a violent persecution of the Šúfis and the death of several of their leaders, such as Mír Ma'sum, Mushtáq 'Alí and Núr 'Alí Sháh<sup>3</sup>; and the *Matá'imú's-Súfiyya* of Muḥammad Rafí' ibn Muḥammad Shafí' of Tabríz, composed in 1221/1806<sup>4</sup>. The latter even has recourse to the Gospels to prove his case, quoting Christ's saying "Beware

(\*) The Sunnis.

(\*) The Šúfis.

<sup>1</sup> His pamphlet on the "Union of Islám" (*Itliḥádu'l-Islám*) was lithographed at Bombay in 1312/1894-5.

<sup>2</sup> Composed in 1211/1796-7. See the full and interesting account of the work in Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 33-4.

<sup>3</sup> For a full account of these events, see Malcolm's *History of Persia*, ed. 1815, vol. ii, pp. 417-22.

<sup>4</sup> Of this I possess a good MS. dated 22 Jumádá ii, 1222 (27 Aug. 1807).

of them which come to you in sheep's clothing (*suf*, wool), but within they are ravening wolves."

The Islamo-Christian controversy has also produced a considerable literature in Persian, which has been discussed

by Professor Samuel Lee in his *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism* (Cambridge, 1824). Several such works were

(3) The Christians.

written in the first quarter of the seventeenth century by Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Zaynu'l-'Ábidín al-'Alawí, one in refutation of Xavier's *A'ina-i-Haqq-numá* ("Truth-revealing Mirror"), and another directed against the Jews. Later the proselytizing activities of Henry Martyn the missionary called forth replies from Mírzá Ibráhím and others<sup>1</sup>.

The Shaykhí sect or school derived its origin and its name from Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Zaynu'd-Dín al-Aḥsá'í, a native not of Persia but of Baḥrayn, who died,

(4) The Shaykhis.

according to the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*<sup>2</sup>, at the advanced age of ninety in 1243/1827-8, and was succeeded by Sayyid Kázim of Rasht, who numbered amongst his disciples both Sayyid 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb, the originator of the Bábí sect, and many of those who subsequently became his leading disciples, and Hájji Muḥammad Karím Khán of Kirmán, who continued and developed the Shaykhí doctrine. This doctrine, essentially a rather extreme form of the Shí'a faith, was accounted heterodox by several eminent *mujtahids*, such as Hájji Mullá Muḥammad Taqí of Qazwín, the uncle and father-in-law of the celebrated Bábí heroine Qurratu'l-'Ayn, whose hostility to the Shaykhís and Bábís ultimately cost him his life, but earned for him from the orthodox Shí'a the title of the "Third Martyr" (*Shahíd-i-Thálith*)<sup>3</sup>. Some account of the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Cat. of Pers. MSS. in the Camb. Univ. Library* (1896), pp. 7-13.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 25-6, of the Tíhrán lithographed edition of 1306/1888.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 197-8 and 310-12.

Shaykhís and their doctrines, sufficient for the ordinary student of Persian thought, is given in Note E (pp. 234-44) at the end of the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*<sup>1</sup>. Shaykh Ahmad was the author of numerous works, all, I think, in Arabic, of which the titles are given in the *Rawdátu'l-Jannát* (p. 25), which asserts amongst other things that he held the Şúfís in great detestation, notwithstanding his own unorthodox views on the Resurrection. Naturally the pantheistic and latitudinarian opinions of these mystics are distasteful to dogmatic theologians of every kind, whether orthodox Shí'a or Sunní, Shaykhí, Bábí and Bahá'í, or Christian. Henry Martyn evidently felt that he had far more in common with the ordinary fanatical *mullá* of Shíráz than with the elusive and eclectic Şúfí. The later Shaykhís and Bábís, though both derive from a common source, hold one another in the utmost detestation; and at least one of the doctors of theology who examined and condemned the Báb at Tabriz towards the end of the year A.D. 1847, Mullá Muḥammad Mámaqání, belonged to the Shaykhí school<sup>2</sup>.

The Bábí-Bahá'í movement, of which the effects have now extended far beyond the Persian frontiers even to America, has naturally given rise to a far more extensive literature, which forms a study in itself, and which I have discussed elsewhere<sup>3</sup>. Of the Báb's own writings the Persian *Bayán* and the *Dald'il-i-sab'a* ("Seven Proofs") are the most important of those composed in Persian<sup>4</sup>. Bahá'u'lláh's *Iqán* ("Assurance")

(5) The Bábís and Bahá'ís.

<sup>1</sup> See also A.-L.-M. Nicolas, *Essai sur le Cheikhisme* (Paris, 1910), pp. 72. A list of Shaykh Ahmad's writings is given.

<sup>2</sup> See *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, pp. 173-211; *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion*, pp. 175-243.

<sup>4</sup> French translations of both have been published by the learned and impartial A.-L.-M. Nicolas.

is the earliest reasoned apology, and was written before he advanced his claim to be "He whom God shall manifest." His later "Tablets" (*Alwáh*), many of which are in Persian, are innumerable; amongst them the "Epistles to the Kings" (*Alwáh-i-Salátn*) are the most interesting and important. There is also an abundant Azalí literature; and each dichotomous schism has given rise to a fresh crop of controversial pamphlets. Of systematic refutations of the Bábí and Bahá'í doctrines in Persian the most elaborate are the *Ihqáqu'l-Haqq* ("Verification of the Truth") of Áqá Muḥammad Taqí of Hamadán<sup>1</sup>, composed about 1326/1908; and the *Minháju't-Talibín*<sup>2</sup> of Hájji Ḥusayn-qulí, an Armenian convert to Islám, lithographed at Bombay in 1320/1902. The Bábís and Bahá'ís have developed a somewhat distinctive style of their own in Persian which possesses considerable merits. Some of Bahá'u'lláh's "Tablets" (*Alwáh*) addressed to Zoroastrian enquirers are even written in pure Persian without admixture of Arabic. Their most important works, like the *Kitáb-i-Aqdas* ("Most Holy Book"), are, however, written in Arabic. From the point of view of style, both in Persian and Arabic, an immense improvement was effected by Bahá'u'lláh, for the style of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb was, as Gobineau says, "terne, raide, et sans éclat," "dull, stiff, and devoid of brilliance."

## 2. PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophy (*Hikmat, Filsafa*) is defined by the Muslims as "a knowledge of the true essence of things, as they really are, so far as is possible to human capacity."

Divisions of Philosophy.

It is divided into two branches, the theoretical (*naẓarí*), and the practical (*'amali*). The former comprises Mathematics (*Riyáḍiyyát*), Natural Science (*'Ilmu't-Ṭabí'at*), and Metaphysics (*Má wará'ba'd* or *fawq*

<sup>1</sup> *Materials*, pp. 189-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

*aṭ-Ṭabṭ'at*); the latter Ethics (*Tahdhībū'l-Akhlāq*), Economics (*Tadbīru'l-Manzil*), and Politics (*Siyasatu'l-Mudun*). The three best-known Persian treatises on Practical Philosophy, namely the *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*, *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, and *Akhlāq-i-Muhsinī*<sup>1</sup>, all belong to the period preceding that which we are now discussing, and I do not recollect any important Persian work on the subject which has appeared since. We may therefore confine our attention here to the first, or theoretical, branch of Philosophy, and in this section to Metaphysics, which on the one hand borders on Theology, and on the other on Science. It is generally admitted that a very close connection existed between the Shī'a and the Mu'tazila<sup>2</sup> in early 'Abbásid times, and it is well known that the latter were the most enlightened and philosophic of the theological schools of Islám, and that in particular they were the champions of Free Will against the rigid Determinism which subsequently triumphed, to the great detriment of the intellectual development of the Muhammadan world. Those sections of Shī'ite theological works which treat of the Nature and Attributes of God are, therefore, of a more philosophical character than is commonly the case in Sunnī books of a similar type.

Muslim Philosophy, like Muslim Science, admittedly and avowedly owes almost everything to the Greeks. Its development from the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era, when under the early 'Abbásid Caliphs the work of translating into Arabic the works of the most eminent and celebrated Greek thinkers began, down to the deadly blow inflicted on Islamic civilization by the Mongol Invasion and the destruction of

Shī'a and  
Mu'tazila.

Debt of Muslim  
philosophers to  
the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, pp. 442-4.

<sup>2</sup> See de Boer's *Hist. of Philosophy in Islam*, translated by E. R. Jones (London, 1903), pp. 33, 43, 72 and 84; and Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über der Islam* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 234 *et seqq.*

Baghdád and the 'Abbásid Caliphate in the middle of the thirteenth century, has been repeatedly traced by European scholars. For a broad general view, characterizing the chief exponents of the different schools of Islamic thought, Dr T. J. de Boer's *History of Philosophy in Islam*, translated into English by E. R. Jones, may be recommended to the general reader. It will be observed that only one of the thinkers mentioned in that book, Ibn Khaldún (b. A.D. 1332 at Tunis, d. A.D. 1406 at Cairo), flourished after the fall of the 'Abbásid Caliphate, and he was a unique and isolated phenomenon, "without forerunners and without successors".

The question we have to answer here is, has Persia, which in earlier times produced so large a proportion of the so-called "Arabian Philosophers",<sup>2</sup> produced any metaphysician of note since the beginning of the sixteenth century? To answer this question one would need to combine with a competent knowledge of Arabic and Persian a grasp of the history and subject-matter not only of "Arabian" but of Greek Philosophy (and, indeed, of Philosophy in general) to which I cannot lay claim. This, indeed, constitutes the difficulty of judging the value of the scientific literature of Islám. How many of those who admire the Persian quatrains of 'Umar Khayyám can follow M. Woepcke in the appreciation of his Arabic algebraical treatises? A knowledge of Arabic does not suffice to enable us to decide whether ar-Rází or Ibn Síná (Avicenna) was the greater physician. Much valuable work of this technical character has been done in Germany, by Dr E. Wiedemann of Erlangen (Optics, Physics, etc.), Dr Julius Hirschberg of Berlin (Ophthalmology), Dr Max Simon (Anatomy), and others, but very much remains to

Difficulty of  
determining the  
value of later  
Persian philo-  
sophical systems.

<sup>1</sup> De Boer, *op. laud.*, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> So-called merely because they wrote in Arabic, at that time exclusively, and even now to a considerable extent, the learned language of Islám, as Latin was of Christendom.

be done, and few scholars are competent to undertake it. As regards Philosophy in Persia during the last three or four centuries, all one can say is that half a dozen thinkers have established a great reputation amongst their countrymen, but how far this reputation is deserved is a question which has not yet received a satisfactory answer. These thinkers are, in chronological order, as follows: (1) Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín al-'Ámilí (d. 1031/1622); (2) Mír Dámád (d. 1041/1631-2); (3) Mullá Şadrá (d. 1050/1640-1); (4) Mullá Muhsin-i-Fayḍ (d. after 1091/1680); (5) Mullá 'Abdu'r-Razzáq al-Láhijí; and, in quite modern times, (6) Hájji Mullá Hádí of Sabzawár (d. 1295/1878).

Now Muslim philosophers are of two sorts, those whose philosophy is conditioned by and subordinated to revealed Religion, and those whose speculations are not so limited. The former are the *Mutakallimín* or *Ahl-i-Kalám*, the Schoolmen or Dialecticians<sup>1</sup>; the latter the *Hukamá* (pl. of *Hakm*) or *Falásifa* (pl. of *Faylasíf*), the Philosophers proper. Of the six persons mentioned above, Mullá Şadrá certainly and Hájji Mullá Hádí possibly belong to the second class, but the four others to the first. These four, however, if less important from the point of view of Philosophy, were in other ways notable men of letters. Biographies of all of them except Mullá Hádí, who is too modern, are given in the *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát*, or the *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá*, from which, unless otherwise stated, the following particulars are taken.

The first five were more or less contemporary, and are, to a certain extent, interrelated. Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín and Mír Dámád both enjoyed considerable influence and stood in high favour at the court of Sháh 'Abbás the Great, yet there was no jealousy between them, if we may believe the pleasing anecdote about them and the Sháh related by Sir

<sup>1</sup> See de Boer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3.

JOHN MALCOLM: Mullá Şadrá was the pupil of both of them<sup>2</sup>, while Mullá Muhsin-i-Fayḍ and Mullá 'Abdu'r-Razzáq al-Láhijí were both his pupils and his sons-in-law.

### I. *Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín al-'Ámilí.*

Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdu's-Şamad al-Ĥáarithí al-'Ámilí al-Hamdání al-Jab'í was one of the numerous Shí'a doctors who came to Persia from Jabal 'Ámil in Syria, whence he derived the *nisba* by which he is commonly known, though by the Persians he is most often spoken of as "Shaykh-i-Bahá'í." His father Shaykh Ḥusayn, a disciple of Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dín "the Second Martyr" (*Shahíd-i-Tháni*), came to Persia after his master had been put to death by the Turks for his Shí'ite proclivities, bringing with him the young Bahá'u'd-Dín, who applied himself diligently to the study of Theology in all its branches, Mathematics and Medicine. His teachers included, besides his father, Mullá 'Abdu'lláh of Yazd, a pupil of Jalálu'd-Dín-i-Dawání, the author of the *Akhláq-i-Jalál*, who was in turn a pupil of the celebrated Sayyid-i-Sharif-i-Jurjání. In Mathematics he studied with Mullá 'Alí *Mudhahhib* ("the Gilder") and Mullá Afḍal of Qá'in, while in Medicine he was the pupil of 'Alá'u'd-Dín Maḥmúd<sup>3</sup>. In due course he attained great celebrity as a theologian and jurist, and became *Şadr* or *Shaykhu'l-Islám* of Isfahán. After a while he was possessed with the desire to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on his homeward journey visited, in the guise of a *darwísh*, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Hijáz

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Persia* (ed. 1815), vol. i, pp. 558-9. The anecdote occurs in the *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá* and in the *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát*, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Some account of him is given in vol. i of the *Tārīkh-i-'Álam-árá-yi-'Abbásí* amongst the notices of eminent men of the reign of Sháh 'Abbás, whence some of the particulars here given concerning Shaykh-i-Bahá'í and Mír Dámád are also derived.

Shaykh-i-Bahá'í,  
b. 953/1546;  
d. 1031/1622.

His teachers.

Six modern  
Persian philo-  
sophers of repute.

Hikmat and  
Kalám.

and Palestine, and made the acquaintance of many learned men and eminent doctors and mystics.

Shaykh-i-Bahá'í was born at Ba'labakk in Syria on Muḥarram 17, 953 (March 20, 1546), and died on Shawwál 12, 1031 (August 20, 1622). His principal works are the *Jámi'-i-'Abbásí*, containing legal decisions (*fatáwá*); the *Zubda*; the *Miftahū'l-Faláh*; the *Tashrīhu'l-Aflák* ("Anatomy of the Heavens"); the *Khu-láṣatu'l-Hisáb* on Arithmetic; the *Kashkúl* ("Beggars' Bowl"), a large miscellany of stories and verses, the latter partly in Persian<sup>1</sup>; a similar work called the *Mikhlát*; also a Persian *mathnaví* poem entitled *Nán u Ḥalwá* ("Bread and Sweetmeats") describing his adventures during the pilgrimage to Mecca, and another entitled *Shír u Shakar* ("Milk and Sugar"). Extracts from these poems, as well as from his *ghazals*, are given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* (vol. ii, pp. 8-10).

## 2. Mír Dámád.

Mír Muḥammad Báqir of Astarábád, with the pen-name of Ishráq, commonly known as Dámád ("son-in-law"), a title properly belonging to his father Sayyid Muḥammad, whose wife was the daughter of the celebrated theologian Shaykh 'Alí ibn 'Abdu'l-'Álí, pursued his earlier studies at Mashhad, but spent the greater part of his life at Iṣfahán, where, as we have seen, he stood in high favour with Sháh 'Abbás the Great, and where he was still living when the author of the *Tá'rikh-i-'Álam-árá-yi-'Abbásí* wrote in 1025/1616. He died in 1041/1631-2. Most of his writings were in Arabic, but he wrote poetry in Persian under the *takhalluṣ* of Ishráq. He seems to have had a taste for Natural History as well as Philosophy, for, according to the *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá*, he made an observation hive of glass in

Observes the habits of bees.

<sup>1</sup> These Persian verses are omitted in the Cairo ed. of 1305/1887-8, but are contained in the Ṭihrán lithographed ed. of 1321/1903-4.

سراط الرواه الكرمه عبدالمالک والماول حيدر الطاهر  
امدادى ناسخ دعوات المعظم المشام للواء العالم  
اعلى مصالح الاسماء فال وكل لسان وجرم سماء  
المعمر للمعنى به الله تعالى كما والله اعلم  
2 رابع عشر من اوله حمد وسعده وسماحه وصيه حمد

نواميس الزمان واكمه لولاه اوطا وطارا  
وصل الى الله يا محمد والى الله



Autograph of Shaykh Bahá'u'd-Dín-i-'Ámilí

Or. 4936 (Brit. Mus.), 15

order to study the habits of bees. It is stated in the same work that after his death his pupil and son-in-law Mullá Şadrá saw him in a dream and said, "My views do not differ from yours, yet I am denounced as an infidel and you are not. Why is this?" "Because," replied Mír Dámád's spirit, "I have written on Philosophy in such a way that"

believe.

### 3. *Mullá Şadrá of Shíráz.*

Şadru'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Ibráhím of Shíráz, commonly known as Mullá Şadrá, was the only son of an aged and otherwise childless father. On his father's death he left Shíráz and went to Işfahán, where, as we have seen, he studied with Shaykh-i-Bahá'í and Mír Dámád, from both of whom he held *ijázas*, or authorizations to expound their works. He subsequently retired to a village near Qum, where he lived a secluded and austere life, engaged in profound meditations on Philosophy. He is said to have made the Pilgrimage to Mecca on foot seven times, and to have died at Başra on his return from his seventh journey in 1050/1640-1, leaving a son named Ibráhím who did not follow his father's doctrine but denounced and controverted it, boasting that "his belief was that of the common people." To these meagre particulars of Mullá Şadrá's life, derived from the *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát* (pp. 331-2) and the *Qişasu'l-'Ulamá*, I can only add that it is clear from some expressions in the Preface to his *Asfár* that he suffered a good deal at the hands of the orthodox divines, and that Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í, the founder of the Shaykhí school, wrote commentaries on two of his works, the *Hik-*

His influence on  
Shaykhí and  
Bábí theology.

*matu'l-'Arshiyya* and the *Masha'ir*. Shaykh Muḥammad Iqbál is therefore probably right when he says<sup>1</sup> that "the Philosophy of Ṣadrá is the source of the metaphysics of early Báblism," and that<sup>2</sup> "the origin of the philosophy of this wonderful sect must be sought in the Shí'a sect of the Shaykhís, the founder of which, Shaykh Aḥmad, was an enthusiastic student of Mullá Ṣadrá's philosophy, on which he had written several commentaries."

The two most celebrated of Mullá Ṣadrá's works, all of which, so far as I know, are in Arabic, are the *Asfár-i-Arba'a*, or "Four Books<sup>3</sup>," and the *Shawdhidu'r-Rubúbiyya*, or "Evidences of Divinity." Both have been lithographed at Ṭíhrán, the first in two folio volumes in 1282/1865, the second, accompanied by the commentary of Hájji Mullá Hádí of Sabzawár, without indication of date or place of publication. Amongst his other works which I have not seen the *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát* (p. 331) enumerates a Commentary on the *Uṣúlu'l-Káfi*, the *Kitábu'l-Hidáya*, notes on the metaphysical portion of Avicenna's *Shifá*, a Commentary on the *Hikmatu'l-Ishráq* (presumably that of the celebrated and unfortunate Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín-Suhrawardí, known, on account of his execution for heresy, as *al-Maqtúl*), the *Kitábu'l-Wáridáti'l-Qalbiyya*, the *Kasru Aṣnámí'l-Jáhiliyya*, or "Breaking of the Idols of Ignorance," several commentaries on various portions of the *Qur'án*, etc.

Of Mullá Ṣadrá's philosophical doctrines, in spite of their

<sup>1</sup> *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (Luzac, London, 1908), p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Gobineau has misunderstood *Asfár* (which is the plural of *Sifr*, "a book," not of *Safar*, "a journey") when he writes (*Rel. et Philos.*, 1866, p. 81), "Il a écrit de plus quatre livres de voyages." In the same way he mistranslates the title of one of the Báb's earlier works, the *Ziyárat-náma* ("Book of Visitation") as "un journal de son pèlerinage."

high reputation in Persia, I know of only two brief and necessarily superficial accounts in any European language. The Comte de Gobineau devotes several pages<sup>1</sup> to them, but his information was probably entirely derived orally from his Persian teachers, who were very likely but ill-informed on this matter, since he concludes his notice with the words "la vraie doctrine de Moulla-Sadra, c'est-à-dire d'Avicenne," while the *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát*<sup>2</sup> explicitly states that he was an *Ishráqí* ("Illuminatus" or Platonist) and strongly condemned the Aristoteleans or Peripatetics (*Mashshá'ún*), of whom Avicenna was the great representative.

The other shorter but more serious account of Mullá Ṣadrá's doctrine is given by Shaykh Muḥammad Iqbál, formerly a pupil of Dr McTaggart in this University of Cambridge, and now himself a notable and original thinker in India, in his excellent little book entitled *Development of Metaphysics in Persia: a contribution to the History of Muslim Philosophy*<sup>3</sup>, p. 175, but he devotes much more space (pp. 175-95) to the modern Hájji Mullá Hádí of Sabzawár, whom he regards as Mullá Ṣadrá's spiritual successor, and who, unlike his master, condescended, as we shall presently see, to expound his ideas in Persian instead of in Arabic. It may be added

Shaykh Muḥammad Iqbál's account.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Religions et les Philosophies*, etc. (1866), pp. 80-92.

<sup>2</sup> P. 331. The passage runs in the original:

كان... منقحاً اساساً الاشراق بما لا مزيد عليه و مفتحاً ابواب  
الفضيحة على طريقة المشاء و الرواق'

<sup>3</sup> London, Luzac and Co., 1908. Muḥammad Iqbál has set forth his own doctrines (which, as I understand them, are in the main an Oriental adaptation of Nietzsche's philosophy) in a short Persian *mathnawí* poem entitled *Asrár-i-Khudí*, lithographed at the University Press, Lahore, and translated into English with an Introduction and Notes by my friend and colleague Dr R. A. Nicholson (*The Secrets of the Self*, London, Macmillan & Co., 1920).

that Mullá Šadrá speaks with great respect of that eminent Maghribí Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí, whose influence, non-Persian though he was, was probably greater than that of any other thinker on the development of the extremer forms of Persian philosophical-mystical speculation.

Influence of Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí.

4. *Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayḍ of Káshán.*

Muḥammad ibn Murtaḍà of Káshán, commonly called Muḥsin with the poetical pen-name of Fayḍ, was a native of Káshán, and, as already said, the favourite pupil and son-in-law of Mullá Šadrá. In the *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát* (pp. 542-9) and the *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá* much fuller notices of him are given than of his master, and, since he was not only a theologian and a philosopher but likewise a poet of some note, he is also mentioned in the *Riyádu'l-'Aristn* (pp. 225-6) and the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* (ii, 25-6). His literary activity was enormous: according to the *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamá* he wrote nearly two hundred books and treatises, and was surpassed in productivity by hardly any of his contemporaries or predecessors except Mullá Muḥammad Báqir-i-Majlisí. Sixty-nine of these works, of which the last, entitled *Sharḥu's-Šadrá*, is autobiographical, are enumerated in the *Qiṣaṣ*, but fuller details of them are given in the *Rawḍát* (pp. 545-6), where the dates of composition (which range between 1029/1620 and 1090/1680) are in most cases recorded. His age at this latter date, which is also notified as the year of his death, is stated as eighty-four<sup>2</sup>, so that he must have been born about 1006/1597-8. Of one of his works, the *Mafátiḥu'sh-Sharāyī*, I possess

Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayḍ, d. about 1090/1680.

His prodigious literary activity.

<sup>1</sup> It was written in 1065/1654-5. See *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, p. 546. It is wrongly entitled *Sharḥ-i-Suwar* in the Indian lithograph of the *Qiṣaṣ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawḍātu'l-Jannát*, pp. 542 and 549.

الشرطية الواقعة وتسمى الملائكة كما في قوله تعالى ثبوت محاليتها بما عني قرآنا ونصنا وصحاحنا ما ذكرنا من حصول  
 لا يحرم بالمباركة بن الحسن بن أمير آخره ربه انه بعد اصدار المحال لا لا يحرم بالملائكة بنه وبين امر اخر وان  
 وحيد فيها نسبة التبر لو وجد ما بين يمينه وبين امر اخر ثم الملائكة بنهما قطعنا على ما قدم من ان محال الملائكة  
 يحصل الحكيم ما له لو وجد كذا او عاقبته وجوده والحي ان يكون ان تبدل الاوضاع الواجب في العلم  
 هذا الحكم لانه لا يصح له الا في عالم الواقع واطواره واما اذا فرض انه احد المحال لغووان الامكان في العلم  
 حتى يظهر حاله من غير ان يكون له الاما انا على نفس واما على الغير اذ لا فرق فيما كانا على هو طريق استعمال  
 انكف محسنة لا بد من الاعتراف بصدق الشرطية استعمالها فيها وانما يستلزم عدم جملتها لهما سواء الا  
 المذكور والامجال الكثرة ونسبها لا احتمال المذكور انما اذ هو لا يصح مع الاخذ المذكور ويكون من الاعتراف بالمقصود  
 وبعيد الاعتراف بصدق الشرطية فيضم اليها الى محال الواقعة فتعبر ان المقدم الصالح في الواقع في نظير ان  
 الاخذ المذكور كما قال بعض الناس الاله واما على الغير وشي انكف الشرطية لا يحرم للعقل بها الواقعة  
 على القول المذكور انما العقل لا يمكن ان يحرم به استدلال محال شر اخر من انهم قد ورد ونفسه في غير ذلك  
 اصلا ونحو ما خفاه ولا ريب في شذوذه كمن عالج الصواب كسبة العبد ومحمد بن عوفله

Fayḍ

تتمت في شهر رجب سنة 1090

Autograph of Mullá Muḥsin-i-Fayḍ



what appears to be an autograph copy, made in 1042/1632-3, now bearing the class-mark C. 18.

When Mullá Muḥsin wished to leave his home in Káshán and go to Shíráz to study under the celebrated theologian Sayyid Májid of Baḥrayn, his father opposed this project, and it was finally agreed to take an augury (*tafa"ul*) from the *Qur'an*, and from the poems ascribed to the first Imám 'Alí ibn Abí Tálíb. The former yielded the verse (ix, 123) "*if a part of every band of them go not forth, it is that they may diligently instruct themselves in Religion*"; the latter the following lines rendered particularly apposite by the words *shukbatu Májidi*, "the society of some noble one," which might in this case be taken as referring particularly to the above-mentioned Sayyid Májid:

تَغْرَبُ عَنِ الْأُوطَانِ فِي طَلَبِ الْعُلَى،  
 وَ سَافِرٌ فِي الْأَسْفَارِ خَمْسَ فَوَائِدِ،  
 تَفَرِّجُ هَمِّهِ وَ آكْتَسَابَ مَعِيشَةٍ،  
 وَ عِلْمٌ وَ آدَابٌ وَ صَحْبَةُ مَاجِدِ،  
 فَإِنَّ قِيلَ فِي الْأَسْفَارِ ذَلٌّ وَ مَحَنَةٌ،  
 وَ قَطَعَ الْفِيَّافِي وَ ارْتَكَبَ الشَّدَائِدِ،  
 فَمَوْتَ الْفَتَى خَيْرٌ لَهُ مِنْ قِيَامِهِ،  
 بَدَارِ هَوَانٍ بَيْنَ ذَلٍّ وَ حَاسِدِ،

"Go abroad from the home-lands in search of eminence, and travel,

After these clear indications, Mullá Muḥsin's father no longer opposed his desire to go to Shíráz, where he pursued his studies not only with the aforesaid Sayyid Májid, but also with Mullá Ṣadrá. It is difficult to accept the statement of the *Qišaş* that this took place in 1065/1654-5, for this would make him nearly sixty years of age before he began his serious studies with Mullá Ṣadrá or married his daughter.

Mullá Muḥsin is described in the *Qišaş* as a "pure Akhbári" (*Akhabart-yi-Şirf*), a Şúfi, and an admirer of Shaykh Muḥyi'd-Dín ibnu'l-'Arabí. Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsá'í, who, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, wrote commentaries on two of the books of his master Mullá Ṣadrá, detested him, and used to call him *Must'* ("the ill-doer") instead of *Muḥsin* ("the well-doer"), and to speak of the great Shaykh as *Mumittu'd-Dín* ("the Slayer of Religion") instead of *Muḥyi'd-Dín* ("the Quickener of Religion"). According to an absurd story in the *Qišaş*, Mullá Muḥsin was chosen by Sháh 'Abbás to confute a Christian missionary sent by the "King of the Franks" to convert the Persians. The sign offered by this missionary was that he would specify any article held in the closed hand of his opponent<sup>2</sup>. Mullá Muḥsin chose a rosary (*tasbítih*) made of clay taken from the tomb of the Imám Ḥusayn. The Christian hesitated to speak, but, when pressed, said, "It is not that I cannot say, but, according to the rule I observe, I see that in thy hand is a portion of the earth of Paradise, and I am wondering how this can have come into thy possession." "Thou speakest truly," replied Mullá Muḥsin, and then informed him what he held, and bade him abandon his own faith and accept Islám, which,

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 429-30 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> This is called *khaby*, and thought-reading *damír*. See my translation of the *Cháhar Maqála*, p. 64 and n. 2 *ad calc.*, and pp. 130-1.

Antagonism  
between Shaykh  
Aḥmad Aḥsá'í  
and Mullá  
Muḥsin.

Mullá Muḥsin  
triumphs over  
a Christian  
missionary.

according to the narrator, he was constrained to do. Though extremely pious in most respects, Mullá Muḥsin scandalized the orthodox by his approval and sanction of singing. His best-known Persian compilation is probably the *Abwábu'l-Janán* ("Gates of Paradise") composed in 1055/1645, on prayer and its necessity<sup>1</sup>, but few of his numerous writings have been published or are now read, and at the present day, at any rate, his name is more familiar than his works.

### 5. *Mullá 'Abdu'r-Razzáq-i-Láhiǵi*.

The subject of this notice resembled Mullá Muḥsin in being a pupil and son-in-law of Mullá Ṣadrá and a poet, who wrote under the pen-name of Fayyád, but his writings, though much fewer in number, are more read at the present day. The best known are, perhaps, the philosophical treatise in Persian entitled *Gawhar-i-Murád* ("the Pearl of Desire"), and the *Sar-máya-i-Ímán* ("Substance of Faith"), also in Persian, both of which have been lithographed. The notices of him in the *Rawdátu'l-Jannát* (pp. 352-3) and the *Qišaşu'l-'Ulamá* are short and unsatisfactory. The latter grudgingly admits that his writings were fairly orthodox, but evidently doubts how far they express his real convictions and how far they were designed from prudential motives to disguise them, thus bearing out to some extent the opinion expressed by Gobineau<sup>2</sup>.

I have been obliged to omit any further notice than that already given<sup>3</sup> of the somewhat elusive figure of Mír Abu'l-Qásim-i-Findariskí, mentioned by Gobineau<sup>4</sup> as one of the three teachers of Mullá Ṣadrá, because, apart from the brief notices of him

Mír Abu'l-  
Qásim-i-  
Findariskí.

Not to be confounded with a later homonymous work on Ethics.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. laud.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. laud.*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 257-8 and 408 *supra*.

contained in the *Riyādu'l-'Arifin*<sup>1</sup> and the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā*, in both of which the same poem is cited, and the passing reference in the *Dabistān*<sup>2</sup> to his association with the disciples of Kaywān and adoption of sun-worship, I have been unable to discover any particulars about his life or doctrines. He appears to have been more of a *qalandar* than a philosopher, and probably felt ill at ease in the atmosphere of Shī'a orthodoxy which prevailed at Iṣfahān, and hence felt impelled to undertake the journey to India. He must, however, have subsequently returned to Persia if the statement in the *Riyādu'l-'Arifin* that his tomb is well known in Iṣfahān be correct.

Gobineau (*op. laud.*, pp. 91-110) enumerates a number of philosophers who succeeded Mullá Ṣadrá down to the time of his own sojourn in Persia, but most of them have little importance or originality, and we need only mention one more, who was still living when Gobineau wrote, and whom he describes as "personnage absolument incomparable."

### 6. Hájji Mullá Hádí of Sabzawár

It is not, however, necessary to say much about this celebrated modern thinker, since his philosophical ideas are somewhat fully discussed by Shaykh Muḥammad Iqbál at the end of his *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*<sup>3</sup>, while I obtained from one of his pupils with whom I studied in Ṭihrán during the winter of 1887-8 an authentic account of his life, of which I published an English translation in my *Year amongst the Persians*<sup>4</sup>. According to this account, partly derived from one of his sons, Hájji Mullá Hádí the son of Hájji Mahdí was born in 1212/1797-8, studied first in his native town of Sabzawár, then at Mashhad, then at Iṣfahān

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 165-6.

<sup>2</sup> Shea and Troyer's translation (London, 1843), vol. i, pp. 140-1.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 175-95.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 131-4.

with Mullá 'Alí Núrí. Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he visited Kirmán, where he married a wife, and then returned to Sabzawár, where the remainder of his life was chiefly spent until his death in 1295/1878. His best-known works, written in Persian, are the *Asraru'l-Hikam* ("Secrets of Philosophy") and a commentary on difficult words and passages in the *Mathnawí*; in Arabic he has a versified treatise (*Manẓuma*) on Logic; another on Philosophy; commentaries on the Morning Prayer and the *Jawshan-i-Kabir*; and numerous notes on the *Shawáhidu'r-Rubúbiyya* and other works of Mullá Ṣadrá. He also wrote poetry under the pen-name of Asrár, and a notice of him is given in the *Riyādu'l-'Arifin* (pp. 241-2), where he is spoken of as still living and in the sixty-third year of his age in 1278/1861-2, the date of composition. Most of his works have been published in Persia in lithographed editions.

### 3. THE SCIENCES—MATHEMATICAL, NATURAL AND OCCULT.

As stated above<sup>1</sup>, Mathematics (*Riyādiyyát*) "the Disciplinary" and *Ṭabí'iyát* the Natural Sciences, in conjunction with Metaphysics (*Má ward* or *Má ba'da't-Ṭabí'at*), constitute the subject-matter of the theoretical or speculative branch of Philosophy, of which, therefore, they form a part.

It is probable that to this manner of regarding them is partly due the unfortunate tendency noticeable in most Muslim thinkers to take an *a priori* view of all natural phenomena instead of submitting them to direct critical observation. The so-called "Arabian," *i.e.* Islamic, Science was in the main inherited from the Greeks; its Golden Age was the first century of the 'Abbásid Caliphate (A.D. 750-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 423-4 *supra*.

Evolution of  
"Arabian"  
Science, and its  
connection with  
Philosophy.

850), when so much trouble and expense was incurred by the Caliphs, especially al-Manşúr, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd and al-Ma'mún, to procure good and faithful Arabic translations of the great Greek philosophers, naturalists and physicians; and the great service it rendered to mankind was to carry on the Greek tradition of learning through the Dark Ages of Europe down to the Renaissance.

So much is generally admitted, but there remains the more difficult and still unsolved question whether the Arabs were mere transmitters of Greek learning, or whether they modified or added to it, and, in this case, whether these modifications or additions were or were not improvements on the original. This question I have endeavoured

to answer in the case of medical science in my *Arabian Medicine*<sup>1</sup>, but I was greatly hampered by insufficient acquaintance with the original Greek sources. For such investigation, whether in the Medicine, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy or Chemistry of the Muslims, three qualifications not often combined are required in the investigator, to wit, knowledge of the science or art in question, knowledge of Arabic (and, for later writers, of Persian and even Turkish), and knowledge of Greek. In the case of the "Arabian" (*i.e.* Muslim) physicians the conclusion at which

I arrived (already reached by Dr Max Neuburger in his monumental *Geschichte der Medizin*<sup>2</sup>) was that Rhazes (Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi, *i.e.* a native of Ray in Persia) was, as a physician, far superior to the more celebrated and popular Avicenna (Ibn Síná), and was, indeed, probably the greatest clinical observer who ever existed amongst the Muslims. The notes of actual cases which came under his observation, as recorded in parts of his great "Continens"

<sup>1</sup> Pp. viii + 138, Cambridge University Press, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii, Part i, pp. 168 *et seqq.*

What, if anything, did the Arabs add to what they inherited from the Greeks?

Eminence of Rhazes (ar-Rázi) as an observer.

(*al-Háwi*), have an actual and not merely a historical or literary value; and even from his methods of treatment it is possible that here and there a hint might be obtained. Avicenna was more logical, more systematic, and more philosophical, but he lacked the Hippocratic insight possessed by his great predecessor.

In my *Arabian Medicine* I sketched the history of the art amongst the Muslims from its beginnings in the eighth century of our era down to the twelfth, but made no attempt to follow it down to the period which we are now considering. The Mongol Invasion of the thirteenth century, as I have repeatedly and emphatically stated, dealt a death-blow to Muslim learning from which it has not yet recovered. Medical and other quasi-scientific books continued, of course, to be written, but it is doubtful if they ever approached the level attained under the early 'Abbásid Caliphs and maintained until the eleventh, and, to some extent, until the thirteenth century of our era. That they added anything which was both new and true is in the highest degree improbable, though I cannot claim to have carefully investigated the matter. A long list of these books is given by Dr Adolf Fonahn in his most useful work entitled *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin*<sup>1</sup>, which has pointed the way for future investigators. Of these later works the most celebrated is probably the *Tuhfatu'l-Mú'mintn*, compiled for Sháh Sulaymán the Şafawí by Muḥammad Mú'min-i-Ḥusaynî in A.D. 1669. It deals chiefly with *Materia Medica*, and there are numerous editions and manuscripts, besides translations into Turkish and Arabic<sup>2</sup>.

What has been said about Medicine holds good also of Zoology, Botany, Chemistry, etc., and in a lesser degree of Mathematics, Astronomy and Mineralogy. Fine work

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1910, pp. v + 152.

<sup>2</sup> See Fonahn, *op. laud.*, pp. 89-91. See also *B.M.P.C.*, pp. 476-7.

has been done in some of these subjects by experts who also possessed an adequate knowledge of Arabic. I will only instance Woepcke in Algebra, Wiedemann in Mechanics, Hirschberg in Ophthalmology, and, amongst younger men, Holmyard in Chemistry. All these, I think, have come to the conclusion that the standard attained by the best Muslim investigators surpassed rather than fell short of what is generally supposed. Yet it is often difficult to assure oneself that direct observation, which is the foundation of true science, has played its proper part in ascertaining the phenomena recorded. Dr Badhlu'r-Rahmán, now Professor of Arabic in the Oriental College at Lahore, when he was a Research Student in this University, took as the subject of his studies the works of al-Jáhiz, who, on the strength of his great book on animals, the *Kitábu'l-Hayawán*, is often regarded as one of the leading naturalists of the Arabs<sup>1</sup>. At my request this able and industrious young scholar devoted especial attention to the question whether the writings of this author afforded any proof that he had himself observed the habits of any of the animals about which he wrote. A passage was ultimately found which seemed conclusive. In speaking of instinct al-Jáhiz says that when the ant stores corn for food it mutilates each grain in such a way as to prevent it from germinating. After numerous fruitless enquiries as to the truth of this statement, I finally ascertained from Mr Horace Donisthorpe, one of the chief British authorities on ants, that it was correct, and I began to hope that here at last was proof that this old Muslim scholar had himself observed

How far did the Muslim scientists observe for themselves?

Al-Jáhiz on instincts in ants.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. by Fr. Wüstenfeld in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen, 1840), pp. 25-6 (No. 65). Carl Brockelmann's view is correct (*Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, p. 152), but his criticism of Dr L. Leclerc's remarks on the subject (*Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, i, p. 314) hardly appears justified.

a fact of Natural History apparently unknown to many modern Zoologists. Unhappily I subsequently discovered the same statement in Pliny, and I am afraid it is much more likely that it reached al-Jáhiz by tradition rather than by direct observation.

In each of the "Arabian" sciences the same question arises and demands an answer which only one thoroughly versed in the scientific literature of the ancients can give. Does Ibnu'l-Baytár's great Arabic work on medicinal plants, for example, contain any information not to be found in Dioscorides? Be the answer what it may, it is doubtful whether the later Muslim writers on these various sciences ever surpassed, or even equalled, their predecessors. In quite recent times, especially since the foundation of the *Dáru'l-Funún*, or Polytechnic College, at Tíhrán early in the reign of Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh, numerous Persian translations or adaptations of European scientific works have been made, but these are entirely exotic, and can hardly claim to be noticed in a work on Persian Literature. A number of them are mentioned in my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, pp. 154-66, under the heading "Modernising Influences in the Persian Press other than Magazines and Journals." But of those Persians who since the middle of the nineteenth century have successfully graduated in the European schools of science, I know of none who has hitherto made a reputation for original research.

In conclusion a few words must be said about the Occult Sciences, excluding Astrology and Alchemy, which are in the East hardly to be separated from Astronomy and Chemistry. Alchemy is called in Arabic and Persian *Kímiyá*, and the names of four other Occult Sciences, dealing with Talismans, Necromancy, and the like, are formed on the same model, *Límiyá*, *Hímiyá*, *Símiyá*, and *Rímiyá*, the initial letters

Modern European Science in Persia.

The Occult Sciences.

being derived from the words *Kulluhu Sirr* (كلته سر), "All of it is a Mystery." The book entitled *Asrār-i-Qásim* ("Secrets of Qásim")<sup>1</sup> in Persian, and the *Shamsu'l-Ma'arif* ("Sun of Knowledges")<sup>2</sup> of the celebrated Shaykh al-Búní in Arabic, may be regarded as typical of this class of literature, but to the uninitiated they make but arid and unprofitable reading. Ibn Khaldún is the only Muslim writer I know of who has sought to discover a philosophical and rational basis for these so-called sciences, and his ideas have been collated with the theories of modern Psychical Research in a most masterly manner by Professor Duncan Black Macdonald in his interesting and suggestive book entitled *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*<sup>3</sup>. I have always kept an open mind as to the reality of the powers claimed by Occultists, and, when opportunity offered, have always gone out of my way to investigate such manifestations. Disappointment has invariably been my portion, save in two cases: a "magician" whom I met in Kirmán in the summer of 1888, who, amidst much vain boasting, did accomplish one feat which baffled my comprehension<sup>4</sup>; and the late Shaykh Ḥabíb Aḥmad, author of an astonishing work in English entitled *The Mysteries of Sound and Number*<sup>5</sup>, who, if nothing more, was an amazingly skilful thought-reader.

#### 4. HISTORY—GENERAL, SPECIAL AND LOCAL.

It must be admitted, with whatever unwillingness and regret, that in the art of historical compilation the Persians

<sup>1</sup> Lithographed at Bombay in 1885 and 1894.

<sup>2</sup> I possess the lithographed edition of 1318/1900, but others have appeared in India and Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> University of Chicago Press, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 453-5.

<sup>5</sup> London, Nichols & Co., 1903; pp. xiv+211.

#### CH. IX] ARAB AND PERSIAN HISTORIANS

fall far short of the Arabs, who, indeed, excel in this branch of literature. The earlier Muslim annalists like Ṭabarí, with their verbatim narratives by eye-witnesses of the events recorded transmitted orally through carefully scrutinized chains of traditionists, are not only singularly graphic but furnish us, even at this distance of time, with materials for history of which, thanks to these *isnáds*, it is still possible to estimate the authenticity, even if our judgement as to the strength of the respective links in the chain does not always agree with that of Muslim critics. The later Arab historians selected, condensed, and discarded these somewhat wearisome if valuable *isnáds*, but their narrative, as a rule, continues to be crisp, concise, graphic and convincing. The best of the earlier Persian historians, down to the thirteenth century, though lacking the charm of the Arabian chroniclers, are meritorious and trustworthy. The bad taste of their Tartar and Turkish rulers and patrons gradually brought about a deterioration both of style and substance, very noticeable between Juwaynī's *Tārīkh-i-Jahán-gusháy* (completed about 658/1260) and its continuation, the *Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣáf* (completed in 712/1312), which, as already observed<sup>1</sup>, exercised an enduring evil influence on subsequent historians in Persia. Of later Persian histories I have met with few equal to a history of the Caliphate by Hindúsháh ibn Sanjar ibn 'Abdu'lláh aṣ-Ṣāhibí al-Kírání, composed in 724/1324 for Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad the Atábak of Luristán, and entitled *Tajāribu's-Salaf* ("Experiences of Yore"). This, however, is entirely and avowedly based on the delightful Arabic history of Ṣafiyu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Alí al-'Alawí aṭ-Ṭiḡtaqí, composed in 701/1302, commonly known

Superiority of the Arabs to the Persians as historians.

Deplorable influence of the *Tārīkh-i-Waṣṣáf*.

A Persian version of the *Kitábul-Fakhr*.

as the *Kitābu'l-Fakhr*, but here entitled *Mūnyatu'l-Fu-dāld ft Tawārīkh-i-Khulafā wa'l-Wuzarā* ("the Desire of Scholars on the History of the Caliphs and their Ministers"). That it never appealed to the debased taste which we are here deploring is sufficiently shown by the fact that not only has it never been published, but, so far as I know, it is represented only by my manuscript, G. 3 (copied in 1286/1870), and one other (dated 1304/1886-7) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris<sup>2</sup>.

It would be a wearisome and unprofitable task to enumerate the many Persian historical works composed during the last four centuries. Of the histories of special periods the most important have been not only described but freely quoted in the first part of this volume, notably the *Şafwatū's-Şafā* for the life of Shaykh Şafiyū'd-Dīn from whom the Şafawī kings were descended; the monograph on Shāh Isma'īl described by Sir E. Denison Ross in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1896, pp. 264-83; the *Aḥsanū't-Tawārīkh*, completed in 985/1577-8 by Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū; and the *Tārīkh-i-Ālam-drā-yi-'Abbāsī* of Iskandar Munshi, composed in 1025/1616. There are other monographs on the later Şafawī period, such as the *Fawā'id-i-Şafawīyya* (1211/1796-7) and the *Tadhkira-i-Āl-i-Dāwūd* (1218/1803-4), which I would fain have consulted had they been accessible to me. For the post-Şafawī period we have several excellent European accounts which render us less dependent on the native historians, some of whose works moreover (e.g. the *Tārīkh-*

<sup>1</sup> Originally edited by Ahlwardt from the Paris MS. 895 (now 2441) and published at Gotha in 1860. A revised text was published by H. Derenbourg at Paris in 1895, and there are at least two cheap and good Egyptian editions. A French translation by Emil Amar has been published by the Société des Études Marocaines (Paris, 1910).

<sup>2</sup> See Blochet's *Cat. des Mscr. Persans* etc. (Paris, 1905), vol. i, p. 251 (Schefer 237 = Suppl. Pers. 1552).

*i-Zandiyya*<sup>1</sup> and the *Mujmalū't-Tārīkh-i-Ba'd-Nādirīyya*<sup>2</sup>) have been published in Europe, while others, such as the *Durra-i-Nādir* of Mīrzā Mahdī Khān of Astarābād, are easily accessible in Oriental lithographed editions. These monographs contain valuable material and are indispensable to the student of this period, but they are generally badly arranged and dully written, and further marred by the florid and verbose style of which we have just been complaining.

For the general histories of our present period, from Khwāndamīr's *Habībū's-Siyar* (929/1523) at the beginning to Ridā-qulī Khān's Supplement to the *Raw-datū's-Şafā* and Lisānu'l-Mulk's *Nāsikhū't-Tawārīkh* at the end, with the very rare *Khuld-i-Bartn* (1071/1660-1) in the middle, there is even less to be said, since, though for events contemporary with their authors they have the same value as the monographs just mentioned, for the earlier periods they are not even good or judicious abstracts of the carelessly selected authorities from whom they derive their information. They are, moreover, histories not of the Persian people but of the kings, princes and nobles who tyrannized over them and contended with one another for the spoils; wearisome records of bloodshed, violence and rapine from which it is hard to derive any general concepts of value<sup>3</sup>. Only by diligent and patient study can we extract from them facts capable of throwing any real light on the religious, political and social problems which a historian like Ibn Khaldūn would have handled in so masterly a manner.

There are, however, hopeful signs of improvement in

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Ernst Beer, Leyden, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Oskar Mann, Leyden, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Mr Vincent Smith's judicious remarks on this subject in his monograph on *Akbar*, pp. 386-7.

recent times. Poor Mírzá Jání of Káshán, though a merchant without much literary training, wrote his *Nuq̄ṭatu'l-Káf*<sup>1</sup> on the history of the Bábí sect, of which in 1852 he was one of the proto-martyrs, with violence and passion indeed, but with knowledge, in plain and simple language without that florid rhetoric which we find so intolerable; while the unfinished "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (*Táríkh-i-Bidárit-yi-Íráníyán*) of the Názimu'l-Islám of Kirmán<sup>2</sup>, with its ample documentation and endeavour to estimate personal characteristics and influence on political events, seems to me to stand on an altogether higher level than any preceding Persian historical work composed during the last six or seven centuries.

##### 5. BIOGRAPHY, AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL.

Muslim writers have always evinced a great partiality for biography, which may be general, dealing with the lives of eminent men of all sorts, like Ibn Khallikán's *Wafayátu'l-A'yán* ("Obituaries of Notable Men") and the *Rawḍátu'l-Jannát*, of which I have made such extensive use in the latter part of this volume, the former composed in the thirteenth, the latter in the late nineteenth century, and both in Arabic; and the ambitious but unfinished modern Persian *Náma-i-Dánishwarán* ("Book of Learned Men") compiled by a committee

Biography popular with the Muslims.

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1910 as vol. xv of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series.

<sup>2</sup> This work was published in lithographed fasciculi, and, so far as it has reached me, comprises the Introduction (*Muqaddama*) of 273 pp.; vol. i, completed on the 20th of Dhū'l-Qa'da, 1328 (Nov. 23, 1910), which carries the narrative down to what is called the *Hijrat-i-Ṣuḡhrá* (December, 1905), and comprises 256 pp.; and vol. ii, completed at the end of Šafar, 1330 (Feb. 18, 1912), comprising 240 pp. Whether there is any likelihood of the work being completed I do not know.

of some half a dozen scholars, of which the first volume was lithographed at Tíhrán in 1296/1879 and the second in 1312/1904-5<sup>1</sup>. More often such works treat of the biographies of some particular class of men, such as Ministers, Physicians, Poets or Theologians; or they follow a geographical or a chronological arrangement, merging on the one hand into geography and on the other into history. Khwándamír's *Dastúru'l-Wuzará* ("Models for Ministers")<sup>2</sup>, composed, according to the chronogram implicit in the title, in 915/1509-10, affords us a Persian example of the first type falling at the beginning of the period reviewed in this volume. For the Physicians and Philosophers no Persian work approaches the level of al-Qiftí's *Táríkhul-Hukamá*<sup>3</sup> and Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's *Uyúnu'l-Anbá ft Ṭabaqáti'l-Aṭibbá*<sup>4</sup>, both composed in the thirteenth century of our era, a period so rich in Arabic biographical works. Biographies of poets, on the other hand, abound in Persian, especially in the later period, since Sháh Isma'il's son Sám Mírzá set the fashion with his *Tuhfa-i-Sámt* (a continuation of Dawlatsháh's "Memoirs of the Poets") compiled in 957/1550. Eminent representatives of the Shí'a sect, both Arabs and Persians of every category from kings to poets, form the subject-matter of the very useful *Majdlisu'l-Mú'mintn* ("Assemblies of Believers"), the author of which, Sayyid Núru'lláh of Shúshtar, was flogged to death in 1019/1610-11 by order of Jahángír at the instigation of the Sunnís, and who is therefore called by his fellow-believers the "Third Martyr" (*Shahíd-i-Thálith*)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*, pp. 165-6.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Rieu (*B.M.P.C.*), p. 335. I have a good modern MS. professedly collated with the original in 1268/1851-2, now marked J. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Professor Julius Lippert (Leipzig, 1903).

<sup>4</sup> Printed in Cairo in two volumes in 1299/1882.

<sup>5</sup> See Rieu (*B.M.P.C.*), pp. 337-8.



Of the older geographico-biographical works the *Atharū'l-Bilād* ("Monuments of the Lands") of Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī<sup>1</sup>, and the Persian *Haft Iqlīm* ("Seven Climes"), composed in 1028/1619 by Amīn Aḥmad-i-Rāzī, are typical specimens<sup>2</sup>. Monographs on different provinces or cities of Persia are also fairly common, and generally include notices of the more eminent natives of the region discussed. Of modern biographical works produced in Persia I have made extensive use,

especially in the chapter on the Theologians, of the Arabic *Rawḍātu'l-Jannāt ft Ahwālil-'Ulamā wa's-Saddāt* ("Gardens of Paradise, on the circumstances of Men of Learning and Leading"). This comprehensive work, which deserves to be better known, contains some 742 notices of eminent Muslim scholars, saints and poets, ancient and modern, and was compiled by Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Ḥājji Amīr Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn al-Mūsawī of Khwānsār in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A good lithographed edition (except that, as usual, it has no Index) appeared at Ṭih-rān in 1306/1888. The notices are arranged in alphabetical order, not very strictly observed, under personal names, such as Aḥmad, 'Alī, Muḥammad, etc., which, of course, are seldom the names by which those who bear them are commonly known. Thus the Muḥammads, who fill the greater part of the fourth and last volume and comprise a hundred and forty-three articles, include the great Shī'a theologians generally referred to as al-Kulaynī, Ibn Bābawayhi and

<sup>1</sup> Edited in the original Arabic by F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848), and followed in the succeeding year by the same author's "Wonders of Creation" (*Ajā'ibu'l-Makhlūqāt*).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Haft Iqlīm* the biographical element preponderates. Unfortunately it remains unpublished, though a critical edition was begun by Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, of which, so far as I know, only the first fasciculus (pp. x+114) has been printed at Calcutta in 1918.

Shaykh-i-Muḥfīd; the historians Ṭabarī and Shahristānī; the scientists Rāzī and Bīrūnī; the thinkers Fārābī, Ghazālī and Muḥyī'd-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī; and the Persian poets Sanā'ī, Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, nor is any subordinate plan, chronological or other, discernible within these sections, so that the owner of the book who wishes to consult it regularly is compelled to make his own Index or Table of Contents.

The other book which I have constantly consulted as to the lives of the theologians is the Persian *Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamā* ("Stories of the Doctors") of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān of Tanakābun, who wrote it in 1290/1873<sup>1</sup>. It contains about a hundred and fifty

The Qiṣaṣu'l-'Ulamā.

biographies of Shī'a divines, and is more readable, if less accurate, than the work previously mentioned. Another useful Persian book on the same subject is the *Nujūmu's-Samā* ("Stars of Heaven") composed by Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī in 1286/1869-70<sup>2</sup>, dealing with the Shī'a doctors of the eleventh,

The Nujūmu's-Samā, and other biographies of Theologians.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the *hijra* (seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth of the Christian era). There exist also two special monographs in Arabic on the Shī'a divines of Bahrayn and Jabal 'Āmil, the *Lū'lu'atu'l-Bahrayn* ("Pearl of Bahrayn") of Shaykh Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bahrānī, who flourished in the eighteenth century; and the *Amalu'l-Āmil ft 'Ulamā'i Jabal 'Āmil* ("the Hoper's Hope, on the Doctors of Mount 'Āmil"), by Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī... al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, who belongs to the previous century.

Mention must also be made of another modern biographical work of a somewhat special character, which,

<sup>1</sup> I possess two lithographed editions, one, the second Ṭih-rān edition, published in 1304/1886; the other, apparently at Lucknow, in 1306/1888-9

<sup>2</sup> Lithographed at Lucknow in 1303/1885-6.