

FRANCISZEK MACHALSKI

PERSIAN COURT POETRY OF THE KĀĠĀR EPOCH

The Persian poetry of the XIXth century which has been connected with the court of the Kāġār shahs possesses a distinctive appearance and forms a separate chapter in the history of Iran's literature. Epigonisme, imitation of the classical literature of the Xth—XVth century, is its characteristic feature. Therefore Iranian scholars call it poetry of „the period of return“ (*doure-ye bāzgašt*). It has all the traits, both positive and negative, of a decadent, declining literature.

Persian poetry of „the period of return“ is connected with the the court of Kāġār shahs in Teheran and with the princely court of Tabris belonging to the same dynasty. The shah Fath-'Alī (1797—1834), his grandson Moḥammad (1834—1848) and his great-grandson Nāsero'd-Dīn (1848—1896), as well as 'Abbās Mīrzā, son of Fath-'Alī and heir to the throne (who died in 1833) were the last (but not least!) protectors (Maecenas) of science, art and literature in the history of Iran. The despotic monarchy of the Kāġār, whose medieval feudal system in Iran became the last stronghold of decay and backwardness from the political, social and economic point of view, managed to create conditions favourable to a new and abundant development of poetry and intellectual life in general. This development was very striking, the more so that it took place after a long period of wars and a nearly complete decline of literature and science.

There is no art, and therefore no literature, entirely detached from the current structure of political, social and economic conditions. When the monarch and his ministers were the only promoters of art, who did not tolerate even the thought of any alter-

ation in the system of governing, poetry was condemned in advance to the use of traditional forms. It was obliged to remain at the service of the shah and his powerful courtiers. The study of Persian poetry of this period leads to very interesting inferences.

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At the turn of the XVIIIth and the XIXth century, when the Kāğār dynasty, after a long period of fighting and wars for authority, finally conquered the Persian throne, the Iranian nation experiences a deep political, social and ideological crisis. Famine, misery and epidemics spreading among peasants, the miserable condition of handicraft and bazaar industry, the negative balance of foreign commerce, the lack of capital, the unsolved problem of the tribes — those were the more important but by no means all exponents of a general decline and underdevelopment. Authority remains entirely in the hands of the shah, his sons and relatives, all of them high functionaries of the court and governors of provinces. The majority of brutally exacted taxes were drawn from the treasury for the private expenditure of the shah and his numerous court. The barbarous and deeply rooted custom of offering presents (*pīškeš*) obligatory in all levels of the state ladder, from the lowest to the highest, corruption and bribery were some of the numerous evils plaguing the Iranian nation. An obsolete judiciary system — the highest judicial civil authority (*ʿorf*) remained in the hands of the shah, while the religious courts (*šarīʿat*) belonged to the Moslem clergy, which passed sentences on the basis of the Korān, the sunna and the ḥadīṭ — was also a great evil. Education was also in the hands of the Moslem clergy and it followed the traditional antiquated patterns (predominance of theological subjects, grammar, Arab and Persian literature etc.).

While remaining in such a situation Iran comes under the influence of European capital and industry. England and France interfere ever more insistently in the internal affairs of the country. Their colonial policy is a new menace to the independence and sovereignty of Iran. It began with the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1800, which started a violent rivalry between the European powers (mostly Russia and England) striving to obtain political and economic influence in Iran.

Meanwhile unrest, conflicts and wars take repeatedly place at the frontiers of the Persian state, as a result of which Persian territory is lost to Russia, Turkey and Afghanistan. The shah tries to manipulate, signs and breaks treaties with England, France and Russia, losing ever more of his prestige as well as the political and economic independence of the country. Iran is flooded by European merchandise and this causes a new decrease in foreign commerce. The industry and handicraft of the country decline rapidly as a result of the inflow of Western capital. Land-owners exploit the peasants, increasing steadily the taxes and feudal services. Iran becomes rapidly economically enslaved to the imperialistic European powers and becomes factually a kind of semi-colony. The country is shaken by the insurrections of a new sect, the Bābis, whose ideology is not only religious but also social and liberatory. A general ferment is caused by the cruel suppression of the rebellion by the armed forces of the shah.

In this situation, the urgent need of immediate and through reform, which could raise the nation and the state from a catastrophic and disgraceful decadence, made itself felt. Unfortunately, all the efforts undertaken by the wise and patriotic vizir, Taḳī Ḥān, tending to reorganise the army, regulate taxes, limitate the influence of the Moslem clergy and of England, ended with their initiator who was put out of favour by the shah and executed in 1852. The last bastion of conservatism and medieval rule under the Kāğārs, hated by the people, defended itself fiercely. A relative tranquility reigned however in the interior of the bastion, enabling the pursuance of science and art with literature taking the head.

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The Kāğār rulers, with the exception of Āḳā Moḥammad, founder of the dynasty (1779—1797), had no ambition to become „conquerors of the world“. Their politics were limited to the defence of their frontiers of Iran and the suppression of internal troubles caused by provincial sovereign princes and the chiefs of tribes. Their cultural ambitions were directed towards the glorious traditions of the Samanids (Xth century), the Safavids (XVIth—XVIIth centuries) and even of the Sasanids (IIIth—VIIth century).

Fath-'Alī establishes a superb court in Teheran, which henceforth becomes the capital of the land, and assembles round himself a group of distinguished scientists and poets-laureates. Persian poetry blossoms forth after a long period of inertia. In the favourable climate of the Persian court more than a hundred poets live and write. The shah Fath-'Alī himself writing under the pseudonym of „Hākān“ and forty eight of his sons consider poetry as their favourite hobby, without achieving, however, any special success¹. Among them, Farhād Mirzā (died in 1888), son of 'Abbās Mirzā, and grandson of Fath-'Alī, gained some repute. Shah Nāṣero'd-Dīn did not shrink from the poetical work. A kind of official Academy of Literature under the name of Anḡoman-e Hākān² concentrated around the court of Fath-'Alī.

The fact that there existed during the reign of the first Kāḡār rulers whole families of poets is a very interesting feature of this period. We must mention here, in the first place, the especially talented Veṣāl family from Shiraz. The head of this specific kind of dynasty of poets was Veṣāl Mirzā Šaffī, also called Mirzā Kūčuk (deceased in 1846), whose six sons (Veḡār, Hākīm, Touḡid, Farhang and Yāzdānī) and some of his grandsons and greatgrandsons also wrote poetry, although none of them surpassed their great ancestor in the poetic art.

Mirzā Hosain Hān, signing his verse with the pseudonym „Andalīb“ (Nightingale) inherited the poetic talent of his famous father Šabā and also became a poeta laureatus of shah Fath-'Alī. The son of Yaḡmā, poet at the court of shah Aḡmad, Mirzā Esmail, wrote under the *tahalloṣ* of „Honar“ (Art)³. The father of Kāānī, the greatest poet of Kāḡār court, wrote poetry under the pseudonym „Golšan“ (Garden of flowers). Moḡammad Reḡā Kolī Hān „Homā“ (Osprey) from Esfahan had three sons with poetic abilities of which one, under the pseudonym of „Anḡā“ (Phoenix) was graced with the honorific title of „Maleko's-šo'arā“

¹ Redā Kolī Hān, employee, scientist and poet of Kāḡār court, in his *Maḡma'o'l-foṣaḡā* writes in detail on this question.

² The works of its members are collected in the *Tadkere-ye anḡoman-e Hākān*.

³ The poet Habīb Yaḡmā'i, contemporary professor of the University of Teheran, is a direct descendant of Yaḡmā.

(King of poets). Similar examples could be found in greater number. We can infer that poetry was at that time a general fashion and necessity for the minds in Iran.

The writing of panegyrics proclaiming the glory of the reigning dynasty was the duty of the official bard, the poet of the court. In such conditions, evidently, there could be no question of progressive and revolutionary poetry which might bring new values relative to ideology and form. Therefore the poets of the Kāḡār court sought their models in the first centuries of the classical Persian literature. The epoch imitated then is confined, in the opinion of Šebli⁴ in the limits of two great poets: Rūdakī (Xth century) and Šā'ib (XVIIth century). Laudative casidas, mostly those of Farroḡī of Sīstān (deceased in 1037) and Manūčehri of Damḡān (dec. about 1040), poets of the court of the sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna, as well as of poets living before the Moḡol invasion and the downfall of the Caliphate in 1258, were considered as being the most perfect models and the only ones 'worthy of imitation. In epic poetry the *Šāh-nāmeḡ* of Ferdousī (Xth—XIth century) was imitated, Sa'dī's of Shiraz (XIIIth cent.) *Būstān* and *Golestān* in the domain of didactic and moralising poetry and the inimitable poems of Hāfez (XIVth century) in lyrics. In the satire of the period in question we can discover echoes of Sūzani (XIIth cent.). All these literary forms or species were born and attained their highest level in the royal courts of Samanids (Xth cent.), Ghaznavids (X—XIth cent.) and the Seldjukids (XIth—XIIth centuries).

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Poets of the Kāḡār court nursed the ambition of becoming equal to the classic poets and even of surpassing them. Refinement of form, research of uncommon rhymes and metaphores, melodiousness and sonorousness of the verse, extreme aestheticism were the result of these endeavours. Even Reḡā Kolī Hān (1800—1871), author of the *Maḡma'o'l-foṣaḡā*, considers the Kāḡār poets as epigones, rightly maintaining that imitation, deprived of personal features and lacking originality, forms the principal aspect of their works. Nearly all of them do not express any more

⁴ Cf. *Še'ro'l-aḡam*, III, 189.

noble thoughts or ideals. This concerns especially the poetry of Kāānī, of a high order, though flashily brilliant. Unfortunately, adulation and even calumny related to personal intrigues can be noticed from time to time, as well as coarse obscenities, a characteristic feature in the stifling atmosphere of court life.

As mentioned previously, more than a hundred poets lived in the epoch of the Kāğār patronage. However only ten or twelve of their number form a constellation of stars of the first magnitude⁵. It is very difficult to find an objective criterion for establishing even approximately a hierarchy of poetical talent. Yaḥiā Doulatābādī, a poet and writer of the Constitutional Period, considers, for example, only five poets as the most eminent: Meğmar, Forūğī, Šabā, Nešāt and Kāānī, two poets, Vešāl and Reḏā Kolī Hān as secondary, while also two poets, Veğār and Sorūš, occupy the third place. Out of forty poets worthy of recognition, he closes these nine poets as the best of all⁶. Professor Dabīḥollāh Šafā in his chrestomathy under the title of *Ganġ-e soḥan* (Treasury of word), vol. III, names twelve poets. Šabāḥī, Saḥāb, Meğmar, Šabā, Nešāt, Vešāl, Kāānī, Forūğī, Yağmā, Sorūš, Maḥmūd Šabā and Šaybānī — if we except Ġāleb, the Indo-Iranian poet who wrote in two languages, the Persian and the Urdu.

The difficulties experienced by a European scientists in connexion with the hierarchy of the value of different works of the Persian literature (as Oriental and Western taste differ basically) were already mentioned by the English scientist, A. G. Browne, an excellent expert in the domain of Iranian literature. The works of Iranian historians of literature and anthologists can be of little help here, as they often do not observe the necessity of scientific objectivity and accuracy. The degree of personal acquaintance with the author may be often decisive in obtaining a higher place by the poet in question.

In our review of the poets at the Kāğār court of Teheran we take into consideration only those which are popular and univer-

⁵ Reḏā Kolī Hān enumerates in his work more than 359 „contemporary“ poets, including also poets of the XVIIIth century.

⁶ Comp. with Browne, HPL, IV, 225—6.

sally recognised by specialists in the domain of Iranian literature, in the first place.

A considerable part of the poetic production during the period in question consists of laudative kasidas composed in honour of shahs, Kāğār princes and their high functionaries. The connoisseurs (as for instance prof. dr Dabīḥollāh Šafā) highly value their form, based on the best models of the IVth and Vth century of Moslem era. That is why they are not very attractive for a European reader who does not understand the Persian language, even if he reads them in an excellent translation. The specific quality of the oriental poetical form cannot be reproduced in any European language. However, besides panegyric poems which shall be entirely omitted in our work, we encounter poems that can interest us by their contents and atmosphere and which seem to announce the dawn of a new epoch. Those are the personal lyrics, description of nature, satires on social conditions etc.

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The first poet of the Kāğār court was, from the chronological point of view, Hāğī Soleyman „Šabāḥī“ (Of the Morning) Bīdgolī of Kashan (deceased 1218 ȧ/1803). He was known as an eminent poet. He chanted the acts of Akā Moḥammad Hān, founder of the Kāğār dynasty (1779—1797). Loṭf ‘Alī Bīk Āḏar, author of an anthology of Persian poetry and a friend of his, valued highly the qualities of his character and his poetical gift⁷. His *Divān*⁸ contains, in the first place, kasidas and also gazals, threnodies (in which, in the opinion of Prof. D. Šafā, he was masterly) and love robaiyats. Šabāḥī's poems possesses an excellent classicistic form and their themes are traditional (moralising, philosophical reflections on human life, conventional lyrics etc.). However reverie and a calm melancholy which envelop his poems as if with an autumnal mist, are an individual feature of the poet.

⁷ *Ātaškade-ye Āḏar* (Teheran), 1337 h/1956, pp. 388.

⁸ Published in Teheran, in 1338 h/1960 owing to the endeavours of Partow Baiḏāi.

جز خون دل ز چشم صبا حی نمی رود
چون چرخ غیر خون داش در گلو نکرد⁹

The eyes of Šabāhī weep with (his) heart's blood exclusively,
for his destiny (has appointed) that only the blood of his heart flows
through his throat...

The gazal entitled *Mehrgān* (Autumn) is full of poetical lofty
images and classical reminiscences:

در صحن باغ و راغ کشاورز مهرگان
بدرود ارغوان وفرو کشت زعفران
باد صبا که گوهری باغ و راغ برد
اکنون بین که زرگر باغست و بوستان
صراف مهر در چمن و بوستان گذشت
بیجاده ریخت از کف و برچید بهر مان
لیلی زدشت رفت و رسید از قفاش قیس
نقشی که دید از قدمش سود رخ بر آن
پرویز بهر عرض خزاین بیباغ رفت
گنجور بر گشاد سر از گنج شایگان
بهرام آتآب قدم زد بکاخ زرد
آفاق گشت جلوه گر از زر و پرنیان

Autumn—the peasant from gardens and fields
reaps arghavans and plants crocusses¹⁰.
The morning wind (who) had been the jeweller of fields and gardens

⁹ Cf. *Āstān-e maykadeh*, GS, III, p. 164.

¹⁰ The arghavān is a shrub which flowers in spring, crocusses are autumn's messengers.

is now, behold! the goldsmith of gardens and orchards¹¹.
September the banker wandered through meadows and orchards,
he scattered amber with his hand and collected rubies.
Leilī went out in the field and was followed by Kays¹²
who pressed his face onto the traces of her feet.
Parvīz went to the garden to see the treasures —
the treasurer opened for him the door to the marvellous treasures,
Behrām the sun went into the yellow chamber¹³,
the horizon shone with gold and silk...

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The long reign of the shah Fath-‘Alī (1797—1834), lasting
for 37 years during a period of relative peace in the state, created
favourable conditions for a renewed development of literature.
The longdrawn years preceding it were full of bloodthirsty struggles
for power in view of gaining the throne. Population and property
were destroyed and it was no time for the reign of Muses. „Nobody
wanted to read poetry and the more so nobody wanted to write“
says Loṭf ‘Alī Āḍar¹⁴, thus confirming once more the veracity
of the Latin proverb *Inter arma silent Musae*.

Shah Fath-‘Alī, himself a poet¹⁵ had the ambition of equalling
the Samanid or Seldjouk rulers in their patronage of poets and
scientists. He assembled, around his Teheran court, numerous
poets who added a new lustre to Persian literature.

Chronologically Mīrzā Sayyed Moḥammad „Saḥāb“ (Cloud)
(deceased in 1222 ʔ/1807—8) was the first of them. He inherited
his poetical talent from his father, Aḥmad Hātefī, a well-known
poet of Isfahan (dec. 1783—4). He was the disciple of Šabāhī
and belonged to the poetic milieu of Isfahan, his birth-place.
Later, he moved to Teheran and became poet of the court.

¹¹ Meaning that it provided nature with different colours in spring,
and at present covers it with golden colours of dead leaves.

¹² Leilī and Kays (or Madjnūn) — heroes of the celebrated poem
of Neẓāmī, *Leilī and Maḡnūn*.

¹³ An allusion to the similar situation in the *Haft paykar* of Ne-
ẓāmī. The autumn sun is yellow and pale.

¹⁴ *Ātaškade-ye Āḍar*, introduction.

¹⁵ By an interesting coincidence of events one of his short verses,
The wreath of Power, was translated into Polish by Wojciech Po-
tockī (Comp. A. Lange, *Dywan wschodni*, Warszawa 1921, p. 283).

Saḥāb wrote kasidas after the model of poets of the VIth century h. (ʿOnṣūrī) and gazals resembling those of poets of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries of *heḡra* (Saʿdī, Ḥāfeẓ). Fath-ʿAlī shah valued him highly. Saḥāb dedicated to him an anthology of Persian verse intitled *Raṣāḥāt-e saḥāb* (Drops of the cloud)¹⁶ which, however, remained unfinished, and a *Dīvān* composed of five thousand bayts. He did not, as can be seen, write much, but all he wrote is a proof of real poetic talent and artistic taste. The gazals: *Ātašbāzī* (Fireworks), *Šamšīr* (The sword) and others of the same kind resemble poetry of European Baroque, and *Farzand-e šāʿer* (The son of the poet), *Āh-e sūzān* (Fervent sigh), *Sost-paymām* (The unfaithful) etc. affect the reader by a sincerity of feeling. The gazal beginning with the words *Kas-rā kamāl-e naḡs be-ḡoz ḥosn-e ḥāl cīst* throws some light upon the intrigues and arrogance of contemporary poets. As an example of his poetical art we cite the gazal *Šamšīr*:

چيست اين لعبت كه قدش خم بود پيكر تزار
وسمه اش گاهي برابر و غازه اش كه بر غذار
گاه رويش لاله گون چون شاهدان سيم بر
گاه چشمش خون فشان چون عاشقان دل فگار
هم كهان ابرویش از قامت مجنون نشان
هم هلال قامتش ز ابروی ليلي ياد گار
گاه دارد پيكرش زينت بزنگاری پرند
گاه يابد فرقهش آرایش بشنگرفی خار
گاه بود الماس پيكر كه بود ياقوت رنگ
گاه باشد گوهر آگين گاه گردد لعل بار
چون نمايد جلوه باشد جلوه گاهش دريمين
چون بيارامد بود آرامگاهش يسار

¹⁶ The title alludes to the name of the poet (*saḥāb* — cloud).

هم بود گاهی بدست کینه جویانش مکان
هم قند گاهی بفرق تیره روزانش گذار
بی نظام او ممالک را نباشد انتظام
بی وجود او سلاطین را نباشد اقتدار
هم نظام از پاس حفظ او پذیرد مملکت
هم قرار از بیم قهر او گزیند روزگار

What beauty is this, of a slender crooked form,
her brow is blackened sometimes and her cheeks are sometimes
reddened?

Sometimes his small face is rosy as that of maidens with a silvery womb,
sometimes blood trickles from her eyes, as from hearts that love has
wounded.

The arc of her brows resembles the bent figure of Madjnun,
and her shape, as that of the crescent brings to mind the brows of
Leyli¹⁷.

She is sometimes sheathed in pale-green silk,
her head is sometimes adorned with a red veil.
She is studded sometimes with diamonds and sapphires,
sometimes with pearls or rubies.

.....
She rests sometimes in the hands of those that seek vengeance,
she falls sometimes upon the heads of the ill-fated who meet her.
Without her efficiency there is no order in kingdoms,
the sultans without her are deprived of power.
Owing to her, order and harmony reign in the land,
and fear of her anger assures peace throughout the world.

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Sayyed Ḥosain Ṭabāṭabāʾī „Meḡmar“ (The censor), deceased in 1225 q/1820, also belonged to the artistic milieu of Isfahan which produced many eminent poets. The poet Nešāʿ of Isfahan was his friend and protector. He introduced him to shah Fath-ʿAlī as a result of which Meḡmar remained at the royal court of

¹⁷ Leyli and Maḡnūn — two unhappy lovers of Neẓāmī's romantic poem (XIIth cent. of our era).

Teheran. He was given here the honorific title of Moğtahedo's-šo-'arā' (The *moğtahed* — 'striving hard' — of poets)¹⁸ and he was greatly considered by his contemporaries, (by Redā Kolī Hān, among others) as an excellent imitator of the style of Sa'dī, Mo'ezzi and Anvari. He died, of a too intensive use of the pleasures of life, it was said — poisoned perhaps by his rivals. His premature death did not allow his exuberant talent to ripen and he did not attain a high position at the royal court.

Meğmar left a *Divān* of 3000 bayts. His poetry is distinguished by a strong and youthful feeling and a fine, skilful language. The erotic gazals of Meğmar, clad in a faultless classical form, bring new, warm and fresh accents of true feeling: of longing, desire, complaint, deep sorrow etc. The autobiographical element speaks forth in gazals like *Nākām* (The unfortunate), *Ātaš-e may* (Fiery wine) etc., and in most of his songs (*tarānehā*) in the form of robaiyats.

نا کام

شکوه ام از بخت نافرجام نیست هر کرا عشقت اورا کام نیست
 گیر آید ننگ بدنامی ز خلق نیکنام آن کس که اورا نام نیست
 طی نشد این راه و افتادم زپا وین عجب کافرون تر از یک گام نیست
 محتسب گو هر چه خواهی سنگ زن بزم ماخوین دلان را جام نیست
 مرد ابر آست کارامیش هست عاشقان را پس چرا آرام نیست
 گر بیاشامند خون او رواست هر که در عشق تو خون آشام نیست
 بوسه بی بیش از لب مجمر نخو است این طلب شایسته دشنام نیست

The Unfortunate

I do not complain about my unfortunate destiny —
 he who loves does not desire anything more.
 When contempt and defamation come from men,

¹⁸ *moğtahed* — highly learned in Moslem law.

he possesses a good name who has no name at all¹⁹.
 I have not finished travelling, on this road and have already fallen
 and, strange to say, no step further (can I make).
 Mohtaseb²⁰, say what you will, fling a stone —
 at the banquet of our sad hearts there is no beaker.
 If he who has tranquility is a man
 why do those that are in love have no peace?

 Beyond the kiss of your lips Meğmar desires nothing more —
 this desire does not merit abuse.

آتش می

تو اگر صاحب نوشی و اگر ضارب نیش
 دیگران راست که من بی خبرم با تو ز خویش
 بچه عضو تو زند بوسه؟ نداند چه کند
 بر سر سفره سلطان چو نشیند درویش!
 همه در خورد وصال تو و من از همه کم
 همه حیران جمال تو و من از همه بیش
 می زنی تیغ و ندانی که چسان می گذرد
 گر که در گله ندارد خبر از حالت میش
 آخر این قوم چه خواهند ز جانهای فگار!
 آخر این جمع چه جویند ز دلهای پریش!
 برهی میروم اما بهزاران امید
 قدمی می نهم اما بهزاران تشویش...

¹⁹ That is: he is happy who is entirely forgotten.

²⁰ *mohtaseb* — the official guardian of public morality in Moslem countries.

Fiery wine

When you are a companion at the feast, drinking and eating,
 they are right, those that say that I lose my head near you.
 Where can my kiss rest upon you? He does not know how to behave
 the dervish, when inviting to the sultan's table.
 All deserve your company, but I less than the others —
 all are astounded at your beauty and I more than the others.
 You sink the blade weapon and do not know how deep it reaches —
 the wolf in a flock (also) does not know what the sheep feel then.
 What do men desire, in the end, from dejected souls?
 What does the gaping crowd look for in distracted hearts?
 I follow the road (of life) with thousand hopes,
 I advance (upon it) with thousand anxieties.

His robā'iyāt, called *tarānehā* ('songs'), although classicistic in form, are „meğmariān“ in their moods and contents. Here is one of them:

یارب بسبو کشان مستم بخشای بر مغیچگان می پرستم بخشای
 براین منگر که باده در دست منست بر آن که دهد باده بدستم بخشای

O, God, forgive my drunken companions of the pitcher —
 forgive my young publicans, worshippers of wine!
 Do not look at the wine in my hand
 and forgive the one who offers wine to my hand.

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The honorific title of Maleko'sh-šo'arā' (King of poets) alone indicates that Fath-'Alī Ḥān „Šabā“ (Light wind, zephyr) was a celebrity at the royal court of Teheran. Redā Kolī Ḥān (in the *Rīyādo'l-'ārefīn*) maintains even — with an exaggeration dictated by the fact of his personal acquaintance with the poet — that there never was in Iran, since seven hundred years, a poet of the calibre of Šabā, but it would be difficult to agree with this opinion. It must be stated, however, that Šabā had a truly Renaissance nature. He cultivated with succes, not only poetry but also painting, calligraphy and other fine arts. Let us add that his eldest son, Mīrzā Ḥosainḥān, with the surname of „Andalīb“ (The Hightingale) was also a poet-laureate.

The poetic work of Šabā commands admiration and astonishment owing to its volume: it comprises a *divān* of about 300 thousand bayts in total. The majority of his poetic works are intricate panegyric kasidas in honour of the shah Fath-'Alī and of his son 'Abbās Mīrzā, who obtained some success in the war with Russia. Šabā is a true epicist in his immense poem, *Šāhanšāh-nāmeḥ* (The book of the King of Kings), composed of about 40 thousand double verses (bayts). This poem was highly regarded by the poet's contemporaries and considered, with some exaggeration, as being better than its great archetyp, the *Šāh-nāmeḥ* of Ferdousī. His epic poems of *Ḥodāvand-nāmeḥ* (Book of the Lord) and *'Ebrat-nāmeḥ* (Book of Instruction) are less popular. As an epicist Šabā did not rise to the occasion. He imitated in a servile manner the verses, language and poetic images of Ferdousī in *Šāh-nāmeḥ*, neglecting the historical background, chronology, the reality of facts and a modern way of thought. Because of this his epic poem was rapidly and almost entirely forgotten.

I think, however, that Šabā will live for all times in the memory of men as an illustrious epigone and artist in the domain of the gazal and kasida. An uncommon melodiousness of word and verse, rare metaphores and colourful style are features so inherent to his poetry that they are difficult to render in any European translation. That is why Šabā's poetry is par excellence accessible for connoisseurs and amateurs of the Persian language only.

Here is a fragment of the gazal intitled *Bāmdād* (The Morning):

چون سحر دارای روم از شاه زنگ افسر گرفت
 از پی رامش جهان را چرخ در زیور گرفت
 روی بانوی حبش از شرم در برقع نهفت
 پرده از رخسار خاتون ختن چون بر گرفت
 قیرگون زاغی ز روی بیضه بیضا پرید
 دهر زیر پر این طاوس زرین پر گرفت

سوخت اخگر از تفش چون از تف اخگر سپند

چون بکف زال سپهر این بسدین مجمر گرفت

صبح در اقلیم گردون و شبستان سپهر

قهرمانی از پی غارت بکف خنجر گرفت

زاهد دم سرد صبح از دست می خواران چرخ

تا زند بر سنگ مینای می احمر گرفت

از درش ناگه در آمد دلبری عابد فریب

داد زهد از دست و از دستش یکی ساغر گرفت

دلبری افروخته خد از افق افراخت قد

از فروغ طلعتش آفاق زیب و فر گرفت

When the white dawn took off the crown (from the head) of the Ethiopian king ²¹,

the world around became silver with joy.

The face of the Ethiopian princess hid under a veil of shame, when the face of the Chotan's queen was uncovered ²².

A pitch-black raven flew away from the white egg ²³ —

a peacock with golden wings ²⁴ covered the world with his feathers. By his heat coal was inflamed, as mint by the glow of the coal, when Zal of the skies ²⁵ reached for this coral censer.

In the morning, in the depth of the firmament and in the harem of the skies

the warrior for (gaining) plunder took a dagger in his hand.

Morning the ascetic, sighing, took from the hands of the drunkards a beaker of red wine to shatter it upon a stone ²⁶.

²¹ Meaning „black night“.

²² Chotan, a town in eastern Turkestan. This metaphore indicates the disappearance of the black night before the golden yellow sun.

²³ Meaning that the black night retread before the white day.

²⁴ That is „the golden sun“.

²⁵ Clear skies.

²⁶ When daylight came, men ceased drinking wine, which they had drunk with impunity under the cover of night.

Suddenly my lover-mistress entered through the door, captivating the heart of the ascetic, he renounced his ascetism and took the beaker from her hand. My mistress with a flaming countenance rose in the firmament — from her rising brilliance the horizon was adorned with colour and light.

And one more gazal, entitled *Daftar-e še'r* (The Book of Poetry), as an example of the high poetic art of Šabā:

ساکت بسیار گوی وساکن گیتی نورد

اکمه باریک بین و ابکم شیرین مقال

نزد هر بیناست بینا در بر هر کور کور

پیش هر گویاست گویا در بر هر لال لال

در بیان قادر ولیکن عاری از کام وزبان

در سخن ماهر و لیکن خالی از فکر و خیال

شهر یاران را از آن آوازه داد و دهش

پهلوانان را از آن هنگامه جنگ و جدال

عارفان در حلقه ذکرند از آن در های و هوی

فاضلان در مبحث علمند از آن در قیل و قال

مردگان را زنده از وی تا ابد نام و نشان

خسروان را شهره از وی جاودان و جلال

عشایان را از آن افسانه سوز و گداز

خویریان را از آن آوازه حسن و جمال

در کف اصحاب بینش چیست گنجی پر کهر

در بر ارباب دانش چیست بحری پر لال

کشوری در صفحه آن نور و ظلمت را قران
 عالمی در عرصه آن روز و شب را اتصال
 روزه یی در وی روان هر جا بسی زنگی عروس
 عرصه یی در وی چمان هر جا بسی مشکین غزال
 بوستانی شاخسارش ایمن از باد خزان
 آسمانی آفتابش فارغ از ظل زوال ...

It is silent, but speak much. It remains lying but wanders around
 the world,
 blind but with excellent sight, mute but ever so eloquent.
 It sees in the hands of the seeing, it is blind in the hands of the blind.
 It speaks for the one who speaks and it is mute for the speechless.
 It can explain everything, though having no mouth nor tongue —
 clever in words, though deprived of thought and imagination.
 It glorifies the justice and the liberality of kings,
 it summons the heroes to combat and fight.
 The mystics assembled in prayer (take) from it their sighs and their
 sorrows,
 scientists conduct scientific discussions taking it for their base.
 Owing to it the fame of the dead lasts eternally,
 owing to it the glory and splendour, of kings does not perish.
 To lovers it tells the tale of love's distress,
 it praises the beauty and comeliness of pretty girls.
 What does it become in the hands of englightened men? A treasury
 full of gems.

What is it for sages? A sea full of pearls.
 On its pages the light and darkness of the land are united,
 on its arena the night and the day of the world appear in common ²⁷.
 It is a garden in which Ethiopian beauties wander,
 a field upon which black-haired gazelles proudly roam.
 Its luxuriant garden is guarded against the wind of the autumn,
 the sun in its skies is free of the shadows of the sunset ²⁸.

*

²⁷ This means: relating to lights and shadows of history.

²⁸ That is: it never sets.

Mirzā 'Abdo'l-Vahhāb „Našāt“ (Joy), living in the years 1761—1828, an Isfahan poet, was another celebrity at the court of the shah Fath-'Alī. He came from a wealthy Judeo-Persian family. After dissipating the property which he had inherited from his parents by entertaining his numerous friends, he decided to sell profitably the works of his considerable poetic gift. The panegyrics presented in 1803 to the shah brought him a high position as a civil servant and the honorific title of Mo'tamado'd-Douleh (Confident of the State). He was fluent in word and writing in Persian, Arabic and Turkish and left in all these three languages classicistic works in prose. His handwriting, style and literary education were highly valued. He wrote in verse and in prose.

In the domain of poetry he was one of the most distinguished representatives of the period of return to classic models. His remarkably skilful gazals, in which he followed the example of Hāfez, contain some personal notes and are therefore interesting. But his kasidas, written in the manner of the old masters of the classical period, do not represent anything of special interest.

Ganġīneh (Treasury), a collection of his writings in prose and verse, contains five „caskets“ (*dorġ*) in which are assembled: 1. literary articles, 2. kasidas, 3. gazals, 4. ket'as (fragments) and 5. masnavis (epic poems). This collection was published thrice in lithographic print. A new edition in normal type was prepared and published by Hosain Makki.

The personality of Našāt was complicated and full of discrepancies: at the side of his love for splendid feasts in the company of his friends his wasteful spending and lavishness, the part he took in the pleasures of life (*nāšaṭ* — joy, his eloquent pseudonym!) appears a tendency to despondent moods and an inclination towards mysticism. The gazal *Havas* (Desire) depicts one of these moods:

در همه کون و مکان نیست جزینم هوسی
 که مگر بی هوس زیست توانم نفسی
 شعله ها سرزده ام از دل جان طور صفت
 موسیقی نیست در یغا که بجوید قبی

بسته این گمشدگان دیده و گوش ارنه براه
 کاروانیست نمودار و نواخان جرسی
 راز رندان خرابات میپرسید ز ما
 بکسی راز مگویید که گوید بکسی
 مانگتیم حدیثی که توان گفت و شنید
 لیک در خلق زما گفت و شنیدست بسی
 چشمه ها نغز و چمن سبز و من آن مرغ که داشت
 چشم و دل بر اثر دانه و آب و قفسی
 من درین دام و تمنای رهایی هیئات
 تا ابد صید تو جز قید ندارد هوسی
 رشته مگذار ز کف لیک خدا را بگذار
 که بمرغان هم آواز بر آرم نفسی
 گر پناهی دهم دوست عجب نیست نشاط
 ناگزیرست می از دردی و گلشن ز خسی

Always and everywhere I only have one desire,
 that for a moment I should not wish for anything.
 I lighted the fires of heart and soul upon the road of virtue —
 unfortunately, there is no Moses seeking the flaming bush.
 The eyes and ears of lost wanderers are covered and they do not see
 that the caravan is on its way, ringing loudly.
 Do not ask me about the secrets of those that frequent the tavern,
 tell, the secret to no one, so that he would not divulge it to another.
 I did not reveal the tidings, although much could be said about them,
 that is why people speak too much about me.
 (There are) most pure sources and green meadows and I was a bird,
 whose eyes and heart were directed towards the grain, the water and
 the eagle.

I am (bound) in this net and crave for deliverance — alas!
 your quarry wants to remain eternally in fetters.

Do not drop the thread out of your hand, o God!²⁹
 so that for a moment I might sing with the birds.
 If a friend procures me a refuge, it is not astonishing, Našāt!
 There is no wine without dregs and no rose without thorns.

In the above gazal the terminology and the symbols are of
 sufistic (mystic) origin and they are distinctly copied from
 Hāfez and Ġalālō'd-Dīn Rūmī. We confine ourselves to this one
 example, as in the entire collection of the lyrics of Našāt it would
 be difficult to find any what, translated into European language,
 might interest our readers. Their beauty resides mostly in their
 language and style, not in original conceptions.

Besides the four poets mentioned above, which benefit of
 a general appreciation by their contemporaries as well as by modern
 historians of Iranian literature, several other less known poets,
 authors of panegyrics, resided at the court of the shah Faṭḥ-'Alī.
 Among them Mīrzā Raḍī of Tabris, more historian than poet,
 ought to be mentioned in the first place. He held the high official
 position of *mostoufī*, secretary of the state chancery, at the court
 of Teheran, with the honorific title of *Ostādo'l-motarassalīn*
 (Master of Clerics). Although he came of a well-known family, in
 which sufistic atmosphere reigned, he had no disdain for the
 career of a courtier and wrote panegyric poems, wordly and
 conventional. A short gazal or a long kasida however were more
 in keeping with his kind of talent. The majority of his panegyrics
 are in the form of gazal.

An historic work, written in collaboration with Našāt and
 a certain 'Abdo'r-Razzāk Bik „Maftūn“ at the command of
 shah Faṭḥ-'Alī, *Zīnato't-tavārīḡ* (The Ornament of History), is
 of greater importance than his panegyrics. Poetic works, usually
 limited to panegyric gazals and the history of Mīrzā Raḍī
 are mostly in manuscript and practically inaccessible.

Mīrzā Moḥammad Kolī Afšār, whose *tahalluṡ* was „Olfat“
 (Friendship), deceased in 1240 k/1824—5, and Āḡā 'Alī Ašraf,
 with the literary pseudonym of „Āgāh“ (The Vigilant), deceased
 in 1244 k/1828—9, younger brother of „Besmel“ the Shiraz poet,
 both mentioned by Redā Kolī Ḥān in *Maḡma'o'l-foṣaḡā*, are still
 less famous.

*

²⁹ The thread signifies the mystic bond of the soul with God.

Panegyric kasidas in honour of shah Fath-'Alī and of Kāḡār prince Farhād Mirzā, governor of Fars, were also written by the poet Mirzā Moḥammad Šafi', bearing the surname of Mirzā Kūčuk and signing his works with the pseudonym „Veṣāl“ (Joyful Union). His family occupied high positions in the government („divān“) of the Safavid, Afshar and Zand shahs. He lived in Shiraz, far from the royal court. He stood, as mentioned previously, at the head of an eminent family endowed with artistic abilities. Several of his sons and grandsons were also poets.

Veṣāl was broadly and thoroughly educated and he cultivated literature, music and calligraphy. He was also acquainted with adepts of sufism. His agreeable voice was most prepossessing, his behaviour full of dignity and his appearance very neat. Although he was greatly considered by his contemporaries, our opinion is slightly different. Veṣāl possessed the art of imitation of classical works in a degree far surpassing that of the other poets of the period of return. His gazals resemble so closely those of Sa'dī and Ḥāfez that they might be considered as pastiches, although this had not been the intention of the author. Veṣāl's remarkable memory provided him continually with reminiscences from classical authors which he read largely and diligently. He did not add therefore any new values to the Persian literature.

In Veṣāl's *Divān*, containing about 15 thousand bayts we find but few gazals reflecting more intensive feeling related to small events of the poet's life. His poetry is distinctly „an art for art's sake“, for his own intellectual pleasure and that of others. Veṣāl is the author not only of this *Divān* (a complete lithographic edition, printed in Teheran and undated, comprises 706 pages) but also an epic poem (maṭnavī) *Bazm-e Veṣāl* (The Feast of Vesal or of Unity). He terminated an epic poem *Farhād-o-Širīn*, which the author, Vaḥšī Bafkī of Kermanshah (dec. 1583—4) had left unfinished. Veṣāl imitated here in such a degree the style of his predecessor that it is often difficult to discern the end of Vaḥšī's and the beginning of his verse. This work was probably dedicated to Farhād Mirzā (previously mentioned) and therefore, in opposition to tradition, the classical Farhād of his poem does not die and the narrative has an optimistic en-

ding³⁰. Veṣāl also translated from the Arabic a work of Zamahšarī (XIIth cent.) entitled *Aṭwāku'd-dahab* (The Golden Necklaces), of a moralistic trend.

This is a gazal full of classical reminiscences and distinguished by strange metaphors, entitled *Bot-e zangī* (The Ethiopian Deity):³¹

دوش چون گشت جهان از سپه زنگ سیاه
از درم آن بت زنگی بدر آمد ناگاه

با رخی غیرت مه لیک بهنگام خسوف
خنده بر لب چو درخشی که جهد از ابر سیاه
همچو نرگس که بنیمی شکفت در دل شب
چشم افکنده بصد شرم همی کرد نگاه
دو لبش آب خضر کرده نهان در ظلمت
غیب او ز دل سوخته انباشته چاه
لب چو انگشت ولی نیمه انگشت آتش
مو چو سرطانش ولی چون شب سرطان کوتاه
چو یکی شب که دو روزش بمیان بر گیرند
می خرامید وز آصف دو وشاقش همراه

Last night, when the world was darkened by the Ethiopian army,
this Ethiopian deity suddenly entered through my door.
With a countenance which the moon envies in the moment of its
eclipse,
with a smile on her lips as the lightning which suddenly illuminates
a dark cloud,
as a narcissus breaking into flower in the heart of the night,
she cast a hundred crestfallen glances.

³⁰ Conf. J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, pp. 317—318.

³¹ In the meaning of a beautiful Ethiopian girl.

Both her lips were like the water of Hedr concealed the darkness³² her dimple (in her chin) was like a well filled with hearts consumed, her lips are similar to embers in which flames remain, her hair is like a crayfish (black), but short like the night of Cancer³³. Like night embraced by two days she proceeded as majestically as a vizir and two pages followed her.

And one more gazal entitled *Omr-e godašteḥ* (Life has passed):

گشتیم خاک و پا نهادی بروی ما
 زمین بیشتر بیاد مده آبروی ما
 تن خاک کرد باید و خاکش پیاله ساخت
 تا عشق جرعه یی دهدت از سبوی ما
 بیچاره ما در آرزوی یک نگاه تو
 بیچاره تر کسی که برد آرزوی ما
 این طرفه بین که مایه یک دجله خون شود
 این قطره می که بی تو رود در گلوی ما
 ناداده غسل توبه دهد شیخمان زمی
 وقتست ساقیا که دهی شستشوی ما
 عمر گذشت آب زجو رفته شد کجاست
 ساقی که بار دیگرش آرد بجوی ما؟

We have become dust, but you did not trample upon us — and therefore do not left the wind blow away our good name.

³² Hedr — the prophet Elias who, as the Moslem legend relates, compounded a drank water which rendered him immortal.

³³ Sign of the Zodiac, metaphorically a summer night. The cancer (*saraḥān*) is the name of the fourth Moslem lunar month (22. VI — 22. VII).

Flesh must be changed into clay and out of this clay a drinking-cup must be formed, so that love may allow you to drink from our pitcher³⁴. We are unhappy, desiring one glance from you, but more unfortunate is the one who desires us. Look — what a strange thing: the source of the bloody current of the Tigris becomes the drop of wine, which without you flows down into our throat. Those that are not washed (in the water) of contrition, our master will wash in wine, it is time, *sākī*, that you should bring us water to cleanse us³⁵. Life has passed, the water flowed away in the stream. Where is the *sākī* who could again fill our stream with it?

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The following two Kāḡār shahs: Moḥammad (1834—1848) and Nāṣero'd-Dīn (1848—1896) were continuators of the royal patronage during the early epoch of that dynasty. A group of brilliant epigones of the great classic poetry: Yaḡmā, Kāānī, Sorūš, Šaybānī, Forūḡi and others were more or less connected with the Kāḡār court.

The two rulers mentioned above reigned in the years of growing social and economic discrepancies. The unrest of the epoch, heralding great changes of policy, must have had a great influence on the psyche of the poets and on their works. Although both the form and the content of their poetry continue to follow the classical lines, so that to appearance they present no difference, the attentive reader shall find in them a certain reflection of the unrest prevailing in social and political relations.

This can be specially noticed in the works of Mirzā Abo'l-Hasan, using the pen-name of „Yaḡmā“ (Booty), a panegyrist of the court of shah Moḥammad. He was born in the year 1196 k/1782 or thereabouts in Hūr-e Biyābānak, near Ġandaḡ and died there in 1276 k/1859.

The strange vicissitudes of Yaḡmā's life deserve a closer study for they shed a good deal of light on the social relations

³⁴ That is of the pitcher made out of the clay of our body.

³⁵ Meaning wine.

and customs of Iran in his days. His childhood was a most unhappy one. At the age of seven Yağmā was obliged to toil for his own unkeep and that of his family as a camel shepherd-lad. One day, the local rich man, the emir Esmail Hān met him accidentally at his work. The boy's politeness and sagacity impressed him so deeply that he adopted and educated him he would have done for his own son. Having gained some instruction, Yağmā became the emir's *monšī-bāšī*, his personal secretary and began to write verse, signing them with the pseudonym „Mağnūn“ (The Madman). But when his protector was defeated during a conflict with the government and escaped into Khorasan, Yağmā found service with the sardār (general) Dū'l-faḵār Hān. After six years and as a result of the intrigues of people who envied his position, Yağmā was beaten by the sardār and cast into prison. However, after a certain time the sardār acquitted and liberated him, but the injustice he had suffered poisoned for ever the pen of the poet with bitterness and hatred. He then altered his *tahalloş* of „Mağnūn“ into „Yağmā“ and wrote, among others, a mordant satire on his cruel protector, intitled *Sardāriyeh* (The Generalade). It is in the form of a wreath of twenty gazals of different length, loosely connected. Each of them begins with a semblance of praise of the sardār and ends with extraordinarily cynical and coars abuse directed against him. It would be difficult to find among them even one which could be entirely translated into European language. Yağmā however was a talented and superior poet and this can disculpate him in a certain measure of this excess of vulgarity. A man that had been so inhumanly maltreated, beaten and slighted in the time when no rightful justice existed in Iran, used the only weapons he had at his disposal — satire and libel.

After having written the above work Yağmā was obliged to retire from the presence of the despotic sardār. He undertook a long journey through the country and even passed the frontier, reaching Kerbela and Baghdad, in Irak. He only returned to his native country after the death of Dū'l-faḵār Hān, but could not remain there for long because of the sad memories that haunted him. He went therefore to Teheran, at that time the Mecca of all poets, where he managed to curry the favour of the powerful

vizir Hāgi Mirzā Aḳāsi, one of the most enlightened Iranians of that period. He soon obtained recognition and became influential at the court of shah Moḥammad, where his poetical talent was duly appreciated. He obtained soon an important part at the governor of Kashan's office. Yağmā wrote here a most interesting though not very long satirical poem on customs and social relations, the *Holāşato'l-eftedāh* (The Depts of Shame). In it he describes an immoral and scandalous event which had taken place in the family of neighbouring landowners. Offended and affronted, the family intervened in high places and the poet was condemned to being publicly branded in the mosque and accused of *koḡr* (apostasy). Again, he was obliged to become a homeless wanderer. He stayed for some time in the distant Herat and then, as an old man of eighty he came back to his native village where he ended his tempestuous life in 1276 ʔ/1859.

His poetic works are numerous. They were collected and published in Teheran shortly after his death, in a lithographical manner in 1283 ʔ/1866 intitled *Divān-e Yağmā*. Letters of the poet placed at the beginning of the volume, are written in impeccable prose and contain a notable amount of valuable biographical material. Three distinct groups can be discerned in his poetry: 1. gazals of the traditional classic type, 2. satires and 3. topical verse. His elegies, a form hitherto unknown, deserve special attention. He calls them *nouḡeh-ye sineh-zanī* i. e. laments united with striking of the breast. He created a new type of elegy, similar to folk songs. These elegies in the opinion of Bertels³⁶ exerted a considerable influence on Persian poetry after the revolution of 1906.

The satires of Yağmā also contain a new feature, as they are verses not only directed against a single person of high station, but also against a social milieu. The social satire of Yağmā found talented continuators among poets of the revolutionary period (1906—1911). Yağmā also contributed to the efforts of cleansing the language of an excessive amount of arabismes. We find in his poetry verses entirely deprived of Arabic words. In

³⁶ Очерк истории персидской литературы, 1928, p. 98.

this manner Yağmā is in reality the first purist in the poetry of modern Iran.

The realism of Yağmā's first poetic works was dimmed and even eliminated in his later years for the benefit of mysticism. This was, on one hand, the result of social and political relations which he could not alter, on the other, of the contact with Mīrzā Akāṣī who showed distinct tendencies towards sufism.

Here is a fragment of an elegy written in a language resembling a popular dialect. The pessimism and bitterness expressed in it are characteristic of Yağmā who, while being afflicted at the sight of the evil spreading throughout the contry, could not find any way out. Its title *Nouḥeh* (Lament.)

دلم از زندگانی سخت سیره بمیرم هرچه زوتر باز دیره
 زنان را دل سرای درد و ماتم تن مردان نشان تیغ و تیره
 پسر در خون تپان دختر عزادار برادر کشته و خواهر اسیره
 بکام مادران لخت جگر خون بحلق کودکان خوناب شیره
 اسیران بجای اشک و افغان شرر در چشم و آتش در ضمیره
 خروش تشنه کامان زیرو بالا زخاک تیره تا چرخ ائیره

 بدین ماتم چه سان باشم شکیبا کجا زخمی چنین مرهم پزیره
 ترا آنان که تن در خون کشیدند آلهی خاکشان باخود نگیره

My heart has no longer any desire for life.
 Even if I died immediately, it would still be too late.
 The hearts of women are shrines of pain and mourning,
 the bodies of men are shields for arrows and swords.
 The son bathed in blood, the daughter steeped in bereavement,
 the brother killed and the sister is a slave.
 In the mouths of mothers a morsel of a blood-stained heart
 in the throates of children milk tainted with blood.
 The slaves, instead of tears and sighing,
 have sparks in their eyes and a flame in the soul.

Everywhere the cry of hungry mouths
 resounds from the dark earth towards the sky.

How long can such a sorrow be borne,
 where is the balm for that kind of wound?
 (It is) they who plunged thy body into blood —
 o God let the earth no longer carry them!

In the bodies of martyrs arrows are fixed
 similar to needles pinned into silk...

The elegy ends with vulgar invectives, customary for Yağmā, which express his contempt for the world in which fate ordained him to live. The next *nouḥeh* is original and interesting as to its form. It runs as follow:

در شبت پوشیده بینم روز محشر آفتاب
 آفتاب باز سرکش آفتاب
 وز صباحت آشکا را شام دیگر آفتاب
 آفتاب باز سرکش آفتاب
 سست ازین سخت ابتلا ذرات را بالا و پست
 هرچه هست پا ز راه ازکار دست
 شرم کن آخر نه از ذره کمتر آفتاب
 آفتاب باز سرکش آفتاب

We can call Yağmā, with justice, a precursor of the great revolutionary poetry which shall develop during the period of struggle for obtaining a constitution (1906—1911).

*

One of the most gifted poets of the epoch was a panegyrist of the courts of shah Moḥammad and of shah Nāṣero'd-Dīn, Mīrzā Ḥabīb „Kāānī“, born in Shiraz 1222 ʔ/1807, deceased in Tehe-

ran 1280 q/1853. His father, Mīrzā Moḥammad „Golšan“ was also a well-known and estimated poet.

Kāānī's father died when he was eleven years old and the boy was left in uttermost poverty. After a few years he attracted, by the kasidas he wrote, the attention of the governor of Fars, who allowed him a monthly pension enabling him to study. In 1823 Ḥasan 'Alī Mīrzā, governor of Khorasan take care of him, with solicitude, in his own home. The poet, whose existence was thus assured, devoted himself to poetry and to the reading of classics, spending large sums of money on books.

When, in 1835 Moḥammad became shah, Kāānī appeared before him carrying laudatory kasidas. He obtained appreciation and material aid from the shah. In the following year he dedicated a kasida to the vizir Ḥāḡī Mīrzā Akāṣī, for which he received a recompense of 3000 tomans and a monthly allowance of 100 tomans. He then settled with his family near the royal court of Teheran and remained there until the end of his life.

Kāānī's innate poetical talent had a suitable setting in the shape of a substantial education in traditional sciences and in modern ones: mathematics with related disciplines and foreign languages — French and English. If we consider that, apart from his native tongue he also spoke Turkish and Arabic, we might state that he probably was the first representative of the new Persian intelligentsia, destined to play an important role in the life of its community. Unfortunately, this did not take place. As a poet his place was entirely, as master of extremely elaborate kasidas, in the domain of classical poetry. A remarkably musical sound of expression and the melody of his verse, rare synonyms and puns are specific for his kasidas, written in the honour of his royal patrons.

Kāānī, however, did not remain completely out of all contact with the life of the community. In his satirical poems he mocked the hypocrisy of Moslem clergy, the corruption of the police, false morality, the injustice of judges, the fraudulence of craftsmen etc. But we find the similar themes in the works of classics, such as Sa'dī, Ḥāfeẓ and others. Because of the conditions in which he lived Kāānī could not afford to criticise the dynasty or the state government. His great poetic gift was wasted in fact.

The following kasida, *Ratl-e gerān (Vitrum gloriosum)* can be considered as an example of his poetic skill:

ساقی بده رطل گران ز آن می که دهقان پرورد
 انده برد غم بشگرد شادی دهد جان پرورد
 درخمد دل پیر مغان در جام مهر زر افشان
 در دست ساقی قوت جان رخسار جانان پرورد
 در جان جهد ز آن پیشتر کزوی گلو باید خبر
 نارفته از لب در جگر از رخ گلستان پرورد
 چون بر فروزد مشعله یکسر بسو زد مشغله
 دیو ار شود زو حامله حوری بزهدان پرورد
 بردل گشاید بوستان بر رخ نماید ارغوان
 در مغز کارد ضیمران در روح ریحان پرورد
 از سنگ سازد توتیا وز خاک آرد کیمیا
 از دود انگیزد صفا وز درد درمان پرورد
 بر گل فشانی گل شود بر خس چکد سنبل شود
 زاغ ار خورد بلبل شود صد گونه الحان پرورد
 دل را ازو زاید شعف جان را ازو خیزد شرف
 چونانکه گوهر را صدف از آب نیسان پرورد
 جان را سرورو سور ازو دل را نشاط و شور ازو
 مانا جمال حور ازو در خلد رضوان پرورد
 در خم روان دارد همی زان رو فغان دارد همی
 در جام جان دارد همی زان جان پثرمان پرورد

Sākī, give me a large goblet of the wine that the dehkân breeds,
chases worry away, removes sorrow, brings joy and adds confidence.
The heart of the old magus is in the cask (filled with wine) and in the
golden beaker.

In the hand of the sākī is the strenght of the soul which animates
the countenance of the beloved.

It springs into the soul before the throat comes to know about it,
having not (yet) entered through the lips into the vitalis, it already
changes the cheeks into a garden of roses.

When it lights a torch, it immediately consumes (all) occupations³⁷,
if a fairy is fecundated by it, she will conceive a houri in her
womb.

It opens a fragrant garden for the heart and causes the flower of
the arghavân to appear on the countenance³⁸.

It changes stone into a collyrium and earth into the philosopher's
stone,

it cleanses the breath and supplied medicin for pain.

When you sprinkle clay (with it), a rose blooms forth. When it falls
upon a thorn, it changes into a hiacynth.

When a crow drinks of it, it becomes a skylark, singing a hundred
different melodies.

Joy increases in the heart from it, and nobility in the soul,
as rains in spring create a pearl in the shell (of an oyster).

From it the soul gains mirth and amusement, from it the heart has
pleasure and fervour.

In the same manner houris take their beauty from it in the eternal
paradise.

The soul is always near the cask, therefore comes constant sighing —
the soul is always near the goblet, the soul of the afflicted is nourished
by it...

The poetry of Kāānī, mostly founded upon the art of the form, is difficult to translate adequately into any European language. Its contents also have little attraction for a Western reader. His abundant poetic heritage is contained in a voluminous *Divān* printed for the first time in Teheran, by the means of lithography, three years after the death of the poet. This *Divān* was published several times later, also lithographed in Iran and in India.

³⁷ When the wine warms the head, all work is ended.

³⁸ In the sens of a flush.

Kāānī is the author of a work in poetical prose in the manner of Sa'dī's *Golestān*, the *Ketāb-e parišān* (*Silva rerum*) of a moralistic and entertaining character³⁹.

*

One of the most talented poets of the Kāgār court, Mirzā Moḥammad 'Alī, who used the pseudonym of „Sorūš“ (The Messenger) also excelled in the panegyric kasidas. He lived in the years 1228 k/1813—1285 k/1868. He came from Sedeh, a small village near Isfahan. After unavailing efforts to gain the favour of the local magnates, Sorūš managed at last to attract the attention, with his laudatory kasidas, of Mirzā Nāšero'd-Dīn, who was then heir to the throne and governor of Azerbaydjan. When he became shah, Nāšero'd-Dīn, took the poet to Teheran and gave him the honorable title of Šamso'sh-Šo'arā' (Sun of the Poets) as well as a generous amount of money for his kasidas.

Sorūš is one of the eminent representatives of epigon poetry. He chose for models poets of IVth and Vth century of Moslem era (Xth and XIth cent. of our era) — mostly Farroḥī (dec. in 1037) and Mo'ezzi (dec. between 1124 and 1127). In spite of this, his poetry is not an accurate or exact copy of the old masters. His gazals, in spite of the traditional metaphor and style are not those of Sa'dī or Ḥāfeẓ. In the gazals which describe nature or express sentiments of love we find quite different pictures and associations of thought. Through the baroque lace of words and expressions we can perceive the frankness of the feeling which the poet reveals in his own manner. He is a poet of high class, heedful of the elegance of his style, the elaborateness of the artistic expression and the subtlety of feeling. He likes to juggle with synonyms and homonyms, but there are no trivialities in his work. Unfortunately, the majority of his poems cannot be satisfactorily translated into an European language. Sorūš must be read in the original Persian.

The *divān* of Sorūš, under the title of *Šamso'l-manākeb* (The Sun of Virtues) lithographed in 1300 k/1882, contains not only kasidas but also gazals and maṭnavīs. Sorūš is also the author of

³⁹ A Czechoslovakian iranist, Věra Kubičková, wrote a valuable study concerning this work, intitled *Qaani, poète persan du XIX^e siècle*, Praha 1952.

epic poems: *Sākī-nāmeḥ* (The Book of the Publican), *Elāhī-nāmeḥ* (The Divine Book), *Zīnato'l-madā'ih* (The Ornament of Praise) and of a religious poem, pertaining to the kind of *ḥamāseḥ* (epic), entitled *Ordībehešt-nāmeḥ* and containing the biography of the Moslem prophet Moḥammad.

A certain reaction to the current life of court circles and to the more important events in the country, as for instance the verses describing the instalment of the telegraph in Iran, place Sorūš on the threshold of a new epoch.

We have here a quaint description of a storm under the title of *Abr* (The Cloud):

دو ابر بانگ زن گشت از دو سوی آسمان پیدا
 بهم ناگاه پیوستند و بر شد از دو سو غوغا
 میان ابر تاری گشت پنهان چشمه روشن
 چنان چون شخص مؤمن در میان جامه ترسا
 کشیدستند گوی از پی ناورد هم لشکر
 سرلشکر بجابلسا بن لشکر بجابلقا
 چوپییوستند با هم بانگ هیجا از دو سو بر شد
 سوهم تاختن کردند گوی از پی هیجا
 همی رفتند زی هم لیک تر رفتار خود آگاه
 همی گفتند با هم لیک تر گفتار خود دانا
 چو کوشیدند لختی بی توان گشتند و بی قوت
 معین برخاست بهر هر در پشاپشت از دریا
 دگر باره خروشیدند با هم تا بگاه شب
 زگاه شب خروشیدند با هم نیز تا فردا
 الا ای ابر کوشنده که بی کینی خروشنده
 چرا بی کن خروشی گر نه ای کالیوه و شیدا

Two clouds appeared with a fierce rumbling on both sides of the firmament —

they were locked together and on both sides an uproar rose.

The eye of light hid in a dark cloud ⁴⁰

as the pious one in the robe of a Christian ⁴¹.

You might say that an army marched to battle,

its head in Djabolsā and its rear in Djabolḳā ⁴².

When they encountered, war cries burst out on both sides —

they advanced against each other, knowing nothing of their march,
 they talked with each other not knowing about their talk.

After struggling for some time they exhausted their strength —

then aid from the sea came for both.

They thundered again. And so it lasted until night —

and from night they thundered until morning.

Oh, tempest cloud, thundering without anger,

why do you rage without cause — for you are not stupid or mad?

*

The last in the row of eminent poets of the epoch of return is Abo'n-Naṣr Faṭḥallāḥ Moḥammad Kāẓem „Šaybānī“ of Kashan (1241—1300 ʔ/1825—1890). His father was during a certain time a civil and a military official of the shah Moḥammad. After his death Abo Naṣr, his son ought to have inherited his estate, but it was rapidly plundered by influential officials. Abo Naṣr sought justice at the Teheran court but found no retribution. Even the kasidas written in honour of the shah and his vizir 'Alī Ebn Ebrāhīm did not help. His fate was not improved by kasidas celebrating in turn the heir-apparent Nāṣero'd-Dīn and his sons. Disenchanted and embittered by the evident injustice of men, he finally retired from public life. A dark and hopeless pessimism became his daily bread and with it he nourished his soul unto the end of his life. He spent several years in Constantinople and, after his return to Teheran, he lived and died in solitude.

Šaybānī left a short autobiography and a great number of verse. As he did not, like Yagmā, see any issue from the darkness

⁴⁰ The eye of the sun.

⁴¹ That is a Christian priest in a black cassock.

⁴² Two mythical towns on the western and eastern confines of the world.

of injustice and tyranny, his poetry expressed helpless revolt, which finally became a gloomy pessimism. Šaybānī wrote poetry and prose. He was a master of the kasida and the gazal and imitated the poets of the Vth century of hedjra (XIth cent. of our era). His gazal describing nature, full of sadness and melancholy, possesses some new and fresh features.

Poetic works in which Šaybānī stigmatizes with unusual vigour the voidness and the futility of life at the court and stresses the complete decay of relations leading the shah and his entourage to an inevitable catastrophe, are the most characteristic for the poet. His kasidas bring a new tone into Persian poetry — of melancholy, discouragement and revulsion. The gazal *Ġafā-kār* (The Tyrant) contains, among others, the expression of such a mood. It surely applies to the poet's personal experiences:

آزار تو بیهوده و مردم ز تو بیراز . بیزار شود مرد چو بیهوده شد آزار
بسیار جفا کردی و دل از تو رمان شد آری برمد دل ز جفا دیدن بسیار
پار از تو مرا بود همه کار بآیین و امسال مرا کار دگرگونه شد از پار
کردار تو امسال همه تلخ چو زهرست هم پارلبت قند همی ریخت بگفتار
دشوار بود دوستی ما و تو زین پس کان بوسه آسان دهی امسال بدشوار
کارمن و تو راست نیاید بهم آری من سخت و نا جویم و تو سخت جفاکار

Your injury is useless, people feel loathing towards you.
A man feels loathing when he is ill-treated in vain.
You were cruel for too long and the heart has hated you.
Yes! the heart hates when it is too severely tried!
Last year you treated me in a becoming manner,
this year I am treated quite differently.
This year your entire behaviour is a disaster for my soul —
and yet last year you were the peace of my soul.
This year your words are as bitter as a poison,
but last year a sweet parlance flowed from your lips.
Our friendship then became very exacting,
for a kiss was easy last year, and this year it became difficult.
Your affair and mine shall never be in harmony. That is so!
I do my utmost to remain faithful and you are a tyrant!

*

Mirzā ʿAbbās Bestāmī with the *taḥalloṣ* „Forūḡī“ (The Shining) living in the years 1213 k/1798—1284 k/1857 was at first a panegyrist of three Kāḡār shahs (Fath-ʿAlī, Moḥammad and Nāṣero'd-Dīn). He was later engulfed by mysticism and renounced entirely the life of court, having lost all illusions concerning it. He spent the remaining part of his life conversing with the eminent sufis of his time. His gazals, fluent and brilliant in form and depth of thought place him in the ranks of the greatest ṣūfī poets of recent period⁴³. He did not add, however, any new poetical values. The ṣūfī metaphores and symbols are used by him in the traditional manner.

A collection of Forūḡī's verse, *Divān-e Forūḡī-ye Bestāmī*, was published separately in print in the year 1320 š/1941.

Maḥmūd „Šabā“ (1813—1893) of Kashan, a poet of a lower order, descendant of Fath-ʿAlī Ḥān Šabā, possessor of the honorary title of Maleko's-šo'arā' (King of Poets) also sang the glory of shah Moḥammad and of Nāṣero'd-Dīn. He was an official and a confidant of the court of these two Kāḡār rulers. The wide scope of his interests and the variety of his abilities are astonishing. He cultivated literature, history and philosophy, he was a talented calligrapher, painter, worker in mosaic (*ḥātem-kār*) and sculptor. As a poet he followed faithfully the steps of the masters of classical poetry of the XIth century without adding anything original. He was a typical bel-esprit of the decadent period. A *Divān* of his poetry was printed in Teheran in 1339 š/1951.

Reḏā Kolī Ḥān Hedāyat (1215 k/1800—1288 k/1871) brought nothing new to the treasury of Persian poetry, although his poetic work is composed of *divān* of about 50 thousand bayts and six maṭnavī poems. He wrote laudatory poems in honour of Kāḡār shahs and princes, signing them at first with eloquent *taḥalloṣ* of „Čākar“ (The Servant). In recompense, shah Fath-ʿAlī gave him the honorary title (*laḡab*) of Amīro's-šo'arā' (Prince of Poets). But greater were the services which he rendered to Persian literature as director of the Dāro'l-fonūn⁴⁴ being himself an historian and historian of literature. His most valuable work in

⁴³ Comp. D. Šafā, *Ganḡ-e soḥān*, III, Teheran 1961, p. 206.

⁴⁴ First high school, founded in Iran 1852.

this domain was a history of literature entitled *Mağma'o'l-foṣaḥā* (Assembly of Orators) and especially its last part, related to a period contemporary to the author. (Printed in Teheran in 1339 q/1920 in two volumes).

Finally, we ought to mention Mīrzā Moḥammad Takī „Sepehr“ (The Sky) of Kashan, poet-laureate of the Kāḡār rulers, with the *laḡab* of Lisāno'l-molk (The Language of the Kingdom). His kasidas are a faithful copy of ancient poets, especially of 'Onṣūrī and Mas'ūd-e Sa'd. Sepehr's *Divān* has not been published yet as lacking in interests, probably.

Mīrzā Moḥammad 'Alī Mofleḡ, whose *laḡab* was Šadro's-šo-'arā' (Leader of Poets) panegyrist of shah Moḥammad is still less known at present. Hāḡī Mīrzā Akāšī, the famous vizir of this shah, gave him the surname of Faḡro'l-odabā (Pride of Writers). Both titles were unfounded, as his poetic gift was not specially remarkable. They were the result of a mania for bestowing titles, widespread through the court of the Kāḡār rulers.

*

Możaffaro-d-Dīn (1896—1906), son of Nāṣero'd-Dīn, tried to continue the royal patronage of his predecessors. Still being an heir to the throne he invited, in 1892, to the court of Teheran a young poet full of promise, Īraḡ Mīrzā, the descendant, in a straight line, of Fath-'Alī shah. Īraḡ however, the last poet-laureate of the royal court of Teheran, preferred personal liberty to the post of a poet-panegyrist and, after four years, gave up his station and became a simple employee in the civil service. In the period of the struggle for a constitutional and parliamentary regime he was famous as one of the most eminent renovators of Persian poetry.

*

At the side of the brilliant court of the shah Fath-'Alī in Teheran, a role proportionally smaller, but not without importance, was played in Tabris, as already mentioned, by the princely court of 'Abbās Mīrzā (1789—1833), heir to the Persian throne. 'Abbās Mīrzā probably inherited from his father the taste and ambition for the patronage of artists and poets. As governor of one of the

largest and most important provinces of the state, Azerbaydjan, he considered himself as an independent prince or a minor king and wanted his court to be a centre of literature and art in general. A poet who wrote under the characteristic pseudonym of „Tanā'ī“ (The Panegyrist) was connected with this provincial court. He was an official of high rank at the court of shah Fath-'Alī and his name was Mīrzā Abo'l-Kāsem Farāhānī, generally known as Kā'em-maḡām (The Representative), born in Teheran about 1193 h/1779. He fell out of favour during the reign of Moḥammad, successor of Fath-'Alī shah and was executed in 1251 q/1835 being one of the most enlightened men of his time, a patriot and reformer. His martyr's death checked for a certain time the wheel of general progress in Iran. His father, Mīrzā 'Isā Farāhānī (deceased in 1247 q/1831—2), vizir of the government of 'Abbās Mīrzā, heir to the throne, was also a poet.

Poets of lesser size, such as Šabūr of Kashan (deceased 1228/1813), Forūḡ and others⁴⁵ were also, besides Tanā'ī, satellites of the Tabris court.

*

The powerful impact of the revolution of 1906 introduced a vivifying current into all the domains of life in Iran, laying aside many obsolete forms, and, among them, the royal patronage of arts. In the place of the poet-laureate of the reigning court appeared the poet who was a revolutionary and a social worker, who fought against the old regime, striving to gain constitutional rights for his compatriots.

However, the poets which were connected with the court of the Kāḡār rulers previously to the revolutionary period, have added a by no means inferior chapter to the great book of Persian literature. They were people with a very elaborate and often modern education skilful in many branches of new science and art. The Persian poetry having taken as a model the poets of the classic epoch attained again, thanks to their works, the summits of formal beauty. In spite of undoubted wrongs in the political, economic and social fields, we must inscribe to the benefit of the

⁴⁵ Comp. J. Rypka, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

Kāgār dynasty of the XIX century a renewal of poetic art which took place owing to them after a long period of decadence and stagnation.

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STANISŁAW STACHOWSKI

STUDIEN ÜBER DEN OSMANISCH-TÜRKISCHEN
WORTSCHATZ. II

mosm. *aba* (≡ ar. 'abā) 'grober dicker Stoff; Mantel aus solchem Stoff'.

In den skr. Sprachdenkmälern kommt dieses Lehnwort seit der Mitte des XVII. Jh. in den Formen: *aba* (1649) und *haba* (1678) vor. — Vgl. folgende Beispiele: 1649: *aba* 'svitta, *aba* panno, hic pannus *aba*, haec *aba*' (MWb. 1); um 1650: *Po nemu uam šalemo osam aba* (St. XI 88); um 1655: *Eto postlasmo ... šest gnev i četiri abe* (ib. 94); 1678: *U dobreh haba* (ib. 118); 1678: *Ostavlan moin unukon, toliko sinovlin koliko hčerinin, nihovin sinovon po j(e)dnu kapicu od abe* (ŠGS Nr 138); 1686: *Šalemo ... pet bilih aba* (St. XI 144); 1688: *Sada abe nisu one čine kako ie do sada bilo, ... sada jedna aba po pet(s)to jaspri u našoj semli* (ib. 148); 1852: *Aba se lka u dva nita* (RSAN I 6); 1908: *Na njemu je odijelo tursko: aba od plave, a čakšire od crvene čohe* (l. c.).

Vgl. auch: bulg. *aóá* (1869: SBJa. I 8), ung. *aba* (1556: MSzSz. 1).

mosm. *aspap* ~ *espap* (≡ ar. *ätwāb*) 'Kleid'. — Die mosm. Form *aspap* entstand durch die regressive Assimilation von *ä* — *a* ⇒ *a* — *a*. In der nosm. Schriftsprache gebraucht man nur *espap*.

In den skr. Sprachdenkmälern ist dieses Lehnwort in folgenden Formen belegt: *aspap* (um 1655), *espap* (1732) und *hespap* (1755). Vgl. folgende Beispiele: um 1655: *Miho što ie polαιο sa soio gilauo aspap sa i oni aspap sološi, a i vi pošalite i oni aspap a mi čemo Miho gilauom u.m io(s)lati* = *Miho što je platío za svoju glavu aspap i oni aspap služi, a i vi pošalite i oni aspap a mi čemo Miho glavom vam poslati* (St. XI 95); 1732: *On ti ne da novce nego ti da espap* (RJA III 32); 1755: *Ako nosi hespap na panadur*