

though the work of a Persian, is written in Turkish. This is the *Khatt u Khattátán* ("Writing and Calligraphists. Writers")¹, a history of the art of Calligraphy and its votaries by the learned Mírzá Ḥabíb of Iṣfahán, who spent the latter period of his life in Constantinople, where he was a member of the *Anjuman-i-Ma'árif*, or Turkish Academy.

These are but a selection of the more useful or less known biographical works, of which many more will be found described in Rieu's, Ethé's, and other catalogues of Persian manuscripts. Of autobiographies the most notable is that of Shaykh 'Alí Ḥazín, which contains one of the few first-hand Persian accounts of the Afghán Invasion and fall of Iṣfahán in A.D. 1722. Travels are a special form of autobiography, in which His late Majesty Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh indulged freely.

An account of the mission of Farrukh Khán Amínu'l-Mulk to London and Paris at the close of the Anglo-Persian War in 1857-8 was written by one of his staff, Mírzá Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdu'lláh, but has never been published². It concludes with a description of the French Departments of State and Public Institutions. More valuable and varied in its contents is the

Bustánu's-Siyáhat ("Garden of Travel") of Ḥajji Zaynu'l-'Ábidín of Shírwán³, who wrote it in 1247/1831-2. In a brief autobiography under the heading Shamákhí he tells us that he was born in mid-

¹ A very nicely printed edition of this book was published at Constantinople in 1305/1887-8.

² My MS. K. 7, copied in 1276/1860 for Prince Bahman Mírzá Bahá'u'd-Dawla, came to me amongst the Schindler MSS. Concerning Farrukh Khán's mission, see R. G. Watson's *History of Persia 1800-1858*, pp. 456 *et seqq.*

³ Lithographed at Tíhrán in 1310/1892-3. See Rieu (*B.M.P.S.*), pp. 99-101, Nos. 139 and 140, and B. Dorn in *Mélanges et Extraits*, vol. iii, pp. 50-59.

Sha'bán, 1194 (August 15, 1780), and was taken to Karbalá, where he thenceforth made his home, when only five years old. He travelled extensively in 'Iráq, Gílán, the Caucasus, Ádharbáyján, Khurásán, Afghánistán, India, Kashmír, Badakhshán, Turkistán, Transoxiana, the Persian Gulf, Yaman, the Ḥijáz, Egypt, Syria, Turkey in Asia and Armenia, and in Persia also visited Tíhrán, Hamadán, Iṣfahán, Shíráz and Kirmán. He was a Shí'ite and a *darwish* of the Order of Sháh Ni'matu'lláh, and in this double capacity made the acquaintance and enjoyed the friendship of many eminent doctors (*'ulamá*) and "gnostics" (*'urafá*). The author, a man of intelligence and a keen observer, does not give a continuous narrative of his travels, but arranges his materials under the following heads:

Chapter I. Account of the Prophet, his daughter Fáṭima, and the Twelve Imáms.

Chapter II. Account of certain doctors, gnostics, philosophers, poets and learned men.

Chapter III. On sundry sects and doctrines.

Chapter IV. Geographical account of towns and villages visited by the author in Persia, Turkistán, Afghánistán, India, parts of Europe and China, Turkey, Syria and Egypt, the names of these places being arranged alphabetically.

Promenade (Sayr). Prolegomena on the arrangement of this Garden, and on certain matters connected therewith.

Rose-bed (Gulshan). Countries and persons to describe which is the ultimate object of the book, arranged alphabetically in twenty-eight sections, corresponding with the letters of the Arabic alphabet.

Spring (Bahár), containing four *Rose-bowers (Gulzár)*:

- (i) On the interpretation of dreams;
- (ii) Names of certain halting-places of the author on his travels;
- (iii) Various anecdotes;
- (iv) Conclusion.

The book contains a great deal of miscellaneous biographical and geographical information, which, owing to the alphabetical arrangement generally observed, and the very full table of contents prefixed, is fairly accessible to the reader. The author was full of curiosity, and, though unable to visit Europe, lost no opportunity of cultivating the society of European travellers and acquainting himself with the peculiarities of their countries by hearsay. Under the article *Firang* (pp. 385-7) he discusses the general characteristics of the chief European nations, amongst whom he puts the French first, the Austrians second, and the English third; and he gives a long account of his conversations with an Englishman whom he calls "Mr Wikl's" (مستر وکلیس)¹ and with whom he became acquainted at 'Azímábád. He also cultivated the society of the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople, who invited him to visit his country, "but," he concludes, "since there was no great spiritual advantage to be gained by travelling in that country, I declined." More valuable is his account of the various religions and sects of Asia, in which he treats, amongst other matters, of the Zoroastrians, Mazdakites, Jews, Christians, Hindús, Šúfis and *Ghulát* (extreme Shí'a).

It would be impossible to notice here the many excellent books of reference, historical, biographical and geographical, which have been produced in Persia since the middle of the nineteenth century. Many of them, it is true, are for the most part compiled and condensed from older works, both Arabic and Persian, but some contain valuable new matter, not to be found elsewhere. Something must, however, be said as to certain peculiarities connected with this later literature and with the world of books in modern Persia.

European students of Persian are, as a rule, unless they have lived in that country, accustomed to think in terms of

¹ Perhaps a corruption of Wilkins (ولکنس).

manuscripts, and to turn to Dr Rieu's admirable catalogues of the British Museum MSS. for information as to literary history. But since the introduction into Persia of printing and lithography, especially since about 1880, the importance of the manuscript literature has steadily diminished, the more important books written being either transferred to stone or set up in type from the original copy. This printed and lithographed literature has not hitherto received nearly so much attention as the older manuscript literature, and it is often impossible to obtain ready and trustworthy information as to the authors and contents of these modern books. The recent publication of Mr Edwards's *Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*¹ marks a great step in advance of anything previously accomplished, but the notices are necessarily very brief, and contain, as a rule, no particulars about the authors and only the most general indication of the character of their works. What is needed is a *catalogue raisonné* of Persian books composed during the last century and lithographed or printed in Persia, for it is much easier, for reasons which will be stated immediately, to ascertain what has been published in Persian in Turkey, Egypt and India.

The fact is that the Persian book trade is in the most chaotic condition. There are no publishers or booksellers of substance, and no book-catalogues are issued. Most books have no fixed price or place of sale; many have no pagination; hardly any have indexes or tables of contents. Often books comprising several volumes change their size and shape, their plan, and even their nature, as they proceed, while the author not unfrequently changes his title. Let us take as an illustration a few of the numerous works of reference published under the name of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán, who successively bore the titles of Šan'ú'd-

¹ London, 1922: 968 columns. The works are arranged under their authors, but there is a General Index of Titles and a Subject Index.

Dawla, Mú'tamanu's-Sultán, and I'timádu'd-Dawla, and was the son of Hájji 'Alí Khán of Marágha, originally entitled Hájibu'd-Dawla and later I'timádu's-Saltána. Now first of all it is very doubtful whether these books were really written by Şan'ú'd-Dawla at all; at any rate it is commonly asserted that he coerced various poor scholars to write them, and ascribed the authorship to himself¹, proceedings of which the latter must be regarded as wholly reprehensible, whatever may be said in extenuation of the former. In 1293/1876 he published the first volume of the *Mirátu'l-Buldán* ("Mirror of the Lands"), a geographical dictionary of Persian towns and villages, largely based on Yáqút's well-known Arabic *Mu'jamu'l-Buldán*, containing the first four letters of the alphabet (ا to د). Of this volume, however, there appear to have been two editions, the first ending with the notice of Tabríz and containing 388 pages, the second, published a year later (1294/1877), extending to Tíhrán, and containing 606 pages. Having reached Tíhrán, however, the author, growing tired, apparently, of geography, decided to continue his work as a history of the reigning king Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh, and to add at the end of each remaining volume a Calendar and Court Directory for the current year. Vol. ii, therefore, comprises the first fifteen years of the Sháh's reign (298 pp.) and the Calendar (45 pp.) for the year of publication (1295/1878). Vol. iii continues on the same lines, and contains the years xvi-xxxii of the current reign (264 pp.) and the Calendar (50 pp.). At this point, however, the author seems to have remembered his original plan, and in vol. iv he continues the geographical dictionary with the next two letters of the alphabet (ث and ج), at which point he reverts to history, and gives an account of the events of the year of publication (1296/1879), followed by the annual Calendar. More-

¹ See my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, pp. 156 and 164-6.

over, in order to celebrate this reconciliation of geography and history, the size of this fourth volume is suddenly enlarged from $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches to $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

By this time the author appears to have grown weary of the "Mirror of the Lands," for after a year's rest he began the publication of a new book entitled *Muntaẓam-i-Náşiri*, of which also three volumes appeared in the years 1298-1300/1881-3. Of these three volumes I possess only the first and the third. The first contains an outline of Islamic history from A.H. 1-656 (A.D. 622-1258), that is, of the history of the Caliphate (pp. 3-239), followed by an account of the chief events of the solar year beginning in March, 1880, both in Persia and Europe (pp. 239-57), and the usual Calendar and Court Directory (42 pp.). The third volume contains a history of the reigning Qájár dynasty from 1194/1779 to 1300/1882 (pp. 32-387), followed again by the Calendar for the last mentioned year.

Next year the author began the publication of a new work in three volumes entitled *Maṭla'u'sh-Shams* ("the Dawning-place of the Sun"). This opens with a perfunctory apology for the incomplete condition in which the "Mirror of the Lands" was left. However, says he, since the next two letters of the alphabet are *há* (ح) and *khá* (خ), and since Khurásán is the most important province beginning with the latter, and since His Majesty Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh, whose faithful servant he is, and to whom this and his other works are dedicated, had recently made the journey thither in order to visit the holy shrine of the Imám 'Alí Riḍá at Mashhad, he has decided to devote this book to an account of that province, which, since it lies to the East, is hinted at in the title. In the first volume (published in 1301/1884) he accordingly describes the route to Mashhad by way of Damáwand, Fírúzkúh, Biṣtám, Bujnúrd and Qúchán, giving a full account of each of these places and the intervening stations.

Maṭla'u'sh-Shams, A.H.
1301-3 (A.D.
1884-6).

the second volume (published in 1302/1885) contains a detailed description of Mashhad, its monuments, its history from 428/1036 to 1302/1885, the most notable men to whom it has given birth, a monograph on the eighth Imám 'Alí Ridá, and in conclusion (pp. 469-500) a valuable list of the books contained in the Mosque library. In the midst of all this topographical matter is inserted (pp. 165-216) the text of Sháh Tahmásp's diary, of which such free use was made in a previous chapter¹. The third volume (published in 1303/1886) contains an account of the Sháh's return journey by the ordinary Pilgrim route through Nishápúr, Sabzawár, Sháhrúd, Dámghán and Samnán, with full descriptions of these and the intervening stations, and biographical notices of eminent men connected with each. A *Sál-náma*, or Calendar and Court Directory for the current year, completes each volume, and it is only fair to add that the price of each is stated on the last page as twelve *qráns*, at that time about seven shillings.

Henceforward most of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán's numerous works included a *Sál-náma*, or "Year Book" for

Other works by
the same author.

the current year, placed at the end of each volume and having a separate pagination. His biographies of eminent Muslim women, entitled

Khayrátn *Hisán*^{un}, published in three volumes in the years 1304-7/1887-90, lacks this addition, which is, however, found in the *Kitábu'l-Ma'áthir wa'l-Áthár* (published in 1306/1888-9), on the Memorabilia of forty years of the reign of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, an invaluable book of reference for students of the history, biography and evolution of modern Persia down to the date of publication. The plan of a geographical dictionary was taken up by another writer,

The *Ganj-i-Dánish* of
"Ḥakim."

Muḥammad Taqí Khán called Ḥakím, who in 1305/1887-8 published, under the title of *Ganj-i-Dánish* ("the Treasure of Learning"), a com-

¹ See pp. 84 *et seqq. supra*.

plete Encyclopaedia of Persian place-names comprising 574 large pages. One welcome feature of this book is that the author prefixes a long list of the authorities and books of which he made use in his compilation. This includes a number of European (including ancient Greek) works.

These Persian lithographed books, notwithstanding their shortcomings, are, as a rule, pleasant to handle, well written, well bound, and printed on good paper. Some of them, like the *Khatt u Khattátán* ("Calligraphy and Calligraphists") of Mírzá-yi-Sanglákh, and the excellent edition of the *Mathnawí* with Concordance of Verses (*Kashfu'l-Abyát*) associated with the name of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, are really beautiful books, while almost all are far superior to the Indian lithographs. They are, however, hard to obtain in Europe, and indeed anywhere outside Ṭihrán, Tabríz and perhaps Isfahán. Even the British Museum collection is very far from complete, while my own collection, originally formed by purchase in Persia¹, owes much to the fact that I was able to add to it a number of volumes from two very notable Persian libraries, those of the late M. Charles Schefer and of the late Sir A. Houtum-Schindler. As has been already said, few greater services could be rendered to Persian scholarship than the proper cataloguing and describing of these lithographs, and the devising of means to place them on the European book-market. Since lithography can be carried on with simple apparatus and without any great technical skill or outlay of money, it is often practised by comparatively poor scholars and bibliophiles, who print very small editions which are soon exhausted, so that many books of this class rank rather with manuscripts than with printed books in rarity and desirability².

¹ For a list of the books I bought in Persia in the autumn of 1888, see my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 554-7.

² Compare p. 551 of the book mentioned in the preceding footnote.

CHAPTER X.

THE MOST MODERN DEVELOPMENTS
(A.D. 1850 ONWARDS).

I have endeavoured to show that under the Qájár Dynasty, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, the old forms of literature, both prose and verse, took on a fresh lease of life, and, so far from deteriorating, rose to a higher level than they had hitherto reached during the four centuries

Modernizing
influences.

Magazines and Journals." Amongst these he assigns an important place to the various scientific text-books compiled by, or under the supervision of, the numerous Europeans appointed as teachers in the *Dáru'l-Funún* and the Military and Political Colleges in Tíhrán from A.D. 1851 onwards, and the Persian translations of European (especially French) books of a more general character, such as some of Molière's plays and Jules Verne's novels, which resulted from an increased interest in Europe and knowledge of European languages. Of such books, and of others originally written in Persian in this atmosphere, he gives a list containing one hundred and sixty-two entries, which should be consulted by those who are interested in this matter. The Revolution of A.D. 1906, with the remarkable development of journalism which it brought about, and the increase of facilities for printing resulting from this, gave a fresh

The *Dáru'l-Funún*.

impulse to this movement, which, checked by the difficulties and miseries imposed on Persia by the Great War, seems now again to be gathering fresh impetus. What we have to say falls under three heads, the Drama, Fiction and the Press, of which the first two need not detain us long.

The Drama.

The only indigenous form of drama is that connected with the Muḥarram mournings, the so-called "Passion Plays" discussed in a previous chapter¹, and even in their case it is not certain that they

The Drama.

I possess only *Le Misanthrope*, printed at Constantinople in the *Taşwírú'l-Afkár* Press in 1286/1869-70. The title is rendered as *Guzárish-i-Mardum-gurtz* ("the Adventure of him who fled from mankind"), the characters are Persianized, and the text is in verse and follows the original very closely, though occasionally Persian idioms or proverbs are substituted for French. Here, for instance, is the rendering—in this case a paraphrase—of the "Vieille chanson" in Act I, Scene 2:

"Si le roi m'avait donné
Paris, sa grand' ville,
Et qu'il me fallût quitter
L'amour de ma mie,
Je dirais au roi Henri
'Reprenez votre Paris,
J'aime mieux ma mie, o gail
J'aime mieux ma mie!'"

¹ Pp. 172-94 *supra*.

گر بیک موی تُرک شیرازی،
 بدهد پادشاه بمن شیراز،
 گویم ای پادشاه گرچه بود،
 شهر شیراز شهر بی انباز،
 تُرک شیراز کافی است مرا،
 شهر شیراز خویش بستان باز

The following Persian version of Act II, Scene 7, if compared with the original, will give a fair idea of the translator's method. The characters are *Mú'nis* (Alceste), *Fatma* (Célimène), *Laylá* (Éliante), *Náshih* (Acaste), *Na'ím Beg* (Philinte) and *Farrásh* (un garde de la Maréchaussée):

مؤنس (به پیش فرّاش می‌رود)... چه هست فرمایش؟
 بیا به بینم!
 فرّاش دارم دو حرف با سرکار،
 مؤنس توان دو حرف خودت را کنی بلند اظهار،
 فرّاش رئیس دیوان آن را که بنده‌ام فرّاش،
 مرا بدست بدادست حکم حاضر باش،
 بتو...
 مؤنس بکه؟ بمن؟
 فرّاش آری بتو،
 مؤنس برای چه کار،
 فرّاش بحرف مفت (امیدی) و حضرت سرکار،
 فتینه بناصح: چسان؟
 ناصح امیدی و او گشته اند دست و بغل،
 بچند شعر که نگذاشته است وقع و محل،
 کنون ز پیش بخواهند بست واره کار،

مؤنس من و مدانه هرگز نمیکنم اقرار،
 ناصح و لیک حکم چنین رفته هین بجنب از جا،
 مؤنس میان ما چه بخواهند داد صلح و صفا،
 بحکمهای بزرگان مگر بود تنسیق،
 که شعرهای بد مردمان کنی تصدیق،
 از آنچه گفته‌ام انکار نیست زان مرجو،
 بد است هرچه بخواهی

ناصح و لیک مضمون نو،
 مؤنس نمیتوان گذرم شعرها پر و پوج است،
 ناصح قبول رای تو خواهند و جای خواهش هست،
 برو!

مؤنس میروم اما نمیتوان ابدًا
 ز رای خویش بگردم

ناصح برو تو خود بنما،
 مؤنس مگر بحکم شهبی خاص گردد و منسوب،
 که شعرهای ستیزیده یافت باید خوب،
 و گرنه فاش بگویم که شعرهاش بدند،
 بباید اینکه چنین شاعران بدار کشند،
 (به نعمان بگ و نعیم بگ همین که دید میخندند)
 حقیقۀ که چنین سخره هم نبود گمان،
 که بوده باشم و هستم بکان!

ناصح روان شو هان،
 فتینه کجا شمارا باید.....

مؤنس روم ولی در دم
 بیآیم اینجا تا کش مکش برم از هم

No indication of the translator's identity appears on the title-page of my edition, nor is there any prefatory matter. Curiously enough, in the very same year in which this Persian version of *Le Misanthrope* was published (1286/1869-70) Aḥmed Vefiq (Aḥmad Wafiq) Pasha printed his Turkish translations of *George Dandin*, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, and *Le Mariage Forcé*¹, while *Tartufe* appeared in Turkish somewhat later².

In 1291/1874 there was lithographed in Ṭihrán a volume containing seven Persian plays with an Introduction on the educational value of the stage by Mírzá Ja'far Qarája-dághí's plays. These plays were originally written in Ádharbáyjání Turkish by Mírzá Fath-'Alí Darbandí, and were published in Tiflis about A.D. 1861. Five of them have been republished in Europe, with glossaries, notes and in some cases translations. These are (1) the *Wazír of Lankurán*, text, translation, vocabulary and notes, by W. H. D. Haggard and G. le Strange (London, 1882); (2) *Trois Comédies traduites du dialecte Turc Azeri en Persan et publiées... avec un glossaire et des notes par C. Barbier de Meynard et S. Guyard* (Paris, 1886); (3) *Monsieur Jourdan*, with translation, notes, etc. edited by A. Wahrmund (Vienna and Leipzig, 1889). The three comedies contained in No. 2 are the "Thief-catching Bear" (*Khirs-i-qúldúr-básán*), "the Advocates" (*Wukalá-yi-Muráfa'a*), and "the Alchemist" (*Mullá Ibráhím Khalíl-i-Kímiyá-gar*). The two remaining plays, hitherto unpublished in Europe, are "the Miser" (*Mard-i-Khastís*) and "Yúsuf Sháh the Saddler".

¹ E. J. W. Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. v, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59 and n. 1 *ad calc.*

³ "The Alchemist" was translated by G. le Strange in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1886 (pp. 103-26); "Yúsuf Sháh" in the same Journal for 1895 (pp. 537-69) by Colonel Sir E. Ross; and the text of the same was published in 1889 at Madras by E. Sell. See E. Edwards's *Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, 1922, col. 207-8.

Three more plays, written at a date unknown to me, by the late Prince Malkom Khán, formerly Persian Minister in London, were partly published as a *feuilleton* (Three plays by Prince Malkom Khán. (*pá-waraq*) in the Tabríz newspaper *Ittihád* ("Union") in 1326/1908. A complete edition, from a copy in the library of Dr F. Rosen, the well-known scholarly German diplomatist, was published in 1340/1921-2 by the "Kaviani" Press in Berlin. These plays are (1) the "Adventures of Ashraf Khán, Governor of 'Arabistán, during his sojourn in Ṭihrán in 1232/1817"; (2) the "Methods of Government of Zamán Khán of Burújird," placed in the year 1236/1820-1; and (3) "Sháh-qulí Mírzá goes to Karbalá and spends some days at Kirmánsháh with the Governor Sháh Murád Mírzá."

Finally in 1326/1908 there appeared at Ṭihrán a bi-weekly newspaper called "the Theatre" (*Tiyátr*) which published plays satirizing the autocratic régime. (The newspaper *Tiyátr*. I possess only a few numbers, containing part of a play entitled "Shaykh 'Alí Mírzá, Governor of Maláyir and Túysirkán, and his marriage with the daughter of the King of the Fairies.")

These are all the Persian plays I have met with¹. All are comedies, and all are satires on the administrative or social conditions of Persia. In the "Wazír of Lankurán" a rather weak and common-place love-story is combined with the satire, but generally speaking this element is lacking, and the object of the writer is simply to arouse dislike and contempt for the old-fashioned methods of government. In other words, these productions, like the "Travels of Ibráhím Beg," of which we shall shortly have

¹ Since this was written I have come across a little comedy entitled "Ja'far Khán comes from Europe" (جعفر خان از فرنگ آمده) by Ḥasan Muqaddam, printed at Ṭihrán and actually performed there about two years ago.

to speak, are primarily political pamphlets rather than plays. Hardly one of them has ever been acted on the stage, and none has produced an effect comparable to Kemál Bey's Turkish play *Waṭan, yakhod Silistra*¹. In short the drama has not succeeded in establishing itself in Persia even to the extent which it has done in Turkey.

The Novel.

Of stories after the style of the "Arabian Nights" or the more popular and indigenous "Ḥusayn the Kurd" there is in Persia no end, but of the novel properly so called there is even less to be said than of the drama. Two rather ambitious attempts in this direction have recently come under my notice, and it is characteristic of recent tendencies to glorify Zoroastrian Persia that both of them deal with pre-Islamic times, the one with Cyrus, the other with Qubád and his son and successor Anúsharwán (Núshírwán) and the heresiarch Mazdak.

The former (or rather the first volume of it, which, to judge by the colophon, was intended to be followed by two more volumes) was completed in 1334/1916, and printed at Hamadán in 1337/1919. It is entitled "Love and Lordship" (*'Ishq u Saltanat*), and was written by a certain Shaykh Músá, Director of the "Nuṣrat" Government College at Hamadán, who was good enough to send me a copy in January, 1920. It is described in the colophon as "the first novel (*roman*) composed in Persia in the Western fashion":

و می توان گفت اولین رمانی است که در ایران با اسلوب مغرب
زمین تألیف شده

¹ Gibb (*op. laud.*, vol. v, p. 15) alludes very briefly to the outburst of patriotic enthusiasm aroused by this play "Fatherland" when it was first acted in the theatre of Gedik Pasha. Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz was highly displeased and alarmed, and banished Kemál Bey to Famagusta in Cyprus.

It aims at being a historical novel, but the proper names generally have their French, not their Old Persian, forms, e.g. "Mítrádát" (correctly explained as *Míhr-dád*), "Ak-bátán" (Ecbatana, instead of *Hagmatána*, for Hamadán), "Agrádát," "Ispákú (Spako)" and "Siyákzar" (Cyaxares, for Huvakhshatara), though Cambyses (Kambújiya) takes the intermediate form "Kámbúziyá." The lengthy descriptions of the scenes and persons introduced into the story, and the numerous dialogues are evidently copied from European models. The story itself, into which an element of love as well as of war is introduced, is readable if not very thrilling, but is overloaded with dates, archaeological and mythological notes, and prolix historical dissertations ultimately based for the most part on the statements of Herodotus mixed with information derived from the Avesta. There is no attempt to make use of archaic language or to eschew the use of Arabic words, but the author has at any rate avoided glaring anachronisms. The following short extract (p. 247) from the description of the preparations for the marriage of Cyrus will suffice to show how far removed is the style of this book from that of the type of story hitherto current in Persia:

بلی این تهیه تهیه عروسی است، و گمان ندارم که عروسی جز
برای کورس پادشاه با اقتدار پارس و مدی باشد، چه که امروز
کسی جز او این قدر در نزد اهالی اکباتان محبوبیت ندارد که
مردم عروسی او را چون عیدی بزرگ دانسته و بازارها را زینت
کرده و از صمیم قلب اظهار سرور و شادمانی نمایند

"Yes! These preparations are the preparations for a wedding, and I do not think that it can be the wedding of anyone else than Cyrus, the mighty King of Persia and Media, for today none but he commands in so great a measure the affection of the people of Ecbatana, so that they regard his wedding as a great festival, and have decorated the bazaars, and from the bottom of their hearts make manifest their joy and gladness."

I do not know what measure of success this "historical novel" has achieved in Persia, nor did I ever meet with more than the one copy sent me by the author, accompanied by a letter dated 4 Šafar, 1338 (Oct. 30, 1919), in which he requested me to review it in the *Times*. I hope he will accept this brief notice as the best I can do to make his book known in Europe as a praiseworthy attempt to instruct while entertaining his countrymen, and to introduce a literary form hitherto unknown in Persia.

The second of the two historical novels mentioned above was printed at Bombay in 1339/1920-1, was written by Šan'atí-záda of Kirmán, and is entitled "the Ensnarers: or the Avengers of Mazdak¹." Like the last it is incomplete, for it ends (on p. 110) with the words "here ends the first volume," though how many more the author intended to add does not appear, nor do I know whether any further instalment was actually published. In general style it much resembles "Love and Lordship," but presents more archaeological errors, as, for instance, where (p. 10) a portrait of the Sásánian king Bahrá́m Gúr is described as bearing a label written in the cuneiform character (*khatt-i-mikhi*)!

Before leaving this subject I must at least mention a Persian translation of three episodes in the career of the immortal Sherlock Holmes, translated from a Russian version by Mír Isma'íl 'Abdu'lláh-záda, and printed at the Khurshíd Press in Tíhrán in 1323/1905-6. They are entitled respectively the "Episode of the Gold Spectacles," the "Account of Charles Augustus Milverton²," and "the Village Lords." Holmes in passing through a Russian medium has been transmuted into "Khums" (خمیس) or "Khúmis" (خومیس): Dr Watson

¹ دامر گستران یا انتقام خواهان مزدك

² The original is entitled "the Adventure of Appledore Towers."

has been more fortunate. The adventures are narrated in the simplest possible style, and would form an admirable reading-book for beginners in Persian, if the book were obtainable in any quantity, which is unlikely. In Turkey Sherlock Holmes had an enormous success, and I remember a news-vendor on one of the Bosphorus steamers offering me a Turkish version of the "Engineer's Thumb," while the late Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd was said to entertain the greatest admiration for Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and to desire above all things to put him in charge of his Secret Police.

It is hard to say whether Hájji Zaynu'l-'Ábidín of Marágha's fictitious "Travels (*Siyáḥat-náma*) of Ibráhím Beg," which, according to Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí Khán "Tarbiyat¹," had an appreciable effect in precipitating the Persian Revolution of A.D. 1905-6, should be reckoned as a novel or not. The hero and his adventures are, of course, fictitious, but there is little exaggeration, and they might well be actual. The book is a bitter satire on Persian methods of government and social conditions, which are depicted in the most sombre colours, with the definite object of arousing discontent in order to bring about reform. The Persians are very sensitive to ridicule, but on the whole bear it much better than most European nations, and most Persian reformers have made extensive use of satire as a means of promoting their objects. This *Siyáḥat-náma* is well and powerfully written in a simple yet forcible style, and I know of no better

¹ See my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, pp. 22 and 164. The Persian text was printed in three volumes, the first at Cairo without date; the second at Calcutta in 1323/1905, though publication was apparently delayed until 1907; the third at Constantinople in 1327/1909. The name of the author appears only on the title-page of vol. iii. A German version of the first volume by Dr Walter Schulz was published at Leipzig in 1903 with the title *Zustände im heutigen Persien wie sie das Reisebuch Ibrahim Begs enthüllt*.

reading-book for the student who wishes to obtain a good knowledge of the current speech and a general, if somewhat lurid, idea of the country.

In this connection mention should also be made of the Persian translation made by the talented and unfortunate Hájji Shaykh Ahmad "Rúhl" of Kirmán of Morier's *Hájji Bábd*, published by Colonel D. C. Phillott at Calcutta in 1905¹. This book, like the last, is a clever satire on the Persians, the more remarkable as being the work of a foreigner; but it belongs rather to the domain of English than Persian literature. All that I had to say about it is contained in the Introduction (pp. ix-xxiii) which I contributed to the edition published by Messrs Methuen in 1895, and all that need be said about the Persian translator and his work has been well said by Colonel Phillott in his Introduction to the Persian text.

The Press.

Of Persian Journalism, which has been the most powerful modernizing influence in Persia, I have treated so fully in a previous monograph on the subject² that little need be said here, save by way of summary. Printing was introduced into Persia about a century ago by 'Abbás Mírzá, and the first Persian newspaper appeared about A.D. 1851, in the third year of Náşiru'd-Dín Sháh's reign. It was soon followed by others, but these early news-sheets, issued by the Government, were entirely colourless, and even when I was in Persia in 1887-8 the only Persian newspaper worth reading was the *Akhtar* ("Star"), published weekly at Constantinople. It was founded in 1875, and lasted about twenty years. Prince Malkom Khán's *Qánún* ("Law")

Development of the Press in Persia.

Five earlier newspapers of importance.

¹ See pp. vii-viii of the English Introduction to this work, and also my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 93-6.

² *The Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*, Cambridge, 1914.

appeared in 1890 and was printed and published in London, but in consequence of its violent attacks on the Persian Government, the Sháh, and his Ministers, its circulation in Persia was prohibited. The Calcutta *Hablul-Mattn* first appeared in 1893, the *Thurayyá* ("Pleiades") in Cairo in 1898, and the *Parwarish*, which replaced it, in 1900. These were the most important Persian papers published outside Persia, and it was not until 1907, when the Revolution was an accomplished fact, and the conflict between King and Parliament was at its height, that independent and influential newspapers began to appear in Persia itself. Amongst the most interesting of these from a literary point of view I should place the *Şúr-i-Isráfil* ("Trumpet of Isráfil"—the Angel of the Resurrection), the *Nastm-i-Shimál* ("Breeze of the North"), the *Muşáwát* ("Equality"), and the *Naw Bahár* ("Early Spring").

The best post-Revolution newspaper.

The *Şúr-i-Isráfil* and its *Charand-parand*.

The first, second, and fourth of these supplied me with many fine poems from the pens of Dakhaw, Sayyid Ashraf of Gílán, and Bahár of Mashhad, for my *Press and Poetry in Modern Persia*, but the *Charand-parand* ("Charivari") column of the *Şúr-i-Isráfil* also contained some excellent and original prose writing of which I shall now give two specimens, since they are unlike anything else which I have met with in Persian. Both are by Dakhaw: the first appeared in No. 1 of the *Şúr-i-Isráfil* (May 30, 1907); the second in No. 2 (June 6, 1907).

چرند پرند

بعد از چندین سال مسافرت هندوستان و دیدن ابدال و اوتاد و مہارت در کیمیا و لیمیا و سیمیا الحمد لله بتجربہ بزرگی نائل شدم، و آن دواى ترك تریاک است، اگر این دوارا در هر يك از ممالک خارجه کسی کشف میکرد ناچار صاحب امتیاز میشد،

انعامات می گرفت، در همه روزنامه‌ها نامش بزرگی درج میشد،
اما چکنم که در ایران قدردان نیست!

عادت طبیعت ثانوی است همینکه کسی بکاری عادت کرد دیگر
باین آسانیا نمیتواند ترك کند، علاج منحصر باین است که
بترتیب مخصوصی بمرور زمان کم کند تا وقتیکه بکلی از سرش
بیفتد.

حالا من بتمام برادران مسلمان غیور تریاکی خود اعلان میکنم
که ترك تریاک ممکن است باینکه اولاً در امر ترك جازم و مصمم
باشند، ثانیاً مثلاً يك نفر که روزی دو مثقال تریاک میخورد روزی
يك گندم از تریاک کم کرده دو گندم مرفین بجای آن زیاد کند،
و کسیکه ده مثقال تریاک می کشد روزی يك نخود کم کرده
دو نخود حشیش اضافه نماید و همین طور مداومت کند تا وقتیکه
دو مثقال تریاک خوردنی به چهار مثقال مرفین و ده مثقال تریاک
کشیدنی به بیست مثقال حشیش برسد، بعد از آن تبدیل خوردن
مرفین به آب دزدک مرفین و تبدیل حشیش بخوردن دوغ وحدت
بسیار آسان است، برادران غیور تریاکی من در صورتیکه خدا
کارها را این طور آسان کرده چرا خودتان را از زحمت حرفهای
مفت مردم و تلف کردن این همه مال و وقت نمی رهانید،
ترك عادت در صورتیکه باین قسم بشود موجب مرض نیست و کار
خیلی آسانی است.

و همیشه بزرگان و متشخصین هم که میخواهند عادت زشتی
از سر مردم بیندازند همین طور میکنند مثلاً ببینید واقعاً شاعر
خوب گفته است که عقل و دولت قرین یکدیگرست، مثلاً وقتیکه
بزرگان ما فکر میکنند که مردم فقیرند و استطاعت نان گندم
خوردن ندارند و رعیت همه عمرش را باید بزراعت گندم صرف
کند و خودش همیشه گرسنه باشد به بینید چه میکنند!

روز اول سال نان را با گندم خالص می پزند، روز دوم در هر
خرورار يك من تلخه، جو، سیاه دانه، خاک آزه، یونجه، شن... مثلاً
مختصر عرض میکنم. کلوخ، چارکه، گلوله، هشت مثقالی میزنند،
معلوم است در يك خرورار گندم که صد من است يك من ازین
چیزها هیچ معلوم نمیشود، روز دوم دو من میزنند، روز سوم سه
من، و بعد از صد روز که سه ماه و ده روز بشود صد من گندم صد
من تلخه، جو، سیاه دانه، خاک آزه، کاه، یونجه، شن، شده است
در صورتیکه هیچ کس ملتفت نشده و عادت نان گندم خوردن هم
از سر مردم افتاده است.

واقعاً که عقل و دولت قرین یکدیگر است.

برادران غیور تریاکی من البته میدانید که انسان عالم صغیر
است و شباهت تمام بعالم کبیر دارد یعنی مثلاً هرچیز که برای
انسان دست میدهد ممکن است برای حیوان، درخت، سنگ،
کلوخ، در، دیوار، کوه، دریا هم اتفاق بیفتد و هرچیز هم برای
اینها دست میدهد برای انسان هم دست میدهد چرا که انسان عالم
صغیر است و آنها جزو عالم کبیر، مثلاً این را میخواستم بگویم
همان طور که ممکن است عادت را از سر مردم انداخت همان
طور هم ممکن است عادت را از سر سنگ و کلوخ و آجر انداخت
چرا که میان عالم صغیر و عالم کبیر مشابهت تمام است، پس چه
انسانی باشد که از سنگ و کلوخ هم کم باشد.

مثلاً يك مریضخانه، حاجی شیخ هادی مجتهد مرحوم ساخت
موقوفاتی هم برای آن معین کرد که همیشه یازده نفر مریض
در آنجا باشند، تا حاجی شیخ هادی حیات داشت مریضخانه بیازده
نفر مریض عادت کرد، همینکه حاجی شیخ هادی مرحوم شد
طلاب مدرسه به پسر ارشدش گفتند ما وقتی تو را آقا میدانیم که

موقوفات مریضخانه را خرج ما بکنی، حالا به بینید این پسر خلف ارشد با قوتِ علم چه کرد، ماه اول يك نفر از مریضها را کم کرد، ماه دوم دو تا، ماه سوم سه تا، ماه چهارم چهار تا، و همین طور تا حالا که عدهٔ مریضها به پنج نفر رسیده، و کم کم بحسنِ تدبیر آن چند نفر هم تا پنج ماه دیگر از میان خواهد رفت، پس به بینید که با تدبیر چطور میشود عادت را از سر همه کس و همه چیز انداخت حالا مریضخانه که بیازده مریض عادت داشت بدون اینکه ناخوش بشود عادت از سرش افتاد چرا؟ برای آنکه آن هم جزو عالم کبیر است و مثل انسان که عالم صغیر است میشود عادت را از سرش انداخت (دخو)

Translation.

"After several years travelling in India, seeing the invisible saints¹, and acquiring skill in Alchemy, Talismans and Necromancy², thank God, I have succeeded in a great experiment; no less than a method for curing the opium-habit! If any one in any foreign country had made such a discovery, he would certainly have received decorations and rich rewards, and his name would have been mentioned with honour in all the newspapers. But what can one do, since in Persia no one recognizes merit?"

"Custom is a second nature, and as soon as one becomes habituated to any act, one cannot easily abandon it. The only curative method is to reduce it gradually by some special procedure, until it is entirely forgotten."

"To all my zealous, opium-eating, Muslim brethren I now proclaim the possibility of breaking the opium-habit, thus. First, they must be firmly determined and resolved on abandoning it. Secondly, one who, for example, eats two *mithqāls*³ of opium daily should every day diminish this dose by a grain (*nukhūd*) and add two grains of morphine

¹ The *Abdāl* ("Substitutes") and *Awtdā* ("Pegs") are two classes of the *Rijdu'l-Ghayb*, or "Men of the Unseen World," who play an important part in the cosmogony of the Mystics.

² Concerning these Occult Sciences, see pp. 441-2 *supra*.

³ The *mithqāl* = 4.60 grammes, and is divided into 24 *nukhūd* ("peas"), each of which consists of 4 grains or barley-corns (*gandum*).

in its stead. One who smokes ten *mithqāls* of opium should daily reduce the amount by one grain, adding instead two grains of *hashish* (Indian hemp). Thus he should persevere until such time as the two *mithqāls* of opium which he eats are replaced by four *mithqāls* of morphine, or the ten *mithqāls* of opium which he smokes by twenty *mithqāls* of *hashish*. After this it is very easy to substitute for morphine pills hypodermic injections of the same, and for *hashish* 'curds of Unity'.¹ O my zealous, opium-eating brethren, seeing that God has made matters so easy, why do you not save yourselves from the annoyance of men's foolish chatter, and the waste of all this time and money? Change of habit, if it be effected in this way, does not cause illness and is a very easy matter.

"Moreover great and eminent men who wish to make people forget some evil habit act in precisely this way. See, for example, how well indeed the poet says that intelligence and fortune are closely connected with one another. For example, when our great men consider that the people are poor and cannot eat wheaten bread, and that the peasant must spend all his life in cultivating wheat, yet must himself remain hungry, see what they do.

"On the first day of the year they bake the bread with pure wheat-flour. On the second day in every hundredweight (*kharwār*) they put a maund of bitter apricot stones, barley, fennel-flower, sawdust, lucerne, sand—I put it shortly as an illustration—clods, brick-bats and bullets of eight *mithqāls*. It is evident that in a hundredweight of corn, which is a hundred maunds, one maund of these things will not be noticed. On the second day they put in two maunds, on the third three, and after a hundred days, which is three months and ten days, a hundred maunds of wheat-flour have become a hundred maunds of bitter apricot stones, barley, fennel-flower, sawdust, chaff, lucerne and sand, and that in such fashion that no one has noticed it, while the wheaten bread habit has entirely passed out of men's minds.

"In truth intelligence and fortune are closely connected with one another!

"O my zealous, opium-eating brethren! Assuredly you know that man is a little world, and has the closest resemblance to the great world; that is to say, for example, that whatever is possible for man may happen also in the case of animals, trees, stones, clods, doors,

¹ *Dūgh-i-Wahdat*, or *Banjāb*, is a mixture of *hashish* and curdled milk similar to *asrār*, *habb-i-nashāt*, etc. *Būq-i-Wahdat* ("the trumpet of unity") is the name given by *hashish*-smokers to a paper funnel through which the smoke of the drug is inhaled.

walls, mountains and seas; and that whatever is possible for these is possible also for men, because man is the microcosm, while these form part of the macrocosm. For example, I wanted to say this, that just as it is possible to put a habit out of men's minds, even so it is possible to put a habit out of the minds of stones, clods, and bricks, because the closest resemblance exists between the microcosm and the macrocosm. What sort of a man, then, is he who is less than even a stone

spend the hospital endowments on us!' See now what this worthy eldest son did by dint of knowledge. In the first month he reduced the number of patients by one, in the second by two, in the third by three, in the fourth by four; and so in like fashion until the present time, when the number of patients has been reduced to five, and gradually, by this excellent device, these few also will disappear in the course of the next five months. See then how by wise management it is possible to expel habit from the minds of every one and every thing, so that a hospital which was accustomed to eleven patients has entirely forgotten this habit without falling ill. Why? Because it also forms part of the macrocosm, so that it is possible to drive a habit out of its mind, just as in the case of man, who is the microcosm."

"Dakhaw."

چرند پرنده، مکتوب شهری

کبلائی دخوا! تو قدیمها گاهی بدر مردم میخوردی مشکلی بدوستانت روی میداد حل میکردی، این آخرها که سرو صدائی از تو نبود میگفتم بلکه تو هم تریاکی شده، در گوشه اطاق پای منقل لمر داده، اما نگو که تو ناقلای حقه همان طور که توی صور اسرافیل نوشته بودی یواشکی بی خبر نمیدانم برای تحصیل علم کیمیا و لیهمیا و سیمیا گذاشتی در رفتی بهند، حکماً گنج نامه هم

¹ See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 406-7.

پیدا کرده، در هر حال اگر سؤ ظنی در حق تو برده‌ام باید خیلی خیلی به بخشی عذر میخوام، باز الحمد لله سلامت آمدی جای شکرش باقی است چرا که خوب سر وقتش رسیدی، برای اینکه کارها خیلی شلوق پلوق است

ادبی است میگفت مطلب این طور خرفه‌تر میشود (در مثل مناقشه نیست) بنظر من می آید برای شما هم محض اینکه درست بمطلب پی ببرید يك مقدمه بچینم بد نیست

در قدیم الایام در دنیا يك دولت ایران بود در همسایگی ایران هم دولت یونان بود، دولت ایران آن وقت دماغش پُر باد بود، از خودش خیلی راضی بود، یعنی بی ادبی می شود لولهنکش خیلی آب میگرفت، کتّاده ملک الملوکى دنیا را می کشید، بلی آن وقت در ایران معشوق السلطنه، محبوب الدوله، عزیز الایاله، خوشگل خلوت، قشنگ حضور، ملوس الملك نبود، در قصرها هم سُرُسره نساخته بودند، مَلاهای آن وقت هم چماق الشریعه، حاجب الشریعه، پارك الشریعه نداشتند، خلاصه آن وقت کالسکه الاسلام، میز و صندلی المذهب، اسب روسی الدین وجود نداشت، خوش آن روزها واقعاً که درست عهد پادشاه و زوزک بود، مخلص کلام، يك روز دولت ایران لشکرهای خودش را جمع کرد، یواش یواش رفت تا پشت دیوار یونان، برای داخل شدن یونان يك راه بیشتر نبود که لشکر ایران حکماً باید از آن راه عبور کنند، بلی پشت این راه هم يك کوچه آشتی کُنان مسجد آقا سید عزیز الله

یعنی يك راه باریك دیگر بود ولی لشکر ایران آن راه را بلد نبود همینکه لشکر ایران پشت دیوار یونان رسید دید این یونانیهای بدذات هفت خط با قشون جلو راه را گرفته‌اند، خوب حالا ایران چه خاک بسرش کند؟ برود چطور برود، بر گردد چطور بر گردد، مانده سفیل و سرگردان، خدا رحمت کند شاعر را خوب گفته است (ع) نه در غربت دلم شاد و نه روئی در وطن دارم آنخ، از آنجا که باید کارها راست بیاید يك دفعه لشکر ایران دیدند یواشکی يك نفر از آن جعفر قلی آقاها پسر بیگلر آقاهاى قزاق

بست نفر سه شبانه روز هم نشستیم فکر کردیم که چه لقبی برای ایشان بگیریم چیزی بعقلمان نرسید، حالا از همه بدتر خوش سلیقه هم هستند، میگویند لقبی که برای من میگیرید باید بکر باشد یعنی پیش از من کس دیگر نگرفته باشد، از مستوفیها پرسیدم گفتند دیگر لقب بکر نیست، کتابهای لغت را باز کردیم، در زبان فارسی عربی ترکی فرنگی از الف تا یا يك كلمه نیست که اقلًا ده دفعه لقب نشده باشد، خوب حالا چه کنیم؟ یعنی خدارا خوش میآید این آدم همین طور بی لقب بماند،

ان كوچه اشتی کنان را بایرانیها نشان داد، گفت ما یونانیها آنجا لشکر نداریم اگر شما از آن راه بروید می توانید مملکت مارا بگیرد، ایرانیها هم قبول کرده و از آن راه رفته داخل خاک یونان شدند،

حالا مطلب اینجا نیست، راستی تا یادم نرفته اسم آن غریب نواز را هم عرض کنم، هرچند قدری بزبان ما سنگین است اما چه میشود کرد، اسمش (افیالتس) بود، خدا لعنت کند شیطان را نمی دانم چرا هر وقت من این اسم را می شنوم بعضی سفرای ایران یادم می افتد، باری برویم سر مطلب، در آن وقت که جناب چکیده غیرت نتیجه علم و سیاست معلم مدرسه قزاقخانه جناب میرزا عبد الرزاق خان مهندس بعد از سه ماه پیاده روی نقشه جنگی راه مازندران را برای روسها کشیدند ما دوستان گفتیم چنین آدم با وجود حیف است که لقب نداشته باشد،

افیالتس بشما چه کرده بود که شما او را خائن بگوئید، مگر مهمان نوازی در مذهب شما کفر بود؟ مگر بغریب پرستی شما اعتقاد نداشتید؟ خلاصه همینکه این اسم را دیدم گفتم هیچ بهتر از این نیست که این اسم را برای جناب میرزا عبد الرزاق خان لقب بگیریم، چرا که هم بکر بود هم این دو نفر شباهت کامل بهم داشتند، این غریب نواز او هم بود، این مهمان پرست بود او هم بود، این میگفت اگر من این کار را نمی کردم دیگری می کرد، او هم میگفت، تنها يك فرق در میانه بود که تکه های سرداری افیالتس از چوب جنگل وطن نبود، خوب نباشد این جزئیات قابل ملاحظه نیست، مخلص کلام، ما دوستان جمع شدیم يك مهمانی دادیم شادیهها کردیم فوراً يك تلگراف هم بکاشان زدیم که پنج شیشه گلاب قمر و دو جعبه جوزقند زود بفرستند که بدیم لقب را بگیریم، در همین حیص و بیص جناب

حاجی ملك التجار راه آستارا را بروسها واگذار کردند، نمی دانم کد امر نامرد حکایت این لقب را هم باو گفت دو پاش را توی يك كفش كرد كه از آسمان افتاده امر این لقب حق و مال من است، حالا چند ماه است نمی دانی چه امر سراتی راه افتاده، از يك طرف میرزا عبد الرزاق خان بقوه علم هندسه، از يك طرف حاجی ملك التجار بزور فصاحت و بلاغت و شعرهای امر القیس و ناصر خسرو علوی، کبلائی دخونمی دانی در چه انشرو منشری گیر کرده ای. . . اگر بتوانی مارا از این بلیه خلاص کنی مثل این است که يك بنده در راه خدا آزاد کرده خدا ان شاء الله پسرهای را بیخشد، خدا يك روز عمرت را صد سال کند، امروز روز غیرت است دیگر خود میدانی، زیاده عرضی ندارم

خادم با وفای شما (خر مگس)

Translation.

Charand-parand. City letter.

"Kablá'í¹ Dakhaw!

"In old days you used sometimes to be a help to people: if any difficulty befel your friends, you used to solve it. Latterly, there being no sign or sound of you, I kept telling myself that perhaps you too had taken to opium and were lolling² at the foot of the brazier in the corner of the room. Now don't tell me that³ you, you queer mug⁴, quietly, without any one's knowledge (I do not know whether in order to study Alchemy, Talismans and Necromancy, as you have written in the *Šir-i-Isráfil*) have cut and run to India. Surely then you have found the key to a treasure also! At any rate, if I have entertained an unworthy suspicion of you, you must

¹ For the half slang use of "Kablá'í" (= *Karbalá'í*), see my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, pp. 179-82.

² *Lam dádan* (slang), "to loll, lounge."

³ Equivalent to *balki*, "perhaps."

⁴ *Náquláy huqqa*, explained as equivalent to the French "drôle de type."

forgive me: I ask your pardon! Anyhow, praise be to God, you have got safely back, a lasting cause of thankfulness, for you have come at just the right moment, seeing that affairs are all topsy-turvy.

"May God forgive everybody's departed friends¹! May the earth not whisper it to him! In Qáqázán we had a certain Mullá Ínak-Álí², a *rawða-khwán*³ and a very impudent fellow. Whatever may be the case now, he was at that time very thick with me. When he went to recite a *rawða*, he used first of all to put forward a long-winded prologue. He used to say (saving your presence)⁴, 'In this way the matter will be more ass-plain' (no need to quarrel over a mere illustration). It occurs to me that it would not be a bad thing if I too were to begin with a prologue for you, simply in order that you may get the hang of the matter.

"In olden days there was in the world one great Persian Empire with the State of Greece as its neighbour. At that time the Persian Empire was puffed up with pride⁵. It was very well pleased with itself, and, if you will pardon the expression, its pipe took a lot of filling⁶. Its ambition was the King-of-Kingship of the world. Yes, there was then in Persia no 'King's Darling,' 'State's Sweetheart,' 'Pet of the Province,' 'Beauty of the Privy Chamber,' 'Charmer of the Presence,' or 'Minion of the Kingdom'.⁷ Nor had they yet made 'slides' in their palaces⁸. Nor did the Mullás of that time include a 'Club of the Canon Law,' 'Chamberlain of the Canon Law,' or 'Park of the Canon Law.' At that time, in short, there did not exist a 'Carriage of Islám,' 'Table

¹ This formula is common amongst the Zoroastrians. See my *Year amongst the Persians*, p. 375. Here it implies that the Mullá was dead.

² *Ínak* is the Turkish for a cow. The name is, of course, meant to be ridiculous. Qáqázán may be a misprint for Qázán.

³ See pp. 181-2 *supra*.

⁴ *Har chand bi-adabist*, "Although it be an incivility" to use such an expression. *Khar-fahm* ("ass-plain") means comprehensible to the greatest fool.

⁵ "To have wind in the brain," a common expression for conceit.

⁶ *Luláhingash khaylláb mt-girift*, "Its jug held a lot of water," said of one who has a great capacity for self-esteem.

⁷ The innumerable titles conferred by the Persian Government form a constant subject of mockery. The fictitious titles here mentioned are, of course, intended to be both barbarous in form and degrading in meaning.

⁸ The reference is to the *sursurak* in the Nigáristán Palace at Tíhrán. See my *Year amongst the Persians*, p. 96.

and Chair of the Faith,' or 'Russian Horse of Religion.' Fine days were those indeed, which were in truth the time of King Wizwizak¹!

"But to be brief. One day the Persian Government collected its armies and quietly advanced to the back of the wall of Greece. Now to enter Greece there was only one way, by which way the Persian army must needs pass. Yes, but behind that way there was a lane like the *Áshtí-kunán*² of the Mosque of *Áqá Sayyid 'Azízu'lláh*, that is to say, there was another narrow lane, but the Persian army did not know about it. As soon as the Persian army arrived behind the wall of Greece, they saw that these seven-fold rascals of Greeks had blocked the road with troops. Well, what dust must Persia now scatter on her head? How, if she would advance, should she advance, or how, if she would retreat, could she retreat? She was left abased and confounded. God have mercy on the poet who so well says, 'Neither does my heart rejoice in exile, nor have I any honour in my native land,' etc. But, since things must somehow come right, suddenly the Persian army saw one of those *Ja'far-qulí Áqás*³, a son of the *Begler-Áqá* of Cossacks, in other words a certain friend of the foreigner and hospitable humanitarian, gently detach himself from the Greek army, and, stepping softly⁴, approach the Persian host. 'Peace be upon you,' said he; 'Your arrival is fortunate! You are welcome! Your visit is a pleasure! May your journey be without danger!' All the while he was quietly pointing out to the Persians with his forefinger that *Áshtí-kunán* lane. 'We Greeks,' said he, 'have no troops there. If you go that way, you can take our country.' The Persians agreed, and by that road entered the Greek land.

"This, however, is not the point... By the bye, while I remember, let me mention the name of this foreigner's friend, though it comes a trifle heavy on our tongues; but what is to be done? His name was *Ephialtes*... God curse the Devil⁵! I don't know why it is that whenever I hear this name I think of some of our Persian Ministers... But let us return to the point.

"When His Excellency, that double-distilled essence of zeal and

¹ An imaginary "good time" in the remote past, as we might say "in the days of good King Cole."

² I understand that this is the name of a narrow lane, or passage, in *Ṭibrán*. It means "Reconciliation Street."

³ The name of a Persian officer in the Cossack Brigade.

⁴ *Pá-war-çhtn*, "picking up the feet."

⁵ An expression used when some ill-natured or inappropriate idea occurs to the mind, as though it had been suggested by Satan.

sum of science and political acumen, *Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Khán*, engineer, and lecturer in the School of the Cossack barracks, after a three months' pedestrian tour drew for the Russians a military map of the road through *Mázandarán*, we his friends said, 'It is a pity that such a man of spirit should not have a title.' So some twenty of us sat for three days and nights considering what title we should obtain for him, but nothing occurred to our minds. Worst of all, he was a man of taste. 'Any title obtained for me,' says he, 'must be virgin; that is to say, no one else must have borne it before me.' We enquired of the State Accountants, who said there was no 'virgin title' left. We opened our dictionaries, and found that neither in the languages of the Persians, Arabs, Turks, or Franks from A to Z was there one single word left which had not been employed as a title at least ten times over. Well, what were we to do? Would it be pleasing to God that this man should thus remain untitled?

"However, since such things must come right, one day, being in a state of extreme dejection, I picked up a history book which was at hand in order to distract my mind. No sooner had I opened the book than I read in the first line of the right-hand page: 'Ever afterwards the Greeks stigmatized *Ephialtes* as a traitor whose blood might lawfully be shed.' O you cursed Greeks, what had poor *Ephialtes* done to you that you should call him a traitor? Is hospitality to strangers blasphemy in your creed? Do you not believe in kindness to foreigners?

"In short as soon as I saw this name I said, 'Nothing could be better than that we should adopt this name as a title for *Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Khán*, both because it is "virgin," and because these two persons have the closest resemblance to one another. This one was kind to strangers and so was that one. This one was hospitable to guests and so was that one. This one said, "Had I not acted thus, another would have done so," and so did that one. There was only one difference between them, namely, that the buttons of *Ephialtes*'s coat were not made of native forest-wood. Well, supposing they were not, such trifles are unworthy of consideration.'

"In short, we friends assembled and gave an entertainment and made great rejoicings. We also instantly despatched a telegram to *Káshán* bidding them send quickly five bottles of *Qamşar* rose-water and two boxes of sugared walnuts, so that we might present them [to the *Sháh*] and secure the title. In the midst of these proceedings *Hájji Maliku't-Tujjár*¹ conceded the *Astará* road to the Russians.

¹ This title, "King of the Merchants," was at this time borne by *Hájji Muḥammad Kázim*, whose accomplishments were reputed greater than his honesty.

I don't know what scoundrel told him the history of this title, but he put his two feet in one shoe¹ and declared that he was a heaven-sent genius, and that this title was his rightful property. Now for some months you don't know what a hullabaloo is going on, with Mirzá 'Abdu'r-Razzáq Khán on the one hand, supported by his science of Geometry, and Hájji Maliku't-Tujjár on the other with his persuasive eloquence and his quotations from the poems of Imru'u'l-Qays and Násir-i-Khusraw-i-'Alawí. O Kablá'í Dakhaw, you don't know in what toil and moil we are caught! If you can deliver us from this calamity it would be as though you had freed a slave for God's sake, and may God, if He will, forgive your sons!

"May God make one day of your life a hundred years! Today is a day for zealous endeavour. For the rest, you are the best judge. I have nothing more to submit.

"Your faithful servant, GADFLY."

It is difficult in a translation to do justice to these articles, which mark an absolutely new departure in Persian satire, and are written in a style at once idiomatic and forcible. Though they appeared under various pseudonyms, I fancy they were all written by Dakhaw, who, little as he wrote, on the strength of them and a few of his poems² deserves, in my opinion, to occupy the first rank amongst contemporary Persian men of letters. It is to be regretted that, though a comparatively young man, he has apparently produced nothing during the last ten or twelve years.

Of the last twelve years I have little to say. The beginning of 1912 saw the culmination of Russian violence and oppression in Persia, and, for the time being, the end alike of liberty and literary effort. Then came the War, when Persia became the passive victim of three contending foreign armies,

Originality of Dakhaw both in prose and verse.

The last twelve years (A.D. 1912-1923).

¹ This means to stand firm, be obstinate.

² Especially "*Kablá'y*," and his elegy on Mirzá Jahángír Khán, the latter a poem of rare beauty and feeling. See my *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, pp. 179-82 and 200-4.

with little profit to expect from the success of any one of them, while there was scarcity everywhere and famine and devastation in the western provinces. To Persia at least the Russian Revolution came as a godsend, while the subsequent withdrawal of Great Britain after the failure of the Anglo-Persian Agreement left her at last more or less mistress in her own house. How far she will be able to make use of the breathing-space thus accorded her remains to be seen.

Surprise has sometimes been expressed that during the War there should have existed in Persia a considerable pro-

Persia and Germany.

German party, largely composed of prominent Democrats and Reformers. The explanation is simple enough. Imperial Russia was hated and feared, and with good reason, and any Power which diverted her attention from her victim and threatened her supremacy was sure of a large measure of popularity, while Persia had no reason to fear or dislike Germany, which lay remote from her borders and had at no time threatened her independence. Germany, of course, took advantage of this sentiment, and carried on an active propaganda, of which the curious history remains to be written.

The old *Káwa* newspaper (1916-1919).

One of the chief organs of the propaganda was the *Káwa* (*Kaveh*) newspaper published at Berlin, nominally once a fortnight, from January 24, 1916, to August 15, 1919. There was a long gap between the combined Nos. 29 and 30, July 15, 1918, and Nos. 31 and 32, October 15, 1918; between No. 33, Nov. 15, 1918, and No. 34, March 1, 1919; and between this last and the final number of the old series mentioned above, which appeared five months and a half later. On

The new *Káwa* (1920-1921).

January 22, 1920, appeared the first number of the New Series (*Dawra-i-Jadíd*), which definitely renounced politics in favour of literature and science, while keeping the same external form and high

standard of style and typography. In this form the paper, now appearing only once a month, endured for two years more, the last number (No. 12, Jahrg. 2, Neue Folge) being dated December 1, 1921, and containing no less than 33 large pages, closely printed in double columns.

During its propagandist days the contents of the *Kāwa* were, of course, chiefly political, and, though valuable for the light they throw on events in Persia, and especially on the doings of the Nationalist "Committee of Defence," have little bearing on literary matters until after the armistice, though here and there exceptions to this rule occur. Thus No. 4 (March 14, 1916) contains a Kurdish poem¹; No. 20 an obituary notice of that eminent man of letters Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq "Qā'im-maqāmī²," better known by his title of *Adību'l-Mamālik*, who died on the 28th of Rabī' ii, 1335 (Feb. 21, 1917); No. 21 an account of some of the scientific results obtained by Captain Niedermayer's mission to Afghānistān³; No. 23 an article by Professor Mittwoch on the artist Ridā-yi-'Abbāsī⁴; No. 26 an account of Persian students in Germany; No. 33 (Nov. 15, 1918), *à propos* of a new publication, which, though bearing the Persian title *Rāh-i-Naw* (the "New Road"), was written in German, a brief sketch of various attempts to reform or replace the Persian alphabet; No. 34 (March 1, 1919) an account of the foundation in Berlin of a Persian Literary Society, and a letter from Mīrzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn on a point of Persian orthography; and No. 35 (August 15, 1919) a long and very interesting article by the writer last named on the

¹ Reprinted from the Persian newspaper *Rastakhtz* ("the Resurrection").

² So called on account of his descent from the celebrated Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim *Qā'im-maqām*. See pp. 311-16 *supra*.

³ Translated from the *Neue Orient*, Nos. 4 and 5, May, 1917.

⁴ Translated from No. 7 of *Die Islamische Welt*.

oldest recorded Persian verses subsequent to the Arab conquest in the seventh century after Christ¹.

The *Kāwa* of the New Series, which began on Jan. 22, 1920, is, on the other hand, almost entirely literary, and contains numerous articles of the greatest value and interest. The Persian colony in Berlin, though comparatively small, included several men of great intellectual distinction, and, though ardent patriots, keenly alive to the national faults, and eager to absorb what was best of European learning. The special characteristic of the best German scholarship is its sobriety, thoroughness, painstaking accuracy, and exhaustive examination of relevant material from all available sources. This steadying influence is exactly what the Persians, with their tendency to ingenious but rash conjectures and premature theories, most need. In the leading article which opened the New Series the editor, Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zāda, thus defined his aims:

"The *Kāwa* newspaper was born of the War, and therefore its conduct was correlated with the situations arising from the War. Now that the War is ended and International Peace has supervened, the *Kāwa* considers its War period as concluded, and now enters on a Peace period. It therefore adopts, as from the beginning of the Christian year 1920, corresponding with the 9th of Rabī' ii, A.H. 1338, a new basis and line of conduct. It has nothing to do with the former *Kāwa*, and is, indeed, a new paper, the contents of which will for the most part consist of scientific, literary, and historical articles. Above all else, its object will be to promote European civilization in Persia, to combat fanaticism, to help to preserve the national feeling and unity of Persia, to endeavour to purify and safeguard the Persian language and literature from the disorders and dangers which threaten them, and, so far as possible, to support internal and external freedom... In the opinion of the writer of

¹ Two such early attempts are discussed, both taken from Arabic books of authority, such as Ibn Qutayba's *Kitābu'sh-Shi'r wa'sh-Shu'arā*, the *Kitābu'l-Aghāni*, and Ṭabarī's great history. The earliest goes back to the reign of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya (A.H. 60-4 = A.D. 680-4).

High literary
and critical value
of the new
Kāwa.

Articles of
interest
in the old
Kāwa.

The new *Kāwa*'s
definition of its
aims.

these lines, that which is today in the highest degree necessary for Persia, which all patriotic Persians should exert themselves to promote, literally, with all their strength, and should place before everything else, is threefold.

"First, the adoption and promotion, without condition or reservation, of European civilization, absolute submission to Europe, and the assimilation of the culture, customs, practices, organization, sciences, arts, life, and the whole attitude of Europe, without any exception save language; and the putting aside of every kind of self-satisfaction, and such senseless objections as arise from a mistaken, or, as we prefer to call it, a false patriotism.

"Secondly, a sedulous attention to the preservation of the Persian language and literature, and the development, extension, and popularization thereof.

"Thirdly, the diffusion of European sciences, and a general advance in founding colleges, promoting public instruction, and utilizing all the sources of material and spiritual power...in this way...

"Such is the belief of the writer of these lines as to the way to serve Persia, and likewise the opinion of those who, by virtue of much cultural and political experience, share his belief.

"Outwardly and inwardly, in body and in spirit, Persia must become Europeanized.

"In concluding this explanation of fundamental beliefs, I must add that in the writer's opinion perhaps the greatest and most effective service of this sort which one could render would be the publication in Persia of translations of a whole series of the most important European books in plain and simple language."

In pursuance of this programme, there are a certain number of articles on the German system of education, the proceedings of the Perso-German Society¹, and the arrangements for facilitating the studies of Persian students in Germany; but matters connected with the language and literature of Persia supply the subject-matter of most of the articles. Thus we find in the year 1920 a series of admirable articles by Taqízáda (signed *Muḥaṣṣil*) on the most notable Persian poets of early times²; an original article written in Persian by

Some interesting articles in the new *Káwa*.

¹ *Deutsch-Persische Gesellschaft*.

² *Káwa*, Nos. 1, pp. 2-6; 4, pp. 15-24; 8, pp. 10-4; and 10, pp. 9-14.

Dr Arthur Christensen of Copenhagen on the existence of verse in Pahlawí¹; a discussion on the evolution of the Persian language during the last century²; articles entitled "Bolshevism in ancient Persia" on Mazdak³; comparisons between Eastern and Western research and its results (greatly in favour of the latter), entitled *Mundzara-i-Shab u Rúz* ("Dispute between Night and Day")⁴; the four periods of the Persian language since the Arab conquest⁵; "a Touchstone of Taste," on good modern Persian verse and what the writer calls "Karbálá'í verse"⁶; Pahlawí, Arabic and Persian sources of the *Sháh-náma*⁷; ancient and modern translations from Arabic into Persian⁸; and a very interesting article on the "Sources of eloquent Persian and 'Khán-i-Wáliba Persian'"⁹, in which the writer ridicules and condemns the slavish imitation of Turkish idiom and style practised by certain young Persians resident in Constantinople. These articles, in most cases, display a wealth of knowledge, critical ability, and originality which I have nowhere else encountered in Persian, and deserve a fuller analysis than can be accorded to them in this volume.

During the last year of its existence (1921) the *Káwa* maintained the same high standard, publishing many articles, both historical and literary, which were fully up to the level of the best European scholarship. A series of important historical articles on "the Relations of Russia and Persia during the period of the Áq-Qoyúnlu and Şafawí dynasties, down to the beginning of the reign of Áqá Muḥammad Khán

The last year (1921) of the *Káwa*.

¹ Nos. 4-5, pp. 24-6.

² Nos. 3, pp. 3-5; and 4-5, pp. 3-4.

³ Nos. 3, pp. 5-11, and 4-5, pp. 8-15.

⁴ Nos. 4-5, pp. 7-8; 6, pp. 3-6; 8, pp. 5-10.

⁵ No. 7, pp. 5-8.

⁶ No. 7, p. 4.

⁷ Nos. 11, pp. 7-12; 12, pp. 7-12.

⁸ No. 9, pp. 4-5.

⁹ No. 12, pp. 3-5. The *Khán-i-Wáliba* is where most of the Persian merchants in Constantinople live or have their offices.

Qájár," written by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāi-zāda, also appeared as a monthly supplement, and showed very wide and judicious use of all available sources, both Eastern and Western. The sudden cessation of the paper after December, 1921, was a great loss to Persian learning and scholarship.

In June, 1922, there appeared at Berlin a new Persian literary and scientific review entitled *Írán-shahr*, edited by Ḥusayn Kázim-zāda, which, though described as a "Revue...bimensuelle," actually appeared only once a month. It is of a lighter and more popular character than was the *Káwa*, and shows a more marked preference for matters connected either with pre-Islamic Persia, or with the problems with which the progressive Persians of today are confronted. No. 7 (December, 1922) contains a long article on the sending of Persian students to Europe, in the third section of which, "on the place and manner of study" (pp. 162-4), the writer argues that such students should go to England or Germany rather than to France, for the following reasons:

"We Persians (with the exception of the people of Ádhar-báyján, whose nature and character agree better with those of the Anglo-Saxons), in respect to character, nature, capacity and mental tendencies, more closely resemble and approach the French, that is to say the Latin races, since quick and piercing intelligence, self-confidence, versatility of thought, wit and acuteness of perception, sociability and amiability in intercourse on the one hand, and inconstancy, fickleness of character, quickly-developed weariness and want of perseverance, recklessness, and lack of moderation in action on the other, are characteristic of the nature and disposition both of ourselves and of the French."

This view seems to have commended itself to the Persians generally, for while in August, 1922, there were seventy

The *Írán-shahr*.

German education preferred to French for Persian students.

Persian students in Germany, in the following December the number had increased to over 120¹.

In Persia itself the Press, paralysed for a time after the Russian aggressions of 1912, has resumed its activities, especially since the conclusion of the War; but owing to the badness of the communications and the irregularity of the posts one has to be content with somewhat fragmentary information about it. No. 4 of the *Káwa* for 1921 (pp. 15-16) contained a brief list of Persian papers and magazines which had come into being since the beginning of A.H. 1334 (November, 1915). These, forty-seven in number, were arranged alphabetically, the place of publication, name of the editor, and date of inauguration, being recorded in each case. Ṭíhrán heads the list with eighteen papers, next comes Shíráz with seven, Tabríz and Rasht with four each, and Ísfahán, Mashhad, Kirmán, Kirmánsháh, Khúy, Bushire, Bákú, Herát, Kábul and Jalálábád (the last three in Afghánistán) with one or two each. More than half of these papers (twenty-five) first appeared in A.H. 1338 (began on Sept. 26, 1919). That the list is far from exhaustive is shown by the fact that of nine Persian magazines of which copies were sent me by their editors or by friends, only two, the '*Álam-i-Niswán*' ("Women's World") and the '*Armaghán*' ("Gift"), appear in the above list. The latter is one of the best, containing many poems, including some by the late *Adíbu'l-Mamálík*, and accounts of the proceedings of the "Literary Society" (*Anjuman-i-Adabí*) of Ṭíhrán. The others are the *Bahár* ("Spring"), very modern and European in tone, but including some interesting poems; the *Furúgh-i-Tarbiyát* ("Lustre of Education"); the *Dánish* ("Knowledge"), published at Mashhad; the *Mimát u Ḥayát* ("Death and Life"), entirely devoted to European inventions and material progress; the *Firdawsí*, edited and written by *diplomés* of the American College at Ṭíhrán; the *Párs*, written half in

The post-War Press of Persia.

¹ *Írán-shahr*, No. 3, p. 55, and No. 7, p. 153.

Persian and half in French, which first appeared at Constantinople on April 15, 1921; and the *Ganjīna-i-Ma'ārif* ("Treasury of Sciences"), of which the first number appeared at Tabrīz on October 24, 1922. None of these approach the *Īrān-shahr*, still less the *Kāwa*, in excellence of matter or form. An exception should perhaps be made in favour of the *Gul-i-Zard* ("Yellow Rose"), which appeared in Tīhrān about the end of August, 1920, and in which the editor, Mīrzā Yahyā Khān, used to publish the poems he composed under the *nom de guerre* of Rayhānī.

The establishment in Berlin of the "Kaviani" Printing-press (*Chāp-khāna-i-Kāwayānī*) owned and managed by Mīrzā 'Abdu'sh-Shukūr and other Persians anxious to meet the growing demand for cheap, correct, and well-printed Persian books, marks another very important stage in the Persian literary revival; and at the present time there exists no other Press which can rival it in these respects. Besides modern plays and treatises on Music, Agriculture and the like, and tasteful editions of such well-known classics as the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī and the "Cat and Mouse" (*Mūsh u Gurba*) of 'Ubayd-i-Zākānī, the managers have had the spirit and enterprise to print such rare works of the great writers of old as the *Zādū'l-Musāfirīn* ("Travellers' Provision") of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, a book of which only two manuscripts (those of Paris and King's College, Cambridge) are known to exist; and are now (November, 1923) printing the *Wajh-i-Dīn* ("Way of Religion") of which the unique manuscript has recently been discovered at Petrograd, though books of this sort, recondite in character, costly to print, and unlikely to command a large sale, must almost inevitably be published at a loss. In Mīrzā Maḥmūd Ghanī-Zāda the Press possesses a most competent scholar, who carries on the high traditions of criticism and accuracy established by Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān of Qazwīn.

The "Kaviani Press" in Berlin.

Its great services to scholarship.

INDEX

In the following Index where many reference-numbers occur under one heading the more important are printed in Clarendon type, which is also used for the first entry under each letter of the alphabet. To save needless repetition, all references to any name common to several persons mentioned in the text are brought together under one heading, the individuals bearing this name being arranged either in chronological order, or in order of importance, or in classes (rulers, men of letters, poets, etc.). The letter b. between two names stands for Ibn ("Son of..."), and n. after the number of a page indicates a footnote. The addition in brackets of a Roman number after a name or book indicates the century of the Christian era in which the man lived or the book was written. Prefixes like Abū ("Father of...") and Ibn ("Son of...") in Muḥammadan, and de, le, von in European names are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement, so that names like Abū Sa'īd, Ibn Sīnā, le Strange, de Slane, etc., must be sought under S, not under A, I, L or D. Titles of books and foreign words are printed in *italics*. A hyphen preceding a word indicates that the Arabic definite article al- should be prefixed to it.

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