

The Exeter Partnerships:

## The Reception of Ḥāfīz in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Persia

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# The Reception of Ḥāfiz in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Persia

— Bahman Solati —

## *Abstract*

The main subject of this study is the analysis of the effect of Ḥāfiz’s poetic language, thought, philosophy and teachings on nineteenth and twentieth-century Persian poets and writers. By placing Ḥāfiz in economic and sociopolitical context, the research examines and compares the work of contemporaries with that of Ḥāfiz. This study juxtaposes verses of selected poets of Qājār and Pahlavi Persia, and expands the examination as far back as the fourteenth century. It offers insight into the sociopolitical milieu of the home city (Shīrāz) of the poet and examines his relation with the court, kings and rulers of his time and the influence he had on them, as well as on the poets and the scholars who were contemporary to him.

This research reveals many unanswered questions and examines information that has not been discussed before, such as Ḥāfiz’s influence on certain poets and scholars who openly denied this fact. I have made a case that Ḥāfiz’s poetic language is such a deep and integral part of Persian, the national language of Iran that it would be an impossible task to separate the two.

The influence of Ḥāfiz on Persian political and cultural writings during the nineteenth and twentieth century is also discussed, taking into account the critical views of contemporary Iranian scholars such as ‘Alī Dashtī, ‘Abdul Ḥusayn Zarrinkūb, Bahā’ al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Muḥammad Isti‘lāmī, Manūchihr Murtaḍavī and Muḥammad Riḍā Shafī‘ī-Kadkanī. The research demonstrates the reasons this fourteenth-century classical Persian poet had such a profound influence on contemporary Iranian culture and society. By providing ample comparative statements, the thesis concludes that most poets of nineteenth and twentieth-century Iran have, in one way or another, been influenced or inspired by Ḥāfiz.

# The Reception of Ḥāfiz in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Persia

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# System of Transliteration

## CONSONANTS

ء	'
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
چ	ch
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	zh
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'

غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	v
ی	y

## VOWELS

long	آ	ā
	أُو	ū
	أِي	ī
doubled	يِي	iyy
	وُو	uww
diphthongs	أَو	aw
	أِي	ay
short	ا	a
	و	u
	ي	i

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many scholars and friends have contributed in a number of ways to this study, but without a shadow of a doubt, the most assistance has come from one of the greatest western scholars on Sufism and the subject of Ḥāfiẓology, Dr. Leonard Lewisohn. He is my dearest friend and supervisor, who has patiently made comments on all the chapters, and has guided me with care through this very difficult task. His generosity and kindness I shall never be able to repay.

It has taken about five years in total to complete the task, the first year working part-time, and four years full-time. Most research requires some degree of funding. I was fortunate to receive a travel grant from the British Institute of Persian Studies (BIPS). The grant enabled me to travel to Iran to spend time in Tehran in the summer of 2010, where I was able to meet a number of notable scholars and specialists on Ḥāfiẓ. This fieldwork greatly facilitated my research.

Many friends assisted me in a variety of ways. Thanks are due to them all, and I can only apologise for not mentioning their names here. The interpretation of the poems and most of the translations are my own and, therefore, I am responsible for all inaccuracies and errors.

حافظم در مجلس دردم کشم در مجلس  
بشکر ایستاد خیر که چون با خلق صنعت مکنم

I am the Qur'ān-reciting Ḥāfiẓ in the congregation: the drainer of dregs at a party.  
See the mischief! How I am playing verbal tricks on people.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. Avery, *The Collected Lyrics of Hafiz of Shiraz* (Cambridge: Archetype, 2007), p. 423; ghazal 344.

## Introduction

This study examines the reception of the medieval Persian poet Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī (d. 791/1389) during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Zand, Qājār and Pahlavi period respectively. By undertaking a critical engagement with Ḥāfiz through an analysis of his influence on other poets and critics, I hope to cast new light on this supreme figure of classical Persian poetry for western and eastern readers and his admirers.

The importance of Ḥāfiz cannot be underestimated. Before the establishment of the modern system of colleges and universities, Ḥāfiz's *Dīvān* was studied as a subject of literary research (*Ḥāfiz-shināsī*), along with Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and the Qur'ān.<sup>2</sup> Ḥāfiz has been seen as more than merely a poet, indeed as incarnating the spirit of the nation of Iran.<sup>3</sup> His poetry is so deeply interwoven into the psyche of Iranians that it might be said that to know Persians, one must know Ḥāfiz, and likewise, that an in-depth understanding of the Persian character is impossible without understanding Ḥāfiz. His work is widely and commonly considered to be unparalleled; over the past seven centuries in Persia, no poet has matched his poetic skill, though many have tried. Ḥāfiz himself stated that he had no equal, that his verses are as valuable as gold:

حافظ تو این سخن از که آموختی؟ که یار      تعویذ کرد شعر تورا و به زر گرفت<sup>4</sup>

Ḥāfiz! From who have you learned this fluency? That the beloved  
Made your verse an amulet and gilded it with gold.

In addition to the almost universal acclaim of Ḥāfiz's work, it should be noted that exposure to and love of his verse is extremely widespread. Thābitī points out that as soon as any Iranian child learns to read and write, he or she becomes familiar with Sa'dī and Ḥāfiz. These two great poets of Persia are the friends and companions of every sad and lonely heart; they form a very special relationship with their fellow countrymen.<sup>5</sup> Even in ordinary written and verbal

<sup>2</sup> Mu'īn, *Ḥāfiz-i shirīn-sukhan* (Tehran: Ṣidā-yi Mu'āṣir, 1375/1966), Vol. 1, p. 690.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alī Ferdowsi, 'The "Emblem of the Manifestation of the Iranian Spirit": Hafiz and the Rise of the National Cult of Persian Poetry', *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 5 (2008), p. 667.

<sup>4</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī and Qāsim Ghanī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zavvār 1320/1941), *ghazal* 86, v. 8.

<sup>5</sup> M. Thābitī, 'Khwāja-yi Faqīr', *Majala-yi muḥīt*, No. 5 (Autumn 1321), p. 35.

communication among friends and family, Ḥāfīz’s verses are cited to express moods of joy or sadness, to poetically contextualise and summarise ideas.

One of the most important elements of Ḥāfīz’s poetry is the independence of his verses within the body of the *ghazal*. Many lines can be used as individual hemistichs on their own, thus contributing to their usage as proverbs. Sa’dī is the only other poet similar to Ḥāfīz in terms of the independence of themes. The following table shows a comparison of three first-class Persian poets: Niẓāmī (d. 614/1213), Sa’dī (d. c. 691/1292) and Ḥāfīz. This is neither an assessment of the quality of poetry, nor a judgement of talent and skill; rather it illustrates the ways Ḥāfīz’s verses, like those of Sa’dī and Niẓāmī, are full of delightfully composed proverbs and wise *bon mots*.<sup>6</sup>

Fear not the sin that benefits others.	(Ḥāfīz)	<sup>7</sup> (حافظ)	از آن گناه که نفعی رسد به غیر چه باک
It matters not if I am good or ugly. You correct yourself.	(Ḥāfīz)	<sup>8</sup> (حافظ)	من اگر نیکم اگر بد تو برو خود را باش
O Light of my eyes, peace surpasses war and is better than hostility.	(Ḥāfīz)	<sup>9</sup> (حافظ)	ای نور دیده صلح به از جنگ و داوری
Cut short your speech before you’re told it’s enough.	(Sa’dī)	<sup>10</sup> (سعدی)	از آن پیش بس کن که گویند بس
Virtue from the malevolent cannot be learned.	(Sa’dī)	<sup>11</sup> (سعدی)	از بدان نیکویی نیاموزی
Speak sweetly to all God’s creatures.	(Sa’dī)	<sup>12</sup> (سعدی)	با خلق خدا سخن به شیرینی کن
One mustn’t speak ill of the dead.	(Niẓāmī)	<sup>13</sup> (نظامی)	از پس مرده بد نباید گفت
Seek hardship for yourself and comfort for your friends.	(Niẓāmī)	<sup>14</sup> (نظامی)	رنج خود و راحت یاران طلب

<sup>6</sup> Verse-adages by other poets such as Šā’ib are also similarly famous and, had space permitted, might have been cited here.

<sup>7</sup> Dihkhudā, *Amthāl va ḥikam* (Tehran: Sipih, 1352/1974), Vol. 1, p. 99. Cf. Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 299, v. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Dihkhudā, *Amthāl va ḥikam*, Vol. 1, p. 104. Cf. Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 80, v. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 471, v. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Dihkhudā, *Amthāl va ḥikam*, Vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 105.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 110.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 807.

To the blind man's eye, the Tigris river appears a drop.	(Nizāmī)	15 (نظامی)	دجله بود قطره از چشم کور
Become a man of God and live safely amongst foes.	(Ḥāfīz)	16 (حافظ)	مرد یزدان شو و ایمن گذر از اهرمنان
Help the needy if you have the means.	(Ḥāfīz)	17 (حافظ)	دریاب ضعیفان را در وقت توانایی
Every good deed brings a reward and each misdeed, a consequence.	(Ḥāfīz)	18 (حافظ)	هر عمل اجری و هر کرده جزائی دارد
Great masters never praise themselves.	(Sa' dī)	19 (سعدی)	بزرگان نکردند در خود نگاه
Do not crave appreciation for yourself.	(Sa' dī)	20 (سعدی)	از کبر مدار هیچ در دل هوسی
Don't pass your time with base folk.	(Sa' dī)	21 (سعدی)	با فرومایه روزگار مبر
Listen, because the advice of the sage will do you no harm.	(Ḥāfīz)	22 (حافظ)	بشنو که پند پیران هیچت زیان ندارد
It is better not to associate with bad people.	(Ḥāfīz)	23 (حافظ)	بهتر آن است که با مردم بد ننشینی
By pretence one can't seat oneself in the chair of masters.	(Ḥāfīz)	24 (حافظ)	تکیه بر جای بزرگان نتوان زد به گزاف

An additional praiseworthy characteristic of Ḥāfīz, as noted by 'Alī Dashtī, is the scope of his imagination and his disinterest in the material world, particularly the trappings of place, greatness and power.<sup>25</sup> Dashtī presents the following verse as an example:

در این بازار اگر سودیست با درویش خرسند است      خدایا منعم گردان به درویشی و خرسندی<sup>26</sup>

If in this marketplace there is any profit, it is to the contented dervish,  
O God, make me the beneficiary of dervishism and blessed contentment!<sup>27</sup>

This thesis is divided into five chapters, a conclusion, an appendix and a bibliography. In chapter I, I offer an overview of the life of Ḥāfīz and his political connections with princes of the Muẓaffarīd court, his somewhat controversial relations with the various classes of the men

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 96.

<sup>16</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 387, v. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Dihkhudā, *Amthāl va ḥikam*, Vol. 2, p. 802. Cf. Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 493, v. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 123, v. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Dihkhudā, *Amthāl va ḥikam*, Vol. 1, p. 146.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 126, v. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 484, v. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 481, v. 4.

<sup>25</sup> 'A. Dashtī, *Kākh-i ibdā'*: *Andishahā-yi gūnāgūn-i Ḥāfīz* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Qalam, 1385/2007), p. 50.

<sup>26</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 440, v. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 520; *ghazal* 431.

of learning and clerics (‘*ulamā*’) and his conflict with Mubārīz al-Dīn (Shāh Shujā’‘s father), as these are some of the necessary components of his later reception history. In addition, I analyse the presence or lack of political themes in Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry and some key aspects of his poetic style.

Chapter II focuses on Ḥāfiẓ from a historical and sociopolitical perspective, covering the late Tīmūrīd period (771/1365–913/1507) down to the late Qājār era (1193/1779–1339/1925). I then discuss the reception of Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry after his death and the effect his work had on key poets of the Ṣafavid era, such as Jāmī (d. 898/1492), Bābā Fighānī (d. 925/1519), Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 942/1535–36), ‘Urfī Shīrāzī (d. 999/1596) and Ṣā’ib Tabrizī (d. 1080/1669–70 or 1088/1677). From the Qājār period, I explore the thought of seven critics and writers, namely Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1274/1896); Riḍā Qulī Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871); Mīrzā Faṭḥ-‘Alī Ākhūndzāda (d. 1295/1878); Mīrzā Malkam/Malkum Khān (d. 1315/1898); Muḥammad ‘Alī Furūghī Dhakā’ al-Mulk (d. 1321/1942), ‘Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf (d. 1329/1911) and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Marāgha’ī (d. 1329/1911).

In chapter III, I introduce the lives of seven poets (listed below) of the Zand and Qājār period, then draw comparisons between their work and that of Ḥāfiẓ.

1. Ādhar Bigdilī (d. 1195/1778)
2. Viṣāl Shīrāzī (d. 1262/1845)
3. Qā’ānī Shīrāzī (d. 1270/1853)
4. Furūghī Bastāmī (d. 1274/1857)
5. Yaghmā Jandaqī (d. 1276/1859)
6. Ḥājj Mullā Hādī Sabzivārī (d. 1289/1872)
7. Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan Iṣfahānī ‘Ṣafī ‘Alī Shāh’ (d. 1316/1898)

In this way, I offer evidence to support my thesis that Ḥāfiẓ’s language, and in some cases his school of thought, greatly influenced the work of these poets. After undertaking a careful study of the *ghazal* collections of each of the selected poets, I then juxtapose their verses with those of Ḥāfiẓ and draw conclusions about the latter’s influence.

Chapter IV examines Ḥāfiẓ’s influence on a selection of poets and on the politics and literature of Pahlavi Persia. I consider the following poets:

1. Muḥammad-Taqī Bahār (d. 1330/1951)
2. Nimā Yūshij (d. 1338/1960)
3. Suhrāb Sipihrī (d. 1358/1980)
4. Shahriyār (d. 1366/1988)
5. Aḥmad Shāmlū (d. 1379/2000)

I provide a brief biography of each poet in order to historically contextualise their work before examining Ḥāfiẓ's influence on each of them. Although they were all influenced by Ḥāfiẓ's poetic style in greater and lesser degrees, my analysis underlines that each of the poets selected were clearly affected by his symbolism, imagery and ideas.

In chapter V, I concentrate on the field of Ḥāfiẓology from the medieval to the modern period, covering almost 450 years (1500–1942) of editions and compilations of his *Dīvān*, from Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā to Ghanī and Qazvīnī. I examine key studies and commentaries on the *Dīvān*, focusing on the most significant works produced over the past two hundred years. I analyse the recent editions of and commentaries on Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīvān* from the period from 1942 to 2010, concentrating on the works of the following scholars:

- Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī
- Ḥusayn Hiravī
- Manūchihr Murtaḍavī
- Muḥammad Isti'lāmī
- Muḥammad Riḍā Barzigar Khāliqī
- Raḥīm Dhū'l-Nūr
- Sa'īd Niāz Kirmānī
- Sayyid Yaḥyā Yathrabī

Lastly, I consider two important commentaries on Ḥāfiẓ produced outside Persia, briefly discussing the seventeenth-century works of Sūdī in Ottoman Turkey and Lāhūrī in Mughal India.

The conclusion (VI) addresses and attempts to answer seven key questions raised by this thesis concerning the reception of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is followed by a lengthy appendix on eight Persian poets of the Qājār period

whose language and thoughts have, in one way or another, been influenced and inspired by Ḥāfiẓ

In the course of my research on this thesis, I have greatly benefited from interviews with a number of eminent scholars of Persian literature whose personal communications are recorded as and when necessary. These scholars include Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī (Tehran), Dr. Shahram Pazouki (Tehran), Dr. Mohamad Movahedi (Tehran), Prof. Kavoos Hasanli (Shīrāz University), Dr. Homayoon Katouzian (Oxford), Dr. Julie Meisami (Berkeley) and Prof. 'Alī Ferdowsi (Notre Dame de Namur University, Belmont, California). I have also made ample use of various libraries in Iran, England and the United States while researching the dissertation, including

1. The John Ryland Library of the University of Manchester
2. The School of Oriental and African Studies, London
3. The Green Library at Stanford University, California
4. The Library of the University of Berkeley
5. The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
6. The Library of the Defense Language Institute, Monterey, California
7. The Library of the University of Tehran, Iran
8. The Iranian National Library (*Kitābkhāna-yi Milli-yi Iran*)

### *Note on Translation*

It is my belief that the aim of the translator is to present the original as accurately as possible, thus I translate Persian poetry into prose, which does not impose any restrictions with regard to rhyme or metre. All translations of poetry and text in this study, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

### *A Note on Dates*

Dates in the thesis referring to the Islamic lunar *hijrī* calendar (A.H.) are cited down to the end of the Qājār period. Dates following 1330/1911 are written according to the solar (*shamsī*) Iranian calendar (A.Hsh.). Following the A.H. or A.Hsh. years, dates according to the Common Era (C.E.) are cited. Shāhānshāhī dates are noted as such.

# **Chapter I**

## **The Life and Times of Ḥāfiz**

## The Life and Times of Ḥāfiẓ

Ḥāfiẓ is one of the poets of medieval Persian literature whose life story is not very well documented by his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Dabāshī asserts:

There is a historical Ḥāfiẓ, whom we know through scattered biographical references in a few hagiographical sources. Our actual knowledge of the historical Ḥāfiẓ is limited, not totally reliable, and leaves much to be desired. But there is also a mythical Ḥāfiẓ created in and by the collective imagination of generations of admirers who have fashioned ‘their Ḥāfiẓ’ according to their set of pride and prejudices.<sup>2</sup>

Lewisohn concisely sums up the biographies of many of the Sufi poets of this period, such as Ḥāfiẓ, Sāvajī, Khujandī and Maghribī and shows how they are filled with baffling stories, puzzling occurrences and delicately presented witticisms, demonstrating literary history itself as one of the many levels of Sufi emblematic poetry.<sup>3</sup>

The most reliable account about Ḥāfiẓ was written by one of his disciples, Muḥammad Gulandām, shortly after Ḥāfiẓ’s death. Many stories, some greatly exaggerated, have been written about Ḥāfiẓ’s life.<sup>4</sup>

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī was born in 715/1315 in Shīrāz, Persia.<sup>5</sup> His father, a merchant called Bahā’ al-Dīn, or Kamāl al-Dīn, was from Iṣfahān and died when Ḥāfiẓ was

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<sup>1</sup> M. Nīknām, *Muqaddami-i kitāb shināsī-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Shīrāz: Markaz-i Ḥāfiẓ-Shināsī, 1381/2003), p. 6. Cf. K. Ḥasanlī, *Chishma-i khurshid: Bāz khānī-i zindagī, andisha va sukhan-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī* (Shīrāz: Navīd, 1385/2007), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> H. Dabāshī, ‘Ta’birī bar ta’birāt-i Ḥāfiẓ’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Summer 1988), p. 574.

<sup>3</sup> L. Lewisohn, ‘Zindagī va dawrān-i Kamāl-i Khujandī’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn 1992), pp. 689–706.

<sup>4</sup> E. T. Gray (trans.), *Ḥāfiẓ the Green Sea of Heaven: Fifty Ghazals from the Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ* (Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 2002), pp. 11–17. Cf. Taqī al-Dīn M. Awḥādī, *Tadhkira-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn va ‘arāṣāt al-‘arīfīn* (Tehran: Asāṭir, 1388/2010), Vol. 2, p. 1069.

<sup>5</sup> ‘A. A. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, ed. M. Mu’īn and M. Ja’far Shahidi (Tehran: Mu’assisi-yi Lughat-nāma Dihkhudā and Tehran University Press, 1373/1994), Vol. 5, p. 7490, s.v. ‘Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī’. Dihkhudā asserts his date of birth to be 720/1320. Cf. M. M. ‘A. Mudarris, *Riḥānat al-adab fi tarjuma al-ma’rūfīn bil kunīyat al-laqaḥ* (Tabrīz: Shafaq, [n.d.]), Vol. 2, pp. 12–14; Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958), p. 330; B. Khurramshāhī, ‘Ḥāfiẓ’s Life and Times’, *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 468. Scholars cite a variety of birth and death dates, however, the most accurate are believed to be 715–92/1315–92.



## Abū Ishāq Īnjū (reg. 743/1343 – 753/1352)

In 743/1343, Abū Ishāq gained control of the provinces of Fārs and Iṣfahān, and maintained them for eleven years. Contemporary poets and historians, such as Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abdul Rashīd, otherwise known as Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (d. 834/1432) and Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī himself, praised Abū Ishāq for his intellect, heroism, bravery and open heartedness.<sup>12</sup> Ḥāfiẓ must have been close to his thirties when Abū Ishāq came to power.<sup>13</sup> Poets and historians have mentioned Abū Ishāq as an admirer of art, literature and religious learning; moreover, his short sovereignty saw sparkling accomplishments in all those areas.<sup>14</sup>

خوش درخشید ولی دولت مستعجل بود<sup>15</sup>

راستی خاتم فیروزه بواسحاقی

Truly, the Abū Ishāq turquoise ring  
Dazzled, but with only ephemeral shine.<sup>16</sup>

The Īnjū’īd dynasty was ended by Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, who is considered the first ruler of the Muẓaffarīd dynasty, which lasted eighty years, from his succession in 715/1313 to the removal of the dynasty by Tīmūr in 795/1393. His initial rule started from the small town of Maybud near Yazd, however, in 742/1340, Kirmān also fell under his control. Thirteen years later, in 755/1353, the province of Fārs and the city of Shīrāz, despite a lengthy resistance, fell under his jurisdiction as well.<sup>17</sup>

During the siege of Shīrāz by Mubāriz al-Dīn, Abū Ishāq lost some of his key advisers and patrons, such as Ḥājj Qavām al-Dīn Ḥasan Tamghachī (d. 755/1354), who had served the

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<sup>12</sup> H. Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadārs’, in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986), p. 13. Cf. M. Zarkūb, *Mu’īn al-Dīn Abū’l ‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Khayr Shīrāzī, Shirāz-nāma*, ed. Ismā’īl Vā’iz Javādī (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran, 767/1350), p. 123; R. Q. Hidāyat, *Tadhkira-yi rīyāḍ al-‘arīfīn* (Tehran: Mahdīyya, 1316/1937), Vol. 2, p. 131.

<sup>13</sup> G. Bell, *The Garden of Heaven: Poems of Hafiz* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publication, 2003), pp. 1–7.

<sup>14</sup> J. Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez: The Glory of a Medieval Persian City* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), pp. 32–33. Cf. Arberry, *Shiraz: Persian City of Saints and Poets* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 141.

<sup>15</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 207, v. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge: Goodword Books, 2002), Vol. 3, p. 163.

Īnjū families for twenty-five years. Because of his generosity and morality he was frequently praised by Ḥāfiz.<sup>18</sup>

به رندی شهره شد حافظ میان همدمان لیکن      چه غم دارم که در عالم قوام الدین حسن دارم<sup>19</sup>

Ḥāfiz is notorious among his companions for *rindī*,  
But what do I care? In this world I have Qavām al-Dīn Ḥasan?<sup>20</sup>

During the siege, the people of Shīrāz put up considerable resistance, but were finally forced to surrender to the invader, a final appeal to end the hostility was made by Qāḍī Majd al-Dīn (d. 756/1355), a reputable ascetic of the time who composed and sent Amīr Mubārīz al-Dīn this verse:<sup>21</sup>

مبارزان جهان قلب دشمنان شکنند      تورا چه شد که همه قلب دوستان شکنی؟<sup>22</sup>

The warriors of the world break the hearts of their enemies,  
What has become of you, that you break the hearts of your friends?

Qāḍī Majd al-Dīn is one of five personages who appear in a *qiṭʿa* by Ḥāfiz, beginning with this verse:

به عهد سلطنت شاه شیخ ابو اسحق      به پنج شخص عجب ملک فارس بود آباد<sup>23</sup>

During the leadership of the Shāh Abū Ishāq,  
The province of Fārs prospered, due to five people.

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<sup>18</sup> Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, pp. 199–200. Cf. Annemarie Schimmel, 'Ḥāfiz and his Contemporaries', in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986), pp. 929–32.

<sup>19</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 327, v. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Limbert, *Shīraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 148.

<sup>21</sup> Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Ḥāfiz: Tārīkh-i aṣr-i Ḥāfiz yā tārīkh-i Fārs va muḍāfāt va ayālāt-i mujāvīrī dar qarn-i hashtum* (Tehran: Zavvār, 1344/1966), pp. 124–25.

<sup>22</sup> Qāḍī Majd al-Dīn (662/1261–756/1355) was from a well-known Shīrāzī family of religious jurists who had been in charge of religious affairs for 150 years. Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Ḥāfiz*, p. 125.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

In this short poem, Ḥāfiẓ describes the city's structure of authority throughout the reign of Abū Ishāq, mentioning, in addition to the ruler himself, a minister, two judges, and a Sufi shaykh who possessed great power and added lustre to the city during his reign in Shīrāz.<sup>24</sup> The besieging forces were eventually led into the city. Abū Ishāq, realising his imminent defeat, fled west with a few of his associates and took refuge in the Qal'ī-i sifid.<sup>25</sup> In 774/1373, Muẓaffarīd armies captured Abū Ishāq in Iṣfahān and delivered him to Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad at Shīrāz, where, during the final moments before he was executed, it is said that he recited the following verse in front of the judges and some nobles of the court:

و امید به هیچ خویش و بیگانه نماند  
از هر چه بگفتیم جز افسانه نماند

افسوس که مرغ عمر را دانه نماند  
دردا و دریغ که در این مدت عمر

Alas no grain remains for the bird of life!  
Alas no hope is left for family or stranger!  
Alas from this span of our life,  
Nothing I have said remains, but stories!<sup>26</sup>

The cultural environment of Shīrāz allowed Ḥāfiẓ a good education, the high standard of which is evident from his pen name (*takhalluṣ*), 'Ḥāfiẓ', a title which was only given to those who had memorised the Qur'ān by heart, a feat he had accomplished even before he was a grown man.<sup>27</sup> By all accounts he wrote in prose about scholarly Arabic literature and theological works.<sup>28</sup> It is evident from some verses in his *Dīvān*, which can be used for reliable biographical clues, that he spent most of his time studying and took great pleasure in learning.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, p. 187.

1. An adviser and minister of the king: Ḥājji Qavām al-Dīn Tamghachī (d. 754/1353).
2. The supreme judge (Qāḍī al-Quḍāt) of Fārs: Qāḍī Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl Fālī (669/1268–755/1355).
3. A judge and theologian: Qāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn Ījī (d. 755/1355).
4. A Sufi master: Shaykh Amīn al-Dīn Balyānī Kāzarunī (d. 744/1344).

<sup>25</sup> The Qal'ī-i sifid was the only fortress that survived the Mongol attack, due to its strong structure and impenetrable geographical location. 'A. M. Āyatī, *Tārīkh-i vaṣṣāf* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran 1346/1968), pp. 96–99.

<sup>26</sup> Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 38.

<sup>27</sup> M. A. Raḡavī-Nizhād, *Chihār ṣad shā'ir-i barguzida-i pārsī gūr: Ḥikmat-i 'ilmi-i zindagī-yi insānhā* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tehran, 1369/1990), p. 205. Cf. Dalal, *Ethics in Persian Poetry* (Calcutta: Abhinav Publication, 1995), pp. 229–42, and Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, p. 330.

<sup>28</sup> Dalal, *Ethics in Persian Poetry*, pp. 330–33.

<sup>29</sup> Gray (trans.), *Ḥāfiẓ the Green Sea of Heaven*, p. 2.

In one of his verses, Ḥāfiẓ indicates that he pursued knowledge for forty years.<sup>30</sup>

علم و فضلی که به چل سال دلم جمع آورد      ترسم آن نرگس مستانه به یغما ببرد<sup>31</sup>

The science and learning, that in forty years my heart acquired,  
I fear that drunken eye may take as plunder.

طاق و رواق مدرسه و قال قیل علم      در راه جام و ساقی مهر و نهاده ایم<sup>32</sup>

We have placed the arch and corridor of the school, and scientific disputation,  
On the path of both the cup and Sāqī, whose face is like the moon.

In another verse, we see that he wishes for a companion and complains of loneliness.

جویها بسته ام از دیده به دامن که مگر      در کنارم بنشانند سهی بالایی<sup>33</sup>

From my eye to my skirt I have poured streams, hoping that, perchance,  
By my side, there may sit, a tall idol.

Further evidence indicates that he married and enjoyed a happy family life at least for a while.

مرا در خانه سروی هست کاندر سایه قدش      فراغ از سرو بستانی و شمشاد چمن دارم<sup>34</sup>

In the house, mine is a cypress, in the shade of whose stature,  
I am free of the cypress in the garden and the boxwood of the field.

The final verse of this *ghazal* mentions the name of the court minister, Qavām al-Dīn Ḥasan. It is therefore safe to assume that it was composed during the office of Ḥasan, between 743/1343 and 753/1352, when Abū Ishāq was the ruler of Shīrāz. However, his family life did not last long, for in the following verse, Ḥāfiẓ directs the attention of the reader to his loss of a loved one. Although there are no indications about her date of death, there are unmistakable suggestions that he may well be referring to his wife.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Schimmel, 'Ḥāfiẓ and his Contemporaries', p. 936.

<sup>31</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 128, v. 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 365, v. 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 490, v. 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 327, v. 4. Cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad: Mulḥaqāt-i ghazalīyāt, qaṣā'id, mathnavīyāt, qaṭa'āt va rubā'īyāt*, ed. P. N. Khānlarī (Tehran: Khārazmī, 1362/1984), Vol. 1, *ghazal* 481, v. 4.

<sup>35</sup> M. Mu'īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shirin sukhan*, ed. Mahdukht Mu'īn (Tehran: Šidāya Mu'āšir, 1389/2011), Vol. 1, p. 140.

سر تا قدمش چون پری از عیب بری بود  
بیچاره ندانست که یارش سفری بود<sup>36</sup>

آن یار کز او خانه ما جای پری بود  
دل گفت فروکش کنم این شهر ببویش

That friend, because of whom our house was the dwelling of the angels,  
Was an angel, free from defect.

Heart said: With her scent, this town I shall fill,  
Helpless, it knew not that its friend was a traveller.

Ḥāfiẓ also alludes to the death of his son. In the following verse, he mentions the word ‘son’ and refers to the death, but similarly, the date of his death is unclear.<sup>37</sup>

کنار دامن من همچو رود جیحونست<sup>38</sup>

از آن دمی که ز چشم برفت رود عزیز

From that time, when my precious son slipped from my grasp,  
My skirt’s border is like the Oxus River.

Ḥāfiẓ admired Abū Ishāq’s character and personality to such an extent that when the king was killed by Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn in 757/1357, the young poet sank into a state of depression.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 216, v. 1, 2. Cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 210, v. 1, 2, and Mu‘īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shīrīn sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 139—this verse is an indication of the loss of Ḥāfiẓ’s wife and he composed this verse in mourning for her.

<sup>37</sup> Mu‘īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shīrīn sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 141.

<sup>38</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 54, v. 7; see also: Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 55, v. 7. I am following certain commentators here who state that Ḥāfiẓ wrote this verse in mourning for his son: Cf. Mu‘īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shīrīn sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 141, and R. Dhū’l-Nūr (ed.), *Dar justujū-yi Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Zavvār, 1362/1984), Vol. 1, p. 130.

<sup>39</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, p. 41.

## Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffarī (r. 754/1353–759/1357)

Amīr Mubāriz, who succeeded Abū Ishāq, was ruthless and firm, very much like his father who had been courageous and determined.<sup>40</sup> Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar lived in the city of Maybud in Yazd until his father's death, when he was just thirteen years of age. By 718/1318, he had gained the governorship of Yazd and thirty-six years later, in 754/1353, he took full control of Fārs, Shabānkārān, Kirmān, Luristān and Iṣfahān.<sup>41</sup>

Amīr Mubāriz is considered to be the first ruler of the Muẓaffarīd dynasty.<sup>42</sup> One of Mubāriz al-Dīn's initial steps was to implement strict laws against wine-drinking and other religious irregularities found amongst the fun-loving Shīrāzīs.<sup>43</sup> He secured his name in literature and poetry through several panegyric poets such as Imād Faqīh Kirmānī. Due to his fanatical religious ideas, he made life hard for literary men such as Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>44</sup> The happy period of social freedom was nearing an end.<sup>45</sup> The taverns were closed and serving wine was forbidden according to Islamic rules. This annoyed Ḥāfiẓ and his frustration and the tense atmosphere can be identified in some of his verses.<sup>46</sup>

در میخانه بیستند خدایا میسند  
که در خانه تزویر و ریا بگشایند<sup>47</sup>

They have closed the tavern doors. O God, sanction not,  
For, they will open the doors of the house of deceit and hypocrisy.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Safar-nāma*, trans. M. 'A. Muvvaḥid (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjūma va Nashr-i Kitāb 1337/1959), p. 199.

<sup>41</sup> Browne, *Literary History*, Vol. 3, pp. 163–64. Cf. Mu'īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shirīn sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 192.

<sup>42</sup> Browne, *Literary History*, Vol. 3, p. 163.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> H. Roemer, 'The Jalayirids', p. 13.

<sup>45</sup> N. Inqītā', *Ḥāfiẓ va Kish-i Mihr: Shaydā-yi shūrīda-yi Shirāz, dar kārgāh-i Kishī Kuhan* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Kitāb, 1387/2008), p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> Schimmel, 'Ḥāfiẓ and his Contemporaries', pp. 932–35.

<sup>47</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 202, v. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 37.

It was during this period that both social and public life came under the close watch of assigned sheriffs (*muḥtasib*).<sup>49</sup> According to Ghanī, the name *muḥtasib* was given to Amīr Mubārīz as a satirical jibe about the artificial orthodoxy of his rule.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, Ḥāfiẓ continued to compose beautiful, ironic and profound verses using dynamic metaphors and images, despite the ruler’s imposition of harsh religious rules and regulations.<sup>51</sup>

خدارا محتسب مارا به فریاد می و دف بخش  
 که ساز شرع از این افسانه بی قانون نخواهد شد<sup>52</sup>

O *muḥtasib*! For God’s sake, let us enjoy the clamour of drum and reed,  
 For the instrument of the divine law will not go out of tune because of this tale.

محتسب شیخ شد و فسق خود از یاد ببرد  
 قصه ماست که در هر سر بازار بماند<sup>53</sup>

The *muḥtasib* became a shaykh and forgot his sins,  
 It is our tale that has remained in every market place!

Amīr Mubārīz al-Dīn killed his enemies without reason. It has been reported that on one occasion, whilst reciting the Qur’ān, he paused to kill some convicts and then resumed his recital.<sup>54</sup> Ḥāfiẓ however, did not agree with Amīr Mubārīz’s behaviour, and he began criticising the hypocrisy that was introduced during Amīr Mubārīz’s reign.

ناموس عشق و رونق عشاق می برند  
 عیب جوان و سرزنش پیر می کنند<sup>55</sup>

The honour of love and splendour of lovers, they take;  
 The censure of the young and reproof of the old, they make.

<sup>49</sup> Literally sheriffs and policemen; a person who constantly reminds sinners of their sins, in this case drinking wine. These individuals were assigned to watch and, if necessary, arrest citizens who violated Islamic laws by consuming or purchasing alcoholic beverages, which were forbidden during certain periods of the Islamic history of Iran. — Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 12, p. 17978, s.v. ‘muḥtasib’. Cf. Abū’l Faḍl-i Bayhaqī-yi Dabīr, ed. J. M. Šādiqī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* (Tehran: Nashr-i Markaz, 1377/1999), p. 441; C-H De Fouchécour, describes *muḥtasib*, ‘[...] as a strict *Censor morum* and officer of the Vice-squad in Shīrāz.’— C-H De Fouchécour, ‘Ḥāfiẓ and the Sufi’, *Ḥāfiẓ and the Religion of Love*, (ed.), L. Lewisohn (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010), p. 144.

<sup>50</sup> Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*, p. 174.

<sup>51</sup> Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids’, p. 13. Cf. Arberry, *Shiraz*, pp.141–47.

<sup>52</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 165, v. 4.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 178, v. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Mu‘īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shirīn sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 197.

<sup>55</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 200, v. 2.

During the reign of Mubārīz, traces of longing for Abū Ishāq and expressions of nostalgia are evident in some verses of the *Dīvān*. Hāfiẓ is mournful for the lost days of joy and comfort.<sup>56</sup>

یاد باد آن صحبت شبها که با نوشین لبان  
بحث سرّ عشق و ذکر حلقه عشاق بود<sup>57</sup>

May those night talks be remembered, when, with sweet lips  
There were discussions of love's mystery and the lovers' circle.

یاد باد آنکه نگارم چو کمر بر بستی  
در رکابش مه نو پیک جهان پیمای بود<sup>58</sup>

May the time be remembered, when my beloved would fasten on his belt,<sup>59</sup>  
And at his stirrup, the new moon was the herald all around the world.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to his bad temper and fanatical ideas, Mubārīz was a greedy ruler who continued to look further afield for future conquests. In 759/1357, he marched on Azerbaijan and by 760/1358 he had occupied Tabriz, though he left it after just two months of occupation and returned to Işfahān.<sup>61</sup> Mubārīz al-Din's sons and immediate relatives feared his harsh temper and suspicious nature; he threatened them with arrest and execution.<sup>62</sup> In 760/1358, while he was returning from Tabriz to Işfahān, his son (Shāh Shujā') and nephew arrested him and killed his minister; Shujā' then blinded his own father (Amīr Mubārīz) and confined him in the Qal'ī-i sifid.<sup>63</sup> The *Dīvān* includes an account of this event.

آنکه روشن بود جهان بینش بدو  
میل در چشم جهان بینش کشید<sup>64</sup>

The son was the light of his father's eye,  
That very son blinded his father.

Although Mubārīz soon reconciled himself to his son Shāh Shujā' and was eventually released from the Qal'ī-i sifid, he still wanted revenge. He joined forces with another of his sons to plot the death of Shāh Shujā'. Their conspiracy was detected and Shāh Shujā' killed the conspirators, except for his father, who he imprisoned once more, this time in the Qal'ī-i

<sup>56</sup> Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Hāfiẓ*, p. 173.

<sup>57</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 206, v. 2.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 204, v. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Fasten on his belt: this refers to the Shāh, getting ready to ride to engage in battle.

<sup>60</sup> Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Hāfiẓ*, p. 174.

<sup>61</sup> Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'ajam*, ed. Fakhr Dā'ī Gilānī (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1339/1961), pp. 10–14.

<sup>62</sup> Browne, *Literary History*, p. 277. Cf. Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 39.

<sup>63</sup> M. Kutbī, *Tārīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. A. H. Navā'ī (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1334/1956), pp. 56–59. Cf. Hidāyat, *Majma' al-fuṣṣahā*, Vol. 1, p. 142.

<sup>64</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, p. 376, v. 9.

tabar, where he died in 766/1364.<sup>65</sup> It is believed that upon his death, Ḥāfiẓ composed this verse:

دل منه بر دنیوی و اسباب او  
زانکه از وی کس وفاداری ندید<sup>66</sup>

Do not fall in love with this material world,  
For no one has seen any fidelity from her.

### **Shāh Shujā‘ Muẓaffarī (r. 759/1358–786/1384)**

After the death of Amīr Mubārīz al-Dīn, his eldest son Shāh Shujā‘, who was seventeen at the time, succeeded to the throne.<sup>67</sup> Amīr Mubārīz’s prime minister and chief adviser to Shujā‘, Khwāja Qavām al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Şāhib ‘Ayyār’ (‘Master Assessor’), whose name also appears in Ḥāfiẓ’s verses, was tortured and killed by Shāh Shujā‘ in 764/1362.<sup>68</sup>

هزار نقد به بازار کاینات آرند  
یکی به سگه صاحب عیار ما نرسد<sup>69</sup>

Through a myriad coins’ ready cash in the universe’s marketplace be made to  
circulate/The alloy of none of them matches our Master Assessor’s coin.

In 760/1358, Shāh Shujā‘ made Shīrāz his capital and appointed his brother Shāh Maḥmūd ruler of Işfahān and Abarqūh, and his other brother, Aḥmad, ruler of Kirmān.<sup>70</sup> Shāh Shujā‘ imprisoned his nephew Shāh Yaḥyā, but reconciled in 764/1362 when Shāh Yaḥyā swore allegiance to his uncle. He was subsequently given the governorship of Yazd. During the period 765/1363–767/1365, Shāh Shujā‘ had numerous confrontations with his brother Shāh

<sup>65</sup> Limbert, *Shīraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 39.

<sup>66</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, p. 366.

<sup>67</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, p. 110. On Abarqūh, see C. E. Bosworth, ‘Abarqūh,’ in *Elr*, Vol. 1, pp. 64–65.

<sup>68</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, pp. 110–12.

<sup>69</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 156, v. 5.

<sup>70</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, p. 110. Bosworth asserts that ‘The Islamic geographers of the tenth/fourteenth century describe Abarqūh as lying in the Shīrāz-Işfahān-Eştaḳr road. [. . .] Geographers describe Abarqūh as prosperous and populous in ‘Abbāsīd and Buyīd times; it was fortified, with a citadel, and had a fine Friday mosque (the precursor of the present Friday mosque, which dates from post-Mongol times). [. . .] The streets and houses were jumbled together in a close network, and the houses were of a vaulted construction in sun-dried brick, as at Yazd. Although the surrounding region was treeless and arid, and gardens and orchards were lacking, ample provisions were brought in from outside. The town produced cotton cloth for export.’ ‘Abarqūh’, *Elr*, Vol. 1, pp. 64–65.

Maḥmūd.<sup>71</sup> Both made many agreements to live in peace but broke them all. During this time it is said that Shāh Shujā' had illicit communications with his brother's wife (Khān-i Sultān) and in 768/1366, when Shāh Maḥmūd learned about their impropriety, he killed his wife.<sup>72</sup> After the death of Maḥmūd, Shāh Shujā' continued to fight with his nephew Shāh Yaḥyā.<sup>73</sup>

From the beginning of Shujā''s reign, Ḥāfiẓ was greatly valued and rightfully respected in the court. It is likely that the friendship between Ḥāfiẓ and the Shāh started as a result of their common interest in poetry, since Shujā' was a reliable patron of the arts and education and was himself something of a poet. He composed poetry in Persian and Arabic and encouraged the practice of poetry and the cultivation of the fine arts in the province of Fārs during his rule.<sup>74</sup> Ḥāfiẓ's own poetry flourished most recognisably during Shāh Shujā''s reign.<sup>75</sup> Ḥāfiẓ frequently praises Shāh Shujā' in his poems and it seems that his intentions were sincerely based on his personal admiration of Shujā'.<sup>76</sup>

Although Shāh Shujā' inherited his father's hot temperament and suspicious nature, and perhaps even his ruthlessness, he also had a poetic spirit and substantially improved the city of Shīrāz. He enjoyed considerable popularity with the people of Shīrāz; many contemporary poets besides Ḥāfiẓ praised him frequently.<sup>77</sup> Ḥāfiẓ emphasises that during the period of Shujā''s reign, the city of Shīrāz experienced a period of peace and that the citizens enjoyed social freedom.

زمان شاه شجاع است و دور حکمت و شرع      به راحت ای دل و جان کوش در مسا و صباح<sup>78</sup>  
It is the period of Shāh Shujā' and the time of wisdom and piety,  
O heart and spirit strive for peace, dawn and dusk.

However, after a long senseless disagreement with his nephew Yaḥyā, Shāh Shujā' engaged in conflicts with another nephew, Yaḥyā's brother. One night, in a state of intoxication, he

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<sup>71</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, pp. 110–20.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>73</sup> Kutbī, *Tārīkh-i āl-i Muẓaffar*, ed. A. H. Navā'ī, p. 104.

<sup>74</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, p. 110.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120–21.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>78</sup> Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va ahvāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*, p. 276.

ordered one of his men to blind Yaḥyā's son.<sup>79</sup> The following morning, once sober, he repented for his action, but by then it was too late, such brutality could not be reversed. Shāh Shujā' died in 786/1386.<sup>80</sup>

#### **Zayn al-Ābidīn (son of Shāh Shujā') (r. 786/1384–789/1387)**

Shāh Shujā''s fatal illness was caused by heavy drinking. On his deathbed, he appointed his son Zayn al-Ābidīn as successor and advised him not to repeat his father's mistakes, asking him to avoid conflict with family members and maintain unity instead of war.<sup>81</sup> Zayn al-Ābidīn appointed his brother Abū Yazīd ruler of Iṣfahān, his nephew Shāh Yaḥyā ruler of Yazd, and another brother, Sultān Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad, ruler of Kirmān. Tīmūr allowed Zayn al-Ābidīn to rule Shīrāz for three years to fulfil a request from his dying father to Tīmūr and to the Jalāyirīd family, entrusting the fate of his heir to their hands.<sup>82</sup> Despite the advice of Shāh Shujā' to his family members to stay united, the family involved themselves in myriad quarrels and conflicts.<sup>83</sup>

#### **Shāh Maṣṣūr b. Shāh Muḥaffarī (r. 790/1388-795/1392)**

Four years after the death of Shāh Shujā', Shāh Maṣṣūr b. Shāh Muḥaffarī took control of Shīrāz. Shortly after settling in Shīrāz, he moved to Iṣfahān to gain control of the city, wresting it back from Shāh Shujā''s son, Zayn al-Ābidīn. After occupying the city, he captured and blinded Zayn al-Ābidīn and imprisoned him in the Qal'ī- i sifid. In the meantime, Tīmūr was growing increasingly frustrated with Maṣṣūr's frequent occupations of one city after another, and so decided to rescue Zayn al-Ābidīn, promising him that he would be avenged.<sup>84</sup> During these turbulent times, Ḥāfiẓ remained very fond of Shāh Maṣṣūr, an attraction that is clearly evident in the *Dīvān*.

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<sup>79</sup> According to Islamic law, a man cannot be ruler if he is blind; for this reason, aspirants to the throne sometimes blinded their rivals.

<sup>80</sup> Bosworth, *New Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 264–65.

<sup>81</sup> Schimmel, 'Ḥāfiẓ and his Contemporaries', p. 935.

<sup>82</sup> Roemer, 'The Jalayirids', pp. 15–16.

<sup>83</sup> Zarkūb, *Shirāz-nāma*, p. 112.

<sup>84</sup> Mu'īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shirīn sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 228.

بیا که رایت منصور پادشاه رسید  
نوید فتح و بشارت به مهر و ماه رسید<sup>85</sup>

Come, because the conquering flag of Shāh Manṣūr has arrived,  
News of victory and glad tidings have reached the sun and the moon.

شهنشاه مظفر فر، شجاع ملک و دین منصور  
که جود بی دریغش خنده بر ابر بهاران زد<sup>86</sup>

The King of Kings, the Glorious Muẓaffar, fearless one of sovereignty and religion, 'Manṣūr',  
Whose continuous kindness smiled at the clouds of spring.

Ḥāfiẓ admired the courage and conduct of this king, and according to certain Iranian historians, praised him in the following verse:<sup>87</sup>

نکته دلکش بگویم خال آن مهر و بین  
عقل و جان را بسته زنجیر آن گیسو بین<sup>88</sup>

Let me speak of a joyous point: Look at the mole on the beautiful, radiant face,  
Look how the soul and reason are entangled in those tresses!

Shāh Manṣūr was killed by Tīmūr on the battlefield in 795/1393 outside Shīrāz.

According to most authorities, Ḥāfiẓ died in Shīrāz, in 792/1389–90.<sup>89</sup>

بر سر تربت ما چون گزری همت خواه  
که زیارتگه رندان جهان خواهد بود<sup>90</sup>

When you pass by the head of my tomb, ask for benediction,  
Because to the *rinds* of the world, it will become a place of pilgrimage.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 242, v. 1.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 153, v. 10.

<sup>87</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 9, p. 12425, s.v. 'Shāh Manṣūr'.

<sup>88</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 402, v. 1. Cf. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 9, p. 12425, s.v. 'Shāh Manṣūr'.

<sup>89</sup> B. Khurramshāhī, 'Ḥāfiẓ's Life and Times', *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 468. Ḥāfiẓ's death date is recorded as 791/1388 in *Hidāyat*, *Majma' al-fuṣṣahā*, Vol. 2, p. 37.

<sup>90</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 205, v. 3.

<sup>91</sup> F. Mīrzā'ī, *Mafhūm-i rindī dar shi'r-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Kavīr, 1373/1995), pp. 55–64. For a further study of the meaning of *rind* in Ḥāfiẓ's poetic language, see Mīrzā'ī, *Mafhūm-i rindī dar shi'r-i Ḥāfiẓ*; Franklin Lewis, 'Hafez and *Rendī*', *Elr*, Vol. 11, pp. 483–91; R. Bly and L. Lewisohn (trans.), *The Angels Knocking on the Tavern Door: Thirty Poems of Hafez* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008), pp. 74–75; L. Lewisohn, 'Prolegomenon', *Ḥāfiẓ and the Religion of Love* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010), pp. 31–53, and M. Ḥ. Tabrīzī, *Burhān-i Qāṭi'*, ed. M. Mu'īn (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1342/1964), Vol. 2, p. 963, s.v. 'Rind'.

## **Tamerlane (r. 771/1370 – 807/1405)**

Tīmūr, a Mongol born in 736/1336, was the architect of the Tīmūrīd empire. He governed from 771/1370 to 807/1405, during which time he conquered western, southern and Central Asia. As an adult he was better known as Tīmūr Gūrkānī, Gūrkān being the personalised form of the original Mongolian word, *kürügān* (son-in-law). One of Tīmūr's ancestors converted to Islam and married the daughter of Chagataī Khān (son of Genghis Khān). Thus Tīmūr was addressed as the son-in-law of Chagataī Khān. Various Persian sources use a byname, Tīmūr-i Lang (or Tamerlane as he is generally referred to in English), which translates to 'Tīmūr the Lame', a name given to him when he sustained an injury to his foot in battle.<sup>92</sup>

Tīmūr was a contentious man who strove to rebuild the Mongol empire and, in doing so, became embroiled in conflicts that devastated many Muslim lands, including Persia, northern India, as well as large parts of Central Asia and the Ottoman empire. He was a great sponsor of the arts, but paradoxically, his battles caused vast destruction.<sup>93</sup> He knew very little Arabic and frequently had Persian books read to him; he was, evidently, illiterate.<sup>94</sup>

Nominally speaking, Tīmūr was a Muslim who, for purely political motives, behaved obsequiously towards theologians and Sufis. According to Browne, Tīmūr's prime objectives were to gain popularity and to conquer; to this end fine cities were laid to ashes and citizens of many provinces were slaughtered. Tīmūr assumed, coldly and selfishly, that the end result would justify the means.<sup>95</sup> It is possible that Ḥāfīz had Tīmūr in mind when he used the phrase 'Sufi anti-Christ' (*Sufi-i dajjāl*),<sup>96</sup> for, by excessive brutality, Tīmūr managed to

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<sup>92</sup> Browne, *Literary History*, Vol. 3, pp. 182–86.

<sup>93</sup> B. F. Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 28. Cf. Beatrice Forbes Manz, 'Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (April 1998), p. 25.

<sup>94</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 279.

<sup>95</sup> Browne, *Literary History*, Vol. 3, p. 182.

<sup>96</sup> The Dajjāl is a figure associated with the apocalypse, Muslims believe that he (or some say more than one) will come towards the end of time as a religious imposter to deceive believers.

surpass even the dreadful devastation and massacres of the Mongols.<sup>97</sup> In a *ghazal* penned in praise of Shāh Maṣṣūr, referring to Tīmūr as a false Sufi, Ḥāfiẓ entreats:

بگو بسوز که مهدی دین پناه رسیده<sup>98</sup>

کجاست صوفی دجال فعل ملحد شکل

Where's the Sufi of false pretensions and impious mien?

Say, 'Burn, because the rightly guided refuge of the Faith has come.'<sup>99</sup>

Before invading Persia, Tīmūr established himself in Samarqand, which he made his capital city. Soon the whole of Iran fell under his control; as he marched through the Persian territories, pillars of impaled human heads were erected.<sup>100</sup> Cities were demolished, citizens slaughtered and prized possessions sent back to Samarqand. The glory of Samarqand and Bukhārā is apparent in Ḥāfiẓ's poetry.<sup>101</sup> Although Tīmūr was commended by some of the poets of his era, Browne asserts (and here Rypka is in agreement with him) that we must not forget Tīmūr's acts of mass murder and massacre:

As specimens of those acts, mention may be made of his massacre of the people of Sistān in 785/1383–4, when he caused some two thousand prisoners to be built up in a wall; his cold-blooded slaughter of a hundred thousand captive Indians near Delhi in 801 (December, 1389); his burying alive of four thousand Armenians in 803/1400–1, and the twenty towers of skulls erected by him at Aleppo and Damascus in the same year; and his massacre of 70,000 of the inhabitants of Iṣfahān in 789 (November, 1387).<sup>102</sup>

In 795/1393, during his first occupation of Fārs, Tīmūr overthrew the last member of the Muẓaffarīd family, Shāh Maṣṣūr, and divided the province of Fārs between his own family members. During the second occupation of Shīrāz, Tīmūr called all surviving Muẓaffarīd princes to Shīrāz and, after treating them well for a time, executed them, thus ending the

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<sup>97</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 279.

<sup>98</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 242, v. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 303; *ghazal* 238.

<sup>100</sup> M. Axworthy, *Iran: Empire of the Mind, A History from Zoroaster to the Present Day* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 119.

<sup>101</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 279.

<sup>102</sup> E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature Under Tatar Dominion (A.D. 1265–1502)* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920), p. 181. Cf. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 279.

Muzaffarīd dynasty.<sup>103</sup> Ḥāfiẓ seems to have been well aware of Tīmūr's brutality, as the following verse demonstrates:

به خوبان دل منه حافظ ببین آن بی وفاييها  
که با خوارزميان کردند آن ترکان سمرقندی<sup>104</sup>  
Ḥāfiẓ, to the fair ones give not your heart. Behold those deeds of unfaithfulness  
That the Turks of Samarqand visited on the men of Khārazm!

The Muzaffarīds earned long-lasting fame through commendation by contemporary poets such as Ḥāfiẓ, 'Ubayd Zākānī (d. 772/1371),<sup>105</sup> Khwājū Kirmānī (d. 753/1352)<sup>106</sup> and others. In Shīrāz, however, there remains little trace of their rule, rather their presence was more apparent in the cities of Kirmān, Yazd and Iṣfahān.

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<sup>103</sup> 'The bloody struggles preceding the final Mozaffarid collapse had been the blinding of Zein al-Abedīn in 1391, the death of Abū Yazid b. Amīr Mohammad in 1390, the death in battle of Shāh Maṣṣūr in 1393, and the slaughter of 50,000 Esfahanis by Amīr Timur's forces in 1387.' Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafez*, p. 42.

<sup>104</sup> Zarrinkūb, *Az kūcha-yi rindān*, p. 247. Cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, *ghazal* 431, v. 3.

<sup>105</sup> 'Ubayd Zākānī, *Kullīyāt-i 'Ubayd Zākānī*, ed. 'A. I. Āshṭīyānī (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1334/1956), p. 4.

<sup>106</sup> Khwājū Kirmānī, *Dīvān of Khwājū Kirmānī*, ed. M. Burhānī (Tehran: Zavvār, 1370/1992), p. 8.

## A Note on Ḥāfiz's Poetic Style

Ḥāfiz was a well-known poet during his own time, in fact, he was legendary among his peers and contemporaries, such as 'Ubayd Zākānī, Khwājū Kirmānī, Salmān Sāvajī (d. 778/1377),<sup>108</sup> Imād Kirmānī (d. 773/1371),<sup>109</sup> Kamāl Khujandī (d. 807/1404),<sup>110</sup> Jahān Malik Khātūn (d. 795/1393),<sup>111</sup> Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī (d. 834/1433)<sup>112</sup> and Nāṣir Bukhārā'ī (d. 772/1371).<sup>113</sup> Whilst most of these poets were masters in their own right, Ḥāfiz's artfulness stood out. Ḥāfiz was aware of his stature and conscious of his ability; in many

عراق و فارس گرفتی به شعر خوش حافظ  
بیا که نوبت بغداد و وقت تبریز است<sup>107</sup>

O Ḥāfiz, Iraq and Fārs you captured with your sweet verse,  
Come now, it is the turn of Baghdad and Tabriz!

verses, he repeatedly refers to his uniqueness in the art of poetry.

Ḥāfiz further confirms that he followed Khwājū Kirmānī in *ghazal* writing and in the same verse asserts that Sa'dī is the master of lyrical poetry.

استاد غزل سعدی است پیش همه کس اما  
دارد غزل حافظ طرز و روش خواجه<sup>114</sup>

Sa'dī is the master of lyrics above all. However,  
Ḥāfiz's lyrics follow the style and form of Khwājū!

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<sup>107</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 41, v. 7.

<sup>108</sup> Salmān Sāvajī, *Dīvān-i Salmān Sāvajī*, ed. M. Mushfiq (Tehran: Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh, 1336/1958), p. 9.

<sup>109</sup> Khwājā 'Imād al-Dīn 'Alī Faqīh-i Kirmānī, *Dīvān-i qaṣā'id va ghazalīyāt-i Khwājā 'Imād al-Dīn 'Alī Faqīh-i Kirmānī*, ed. R. Humāyūn-Farrukh (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1348/1970), p. 20.

<sup>110</sup> Kamāl Khujandī, *Dīvān-i Kamāl Khujandī*, ed. 'A. Dawlatābādī (Tehran: Sazimān-i Chāp va Intishārāt-i Islāmī, 1375/1997), p. 25.

<sup>111</sup> Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān-i kāmīl-i Jahān Malik Khātūn, qarn-i hashtum-i hijrī qamarī*, ed. P. Kāshānīrād (Tehran: Zavvār, 1374/1996), p. 9.

<sup>112</sup> Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī, *Kullīyāt-i ash'ār-i Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī*, ed. J. Nūrbakhsh (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Yaldā Qalam, 1385/2007), p. 12.

<sup>113</sup> Nāṣir Bukhārā'ī, *Dīvān-i Nāṣir Bukhārā'ī, az sukhānvarān-i qarn-i hashtum-i hijrī*, ed. M. Dirakhshān (Tehran: Nūryānī, 1353/1957), pp. 1–5.

<sup>114</sup> Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'ajam*, p. 14.

Another of Ḥāfiẓ's talented contemporaries was a young poetess called Jahān Malik Khātūn. She was the daughter of Mas'ūd Shāh Īnjū.<sup>115</sup> Numerous verses in her collection bear great similarities to those of Ḥāfiẓ. The mastery and skill of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry, however, make the works of other poets, whether his contemporaries or modern day poets, pale by comparison.

In Persian, poetry plays a prominent role; indeed it is the prevalent branch of literature since Persian verse is acknowledged as superior to Persian prose. Understanding Ḥāfiẓ and determining his legacy is not a question of writing a better and more complete biography—it is a matter of knowing how his genius reformulated and restructured the conventional voices of the *ghazal* to make them his own.<sup>116</sup>

Ḥāfiẓ's style of poetry is partly a result of his poetic persona as well as other factors that will be discussed later.<sup>117</sup> Many aspects of Ḥāfiẓ's *ghazals* seem to originate from earlier poets. By Ḥāfiẓ's time, the *ghazal* already had a long history going back for almost two centuries. It would be difficult to point to any single factor of Ḥāfiẓ's *ghazal*, either formal or thematic, which is not visible in the works of his predecessors.<sup>118</sup>

In order to assess Ḥāfiẓ's personal contribution to the development of the *ghazal*, his debt to his predecessors, and even to his contemporaries who cultivated the same genre, must be taken into proper account. A proper assessment of his originality can only be attempted when all possible influences on his work have been examined.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, pp.1–7.

<sup>116</sup> My analysis here is indebted to certain observations by Losensky. P. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī, Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publication, 1998), p. 71.

<sup>117</sup> 'Sincerity is a function of style, involving a relation between the artist and the public; it has to do with the presentation of a self appropriate to the kind of verse being written, to the genre, not with the personality of the poet. [. . .] In ancient literature it is the personality expressed in the poem, not the personality of the historical poet, that signifies.' Robert C. Elliot, *The Literary Persona* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 43–45.

<sup>118</sup> J. T. P. de Bruijn, 'Hafez's Poetic Art', *Elr* 11, pp. 400–74.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

In this regard Kadkanī argues that the clarity and fluency of Ḥāfiẓ’s verse is due to his vast knowledge of the Persian language and the poems of his predecessors and master poets. He further claims that Ḥāfiẓ comprehended the mystery of the culture embedded in the Persian language itself.<sup>120</sup> Ḥāfiẓ’s style of poetry was derived from the ‘Irāqī style, together with some aspects of the Khurāsānī style. However, some contemporary scholars believe that a style of poetry is merely a vehicle by which the poet chooses to deliver his message. Maḥjūb was of the opinion that poets compose poetry according to their own sociopolitical perspective; he viewed the environment in which the poet lives as having the greatest impact on his style of delivering his message.<sup>121</sup>

In Shamīsā’s view, Ḥāfiẓ’s *ghazals* echo the ‘Irāqī style. He also asserts that this style of poetry should have ceased to exist in the fourteenth-century, but, as a result of the socio-economic conditions of the fifteenth-century, no new master poets emerged and hence, the ‘Irāqī style continued. In the fourteenth-century, Tīmūr’s attack on Persia brought about a cultural and social decline. The literary decline continued into the first half of the fifteenth-century, which is sometimes known as the Age of Shahrukh (the fourth son of Tīmūr, r. 807–50/1400–43).<sup>122</sup> Since literary works of high quality could not thrive, the customary creative practice was the imitation of the works of old masters.<sup>123</sup> Yarshater asserts that during the latter half of the fifteenth-century many poets imitated master poets such as Sa’dī and Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> This ability allowed the poets to create a unique style known as the ‘Ḥāfiẓian style’ (*sabk-i Ḥāfiẓ*), M. S. Kadkanī, *Advār-i shi‘r-i Fārsī* (Tehran: Sukhan, 1380/2002), pp. 154–57. Lewis partly confirms Kadkanī’s statement, observing: ‘Complementing this thematic sensuality in the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ is an often tactile sonority created by a thick texture and complex patterning of sounds. We know Ḥāfiẓ to have been competitively conscious of the work and wording of other poets, which he often quotes, adapts and improves upon.’ M. S. Kadkanī, ‘Ḥāfiẓ and Music’, *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 493.

<sup>121</sup> M. J. Maḥjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shi‘r-i Fārsī* (Tehran: Firdawsī, [n.d]), pp. 40–41.

<sup>122</sup> During Shahrukh’s age, the poetry market was buoyant; both literature and art were sponsored and cultivated. However, after Shahrukh’s death, this attention to the arts faded away and was never recovered. This decline was a result of the problems the state faced, particularly the poor economic and sociopolitical situation. There was neither social nor economic security, and high rates of unemployment and crime existed. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, p. 50.

<sup>123</sup> E. Yarshater, *Shi‘r-i Fārsī dar ‘ahd-i Shahrukh* (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Dānishgāh, 1334/1956), pp. 79–81.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

One such poet of the period was Ḥāfiẓ Ḥalvā'ī, who stated openly that he followed Ḥāfiẓ:<sup>125</sup>

معتمد حافظ شیرازیم<sup>126</sup>
حافظ حلوائیم و از کمال

I am Ḥāfiẓ Ḥalvā'ī, and due to my wisdom,  
I believe in Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz.

One of the last great poets of this period was Jāmī who followed the 'Irāqī style; he flourished shortly before the Indian style emerged.<sup>127</sup> According to Shamīsā, the 'Irāqī style was more or less the same as the Khurāsānī, though it had lost most of its unique features by allowing too many Arabic words to infiltrate its language, which became more mystical and romantic in style. The 'Irāqī style lasted in Persia for over 300 years.<sup>128</sup> The table below illustrates the thematic elements of both styles used by Ḥāfiẓ in his *ghazals*.

'Irāqī Style	Khurāsānī Style	Ḥāfiẓ's Usage 'Irāqī Style	Ḥāfiẓ's usage Khurāsānī Style
Praise of love	Praise of wisdom	✓	✓
Exaggeration	Modesty	-	✓
Promotion of mysticism	Neglect of mysticism	✓	-
Divine philosophy	Nativism/chauvinism	✓	-
Separation	Union	✓	✓
Despair	Joyfulness	✓	✓
Humbleness	Pride	✓	-
Focus on Islamic science	Focus on nativism	✓	✓
Spiritualism	Materialism	✓	-

- ✓ Indicates themes used by Ḥāfiẓ.  
- Indicates themes not used by Ḥāfiẓ.

Shamīsā points out that unfortunately no credible book is available to help students evaluate the 'Irāqī style in depth or even compare it with the work of Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>129</sup> However, I believe that Ḥāfiẓ's poetry is a balanced mixture of both styles, the 'Irāqī and the Khurāsānī. As the table above illustrates, he uses themes from the two styles mentioned, though he leans more towards the 'Irāqī style. Shamīsā claims that mysticism is one of the most outstanding

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Shamīsā, *Sabk shināsī-i shi'r*, pp. 256–57. Cf. Losensky, *Encyclopedia of Iranica*, 'Jāmī: Life and Works', <http://www.iranica.com/articles/jami-i> (accessed 18 April 2011).

<sup>128</sup> Shamīsā, *Sabk shināsī-i shi'r*, p. 259.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., pp. 260–61. The above table is partly adopted from Shamīsā, *Sabk shināsī-i shi'r*, p. 242.

elements of the 'Irāqī style, because it provides the poet an efficient tool to compose mystical poems. Shamīsā believes Ḥāfiz's genius is partly a result of this Sufī element in his 'Irāqī-style poetry.<sup>130</sup>

In an introduction to Bahār and Persian literature (*Bahār va adab-i Fārsī*), Bahār asserts that poetry is only recognised as good when the imagination of the poet instigates its composition.<sup>131</sup> In Bahār's opinion, it is impossible for a villain or an individual of bad character to compose verses that please people of all classes. This kind of poetry must, without a doubt, come from a righteousness of spirit.<sup>132</sup> Bahār further asserts that some poets develop the ability to write fluent *ghazals*, and become the finest poets of their time because they devote themselves to Ḥāfiz, following his style in great detail.<sup>133</sup>

## Conclusion

Although Ḥāfiz is generally not considered to be primarily a political poet, as we can see from the few verses cited above, it is clear that his satirical language and use of irony, at least with regard to religious hypocrisy and sociopolitical pretence, did have serious political implications. Verses cited throughout this chapter illustrate how his penetrating and censorious tongue was, in some instances, directed at the rulers of the period, in particular at Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad and Tīmūr. It can thus be seen that there is a strong political and anticlerical dimension to his poetry, in which he expresses, through satire and irony, his opposition to political injustice and religious hypocrisy of all shades. The following verse, which is just one instance out of hundreds like it, illustrates this:

خدای را به میم شستشوی خرقه کنید      که من نمی شنوم بوی خیر از این اوضاع<sup>134</sup>

For God's sake, in wine wash my tattered robe,  
Because in that posturing, I sense no hope of good.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>130</sup> S. Shamīsā, *Naqd-i adabī* (Tehran: Firdawsī, 1383/2005), p. 98.

<sup>131</sup> M. T. Bahār, *Malik al-Shu'arā': Sabk shināsī* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1373/1994), Vol. 2, p. 4.

<sup>132</sup> M. Gulbun, *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī* (Tehran: Kitābhā-yi Jibī, 1351/1972), Vol. 4, pp. 3–6.

<sup>133</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 2, p. 2.

<sup>134</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 292, v. 3.

<sup>135</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 358; *ghazal* 287.

Ḥāfiẓ lived in the turbulent interlude between Genghis Khān and Tīmūr; a period of volatility, in which minor dynasties rose and fell, creating social chaos and political insecurity. Yarshater observes, I believe correctly, that the panegyric lines in the *Dīvān* echo the political instability of the time, and the dominance and fall of dynasties such as the Īnjū, the Muẓaffarīd and the Jalāyirīd. However, it was at the same time an era of immense cultural and literary advancement; a period when masterpieces were produced in various fields, as illustrated not only by the splendour of Ḥāfiẓ's language, but also by the appreciation of his contemporaries.<sup>136</sup>

Khurramshāhī reminds us that there has been much debate on whether Ḥāfiẓ was simply doing his job as a court poet, or if perhaps he was using his outstanding talent of irony to deceive his naive medieval patrons and appeal to his more intelligent admirers.<sup>137</sup> Scholars also debate whether or not Ḥāfiẓ was a court poet who composed poetry merely for financial benefits. Most of Ḥāfiẓ's life as a poet was spent in the era of Shāh Shujā' and many of the references from this time are *pas seuls* on the theme of happiness or salvation from tyranny and adversity, giving the researcher ample evidence to believe that his appearances at the court and his frequent praise of Shujā' and Shāh Manṣūr were based simply on his personal admiration for them. This view is contrary to the opinions of those who consider Ḥāfiẓ a court poet by profession. We know that Ḥāfiẓ developed a sincere admiration for these kings, and that the verses he composed in praise of them were nothing less than statements of his opinion.

With regard to Ḥāfiẓ's style, Shamīsā claims that the 'Irāqī style of poetry was partly responsible for Ḥāfiẓ's genius, insofar as it provided him with the tools necessary to compose consummate verses. The table above illustrates that Ḥāfiẓ's poetry was influenced by both the 'Irāqī and, to a lesser degree, the Khurāsānī style. In my opinion, Ḥāfiẓ took advantage of both styles, but added a number of original elements and themes, thereby improving the quality of both styles and laying the foundation for the forthcoming Indian style. Ḥāfiẓ can thus be classified as a poet whose talent in the art of rhetoric and lyricism exceeds that of

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<sup>136</sup> E. Yarshater, 'Ḥāfiẓ's Life and Times', *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 465.

<sup>137</sup> B. Khurramshāhī, 'Ḥāfiẓ's Life and Times', *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 468.

other poets.<sup>138</sup> Ḥāfiẓ's achievements won him a vast number of followers, but their perpetual and consistently inferior repetition of his ideas and images appear pale in the light of his excellence. Any poet wishing to replace Ḥāfiẓ will have to surpass his bequest and create a new dimension in poetry.<sup>139</sup> However, few poets are able to ignore that which is defined as poetic utterance by the masters of classical poetry.<sup>140</sup> Ḥāfiẓ is absent in body and his living voice can never be recaptured, but his legacy has set the standard from which poets must derive their inspiration and the echo of his voice continues to be heard through the work of his followers.

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<sup>138</sup> Culler notes that in the medieval tradition, 'rhetoric was considered the art of eloquence and poetry (since it seeks to teach, to delight, and to move) [and] was a superior instance of this art'. J. Culler, *Literary Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 69.

<sup>139</sup> Losensky, *Welcoming Figḥānī*, p. 210.

<sup>140</sup> W. J. Bate, *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 89–90.

## **Chapter II**

### **Ḥāfiẓ in Historical Perspective, from the Late Tīmūrīds to the Qājārs**

## **A Short Summary of the Literary History of Persia from the Death of Tamerlane to the Rise of the Ṣafavids**

This chapter concentrates on Ḥāfiz from an historical perspective, from the late Tīmūrīd to the Qājār era. I examine the reception of Ḥāfiz’s poetry from the time of his death through to the Qājār period, including his influence on selected Ṣafavid poets, such as Jāmī, Bābā Fighānī, ‘Urfī Shīrāzī and Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, and the impact of the first of these five figures on the resurgence of Persian literature during the ninth/fifteenth- century.<sup>1</sup> The chapter also presents a short summary of the literary history of Persia, from the death of Tīmūr to the rise of the Ṣafavids; followed by a brief introduction into the Afshārid and the Zand dynasties. I follow this with a short summary of the political and dynastic history of Persia from 1400 to 1800 and a general literary overview of the Ṣafavid period, together with the sociopolitical conditions in late Qājār Persia between 1848 and 1923, assessing the reception of Ḥāfiz during this period. In order to further expand on the reception of Ḥāfiz during the Qājār period, I have selected seven writers and critics to examine in this regard. This has proven useful to show the effect of Ḥāfiz on these important writers and critics of Iran.

The scrutiny of Ḥāfiz’s influence is necessary to demonstrate the vast impact of Ḥāfiz’s language on all the poets of Persia. It is followed by a short summary that examines the political and dynamic history of Persia from 1400 to 1800. The final section analyses the reception of Ḥāfiz on seven selected critics and writers of the Qājār period; this proves helpful in illustrating the importance of Ḥāfiz’s language in different historical and sociopolitical eras and aims to prove that his multi-dimensional diction knows no frontier or limitation.

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<sup>1</sup> Bābā Fighānī, *Dīvān-i ‘ash‘ār-i Bābā Fighānī*, ed. A. S. Khunsārī (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1362/1984), p. 8. Cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Iran* (Tehran: Firdawsī, 1370/1992), Vol. 4, p. 434, and ‘I. Shakībāpūr, *‘Iḥlā‘āt-i ‘umūmī* (Tehran: Ishrāqī, 1384/2006), p. 78.

## Jāmī and Ḥāfiz

“One of the most remarkable geniuses whom Persia ever produced,” in the words of E. G. Browne, was Mullā Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abdul Raḥmān Jāmī, who was born in the town of Jām in Khurāsān in 817/1414 and died in 898/1492.<sup>2</sup> Jāmī is believed to be the last of the great classical Sufi poets.<sup>3</sup> During Jāmī’s lifetime, his hometown of Herat became the centre of the newly-revived Persian culture and, for almost the entire ninth/fifteenth-century, was considered the centre of knowledge, literature and arts for Iran, and also, partly, for India and Turkey. Jāmī lived most of his life during Mīrzā Abū’l Qāsim Bābir (r. 856/1453–871/1468) and a large part of Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyaqrā’s rule (r. 875/1472–898/1495). He produced a number of masterpieces in poetry and literature over nearly half a century.<sup>4</sup> Jāmī’s mystical writings and poetry were known across a large part of the territory of the Muslim world and he was revered and admired by his countrymen.<sup>5</sup>

Ḥāfiz’s influence on the poets of Persia began immediately after his death, if not during his life. Most of the poets of the ninth/fifteenth-century followed the master poets of the previous century, particularly poets such as Sa’dī and Ḥāfiz. Jāmī was no exception in this respect and there is much evidence that he took inspiration from Ḥāfiz. Indeed, Arberry asserts that Jāmī was considered a shining star, similar to Ḥāfiz of Shīrāz: ‘It was thirty-one years since the shining star Ḥāfiz had set, and now the hand of destiny placed another candle in the lamp-stand of Persian literature.’<sup>6</sup> Jāmī expressed his opinion about Ḥāfiz in the following verse, in which he states that no one is able to understand Ḥāfiz adequately:

هیچ کس سر دهانت به حقیقت نشناخت      هرکسی بهر دل خود سخنی می گوید.<sup>7</sup>

No one could truly unveil the secret of your tongue,  
Everyone speaks according to their heart’s desire.

<sup>2</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persian*, vol, 3, p. 507. Cf. R. Q. Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ al-‘arīfīn* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1388/2009), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> W. Hanaway, ‘Comments on Literature before the Safavid Period, “Studies on Iṣfahān”’, *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 7 (Winter-Spring 1974), p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Jāmī, *Dīvān-i Kāmil-i Jāmī*, ed. H. Raḍī (Tehran: Pīrūz, 1341/1963), pp. 22–23.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Cf. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, p. 426.

<sup>6</sup> Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, p. 426.

<sup>7</sup> R. Q. Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ al-‘arīfīn* (Tehran: Āftāb, 1316/1938), p. 80.

The following verse is comparable to a similar verse by Ḥāfiẓ in terms of rhyme and metre:

Jāmī	سر به راه تو خفتنم هوس است. <sup>8</sup>	راهت از دیدن رفتنم هوس است
Ḥāfiẓ	سخن دل شفتنم هوس است. <sup>9</sup>	حال دل با تو گفتنم هوس است

Haravī asserts that Jāmī was so familiar with the poems of Ḥāfiẓ and his poetry displayed such an intimacy with that of the great poet, that it seemed he had almost memorised most of Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīvān* by heart.<sup>10</sup> Haravī further claims that if one searched the entire *Dīvān* of Jāmī, one would undoubtedly find many examples of similarities with the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ; he gives the following examples:<sup>11</sup>

Jāmī	ز می مشکل بود توبه آدر کاساً و ناولها <sup>12</sup>	الا یا ایها الساقی می آمد حلّ مشکلها
	O Sāqī, the wine is the key to all problems, It is hard to repent from wine, pass the bowl around and offer it.	
Ḥāfiẓ	که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشکلها <sup>13</sup>	الا یا ایها ساقی آدر کاساً و ناولها
	O Sāqī, pass the bowl round and offer it; At first love seemed easy, but snags have cropped up. <sup>14</sup>	

Haravī adds that Jāmī was so enthralled and influenced by the captivating *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ that most of his poetry is imbued with the scent of Ḥāfiẓ's verse. Haravī cites the following two verses as a further example of this fact:

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<sup>8</sup> Jāmī, *Dīvān-i Kāmil-i Jāmī*, *ghazal* 290, v.1.

<sup>9</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 42, v. 1.

<sup>10</sup> N. M. Haravī, *Jāmī* (Tehran: Tarḥ-i Naw, 1377/1999), p. 200.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>12</sup> Jāmī, *Dīvān-i Kāmil-i Jāmī*, p. 147.

<sup>13</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 1, v. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 18; *ghazal* 1. The above translation follows Peter Avery's, with some modifications.

Ḥāfīz شیبی خوش است بدین قصه اش دراز کنید<sup>15</sup>

معاشران گره از زلف یار باز کنید

Jāmī ز جم حکایت حال هزار ساله کنند<sup>16</sup>

معاشران چو می لعل در پیاله کنند

Although Jāmī made every effort to employ different metres than those of Ḥāfīz, he did not succeed in developing an independent style.<sup>17</sup>

According to Mu‘īn, who quotes Bahār, Jāmī was the greatest poet of the Tīmūrīd era and, although in terms of speech he comes somewhat close to Ḥāfīz, in terms of profundity and meaning we cannot see much original work in his lyrical verse, but mostly imitation of Ḥāfīz.<sup>18</sup>

### **Figḥānī and Ḥāfīz**

Bābā Figḥānī was another genius in the annals of classical Persian poetry and a contemporary of Jāmī.<sup>19</sup> He was born in Shīrāz and was very much inspired by Ḥāfīz; thus, Rypka refers to him as ‘little Ḥāfīz’.<sup>20</sup> He flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyaqrā and was known as a sensitive, kind-hearted man; he was also a drinker and an impassioned lover.<sup>21</sup> He was brought up in Shīrāz where he began work as a trader in his father’s shop. At first, he chose the pen name ‘Sakkākī’ (the ‘Knife Maker’), but later changed it to Figḥānī.<sup>22</sup> After Sulṭān Ya‘qūb Bāyundurī had given him the title ‘Bābā’ (a denomination of leading dervishes and *qalandars*), he was widely known as Bābā Figḥānī.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 244, v. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Jāmī, *Dīvān-i Kāmil-i Jāmī*, p. 422.

<sup>17</sup> Haravī, *Jāmī*, p. 205.

<sup>18</sup> Mu‘īn, *Ḥāfīz-i shirin sukhan*, ed. Mahdukht Mu‘īn, Vol. 2, p. 712.

<sup>19</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 288. Cf. R. Q. Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣṣḥā*, ed. M. Muṣaffā (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1388/2009), Vol. 1, p. 328.

<sup>20</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 288.

<sup>21</sup> M. Ṣ. Hāshimī, *Shī‘r va shā‘irī dar ‘aṣr-i Ṣafavī* (Tehran: Naqsh-i Jahān, 1323/1945), p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> Losensky, *Welcoming Figḥānī*, pp. 36–39.

<sup>23</sup> Z. Ṣafa, ‘Baba Faghani’, *Elr*, Vol. 3, p. 291. Cf. S. Mīrzā Ṣafavī, *Tādhkira-i Sāmī*, ed. Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn Farrukh (Tehran: ‘Ilmī, 1967), pp. 184–85.

Fiḡhānī's character was very much like that of Ḥāfiẓ's inspired libertine (*rind*), at least if the term is understood in a non-mystical sense. He spent some time in Tabriz and Herat, later returning to his hometown, Shīrāz. He stayed there for some time before travelling to Khurāsān, where he remained for the rest of his life. The end of Fiḡhānī's life heralded the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī (r. 901/1501–924/1524).<sup>24</sup> Losensky states that in India and Pakistan, Fiḡhānī is recognised as the founder of a new poetic school.<sup>25</sup> In his brief notice on Fiḡhānī, Browne states:

Fiḡhānī appears to be one of those poets who are much more highly esteemed in India than in their own country, for while Shiblī in his *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, like Wālih in his *Rīāḍ al-Shu'arā*, deems him the creator of a new style of poetry, Riḍā Qulī Khān only accords him a brief mention in his *Rīāḍ al-'Ārifīn* and entirely omits him in his larger *Majma' al-Fuṣaḡā*, while the notices of him in the *Ātashkada* and the *Tuḡfa-i Sāmī* are very brief.<sup>26</sup>

However, Ehsan Yarshater dismisses this statement, and believes that Fiḡhānī was a follower of the earlier 'Irāqī school, rather than the founder of the Indian one.<sup>27</sup> In disagreement with Yarshater, Razīya Akbar states that considerable evidence of the Indian style is apparent in Fiḡhānī's poetic language.<sup>28</sup> Ṣafā agrees with Browne (and Losensky) and believes that Fiḡhānī must definitely be the founder of a new style.<sup>29</sup> Shiblī Nu'mānī confirms that Fiḡhānī initiated a new style that transformed the *ghazal* in Iran and India at the end of tenth/sixteenth-century.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the difference of opinion mentioned above, it is clear that Fiḡhānī took inspiration from Ḥāfiẓ, to some extent, when writing *ghazals*.<sup>31</sup> The following examples demonstrate similarities in meaning and rhyme, and convey the same philosophy to the reader:

<sup>24</sup> Bābā Fiḡhānī, *Dīvān-i 'ash'ār-i Bābā Fiḡhānī*, ed. Khunsārī, introduction, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Losensky, *Welcoming Fiḡhānī*, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920–24), Vol. 4, pp. 229–30. Cf. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*.

<sup>27</sup> Ehsan Yarshater, 'Persian Poetry in the Timurid and Safavid Period', in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 992.

<sup>28</sup> R. Akbar, *Sharḡ-i aḡvāl va sabk-i ash'ār-i Bābā Fiḡhānī* (Hyderabad: Shālīmār, 1974), pp. 133–34.

<sup>29</sup> Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Iran* (Tehran: Firdawsī, 1364/1985), Vol. 4, p. 414.

<sup>30</sup> Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'ajam*, trans. M. T. Fakhr-i Dā'ī Gilānī (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1335/1956), Vol. 3, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Bābā Fiḡhānī, *Dīvān-i 'ash'ār-i Bābā Fiḡhānī*, p. 19.

Figḥānī      گرچه صد نامه سیه کرد فغانی ز گناه      نظرش بر کرم و رحمت درویشان است<sup>32</sup>

Although Figḥānī has stained many letters black in sin,  
He is optimistic he will receive kindness and compassion from the dervishes.

Ḥāfīz      گنج عزلت که طلسمات عجایب دارد      فتح آن در نظر رحمت درویشان است<sup>33</sup>

The compassionate vision of dervishes holds the key,  
To the treasure of solitude and the talismanic mysteries.

Ḥāfīz was considered by his followers to be the last prophet of *ghazal* writers. His diction and phraseology reflected his romantic attitude and his love songs were so filled with mystical thought that the beloved was considered something of a divinity, unearthly and unreal; at times ethereal and celestial, but at other times, like a mortal being. It was sometimes difficult to determine the subject's celestial or earthly character, its divine or human nature. Kausar believes, however, that Figḥānī separated himself from this sort of Ḥāfīzian mysticism and restored the subject of ideal love of the great master mystic poets to its human form.<sup>34</sup> With regard to the subject of mysticism, Losensky claims that Kausar exaggerates when mentioning that Figḥānī was against mysticism;<sup>35</sup> by contrast, Losensky believes that mystical and philosophical themes are rarely found in Figḥānī's work, but he was not opposed to them.<sup>36</sup>

### 'Urfī and Ḥāfīz

'Urfī was a major first-class Persian poet of the latter half of the tenth/sixteenth-century. He was born in Shīrāz in 957/1555 and died in Lahore in 999/1596.<sup>37</sup> His name is given as Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Sayyidī in early references.<sup>38</sup> His father, Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Balawī, was a well-known official of the regional administration whose connections with customary or civil law (*'urf*) in the course of his profession resulted in his son's choice of "'Urfī" as his pen

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 62, v. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 49, v. 2.

<sup>34</sup> I. H. Kausar, *Figḥānī's Life and Work* (Pakistan: Pakistan Historical Society, 1963), p. 94.

<sup>35</sup> Losensky, *Welcoming Figḥānī*, p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London: Luzac, 1900–09), Vol. 5, pp. 10–22.

<sup>38</sup> Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'ajam*, Vol. 3, pp. 66–111.



Ḥāfiẓ                      46 طایر قدسم و از دام جهان برخیزم                      مژده وصل تو کو کاز سر جان برخیزم

Where is the good news of union with you, for me to rise from desiring life?  
I am the holy bird and would rise from the snare which the world sets.<sup>47</sup>

‘Urfī                      48 اگر اجل نبود در کمین، زهی توفیق                      شراب بیغش و ساقی بکام و بخت شفیق

Pure wine; agreeable Sāqī and kind fate,  
Then bravo to success, if only death wasn’t in pursuit.

Ḥāfiẓ                      49 گرت مدام میسر شود زهی توفیق                      مقام امن و می بیغش و رفیق شفیق

The abode of security, unadulterated wine, the kind companion,  
Were they to be available to you, O what a blessing!<sup>50</sup>

### Ṣā’ib and Ḥāfiẓ

During the rise of the Ṣafavids, a remarkable poet and master of Persian poetry writing in the Indian style emerged. His name was Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī (d. 1087/1678), often known as ‘Iṣfahānī’, in reference to the place where he was educated.<sup>51</sup> He travelled to India around 1036/1626 and was recognised as an exceptional poet in the court of Shāh Jahān.<sup>52</sup> At the request of his elderly father, he finally returned to his homeland, after some six years.<sup>53</sup> He was granted the favour of Shāh ‘Abbās II and was given the honour of the title, ‘Amīr al-Shu‘arā’ (‘King of Poets’). His fame was based on his *ghazals*; Ṣā’ib greatly admired Ḥāfiẓ and was well versed in all aspects of Persian poetry.<sup>54</sup> His works, composed in the Indian style, led some to accuse him of excessive verbosity; hence, the following verse:

<sup>46</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 336, v. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 407; *ghazal* 328.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Urfī Shīrāzī, *Kullīyāt-i ‘Urfī Shīrāzī*, ed. Anṣārī, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 641, v. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 298, v. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 364; *ghazal* 292.

<sup>51</sup> Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī*, ed. S. Shamīsā (Tehran: Mustawfī, 1373/1995), p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 301.

<sup>53</sup> Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Ṣā’ib*, ed. A. Firūzkūhī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1345/1966), pp. 1–10. Cf. Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Ṣā’ib*, M. ‘A. Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, ed. M. Qahrimān (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī va Farhangī, 1363/1985), pp. 1–5.

<sup>54</sup> Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Ṣā’ib Tabrīzī*, ed. Shamīsā, p. 1.

Şā'ib                      55      دلم گشاده ز گفتار می شود چه کنم؟!                      نفس درازی من نیست صائب از غفلت

My excessive utterance is not due to ignorance 'Şā'ib',  
What can I do? Through speech my heart opens up!

Another of his habits was to imitate other master poets, mainly Ḥāfīz:

Şā'ib                      56      افسر به فرقتش از رقم انتخاب ماست.                      هر مصرعی که گوشه ابرو کند بلند

Every hemistich that lifts an eyebrow to us,  
Has a crown placed on its head due to our good choosing.

Şā'ib                      57      چو شعر حافظ شیراز انتخاب ندارد.                      فدای حسن خداداد او شوم که سرا پا

May my life be sacrificed for him,  
For one cannot be selective in Ḥāfīz's verses.

In the verse above, Şā'ib says that all of Ḥāfīz's verses are so good that it would be difficult to choose between them.

It is said that Şā'ib was a cheerful, polite and well-mannered poet; even Ādhar Bigdilī, who frequently criticised him in his *Ātashkada*, confirms this.<sup>58</sup> It is also claimed that most of the poets of the Şafavid period were involved in taking drugs, mainly opium.<sup>59</sup> Şā'ib was no exception; we can see indications of this in some of his verses:

Şā'ib                      60      در طلوع نشأه تریاک می یابیم ما.                      صائب آن فیضی که مخمورین نیابند از شراب

Şā'ib, the state of intoxication not found in wine,  
We find in the dawn of opium's influence.

Below are some examples of similarities between Şā'ib's poetry and that of Ḥāfīz:

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>58</sup> H. S. Nāşirī, *Ātashkada-yi Ādhar* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1336/1958), Vol. 1, p. 126. Cf. Şā'ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Şā'ib*, ed. S. Betler and C. I. Djamili (Tehran: Akhtar, 1381/2002), pp. 3–7; Hidāyat, *Majma' al-fuṣahā*, ed. M. Muşaffā, Vol. 2, p. 75.

<sup>59</sup> Hāshimī, *Shi'r va shā'irī*, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> Şā'ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Şā'ib Tabrīzī*, ed. Shamīsā, p. 17.

Şā'ib      حاصل روی زمین در دل درویشان است<sup>61</sup>      نمک عشق در آب و گل درویشان است

The sweetness of love lies within the bricks and mortar of the dervishes;  
What lies in their hearts is the profound meaning of this earth.

Ḥāfiẓ      کیمیاییست که در صحبت درویشانست<sup>62</sup>      آنچه زر می شود از پرتو آن قلب سیاه

By the light of that through which counterfeited alloy turns to gold,  
Is an alchemy that reposes in the company of dervishes.<sup>63</sup>

Şā'ib      آخر ای خانه برانداز سرای تو کجاست؟<sup>64</sup>      هیچ جوینده ندانست که جای تو کجاست

No seeker found your place of abode,  
O demolisher of heart and home, where is your place of abode?

Ḥāfiẓ      منزل آن مه عاشق کش عیار کجاست؟<sup>65</sup>      ای نسیم سحر آرمگه یار کجاست

O breeze of the morning, where is the resting place of the friend;  
Where is the setting place of that vagabond, lover-slaying moon?<sup>66</sup>

Although the Tīmūrīd period witnessed a decline in literature and poetry, some poets of the late Tīmūrīd era, for example, Jāmī, Fighānī, 'Urfī and Şā'ib, managed to leave their mark purely because they took their inspiration from master poets, such as Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ. Regardless of the political and economic decline of dynasties throughout history, Persian literature and poetry has continued to survive and has even recovered its former glory, not least because of the high standards set by such master poets.

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<sup>61</sup> Şā'ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Şā'ib Tabrīzī*, ed. J. Manşūr (Tehran: Nigāh, 1383/2004), Vol. 1, *ghazal* 682. v. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 49, v. 4.

<sup>63</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 86; *ghazal* 50.

<sup>64</sup> Şā'ib Tabrīzī, *Dīvān-i Şā'ib Tabrīzī*, ed. Manşūr, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 1006, v. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 19, v. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 57; *ghazal* 27.

## **A Short Summary of the Political and Dynamic History of Persia from 1400 to 1800**

### **A General Literary Overview of the Şafavid Period**

This section of the chapter concentrates on the period from 1400 to 1800, one of the most important eras in the history of Persia. The Şafavids witnessed a political, religious and military reformation and unification from which Iran still benefits today. Socially, the Şafavids unified the Iranian people and gained them recognition as an entity of importance in world affairs; this distinguished the period from the destruction and mayhem that preceded it. In addition, Islamic philosophy flourished during the Şafavid era, in what scholars generally refer to as the ‘school of Işfahān’. Among the leading figures of this school of philosophy, philosophers such as Mir Dāmād (d. 1033/1631), Shaykh Bahā’ī (d. 1030/1620) and Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (d. 1090/1679-80) are highly regarded. Mir Dāmād is believed to be the founder of this school which reached its zenith with the appearance of the Iranian intellectual, Mullā Şadrā (d. 973/1571), perhaps the most remarkable Islamic philosopher after Avicenna (d. 428/1037).<sup>67</sup> Mullā Şadrā became the leading philosopher of the Islamic East, and his approach to the nature of philosophy remains significant to this day.<sup>68</sup>

The era of the Tīmūrīds witnessed a disparity between the quantity of literary works produced and the quality achieved. It was almost inconceivable that in such a tempestuous time the wounds visited by the Mongols and further inflicted by Tīmūr would heal apace.<sup>69</sup> However, the emergence of the Şafavids, and Shāh Ismā’īl in 906/1501 in particular, heralded a new era. The establishment of the Şafavid state constituted, once again, a strong, powerful central government in Iran after centuries of foreign domination and an extended

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<sup>67</sup> John Cooper, ‘Mulla Sadra Shirazi’, in E. Craig (eds.), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1998), Vol. 6, pp. 595–99. Cf. Sajjad H. Rizvi, ‘Molla Sadra Shirazi’, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranica.com>; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: Modern Times (1500–1924)* (Bethesda, MD: Iranbook, Inc. 1997), Vol. 4, pp. 428–32; R. Q. Hidāyat, *Rīyāḍ al-‘arīfin*, ed. N. Furūhar (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1388/2009), p. 704.

<sup>68</sup> H. Dabāshī, ‘Didgāhī bi afkār-i ijtimā’ī-i Mullā Şadrā’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Spring 1985), pp. 409–15. Cf. H. Corbin, *Mulla Şadrā* (Tehran: Jāvīdān, 1980), pp. 10–12.

<sup>69</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 281. Cf. M. Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyān, *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 180–85.

period of political disintegration.<sup>70</sup> The Şafavid kingdom prolonged the old-style political and cultural traditions of Persia and provided the country with a distinctive character of historic importance, which has lasted, in part, up to the present day.<sup>71</sup> The Şafavid kings who dominated Iran between 907/1501 and 1135/1722 descended from Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn of Ardabil (665/1248–745/1328); he and his successors were famed as holy Sufis.<sup>72</sup> Their origins are unknown, although they were probably of Kurdish or Iranian ancestry. They later claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad,<sup>73</sup> though some scholars, such as Kasravī, believe that they were not related to the Prophet Muḥammad and they had no Sufi background at all.<sup>74</sup> One of the most peculiar and, at first sight, incomprehensible changes of the Şafavid period is the extraordinary dearth of noteworthy poets in Persia during the two hundred years of its continuing domination. Although numerous poets appeared during this period, there are only a few worthy of mention, apart from Jāmī, Hātifi (d. 927/1525), Hilālī (d. 908/1506) and some other poets of Khurāsān, who were really the last of the school of Herat.<sup>75</sup> Besides Ḥāfiz, there were at least eight to ten poets who outshone the rest during the seventy years of Tīmūr’s life, and whose influence on Persian literature cannot be ignored. Two of the most notable figures worthy of mention are ‘Urfī Shīrāzī and Şā’ib Işfahānī.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> L. Lockhart, ‘The Timurid and Safavid Period’ in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 189.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. Cf. Y. Āzhand, *Tajadud-i adabī dar dawra-yi mashrūṭa* (Tehran: Mu’assasa-yi Tahqiqāt va ‘Ulūm-i Insānī, 1384/2006), p. 1.

<sup>72</sup> P. Sykes, *History of Persia* (London: Macmillan, 1951), Vol. 2, p. 158.

<sup>73</sup> A. Kasravī, ‘Shaykh Şafī va tabārash’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Summer 1995), pp. 377–78.

<sup>74</sup> R. Tapper, *Frontier Nomads of Iran: A Political and Social History of the Shahsevan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 39. Cf. Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 158.

<sup>75</sup> Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Iran*, Vol. 4, p. 434.

<sup>76</sup> R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 203. Cf. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 301.

## Kings and Rulers of the Ṣafavid Era

### Shāh Ismā‘īl (r. 901/1501–924/1524)

Abū'l Muẓaffar ibn Ḥaydar ibn Shaykh Junayd as Shāh Ismā‘īl Ṣafavī (r. 887/1487–924/1524), was born in Ardabil in northwestern Iran.<sup>77</sup> He was the son of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabilī (d. 735/1333).<sup>78</sup> Shāh Ismā‘īl was the founder of the Ṣafavid empire, which survived until 1153/1736.<sup>79</sup> Ismā‘īl began his political campaign in Azerbaijan in 902/1502 as the leader of the Ṣafavids, an extremist heterodox group of the Twelver Shi‘i militant religious order; by 909/1509 he had unified all of Iran. Shāh Ismā‘īl soon moved to institute the Shī‘a faith as the state religion.<sup>80</sup> Roemer states: ‘Until it is proved otherwise, we can assume that he took this decision out of religious conviction, not out of political expediency.’<sup>81</sup> He reigned as Shāh Ismā‘īl I of Iran from 901/1501 to 924/1524.<sup>82</sup> After becoming commander-in-chief of the Ardabīl order on the death of his brother, Sulṭān ‘Alī, he finally gained the political power for which his father and grandfather had lost their lives.<sup>83</sup> Ismā‘īl was also greatly influenced by the Persian literary custom of Iran, mainly by the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī; this may explain the fact that he named all of his sons after characters from the *Shāhnāma*.<sup>84</sup> Dickson and Welch suggest that Ismā‘īl’s *Shāhnāma-i Shāhī* was intended as a present to the young Ṭahmāsp (Ismā‘īl’s son).<sup>85</sup> It is believed that Ismā‘īl asked Hātifī, a famous poet from a town in the province of Khurāsān called Jām, to write a *Shāhnāma*-like epic about his victories and his newly established dynasty.<sup>86</sup> Although the epic was left

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<sup>77</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 245.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> C. E. Bosworth, ‘Ardabil’, *Elr*, Vol. 2, pp. 357–60. Cf. Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 159.

<sup>80</sup> Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids’, p. 193.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> A. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006), p. 152.

<sup>83</sup> Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids’, p. 189.

<sup>84</sup> M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge, MA and London: Published for the Fogg Art Museum by Harvard University Press, 1981), Vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 14, p. 20604, s.v. ‘Hātifī’.

unfinished, it is an example of a *mathnavī* in the heroic style of the *Shāhnāma*, but written later for the Ṣafavid kings.<sup>87</sup>

### **Ṭahmāsp I (r. 926/1524–978/1576)**

Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, son of Ismā‘īl I, was an influential king who enjoyed the longest reign of any member of the Ṣafavid dynasty. As Savory states: ‘He was not lacking in either physical or moral courage.’<sup>88</sup> Although he was weak during his childhood and was controlled by the Qizilbāsh Turkish tribesmen who formed the backbone of Ṣafavid power and whose leaders fought among themselves for the right to be regent over Ṭahmāsp, upon adulthood, Ṭahmāsp was able to reassert his power as Shāh and regain control over the tribesmen.<sup>89</sup> Savory further asserts that Ṭahmāsp was very greedy and stashed away valuables such as cash, gold and silver.<sup>90</sup>

His reign was marked by foreign threats, primarily from the Ottomans and the Uzbeks. In 955/1555, however, he regularised relations with the Ottoman empire and won a peace that lasted thirty years.<sup>91</sup> Contrary to Savory’s view, Roemer believes that the verdict of historians on Ṭahmāsp and his fifty-two-year reign has tended to be somewhat negative, particularly in their criticism of his greedy, miserly and cowardly nature.<sup>92</sup>

### **Ismā‘īl II (r. 984/1576–985/1578)**

Ismā‘īl II, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, was appointed governor of the province of Shirvān in 1547 and ruled for only eighteen months.<sup>93</sup> He led several expeditions against the Ottomans before becoming governor of Khurāsān in 958/1556. Even though Ismā‘īl II had to be careful in his dealings with the Ottomans, one of the most unusual measures he undertook soon after

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<sup>87</sup> Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, Vol. 1, p. 35.

<sup>88</sup> Newman, *Safavid Iran*, p. 23. Cf. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p. 57.

<sup>89</sup> Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p. 57.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>92</sup> Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids’, p. 248.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

assuming power was the re-introduction of the Sunni faith, which can hardly be explained in terms of his respect for their religious susceptibilities.<sup>94</sup>

When Ṭahmāsp died in 978/1576, powerful Qizilbāsh army factions disputed the succession. The Qizilbāsh tribe was split between supporters of Ismā‘īl and those of the son of his younger brother, Ḥaydar ‘Alī Ṭahmāsp. The pro-Ḥaydar faction was briefly successful in placing their candidate on the throne, but Ḥaydar was killed in the ensuing fight between his supporters and their opponents.<sup>95</sup> Another faction promoted Ṭahmāsp’s son as Shāh, but Ismā‘īl’s supporters defeated them and Ismā‘īl was finally crowned in 978/1576. He died after consuming poisoned drugs in 979/1577.<sup>96</sup>

### **Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 985/1578–995/1587)**

Sulṭān Muḥammad, fourth Ṣafavid Shāh of Iran, was the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.<sup>97</sup> His father died in 978/1576 and, soon after, Muḥammad was passed over in favour of his younger brother Ismā‘īl II.<sup>98</sup> On Ismā‘īl’s death, however, the Qizilbāsh army factions chose Muḥammad as the next Shāh. He was gentle, but weak-willed, and his reign was marked by fighting among court factions and the Qizilbāsh. This allowed Iran’s main enemy, the Ottoman empire, to seize Iranian territory, including the major city of Tabriz. Muḥammad was finally overthrown in a coup and replaced by his son, Shāh ‘Abbās I.<sup>99</sup>

### **Shāh ‘Abbās the Great (r. 996/1588–1037/1629)**

Shāh ‘Abbās I, the third son of Shāh Muḥammad, is generally considered the greatest ruler of the Ṣafavid dynasty.<sup>100</sup> He came to the throne during a troubled time for Iran. Under his weak-willed father, the country was riven with discord between the different factions of the

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 253.

<sup>95</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 170.

<sup>96</sup> Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids’, p. 253.

<sup>97</sup> Newman, *Safavid Iran*, p. 42. Cf. Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 171.

<sup>98</sup> Savory, ‘‘Abbās I’, *EIr*, Vol. 1, p. 71.

<sup>99</sup> H. R. Roemer, ‘The Safavid Period’, in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 254–62.

<sup>100</sup> Savory, ‘‘Abbās I’, *EIr*, Vol. 1, p. 71.

Qizilbāsh army, which included the warriors who killed ‘Abbās’ mother and elder brother. Meanwhile, Iran’s enemies, the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, used the political chaos to seize territory for themselves. In 989/1587, one of the Qizilbāsh leaders, Murshid Qulī Khān, overthrew Shāh Muḥammad in a coup and placed the eighteen-year-old ‘Abbās on the throne.<sup>101</sup> ‘Abbās, however, was no puppet and soon seized power for himself.<sup>102</sup> He reduced the influence of the Qizilbāsh in the government and the military, and reformed the army. This enabled him to fight the Ottomans and Uzbeks and regain Iran’s lost provinces, as well as reclaim land from the Mughals.<sup>103</sup> ‘Abbās is presented as a great builder; he moved his kingdom’s capital from Qazvīn to Iṣfahān.<sup>104</sup>

In Axworthy’s view, ‘Abbās was a cruel and oppressive dictator, a military organiser and a talented bureaucrat who became extremely suspicious and cruel as a result of the murders of so many of his relatives during his childhood.<sup>105</sup> ‘Abbās gained strong support from the ordinary people and sources report him spending much of his time among them, personally visiting marketplaces in Iṣfahān. ‘Abbās died in 1039/1629.<sup>106</sup>

### **Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1039/1630–1053/1643)**

Shāh Ṣafī, sixth ruler of the Ṣafavid dynasty, was given the name Sām Mīrzā when he was born.<sup>107</sup> He was the son of Muḥammad Bāqir Mīrzā, the eldest son of Shāh ‘Abbās I.<sup>108</sup> The new monarch took the title of Shāh Ṣafī, and his thirteen-year reign witnessed nothing but political turmoil.<sup>109</sup> The suspicious ‘Abbās had killed or blinded his other sons, leaving his grandson Ṣafī heir to the throne.<sup>110</sup> Ṣafī was crowned in 1039/1630, at the age of eighteen. He callously distrusted anyone he considered a threat to his throne, executing almost all the

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<sup>101</sup> Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, p. 77. Cf. Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣaḥā*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Vol. 1, p. 156.

<sup>102</sup> Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, pp. 76–77. Cf. Savory, ‘‘Abbās I’, *EIr*, Vol. 1, p. 72.

<sup>103</sup> N. Falsafī, *Zindagi-i Shāh ‘Abbās-i avval* (Tehran: ‘Ilmī, 1985), Vol. 1, pp. 10–15.

<sup>104</sup> Savory, ‘‘Abbās I’, *EIr*, Vol. 1, p. 73.

<sup>105</sup> Axworthy, *Iran*, p. 134.

<sup>106</sup> Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣaḥā*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Vol. 1, p. 157.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 127.

<sup>108</sup> Roemer, ‘The Safavid Period’, p. 278.

<sup>109</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 209.

<sup>110</sup> Roemer, ‘The Safavid Period’, p. 280.

Şafavid royal princes, principal courtiers and generals.<sup>111</sup> He paid little attention to affairs of state and had no cultural or intellectual interests (he had never properly learned to read or write), preferring to spend his time drinking wine; he continuously proved to be a weak character.<sup>112</sup>

Iran's enemies took advantage of Şafī's flaws. The Ottomans made advances west in 1032/1630 and 1036/1634, and in 1040/1638 they succeeded in capturing Baghdad, which remained in their hands until World War I.<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, a treaty in 1041/1639 put an end to all further wars between the Şafavids and the Ottomans. Apart from the Ottoman attacks, Iran was troubled by the Uzbeks and Turkmens in the East and lost Qandahār to the Mughals in 1040/1638.<sup>114</sup>

### **Shāh ʿAbbās II (r. 1052/1642–1076/1666)**

Shāh ʿAbbās II, seventh Shāh of the Şafavid dynasty, was the son of Shāh Şafī I and bore the name Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā before his coronation in 1052/1642.<sup>115</sup> Since he was less than ten years old when he became Shāh, the job of governing Persia was placed in the hands of the grand minister, while ʿAbbās concentrated on his education. Unlike his father, ʿAbbās took an active interest in government once he began to rule for himself (probably around age fifteen). His reign was relatively peaceful and is significant for being free of any Ottoman attacks. In 1648, ʿAbbās conquered Qandahār and held it against attacks by the Mughuls.<sup>116</sup> He died in Dāmghān in 1068/1666. The early death of this capable ruler was greatly regretted.

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<sup>111</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 209.

<sup>112</sup> Roemer, 'The Safavid Period', p. 283.

<sup>113</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 210.

<sup>114</sup> Roemer, 'The Safavid Period', p. 285.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

### **Sulayman I (r. 1068/1666–1096/1694)**

Sulayman I was the eldest son of Shāh ‘Abbās II. He was crowned in 1068/1666 with the title Shāh Šafī II.<sup>117</sup> The young king, having been brought up in the harem, had no understanding of the world outside. He was an alcoholic and suffered poor health. The first year of his reign was distinctly unsuccessful.<sup>118</sup> It was marked by a series of natural disasters, which together with devastating raids by the Cossacks on the coast of the Caspian Sea, persuaded court astrologers that the coronation had taken place at the wrong time. Consequently, the ceremony was repeated on 20 March 1069/1667 and the Shāh took the new name, Sulayman I.<sup>119</sup>

Sulayman had little interest in the affairs of state, preferring to retreat to the harem. He left political decision making to his grand minister and a council of harem eunuchs, whose power increased during his reign. Corruption became widespread in Persia and discipline in the army was hazardously deficient. Persia suffered raids by the Uzbeks and Sulayman lost the opportunity to exploit the weakness of the Šafavid’s traditional rival, the Ottoman empire, which had suffered a serious defeat at the Battle of Vienna in 1085/1683. Sulayman died in 1096/1694 as a result of heavy drinking or gout. The court eunuchs chose his eldest son, Sulṭān Ḥusayn, as successor.

### **Sulṭān Ḥusayn I (r. 1096/1694–1124/1722)**

Sulṭān Ḥusayn ruled from 1096/1694 until he was overthrown in 1124/1722. His reign saw the downfall of the Šafavid dynasty, which had ruled Persia since the beginning of the sixteenth-century.<sup>120</sup> When his father, Shāh Sulayman, was on his deathbed, he asked his court eunuchs to choose between his two sons, saying that if they wanted peace and quiet they should pick the elder, Sulṭān Ḥusayn, but if they wanted to make the empire more powerful, then they should opt for the younger, ‘Abbās. They chose to make the twenty-six-

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<sup>117</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 9, p. 13743, s.v. ‘Sulayman’.

<sup>118</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 212.

<sup>119</sup> R. Mathee, ‘Iran’s Ottoman Diplomacy during the Reign of Shah Sulayman I (1077–1105/1666–94)’, in K. Eslami (ed.), *Iran and Iranian Studies, Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar* (Princeton, NJ: Zagros, 1998), pp. 148–77.

<sup>120</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 233.

year-old Sultān Ḥusayn Shāh of Iran.<sup>121</sup> He had a reputation for being easygoing and had little interest in political affairs. The young king was a devout Muslim and one of his first acts was to give power to the leading clerics. A series of measures against Sufi orders was introduced, as well as legislation prohibiting the consumption of alcohol and opium, and restrictions on the behaviour of women in public. Provincial governors were ordered to enforce *sharī'a* law<sup>122</sup> even as Ḥusayn became an alcoholic and paid less and less attention to political affairs, devoting his time to his harem and his pleasure gardens.

### **Ṭahmāsp II (r. 1135/1722–1144/1742)**

Ṭahmāsp II, son of Ḥusayn, was one of the last Ṣafavid rulers of Persia.<sup>123</sup> On the Afghan invasion and the fall of Iṣfahan by Maḥmūd Afghān, Ḥusayn was forced by the Afghans to abdicate in 1722, Prince Ṭahmāsp claimed the throne and fled to Tabriz, where he established a government. He gained the support of the Sunni Muslims of the Caucasus, as well as several Qizilbāsh tribes (including the Afshārs, under the control of Iran's future ruler, Nādir Shāh).<sup>124</sup> Ṭahmāsp also eventually gained the recognition of both the Ottoman empire and Russia, each worried about the other gaining too much influence in Iran. By 1729, Ṭahmāsp had control of most of the country. Nādir Khān (the future Nādir Shāh) deposed him in 1732 in favour of his son, 'Abbās III; Nādir Shāh's eldest son, Riḍā Qulī Mīrzā, murdered both in 1740.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Roemer, 'The Safavid Period', p. 311.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>123</sup> M. H. Āṣif, *Rustam al-ḥukamā* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Firdaws, 1382/2004), p. 13. Cf. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 10, p. 15578, s.v. 'Ṭahmāsb'.

<sup>124</sup> L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1938), pp. 62–63.

<sup>125</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 10, p. 15578, s.v. 'Ṭahmāsb'.

### ‘Abbās III (r. 1145/1742–1148/1746) and the End of the Şafavid Dynasty

‘Abbās III was the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II. After the deposition of his father by Nādir Khān in 1742, the infant ‘Abbās was appointed nominal ruler of Iran.<sup>126</sup> Nādir Khān, who was the real ruler of the country, assumed the roles of deputy of state and viceroy. ‘Abbās III was deposed in 1736, when Nādir Khān had himself crowned as Nādir Shāh. This officially marked the end of the Şafavid dynasty and ‘Abbās was sent to join his father in prison in Khurāsān.<sup>127</sup>

In 1738, Nādir Shāh set out on a campaign to Afghanistan and India, leaving his son Riḍā Qulī Mīrzā to rule the realm in his absence. Hearing rumours that his father had died, Riḍā prepared to assume the crown. According to the most ‘authoritative account’,<sup>128</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Qājār, who had been entrusted with supervising ‘Abbās and his father in captivity, warned Riḍā that the townspeople of Sabzivār would rise up in revolt, free Ṭahmāsp II and place him on the throne again if they heard news of Nādir Shāh’s death. Riḍā gave Muḥammad Ḥusayn orders to execute Ṭahmāsp and his sons to prevent this from happening. Muḥammad Ḥusayn strangled Ṭahmāsp, wounded the young ‘Abbās with his sword and had his brother Ismā‘īl killed as well. While the dating of these events is speculative, some, such as Michael Axworthy, state that they probably took place in May or June 1739.<sup>129</sup>

Here, our discussion of Şafavid history ends with a short conclusion. The main accomplishment of the Şafavids was the formation of a self-sufficient, firm and lasting state in Iran after centuries of foreign rule and a prolonged period of political disorder. Although the previous Turkmen dynasties, the Qarā Quyūnlū and the Āq Quyūnlū, had created some of the conditions necessary for this achievement and had followed similar goals for a short time, their success was transient.<sup>130</sup> Despite their military and political skills in the late

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<sup>126</sup> M. Axworthy, *Sword of Persia, Nader Shah: From Tribal Warlord to Conquering Tyrant* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006), p. 123. Cf. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 10, p. 15692, s.v. ‘‘Abbās Sivum’.

<sup>127</sup> Axworthy, *Sword of Persia*, p. 165.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220. Cf. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah: A Critical Study Based Mainly upon Contemporary Sources* (London: Luzac, 1938), pp. 10–15.

<sup>129</sup> Axworthy, *Sword of Persia*, p. 221.

<sup>130</sup> Roemer, ‘The Jalayirids’, p. 189.

eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries, none succeeded in maintaining a lasting political framework. Although their rule expanded deep into the Persian dominion, it was only after the rise of the Şafavids that Iran witnessed the emergence of a state equal in importance to the Ottoman empire or the empire of the Egyptian Mamlūks.<sup>131</sup> It may be noted, however, that Iran's agriculture suffered irreparable damage as a direct consequence of the Mongol invasion,<sup>132</sup> and the effects of this lasted for centuries. It is arguable whether Persia, up to the end of the Şafavid period, ever recovered from the destruction wrought by the Mongols to regain its rightful place and the prosperity that had distinguished Iranian agriculture from the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth-century.<sup>133</sup>

During the Şafavid dynasty, which lasted nearly two and a half centuries, Shi'ism, as the official religion of the state and as a faction of secondary importance, controlled the nation. This faith offered a solid expression for Iran's identity—'it might even be said, of Iranian nationalism in face of the challenge presented by the Sunni Ottoman Empire, the Sunni Central Asian Turkish states and the Mongol Empire of India'.<sup>134</sup> According to Şafā, this concerns the literary historian because the official recognition of Shi'ism, with its active promotion by the Şafavid rulers, spread the faith, resulting in the composition of large volumes of works in the Persian and Arabic languages.<sup>135</sup>

### **Nādir Shāh (r. 1138/1736–1149/1747)**

Nādir Khān, first known as Ṭahmāsp-Qulī Khān, rose from obscurity to gain power and destroy the remnants of Şafavid rule, thus inflicting a serious blow on Mughul jurisdiction and confronting the Ottomans for control of Iraq and the Caucasus.<sup>136</sup> The oppressive atmosphere that had developed within the Şafavid empire eventually became so intense that

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> B. Fragner, 'Social and Internal Economic Affairs,' in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6, p. 491.

<sup>133</sup> '... this period terminated the disunity and sufferings which the Mongol invasions had brought about, and which neither the Īl-Khanid attempt at resettlement nor Timūr's subsequent reign of conquest had done anything to ameliorate; while the events of the interregnum after Timūr's death had only exacerbated them'. Z. Safa, 'Persian Literature in the Safavid Period', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6, p. 948.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 947.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 948.

<sup>136</sup> A large region between the Black and Caspian seas that includes the Caucasus Mountains; oil is its major resource.

the dynasty was unable to keep the situation under control. The actions of the peasant population, opposing the secular rulers, did the rest.<sup>137</sup>

Nādir built an empire that extended, for a short time, across Iran, India and Central Asia. Although he is credited with many battlefield conquests, his reign has also been regarded as a period of autocracy and inhumane brutality. Still, his rule was significant for improving the security and military power of Persia. Peter Avery notes that Nādir's failure to secure conquests in India and Iraq, together with his exclusion of the Ottomans and Afghans who had invaded after the downfall of Şafavid rule, actually helped fix geographical boundaries that had begun to emerge during the Şafavid period. He asserts that Nādir's military activities 'contributed a great deal to the final separate identity of Iran as a modern national state'.<sup>138</sup>

Nādir's time in power, however, can be seen as more than a military interlude between established dynasties. By removing the Şafavids from the throne, he denied one of their principal claims to royal status. Their right to rule had been based to a significant degree on their supposed descent from the seventh Shi'i Imam, Musā al-Kāzīm.<sup>139</sup> Nādir's coronation effectively ended the role of Imami lineage as a basis of royal legitimacy in Iran.<sup>140</sup> When he took over as king in 1736, he had to find new ways to justify his sudden rise to power. He commenced his quest for legitimacy at a coronation ceremony on the Mughan plain, where he gathered noblemen from all parts of his realm. He called for the integration of Shi'ism into Sunni Islam as a fifth 'school of Islamic legal interpretation'.<sup>141</sup>

The Shi'i school would thus enjoy the same status as the conventional four Sunni schools. Twelver Shi'i Islam would, therefore, be called *madhhab-i Ja'farī*, in recognition of the

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<sup>137</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 305. Cf. H. Louis and R. Borgomale, *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shāhs of Iran, 1500–1941* (London: Iranian Numismatic Institute with cooperation of Amīr Kabīr Publications Organization, 1945), pp. 51–56.

<sup>138</sup> P. Avery, 'Nadir Shah and Afsharid Legacy', in Peter Avery, Gavin Humbly and Charles Melville (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7: *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 56.

<sup>139</sup> S. A. Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah Abbas* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000), pp. 84–85.

<sup>140</sup> E. Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1972), p. 1. Cf. Louis and Borgomale, *Coins, Medals and Seals*, pp. 51–56.

<sup>141</sup> Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest*, p. 1.

importance of the sixth Imam, Ja‘far Ṣādiq as the principal founder of its school of theology and law.<sup>142</sup> Nādir was a warrior and his militant reign was hardly conducive to a literary revival; moreover, he ruled for a comparatively short period, a brief show in the midst of an anarchic period. Nādir had no understanding of literature,<sup>143</sup> but the military triumphs of Nādir and his generals were so glorious that they ineluctably inspired the writing of panegyrics. The *qaṣīda*, transformed during the Ṣafavid period into pious anthems in praise of the Imams, now regained its former glory and rightful name.<sup>144</sup> The political turmoil of this period, and its numerous battles and conflicts, left little time for scholars and poets to thrive or concentrate on literature and arts. Although many famous writers and scholars emerged during the Afshārid period, these were not especially notable when compared with those of the Zand dynasty.<sup>145</sup>

While his sudden rise and wide range of adventures have long since passed into fiction, Nādir’s eleven years on the throne cannot be dismissed as a brief interim period of disruption between the Ṣafavid and Qājār eras.<sup>146</sup> Nādir was assassinated in 1747.

### **Zand Dynasty (r. 1163/1751–1193/1779)**

Nādir Shāh’s empire disintegrated as a result of the conflicts of his successors. For two years, his closest surviving relatives fought for control and power, before being defeated by leaders of various other tribes. Azerbaijan was occupied for a while by one of Nādir’s Afghan

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<sup>142</sup> J. Foran, *Fragile Resistance, Social Transformation in Iran from 1500 to the Revolution* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1930), pp. 82–83. Cf. ‘Abdul Ḥusayn Navā’ī (ed.), *Nādir Shāh va bāzmāndigānash: Hamrāh bā nāmāhā-i salṭanatī va asnād-i siāsī va idārī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zarrīn, 1367/1989), pp. 20–25; ‘Abdul Ḥusayn Navā’ī (ed.) *Asnād va mukātabāt-i siyāsī-i Iran az sāl-i 1105 tā 1135 H.Q. hamrāh bā yāddāshthā-i tafṣīlī* (Tehran: Mu‘asasa-i ‘Itilā’āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1362/1984), pp. 100–82.

<sup>143</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 305. Cf. Ernest Tucker, ‘Explaining Nadir Shah: Kingship and Royal Legitimacy in Muhammad Kazim Marvi’s, *Tārīkh-i ālam-ārā-i Nādirī*’, *Iranian Studies* 26 (1993), pp. 95–117.

<sup>144</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 306.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Abdul Razzāq Dunbulī and H. Q. Ṭabāṭabā’ī (eds.), *Tajribāt al-aḥrār va taslīyat al-abrār* (Tabriz: [n. p.], 1348/1970), Vol. 1, pp. 112–20.

<sup>146</sup> Tucker, *Nadir Shah’s Quest*, p. 1. Cf. Rīyād’l Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations: 1500–1750* (Tehran: Iranian Culture Foundation; Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, 1979–82), Vol. 2, pp. 74–107. Cf. M. A. Rīyāḥī (ed.), *Guzārishā-i musāfirat va ma‘mūrīyat-i sāfirān-i ‘Uthmānī dar Iran* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zarrīn, 1367/1989), pp. 205–42.

generals, Āzād Khān Qiljī, who had defeated ‘Alī Mardān Gurgān.<sup>147</sup> Karīm Khān Zand won over the Bakhtiārī tribes and defeated the Afghans in southern Iran. The period of 1751 to 1758 witnessed a bloody contest for all of Iran; it was then that the Zand-Qājār confrontation began.<sup>148</sup> By 1764, Karīm Khān controlled all of Iran.<sup>149</sup> The Zand period was to some extent a period of stability in sociopolitical and economic terms.<sup>150</sup>

Throughout the Zand dynasty, the inhabitants of Shīrāz enjoyed a period of placidity and felicity.<sup>151</sup> Bahār describes it in poetic terms, as a society of moon-faced young women, who passed their leisure hours with a sparkling chalice circulating, love and pleasure reigning in every bosom.<sup>152</sup> Karīm Khān gave fatigued Iran over two decades of much needed rest. His reign lasted twenty-nine years, and for over twenty of those he was the unchallenged ruler of Persia.

The Zand family’s focus on scholars and men of letters was substantial. This concentration was the reason behind the progress of literature and poetry in this period, although the Indian style, which had been popular during the Ṣafavid period, rapidly declined. Poetry entered a new phase and neoclassical poetry began its emergence during the latter half of the eighteenth-century.<sup>153</sup> The poets of the period aimed to rescue the poetry and literature of Persia from the literary fashions of the Ṣafavid period, mainly the Indian style. They believed that the only way forward was to return to the style of medieval masters such as Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiz. The neoclassical movement thus evolved purely to eliminate the Indian style and to revive the ‘Irāqī and Khurāsānī styles of poetry. Famous poets of the period include Mushtāq Iṣfahānī (d. 1171/1757),<sup>154</sup> ‘Āshiq Iṣfahānī (d. 1181/1767),<sup>155</sup> Ṣahbā Qumī (d. 1191/1777),<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Tapper, *Frontier Nomads*, p. 111. Cf. *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7, pp. 63–67.

<sup>148</sup> Foran, *Fragile Resistance*, p. 85.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> W. Floor, *A Fiscal History of Iran in the Safavid and Qajar Periods 1500–1925* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1999), pp. 243–58.

<sup>151</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, pp. 316–17.

<sup>152</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 279. Cf. Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, pp. 316–19.

<sup>153</sup> Gh. Varherām, *Tārikh-i sīyāsī va ijtimā‘-yi Iran dar ‘aṣr-i Zand* (Tehran: Mu‘īn, 1366/1988), pp. 167–68.

<sup>154</sup> Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣṣḥā*, Vol. 5, p. 928.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 732.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 699.

Ādhar Bigdilī,<sup>157</sup> Hātif Iṣfahānī (1191/1779),<sup>158</sup> Rafiq Iṣfahānī (d. 1212/1795), Shahāb al-Dīn Tarshīzī (d. 1216/1800), Darvīsh Qāyinī (d. 1173/1756), Salīm Kurdistānī (d. 1214/1797) and Rawnaq Iṣfahānī (d. 1225/1808).<sup>159</sup> Although these poets initially composed in the Indian style, they eventually adopted the Khurāsānī and ‘Irāqī styles. It is noteworthy that special attention was paid to the arts and literature, in particular poetry, during this period, given that Karīm Khān Zand was illiterate.<sup>160</sup> He was a humble character—titles and ranks did not interest him—and he refused the title of Shāh, addressing himself instead as the ‘representative of the nation’ (*vakil al-ru’ayā*).<sup>161</sup>

### **Sociopolitical Conditions in Late Qājār Persia and the Reception of Ḥāfiẓ**

The aim of this section is to familiarise the reader with the history of the late Qājār dynasty (1848–1923) by highlighting the key events that took place during this period. The early modernisation of Persia is related to the emergence of this dynasty, and the role of Ḥāfiẓ in Iranian national consciousness during this period must be interpreted in the light (or rather, under the shadow) of the sociopolitical, economic and religious conditions then prevailing in Persia. Hence, in pursuit of a proper, historically contextualised understanding of Ḥāfiẓ’s place during this period, I focus in the following section on the events that took place during the last eighty-odd years (1848–1930) of the Qājār dynasty.

During the period from 1722 to 1848, between the demise of the Ṣafavid state and the rise of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848–98), the Qājārs evolved from a minor tribe with significant influence in northern Persia, into a national Persian dynasty with Islamic roots and ideas. The Qājār rulers belonged to the Qavānlū tribe, themselves originally members of the larger Turkmen peoples.<sup>162</sup> The Qājārs first settled during the Mongol period in the province of

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 731.

<sup>158</sup> Hātif Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Hātif Iṣfahānī*, ed. ‘A. I. Āshṭiānī (Tehran: Niḡāh, 1373/1995), p. 15.

<sup>159</sup> Varherām, *Tāriḡh-i sīyāsī*, pp. 172–73. Cf. Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣṣahā*, Vol. 5, p. 537.

<sup>160</sup> J. R. Perry, *Karīm Khān Zand: A History of Iran, 1474–1779* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 243.

<sup>161</sup> Sykes, *History of Persia*, p. 279.

<sup>162</sup> G. Cyrus, *Iran and the Rise of the Reḡā Shāh: From Qājār Collapse to Pahlavi Power* (London: Tauris, 2000), pp. 1–4.

Armenia (in Russia); they were among the seven Qizilbāsh tribes who supported the Ṣafavids (r. 1501–1722).<sup>163</sup>

The majority of the Qājārs settled in Astarābād, and it was this branch that rose to power. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār, who was the father of the first Qājār ruler, Āghā Muḥammad Khān, was killed by the order of Karīm Khān Zand (d. 1170/1760).<sup>164</sup> In 1834, Muḥammad Shāh, the grandson of Fath-‘Alī Shāh (d. 1207/1797), succeeded him and ruled for five years. In 1848, when he passed away, the throne passed to his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, who remained in power for fifty years and proved to be the most successful ruler of the Qājār dynasty. My account of the Qājārs below skips over the first two Qājār rulers and begins with Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh since it was during the latter’s reign that the most important poets (see chapter III) flourished.

The Qājār dynasty ruled Persia until 1923, when the forces of a nationalist and reformist movement overcame it. During the greater part of Qājār rule, the country continued the political, social and religious traditions of Ṣafavid Persia. Literature and poetry, however, continued to revive and move towards the style of classical poets, such as Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiz, for they had set such a solid foundation for the poetry of Persia that disregarding it would have been, and still is, an impossible task. Furthermore, at this time, Persia was isolated from most of the Muslim world and the West, and the country found itself lacking hope and energy. It suffered from a weak political and cultural climate, a circumstance which, alone, would have been enough to prompt the decline of poetry and literature.<sup>165</sup> Credit for innovation and the creation of valuable works is due to poets such as Īraj Mīrzā (d. 1344/1926) and Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (d. 1330/1952), who of course produced more valuable work during the Pahlavi period than during the Qājār era.

Ample research made on this period for the purpose of this thesis, reveals that the evolution of neoclassical literature in Iran started during the late Zand dynasty (1750–94), and continued

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<sup>163</sup> Ehsan Yarshater, ‘Iran: The Qajar Dynasty (d. 1779–1924)’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/v13f3/v13f3001e.html> (accessed 4 July 2008).

<sup>164</sup> Ḥusayn Qulī Khān (Jahānsūz Shāh) Qājār, Jahānsūz Shāh was the father of ‘Bābā Khān’, the future Fath-‘Alī Shāh Qājār.

<sup>165</sup> Cyrus, *Iran and the Rise of the Reḡā Shāh*, pp.1–14.

into the early Qājār period.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, it was during this period that poets like Ṣabā Kāshānī (d. 1238/1822) and Surūsh Iṣfahānī (d. 1285/1868) began to follow the style of poets of the Ghaznavid and Saljūq period, such as ‘Unṣurī, Khāqānī, Anvarī and so on. In their lyrical *ghazal* writings, Baṣṭāmī (d. 1274/1857) and Nishāṭ (d. 1244/1827) also took their inspiration from Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiz.<sup>167</sup>

During the Qājār period, elegy writing took precedence over *ghazals*.<sup>168</sup> *Mathnavī* writings were also favoured and, as is evident, the *Shāhanshāh-nāma* of Ṣabā is an incomplete reproduction of Firdawsī’s *Shāhnāma*.<sup>169</sup> The neoclassical movement, which had began during the Zand era, greatly progressed during this period and, in fact, gradually escalated into being the major literary movement of the day.<sup>170</sup> For this escalation, we are indebted to poets such as Qā’ānī and Yaghmā Jandaqī, who will be discussed later.

The Qājār kings discussed in this chapter are<sup>171</sup>

- Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848–98)
- Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1898–1906)
- Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh (r. 1907–09)
- Aḥmad Shāh Qājār (r. 1909–23)

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<sup>166</sup> Yarshater, *Iran Faces the Seventies*, pp. 287-89.

<sup>167</sup> The four above-mentioned poets will be discussed in later chapters.

<sup>168</sup> J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, pp. 320–37.

<sup>169</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: Modern Times*, Vol. 4, p. 30. Faṭḥ-‘Alī Khān Ṣabā Kāshānī with the pen name Ṣabā (d. 1238/1822) was the poet laureate to Faṭḥ-‘Alī Shāh.

<sup>170</sup> H. Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran* (Tehran: Zavvār, 1386/2007), pp. 480–85.

<sup>171</sup> The names of the above kings of Qājār have been obtained from the Iranchamber website: <http://www.iranchamber.com/history/qajar/qajar.php> (accessed 4 July 2008).



After Amīr Kabīr's appointment as prime minister, the king sent him to the Ottoman court to negotiate a peace agreement, thus ending one hundred years of war between the two countries.<sup>173</sup> He had also helped Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to gain the throne, so the Shāh made him his chancellor and gave his sister to him in marriage as a token of gratitude. Under his tenure, government expenditure was slashed, and a distinction was made between the privy and public purses. His most immediate success was the introduction of the smallpox vaccine, which saved the lives of many thousands, if not millions.<sup>174</sup>

Despite the efforts of his capable chancellor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh proved an uncaring ruler. He went into debt through foreign borrowings to finance his luxurious trips to Europe.<sup>175</sup> After the assassination of Amīr Kabīr by order of the Shāh in 1852, the economic affairs of Persia fell under British control, a result of several trade concessions made by the government. Some believed that the Shāh was more loyal to foreign governments than to his own.

In 1892, Nāṣir al-Dīn appointed Mushīr al-Dawla as the minister of justice in charge of the House of Justice.<sup>176</sup> In a number of other less significant matters, Nāṣir al-Dīn also demonstrated concern for the interests and reputation of the state.<sup>177</sup> Nāṣir al-Dīn's interests in reform resulted in the introduction of scientific modernisation methods, that is, the electric telegraph system; support for Amīr Kabīr's reformist acts in the early years of his reign, for example, the introduction of the smallpox vaccine; the establishment of the polytechnic institute in Tehran (*Dār al-Funūn*); his peaceful diplomatic mission to the Ottomans ending decades of war between the two empires; and the establishment of schools for girls. According to Mostufī, in addition to the latter, Amīr Kabīr started making considerable

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<sup>173</sup> Āzhand, *Tajadud-i adabī dar dawra-yi mashrūta*, p. 26.

<sup>174</sup> A. Molavi, *Soul of Iran: A Nation's Journey for Freedom* (New York: Norton, 2005), pp. 195–97. Cf. G. N. Corzon, *Persia and the Persian Questions* (New York: Barnes and Noble Inc., 1966), Vol. 1, pp. 195–96.

<sup>175</sup> F. Ādamīyyat, *Amīr Kabīr va Iran* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kharazmī, 1323/1944), pp. 683–88.

<sup>176</sup> Walcher explains that Mushīr al-Dawla, or Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Pīrnā (d. 1321/1942), was appointed minister of justice in 1892; he then became the foreign minister and finally the prime minister during the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh. H. A. Walcher, *In the Shadow of the King, Zill al-Sultān and Işfāhān under the Qājārs* (London: Tauris, 2000), p. 15.

<sup>177</sup> E. Bosworth, *Qājār Iran: Political, Social and Cultural Change 1800–1925* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publication, 1992), pp. 4–8.

changes within the treasury. He began by paying government employees wages which were more than two years in arrears.<sup>178</sup>

Mostufi adds that one of his most important reforms was the improvement of the armed forces. He attempted to make drastic changes by strengthening the infrastructure of the Iranian army. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh opted to eliminate the office of chancellor. He preferred to divide responsibilities between ministers and chose to deal with them directly. By implementing the law in this fashion, he believed that he would come to know the status of his nation better, yet, when necessary, be able to call a meeting of his cabinet ministers to discuss important issues. The Shāh's order was still necessary to sanction and finalise any decision, which of course meant that the Shāh was in full control. Furthermore, government functions were divided into six divisions with a different minister in charge of each division:<sup>179</sup>

1. Minister of the Interior, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Qā'im Maqām (Amīn al-Dawla)
2. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mīrzā Sa'dī Khān (Mu'tamīn al-Mulk)
3. Minister of War, Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Qājār (Sipahsālār)
4. Minister of Finance, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān (Mustawfī al-Mamālik)
5. Minister of Justice, 'Abbās-Qulī Khān Javānshir (Mu'tamid al-Dawla)
6. Minister of Pension and Endowment, Mīrzā Faḍlullāh (Nāṣir al-Mulk)

Mostufi asserts that Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh organised an advisory council in 1860. The president of the council was 'Īsā Khān I'timād al-Dawla, a Qājār leader related to the Shāh's mother. It seems that the Shāh intended to create a city council, but it is not clear if the council served any useful purpose. The next step, in 1866, was the establishment of justice boxes (*ṣandūq-i 'adālat*) into which people could deposit their complaints. Early in 1861, the Shāh became determined to personally resolve the people's bitterness and anger at having received unfair treatment and to address their grievances. He issued a decree, setting aside Sundays to attend to this branch of justice. None of the ministers was allowed to interrupt the Shāh while the council was in progress with the deputy ministers and the people. The same system of

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<sup>178</sup> A. Mostowfi, *The Administrative and Social History of the Qājār Period*, trans. N. M. Glenn (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1997), Vol. 2, pp. 39–47.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 58.

operation was introduced to other provinces by the governors. This operation was the first step towards establishing the justice boxes.

In 1871, the Shāh issued a decree appointing Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Mushir al-Dawla as chancellor, with full authority. The order also emphasised that the commander-in-chief, upon assuming his new responsibilities, would have a free hand in the expansion of the army. Shortly after the chancellor began work, he issued a general memorandum to all government employees and governors condemning bribery, and referring to it as a source of corruption. He pointed out that punishment for anyone found guilty of bribery would be the immediate loss of his job, followed by a sentence from His Majesty. The letter was directed to key government officials. During his time in office, Mushir al-Dawla concentrated on the armed forces and other projects set by Amīr Kabīr.

According to Bosworth, the most accurate census, undertaken in 1869, was organised by Najm al-Mulk (d. 1331/1924).<sup>180</sup> His figures show that the population of the capital city, Tehran, was no more than five million at the time. The number of schools and mosques declined by 31 per cent between 1852 and 1890, the number of shops increased by 140 per cent during the same period and the number of public baths increased by 16 per cent. There was also a 100 per cent increase in the number of houses in Tehran and a 20 per cent decrease in the number of convents (*takāyā*).<sup>181</sup> Throughout the Qājār period, there was a tendency on the part of the government, especially when there were strong reforming chief ministers, to extend the power of governmental courts and legal privileges restricted to people of rank, a trend that was resisted by the orthodox clergymen (*ulamā*).<sup>182</sup>

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's rule is characterised by Abrahamian as a combination of 'repression, isolation, and manipulation'.<sup>183</sup> However, this ended when Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī, a faithful

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<sup>180</sup> Najm al-Mulk was a maths teacher at Dār al-Funūn in Tehran.

<sup>181</sup> This was a place where the religious ceremonies took place, especially in the month of Muḥarram. Also, see Bosworth, *Qājār Iran*, pp. 204–12.

<sup>182</sup> N. R. Keddie and Y. Richard, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 29–30.

<sup>183</sup> E. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 74.

servant of Asadābādī, shot the Shāh in 1898 at the shrine of Shāh ‘Abdul al-‘Azīm, bringing his brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn (d. 1285/1906) to power.<sup>184</sup>

As previously mentioned, the latter part of the Zand era saw poets reviving the style of the classical masters, such as Sa‘dī and Ḥāfīz, thus creating the neoclassical movement. This movement was designed to return from the Indian style back to the ‘Irāqī style. During the reign of Fath-‘Alī Shāh Qājār (r. 1797–1834), the first step towards this movement was taken by some poets whose leader was Fath-‘Alī Khān Šābā, known as Šabā Kāshānī,<sup>185</sup> who moved towards imitation of Firdawsī’s *Shāhnāma* (*Epic of kings*). Soon after, poets such as Qā‘ānī and Mijmar (d. 1225/1810–11) gradually improved upon what Šabā had aimed to achieve, creating a style closer to those of Khāqānī (d. 582/1165),<sup>186</sup> Manūchīhrī (d. 442/1040),<sup>187</sup> ‘Unşurī (d. 431/1029)<sup>188</sup> and Farrukhī (d. 424/1007).<sup>189</sup> This movement continued through the period of Nāşir al-Dīn, aiming to revive *ghazal* writing in the style of classical poets such as Sa‘dī and Ḥāfīz. The main poets responsible for this improvement in style were Surūsh Işfahānī and Shahāb Işfahānī (d. 1291/1874). Other writers and intellectuals of note include Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, Muḥammad Taqī Sipihr (d. 1297/1895), Jamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī (d. 1275/1873), Ākhūndzāda (d. 1295/1878) and ‘Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf, some of whom are discussed later in this chapter.

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<sup>184</sup> J. Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906–1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, and the Origins of Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 34.

<sup>185</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 339.

<sup>186</sup> A. L. Beelaert, ‘Kāqāni Šervān’, *Eir*, Vol. 15, pp. 521–29. Cf. Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Iran*, Vol. 2, pp. 776–94.

<sup>187</sup> H. ‘A. Mallāh, *Manūchīhrī Dāmghānī va mūsīqī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Hunar va Farhang, 1363/1984), p. 5.

<sup>188</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 11, p. 16410, s.v. ‘Unşurī’.

<sup>189</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 339. Cf. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 11, p. 17050, s.v. ‘Farrukhī’; and Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Iran*, Vol. 1, pp. 531–46.

## Muzaffar al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1898–1906)

Shortly after the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1898, his younger brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh became successor to the throne. After becoming Shāh, Muẓaffar al-Dīn fell sick, and surrounded by a multitude of greedy aristocrats and opportunists, he had neither the energy nor strength of personality to keep them under control. He initially appointed a modernist prime minister, Amīn al-Dawla, who was active in reforming education and founding new schools, especially for girls.<sup>190</sup> Bausani asserts that due to the efforts of Amīn al-Dawla, most of this new reform was independent of the state and caused little financial burden on the government. Meanwhile, the Shāh proved to be a financial liability for the treasury; his court's expenditure was even greater than his brother's, with frequent trips to Europe for medical treatment.<sup>191</sup> In 1898, the Shāh dismissed Amīn al-Dawla for his failure to obtain a loan from the British government. A new prime minister, Amīn al-Sulṭān, replaced him and set up Joseph Naus, a Belgian, as customs minister. Naus eventually became finance minister.<sup>192</sup>

Axworthy purports that the decision to appoint Naus caused the closure of the city marketplace (*bāzār*). Some two thousand or more merchants, religious students and scholars gathered in the central mosque in protest. From there, they marched to the shrine of Shāh 'Abdul al-'Azīm, led by the religious leaders, Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī and Mujtahid Bihbahānī, where they took sanctuary (*bast*).<sup>193</sup> They demanded the dismissal of Naus, the establishment of a House of Justice and a representative assembly. Merchants and other opponents of the Shāh had also taken *bast* in the grounds of the British embassy in Tehran. As a result of popular pressure, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh granted a form of constitution which provided for the election of a national consultative assembly (*majlis*). The government resisted at first but, with the *bāzār* closed for a month, the Shāh accepted their demands and Naus was dismissed. The establishment of the House of Justice was delayed.

After a few months in the summer of 1906, there were further street protests by religious groups and students, whose number swelled from the previous sum of 2,000 to nearly 14,000,

<sup>190</sup> M. A. Axworthy, *History of Iran: Empire of the Mind*, pp. 202–03.

<sup>191</sup> A. Bausani, *Religion in Iran: From Zoroaster to Bahā'illāh* (New York: Eisenbrauns, 2000), pp. 121–30.

<sup>192</sup> Axworthy, *History of Iran*, p. 205.

<sup>193</sup> A. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal* (London: Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 306–07.

now supported by the *bāzār* merchants. This again caused the closure of the *bāzār* and the religious schools, effectively bringing the capital to a halt. Many questioned the powers of the Shāh and attempted to impose limits on his royal prerogatives by establishing a constitution (*mashrūṭa*), which would be a proper foundation for a consultative assembly or parliament (*majlis*).<sup>194</sup> More people then joined in a coordinated movement organised by the religious groups and sent their demands in writing to the Shāh.<sup>195</sup>

On 5 August, nearly a month after the protests, the Shāh finally gave in and signed an order to convene the *Majlis*; this took place for the first time in October 1906.<sup>196</sup> What soon came to be called the ‘Constitutional Revolution’ of 1906 was gradually taking shape.<sup>197</sup> The *mashrūṭa* established the framework for secular legislation, judicial codes and courts of appeals, all of which reduced the powers of the royal court and the religious authorities and led to the establishment of a free press. According to Avery, the first electoral law was ready by 9 September 1906; although not perfect, it was the first of its kind ever introduced in Persia.

To elect a national consultative assembly (*majlis-i shūrāyi millī*), it established that voters should be of Iranian nationality, at least twenty years of age, well-known in their community, possessors of property of at least £50, paying taxes of at least £2 per annum or receiving at least £10 in income. Women, foreigners, persons under guardians, apostates from Islam, bankrupts, criminals and servicemen on active service were among those denied the vote.<sup>198</sup> Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh died in January 1906.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> M. Hiravī-Khurāsānī, *Tārikh-i paydāyish-i mashrūṭīyyat-i Iran* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1953), p. 50.

<sup>195</sup> Axworthy, *History of Iran*, pp. 206–07.

<sup>196</sup> A. Kasravī, *Tārikh-i mashrūṭa-i Iran* (Tehran: Zavvār, 1340/1961), p. 110.

<sup>197</sup> Avery states that the Russian Revolution of 1905 had both a political and economic impact on Iran. The large volume of trade with Russia contributed to the further deterioration of Iran’s economy, leading to unmanageable inflation and a series of strikes by merchants. Between 1905 and 1906, three sets of strikes and protests took place. The strikes started in Tehran and Qum, at the Shāh ‘Abdul ‘Azīm shrine, and attracted great numbers of participants. An earlier idea of a house of justice and representative form of government became popular and led to the creation of a much larger institution, i.e., the start of the constitutional revolution, leading to formation of a *majlis*. P. Avery, *Modern Iran* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1965), pp. 125–28.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>199</sup> Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, p. 85.

## Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh Qājār (r. 1907–09)

Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh’s successor, his son, Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh, was stronger than his father in many ways. An autocratic ruler, he was much more determined than his father right from the start. He took an oath of loyalty to the constitution, making clear his intention to improve it. Through 1907 and the latter half of 1908, the *majlis* passed measures of reform in taxation, finance, education and judicial matters. The last were particularly difficult to digest for the religious hierarchy, because they saw their traditional role being eroded.<sup>200</sup>

Aḥmad Kasravī (d. 1325/1946), a scholar and intellectual of the period, argues that the two competing powers in the nation had historically been the government and the religious authorities. Hence, every confrontation with the government was assumed to be advantageous to the ‘*ulamā*’. Nūrī (d. 1343/1933), a learned cleric, shared these views and joined the movement hoping to institutionalise the *sharī‘a* and establish a theocratic government, but the revolution was moving in the opposite direction.<sup>201</sup> The constitution had to be restored as tension built; a crowd of 20,000 people in Tabriz vowed to remain on strike and threatened to separate Azerbaijan from the rest of the country unless the constitution was immediately reinstated.<sup>202</sup> All classes of people were united to restore the *majlis*, including peasants, businessmen, *mullās*, and teachers.<sup>203</sup> Various writers, particularly members of the Zoroastrian community, also took part in the public debate. One writer raised the question of why non-Muslim Iranians should tolerate such humiliating laws, which ranked them no higher than animals. He further asked whether it would be better for these minorities to seek citizenship from foreign governments, since a European citizen in Iran had much more protection than a non-Muslim Iranian in his own country.<sup>204</sup>

Following the coup on 23 June 1908, fliers were distributed by the ‘*ulamā*’ and their followers accusing the constitutionalists of being ‘Babis and atheists’, and calling for a jihad against them. A three-day battle between the constitutionalists and the followers of the

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<sup>200</sup> My analysis here is adopted from Axworthy, *Iran: Empire of the Mind*, p. 210.

<sup>201</sup> Kasravī, *Tārikh-i mashrūṭa-i Iran*, p. 287.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 305–19.

<sup>203</sup> E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 153.

<sup>204</sup> Kasravī, *Tārikh-i mashrūṭa-i Iran*, pp. 315–16.

'*ulamā*' reached a temporary stand-off on 27 June 1908, as Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh prepared to send more reinforcements.<sup>205</sup> The events and the struggle of the ten-month siege of Tabriz, which involved the Russian military intervention on 29 April 1909, was headed by Sattār Khān, an active revolutionary, together with his faithful colleague, Bāqir Khān. They successfully fought both Azerbaijani anti-constitutionalist '*ulamā*' and the government of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, who, with the help of the Russians, unleashed a strong military force to crush the resistance. Muḥammad 'Alī resigned his position as ruler following a new constitutional revolution and was remembered as a symbol of dictatorship.<sup>206</sup>

He left behind one of the most important periods in nineteenth-century Persian history.<sup>207</sup> Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh failed not only to uphold the constitution but that he reneged on his promise to protect it and attacked the Majlis by firing cannons at the building of the parliament (*majlis-i shurā-yi millī*). Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh fled to Odessa, Russia, where he secretly planned his return to power. In 1911, he landed at Astarābād, but his forces were defeated. He fled to Constantinople and died in San Remo, Italy on 5 April 1924. His son, Aḥmad Shāh Qājār became the successor to the throne and was the last ruler of the Qājār dynasty.<sup>208</sup>

### **Aḥmad Shāh Qājār (d. 1309/1930)**

Aḥmad Shāh acceded to the throne on 16 July 1909, following the removal from power of his father, Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, who had attempted to reverse earlier constitutional restrictions on royal authority. He was, however, an incompetent ruler who faced internal turmoil and foreign interference, namely by the British and Russian empires. In 1917, Britain used Persia as the springboard for an attack on Russia in a failed attempt to reverse the Russian Revolution of 1917.<sup>209</sup> Aḥmad Shāh was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his father. A wise and respectable adviser, the honourable 'Azud al-Mulk was named regent and made considerable efforts to reverse the mistrust and suspicion created during the reign of

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<sup>205</sup> I. Amīrkhizī, *Qīyām-i Ādharbāyjān va Sattār Khān* (Tehran: Tehran Press, 1960), p. 30.

<sup>206</sup> A. M. Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Pearson Education, 2003), pp. 5–7.

<sup>207</sup> Y. Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nimā* (Tehran: Kitābhā-yi Jibī, 1972), Vol. 2, pp. 2–78.

<sup>208</sup> Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, pp. 91–101.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 91–106.

Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh.<sup>210</sup> One of the leading figures was the Shāh’s maternal grandfather, Kāmṛān Mīrzā. A powerful reactionary and sworn enemy of the new order, Kāmṛān Mīrzā worked to poison the young Shāh’s mind against his distinguished state advisers, making him believe that they had betrayed his father.<sup>211</sup>

When Aḥmad Shāh came to power, he possessed all the qualities of a bad king: he was passive and unable to make clear decisions, he lacked strength of character, loved to indulge in pleasure, tended towards corruption, and was almost unimaginably greedy. Thus, although Aḥmad Shāh’s coronation on 21 July 1914 was marked by national celebration, his popularity rapidly declined because he interfered in political appointments that fell outside his jurisdiction. He engaged in corrupt activities, such as grain speculation, in order to increase his fortune. His greed for wealth was noted even by foreign observers, including the British minister to Tehran who reported in a dispatch that the best way to keep the Shāh well disposed towards England was to give him ‘as much money as we can, for that is what he loves most in the world’.<sup>212</sup>

A directorate of elder statesmen, established to run the country until the convening of the new *majlis*, named Mustawfī al-Mamālik, a popular aristocrat, to the influential post of minister of the court. A dignified democrat, Ḥakīm al-Mulk, was appointed to serve as Mustawfī’s right-hand man. Ḥakīm al-Mulk was charged with purging the court of undesirable elements and did so with considerable integrity, dismissing numerous unworthy officials and corrupt aristocrats.<sup>213</sup> Among the first to go was a certain Russian captain, Smirnov, whom Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh had appointed to teach his son Russian. Smirnov was rightly suspected by the constitutionalists of being a Russian agent, while the Russian embassy, insisting that Smirnov acted only as a tutor, objected to his dismissal and hinted that Russia was prepared to recall half of its troops stationed at Qazvīn if Smirnov were allowed to stay.<sup>214</sup> The Russian intercession was strongly opposed and eventually rejected by the constitutionalists, who

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<sup>210</sup> Browne, *Persian Revolution*, p. 326.

<sup>211</sup> M. T. Bahār, *Tārikh-i mukhtaṣar-i aḥzāb-i sīyāsī: Inqirāḍ-i salṭanat-i Qājārīya* (Tehran: Nigāh, 1944), Vol. 1, p. 39.

<sup>212</sup> Bahār, *Tārikh-i mukhtaṣar-i aḥzāb-i sīyāsī*, Vol. 1, pp. 39–42.

<sup>213</sup> Malik al-Shu‘arā’ Bahār, *Tārikh-i aḥzāb-i sīyāsī-i Iran* (Tehran: Rangīn Press, 1323/1944), pp. 2–10.

<sup>214</sup> S. Ḥ. Taqizāda, *Kitābhā-yi āqā-yi sayyid Ḥasan Taqizāda must‘amil bar shammā-ī az tārikh-i avā’īl-i inqilāb va mashrūṭīyyat-i Irān* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1338/1959), p. 89.

argued that a man the Russians considered worth 2,000 soldiers could not be trusted to remain at the court.

Modern scholars of character and integrity, such as Dhukā' al-Mulk Furūghī, Dhukā' al-Dawla Ghaffārī and Kamāl al-Mulk, were named to replace the departing teaching staff. The education of the young ruler thus passed into the hands of men whose sole aim was to make Aḥmad Shāh a genuine constitutional monarch. Ḥakīm al-Mulk and Mustawfī succeeded in removing many harmful influences from Aḥmad Shāh's immediate entourage. However, they failed to realise the goal of transforming the Shāh into a model king, for they were unable to protect him from unhealthy influences at court and within his family. His uncles, aunts and cousins had unrestricted access to Aḥmad Shāh.<sup>215</sup>

According to Katouzian, before the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the constitutionalists made many attempts to obtain support from Britain, but after their victory in 1909, they started to look elsewhere. Iranian modernists were culturally close to France, but the French, at this time, were unable to provide adequate help and support. Instead, the new Iranian regime often recruited military and civilian personnel from smaller European countries, such as Sweden and Belgium. They did manage to employ a young, efficient adviser from the United States, Morgan Shuster, to organise the country's financial system.<sup>216</sup>

Shuster's mission was so important that he was immediately appointed to the post of treasurer-general by an act of parliament. He was given extensive powers to reorganise the public finances and collect revenues. However, as a young, liberal American he had very little experience with the Iranian way of bargaining and haggling in connection with financial matters. He set out to create an island of financial efficiency, but he was subject to interference from Russia and Britain. His main task was to collect overdue taxes from aristocrats who had always operated above the law. One of those figures was 'Alā al-Dawla, the old and erratic governor of Tehran at the time. Shuster's efficiency in the financial matters of the government interfered with Russia's policy regarding the internal affairs of Iran. Thus, the Russian minister protested to Vusūq al-Dawla, the minister of foreign affairs, demanding

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<sup>215</sup> H. Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase: 1919–1925* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1934), pp. 141–42.

<sup>216</sup> H. Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qājār and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2006), pp. 60–65.

the immediate removal of Shuster from his post. The matter did not pass without numerous angry laments written by poets and songwriters.<sup>217</sup> One of the most popular songs about Shuster's potential dismissal was composed by the radical nationalist poet, 'Ārif-i Qazvīnī:

جان نثارش کن و مگذار که مهمان برود  
 ای جوانان مگذارید که ایران برود<sup>218</sup>

ننگ آن خانه که مهمان ز سر خان برود  
 گر رود شوستر از ایران رود ایران بر باد

Shame upon the home where a guest leaves the house,  
 Give him your life; do not let the guest leave.

If Shuster leaves Iran, Iran will be swept away by the wind,  
 O, young people, let not Iran go with the wind!

Bahār, a leading young democrat and poet in Mashhad, wrote a long ode (*tarkib-band*) vehemently attacking Nāṣir al-Mulk (d. 1351/1944),<sup>219</sup> calling him, among other things, a 'Europe-worshipper' and a 'gutless' and 'duplicitous' man.<sup>220</sup>

Aḥmad Shāh was finally pushed aside by Riḍā Pahlavi in a military coup in 1921. He went into exile with his family in 1923 and was formally deposed on 31 October 1925, when Riḍā Pahlavi was proclaimed Shāh by the *majlis*. Aḥmad Shāh refused to exceed the limits of his power as a constitutional monarch in order to save his dynasty. Moreover, he refused help from the Ottoman Sultān to restore him to the throne, seeing the offer as foreign interference in the internal affairs of Persia. He died in 1930 at Neuilly-sur-Seine, outside Paris.<sup>221</sup> One of his notable remarks, made during his exile, was, 'I would much prefer to sell cabbage on the streets of Paris than to become ruler of such a nation.'

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., pp. 62–65.

<sup>218</sup> 'Ārif-i Qazvīnī, *Dīvān-i Mīrzā Abū'l Qāsim 'Ārif-i Qazvīnī*, ed. 'A. R. Sayf-i Āzād (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1959), pp. 365–66.

<sup>219</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 6, p. 19596, s.v. 'Nāṣir al-Mulk'.

<sup>220</sup> Traitors have no shame of their deed,

May they go blind and blind in speed.

Slaves and agents of Russia are they,

From the general to the colonel indeed

M. T. Bahār, *Dīvān-i ash'ār-i Muḥammad Taqī Bahār*, ed. C. Bahār (Tehran: Tūs, 2006), p. 217.

<sup>221</sup> Ansari, *Modern Iran Since 1921*, pp. 24–27.

## Conclusion

The Iranian social classes were generally dependent on the state, and the higher the social class, the greater its dependence. I concur with Katouzian's belief, that during the Qājār period the state experimented with the social classes. In Europe, the social classes influenced the state.<sup>222</sup> This explains the great differences in social mobility between the two societies. In Iran, there was no private ownership amongst the social classes and this, together with the state's monopoly of all independent power, meant that any individual or family, however poor, could rise to high position and great wealth, even within their own lifetime; the most prosperous people could likewise lose everything. Rulers almost always benefited from absolute power, hence, the sanctioning of any law or change in society was generally subject to royal decree.

Iran had no laws regarding the limitation of state power, and it is commonly known that in societies in which individuals do not have rights, laws cannot be just. Women's rights were almost non-existent in the Qājār period. Religion and politics were almost inseparable, to the extent that even the establishment of the *majlis* had to meet the approval of the clergy. There were other problems as well, for the state was independent of the social classes—being above society—it did not enjoy legitimacy comparable to European states. It is clear that the Qājār dynasty imposed economic, financial and human suffering on Iran and the extent of such damages brought the country to breaking point. In the words of 'Ārif-i Qazvīnī:

چه ظلمها که از گردش آسمان ندیدیم  
درین رمه به جز گرگ دگر شبان ندیدیم  
به غیر مثنی دزد همره کاروان ندیدیم  
به پای گل بجز زحمت باغبان ندیدیم<sup>223</sup>

Under the sky, such cruelty we saw,  
Except for a handful of thieves alongside this caravan, we saw nothing!

Amongst this herd of sheep, we saw no other shepherds, except wolves!  
In longing for the rose, we saw nothing, except the gardener's hardship!

During the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, literature and poetry continued their previous course towards cultivation and development of the neoclassical style. The poets and writers of note in this period are Parvin I'tiṣāmī (d. 1320/1942), Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, and Mīrzā Abū'l

<sup>222</sup> Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran*, pp. 62–65.

<sup>223</sup> 'Ārif-i Qazvīnī, *Dīvān-i Mīrzā Abū'l Qāsim 'Ārif-i Qazvīnī*, ed. Sayf-i Āzād, p. 361.

Qāsim ‘Ārif Qazvīnī (d. 1349/1930). Other intellectuals worthy of mention are Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār (d. 1309/1892) and Mīrzā ‘Alī Khān Amīn al-Dawla (d. 1322/1905).<sup>224</sup>

### **Ḥāfiz and the Scholars of Qājār Persia**

In this section, seven critics and writers of the Qājār period have been selected whose views on literary criticism, and in particular on Ḥāfiz, will be analysed. They are as follows:

- Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1274/1896)
- Riḍā Qulī Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871)
- Mīrzā Fath-‘Alī Ākhūndzāda (d. 1295/1878)
- Mīrzā Malkam Khān (d. 1315/1898)
- Muḥammad ‘Alī Furūghī Dhakā’ al-Mulk (d. 1321/1942)
- ‘Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf (d. 1329/1911)
- Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Marāgha’ī (d. 1329/1911)

Due to limitation of space, it has not been possible to include other important critics in this part of the chapter. However, this section is of great research value to the reception history of Ḥāfiz, because of its analysis of the literary views of different, important critics of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Persia. It is hoped that through a synoptic assessment of their thought and writings, we can find a broader understanding of the influence and importance of Ḥāfiz on Persian literature during that period.

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<sup>224</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, pp. 368–69. Cf. A. K- Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), p. 41.

## Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1274/1896)

Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī was an Iranian writer and scholar. He was a spiritual nationalist, remembered as one of the great intellectuals of his time.<sup>225</sup> He was born in 1270/1854 in a village on the outskirts of Kirmān to a wealthy family whose traditions blended with mysticism.<sup>226</sup> He was educated in Persian and Arabic language, literature and grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, philosophy, history and religion. He continued his studies in philosophy, a field considered to be the summit of wisdom and knowledge. He later discovered Babism and apparently converted, but he continued to search for new ideologies and new faiths.<sup>227</sup> In 1301/1883, he was assigned as a tax collector in his hometown, a responsibility that ended after an intense argument with the governor, who held him responsible for the shortfall in payments. At the age of thirty, he decided to leave Kirmān.<sup>228</sup> He moved to Iṣfahān and stayed there for two years. He found a job in the service of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and joined a literary community that focused on ‘progressive ideas’. He spent a few months in Tehran and in 1303/1886 travelled to Mashhad and Istanbul to escape the constant attempts by Kirmānī officials to have him extradited to Kirmān. In the same year, he made a short journey to Cyprus, where he married, before returning to Istanbul where he stayed for the remainder of his life.<sup>229</sup>

Kirmānī believed that poetry orchestrates the style and nature of a particular period. It can be impressive when it illustrates the mood of a society or expresses parallels between objects and nature. He records in one of his letters: ‘The poet should be like an artist who pictures flowers, men, animals, the sea, forests, mountains and deserts as they are, in such a way that the nature and traditions of a community take shape in the reader’s perception.’<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> M. Malakī, ‘Mashrūṭiyat va Riḍā Khān’ *Iran shināsī*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Spring 2006), p. 67.

<sup>226</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 362. Cf. M. T. Ṭarqī, ‘Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī, Nāmāhā-i Tab ‘īd’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer 1991), p. 479, and Ī. Parsinejad, ‘Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī, Muntaqid-i adabī’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn 1990), pp. 541–46. Also for an analysis of Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī’s view on Persian poetry, see Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 42.

<sup>227</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 41.

<sup>228</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 362.

<sup>229</sup> Mongol Bayat, ‘Āqā Khan Kermānī, *Elr*, Vol. 2, pp. 175–77. Cf. Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 362.

<sup>230</sup> Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran (1866–1951)* (Bethesda, MD: Ibex Publishers, 1382/2003), p. 30. Cf. F. Adamīyyat, *Andishihā-yi Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī* (Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1364/1986), pp. 3–10.

Kirmānī was a writer and a poet, and in his confrontation with fanaticism, he was a precursor of Kasravī. He favoured liberty and neoclassical literature, and disliked panegyrists, finding their works of little literary value.<sup>231</sup> He was a Muslim and expressed interest in mystical language and mysticism, but despised fanaticism and believed that incorrect religious beliefs and superstitions impede progress.<sup>232</sup> According to Ferdowsi, Kirmānī believed that poetry is nothing but an ethical and scholarly blight on rulers and people alike.<sup>233</sup> Hakkak informs us that Kirmānī had a low opinion of the Persian poetry of his time, but his views on classical poetry were somewhat different. Ferdowsi asserts that Kirmānī likened poetry to trees, and thus measured its value according to the fruit it produced.<sup>234</sup>

[. . .] Trees ought to be known by their fruits, and [human] undertakings by their results. None can question the effectiveness and creativity of Iran's ancient men of eloquent speech. Nor do I doubt the tenderness and delicacy of their poems. [. . .] It ought, however, to be seen what the work of our litterateurs has thus far brought about, what fruit has been produced by the saplings they planted in the garden of speech (*bāq-i sukhanvarī*), and what harvest has cropped up from the seed they have sewn.<sup>235</sup>

Parsinejad informs us that Kirmānī's early works completed in 1887 in Istanbul give clear evidence of works written in the style of the fourteenth-century poets, in particular Sa'dī and 'Ubayd Zākānī. Parsinejad further asserts that apart from his adaptation from Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and Zākānī's satirical and witty narratives, Kirmānī at times took his inspiration from Rūmī's *Mathnawī* and the poetry of Ḥāfiz.<sup>236</sup> However, in general, Kirmānī was a virulent modernist and a radical pro-European who looked contemptuously upon classical Persian poetry, poets and their ideas.

<sup>231</sup> 'A. H. Zarrinkūb, *Naqd-i adabī* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1354/1976), pp. 637–38.

<sup>232</sup> M. M. Bahādur, *Haftād u du millat: Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī* (Berlin: Iranshahr, 1343/1965), pp. 3–8.

<sup>233</sup> Ferdowsi, 'The "Emblem"', pp. 677–91.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 677.

<sup>235</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 42. Cf. Naẓm al-Islām Kirmānī, *Tārikh-i bidārī-i Iranian*, ed. 'Alī-Akbar Sa'īd Sirjānī (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Iran, 1345/1967), p. 175.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.



### **Mīrzā Faṭḥ-‘Alī Ākhūndzāda (d. 1295/1878)**

Ākhūndzāda was born in 1812 in the town of Nūkhā, in a part of Azerbaijan that later became Russian territory (1828).<sup>242</sup> His father, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī, had been the village chief (*kadkhudā*) of Khāmin, a small town on the outskirts of Tabriz. His education was orthodox, with study of the Qur’ān and theology, as well as Arabic and Persian language and grammar. Indeed, he is considered an intellectual of the pre-constitutional revolution.<sup>243</sup> He learned Russian at a Russian school in Tiflis,<sup>244</sup> and had such an aptitude for the language that, in November 1834, he was selected as a trainee translator in the office of the Russian governor of the Caucasus. Other than assignments in Tehran in 1848 and a trip to Istanbul in 1863, as well as several activities on official business in the Caucasus, Ākhūndzāda spent the rest of his life in Tiflis. His intellectual progress was established through various contacts he made in the Caucasus. In the mid-nineteenth-century, Tiflis was not only the seat of the governor of the Caucasus, but a dynamic educational centre. His first, and in many ways, most significant endeavours in the realm of literature came with the composition in Ādharī Turkish of six satirical masterpieces produced between 1850 and 1855.<sup>245</sup> In a number of letters to his close friends, as well as in the foreword to plays, Ākhūndzāda made it clear that his attitude as a dramatist was communal and educational. By exposing dishonest, ignorant and superstitious individuals to mockery on stage, he trusted that his listeners would draw the appropriate conclusions and develop what he considered a perfect and progressive viewpoint. Among Ākhūndzāda’s Iranian journalist friends was a Persian diplomat with Armenian roots, the essayist and journalist, Mīrzā Malkam Khān, whom he first met on a journey to Istanbul in 1863.<sup>246</sup>

Ākhūndzāda did not write any major work in Persian; all his writings were translated from Ādharī Turkish into Persian. He was an atheist and a materialist (intensely opposed to Islam), and was the founder of modern Iranian theatre. In his interpretation of poetry, Mīrzā Faṭḥ-

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<sup>242</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 33.

<sup>243</sup> Malakī, ‘Mashrūfīyat va Riḍā Khān’, p. 66.

<sup>244</sup> H. Algar, ‘Ākhūndzāda,’ *EI*, Vol. 1, p. 736.

<sup>244</sup> J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 340.

<sup>245</sup> F. Yazdānfār, ‘Taḥlīlī az shiva-yi nigārash-i Ākhūndzāda’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter 1990), pp. 95–100.

<sup>246</sup> Algar, ‘Ākhūndzāda,’ *EI*, Vol. 1, p. 737.

‘Alī Ākhūndzāda asserts that good poetry should properly be of a realist nature, comprised of statements on the surroundings and the nature of people or groups precisely as they are, or it is a commentary on some query or characterisation of the condition of the natural world, which is flawless in its creativeness. In Ākhūndzāda’s essay on literary criticism, we see that a reasonable perspective directs his assessments. He infers that people should gain insight from the ingredients of insightful poetry. It becomes clear that he does not differentiate between the role of moral values and wisdom, and that of poetry, or for that matter, art in general. He considered poetry and art as ways to propagate thoughtfulness and serve in an educational capacity. In this respect, Ākhūndzāda left an enduring impact on Iranian scholars such as Aḥmad Kasravī.<sup>247</sup> He further points out that poetry should not be difficult to grasp, and that the words of a good poet should be effortlessly comprehensible to the public, not just scholars and men of literature.<sup>248</sup>

His understanding of classical Persian literature was, however, rather limited. Of all the Persian poets, he believed only five (Firdawsī, Nizāmī, Rūmī, Sa‘dī and Ḥāfīz) to be worthy of acknowledgement.<sup>249</sup> Hakkak points out that all Ākhūndzāda’s objections to Persian poetry arise from two main concerns. His main anxiety was that literature, as it was practised in his time, pondered little on its environment. Second, as a result of the first issue, Persian poetry had lost its primary purpose.<sup>250</sup> Hakkak further asserts that, as far as Ākhūndzāda was concerned, poets such as Firdawsī, Homer and Shakespeare were considered real poets because their language affects people of all times and all cultures.<sup>251</sup> Therefore, in light of his beliefs, it makes sense that he favoured the Persian poets named above, Ḥāfīz included.

### **Mīrzā Malkam Khān (d. 1315/1898)**

Mīrzā Malkam Khān was an Iranian advocate of Freemasonry, active during the period leading up to the Constitutional Revolution.<sup>252</sup> A believer in social Darwinism, Malkam Khān advocated that Iran should become a state modelled on the values of the enlightenment and

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<sup>247</sup> Parsinejad, *History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 64.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>250</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 40.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., p. 35. Cf. F. ‘A. Ākhūndzāda, *Maqālāt-i Fārsī* (Tehran: Āvā, 1350/1972), p. 56.

<sup>252</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 363.

urged a return to a 'Persian' heritage. Malkam Khān was born to an Armenian Christian family in Persia.<sup>253</sup> He was educated at the Samuel Muradian School in Paris from 1843 to 1851. He later returned to Persia and, it is said, converted to Islam. However, such a statement was never proved and there is no credible evidence to support this claim.<sup>254</sup> He later entered government service and was elected as an instructor at the newly established Tehran polytechnic (*Dār al-Funūn*) in 1852. He went to Paris on a diplomatic assignment in 1857.<sup>255</sup>

Malkam Khān introduced societies, similar to the Freemasons, in Persia in 1859; for this Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh exiled him in 1862. He was later pardoned and given a post at the embassy in Constantinople. He returned to Tehran in 1872, as assistant to the grand minister, Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān Pirnā. He was given the title 'Mushir al-Dawla', and became chief of the Persian legation in London, and later ambassador in 1872. He remained in the same position until 1888.<sup>256</sup>

From London, Malkam Khān criticised both the Shāh and the Persian government.<sup>257</sup> He edited the newspaper, *Qānūn*, which was banned in Persia but read by the Shāh and his ministers.<sup>258</sup> Malkam Khān was eventually acknowledged as the most significant Persian moderniser of the century, and was later pardoned and reinstated as ambassador to Italy by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, with the title of 'Nizām al-Dawla'. He remained ambassador to Italy until his death in 1898.<sup>259</sup>

In line with Ākhūndzāda, Malkam condemned the unoriginal panegyric odes fashionable in his time. These generally began with glorification and finished by eulogizing the Shāh:<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> L. Ridgeon, *Religion and Politics in Modern Iran* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2005), p. 14.

<sup>254</sup> F. Ādamīyat, *Fikr-i āzādī va muqadama-yi nihdat-i mashrūfiyat* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1340/1962), p. 104. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, pp. 314–22.

<sup>255</sup> J. Afary, *Iranian Constitutional Revolution*, p. 26.

<sup>256</sup> Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, pp. 431–32. Cf. Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, pp. 363–68.

<sup>257</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 363.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 363–68.

<sup>259</sup> Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, pp. 431–32.

<sup>260</sup> H. Algar (trans.), *Mirza Malkam Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 4–10.

I saw ten thousand panegyric odes which all, in one manner and style, began with the spring. Then, racing back and forth between mountain and plain, sea and river, after a thousand adventures, the poets arrived in the patron's presence. Then from his eyelashes to his horse's tail, all would be praised in a flurry of rhyme. After limitless and unbounded extravagances, they would finally petition the cerulean vault to halt the course of time that the life of their patron might be eternal.<sup>261</sup>

Malkam was exceptionally judgmental about the hollowness of such eulogies, whichever oppressor they praised.<sup>262</sup> He was not impressed with the works of the poets of the Qājār period, believing their expressions had little literary value.<sup>263</sup> He believed poetry was nothing but a waste of time.<sup>264</sup> However, Mukhbir al-Salṭana Hidāyat, who was the minister of sciences at the time, remarked that his works were imitations of Saʿdī's *Gulistān* and *Būstān*, in addition to this remark Qazvīnī described him as “an example of vulgarity and complete ignorance” and “an illiterate and an Armenian crook and charlatan.”<sup>265</sup>

Ḥ. Aşil informs us that Malkam thought of religion as an obstacle to progress.<sup>266</sup> Although Ḥāfiẓ opposed religious hypocrisy and combated hypocrisy of the ascetic, it remains unclear what Malkam as a modernist would have made of him. Furthermore, a detailed search of Malkam Khān's views on Ḥāfiẓ was made by reading all the key primary and secondary sources available in libraries and online, but I was unable to actually find any place where he specifically mentioned his views of the poet.

### **Muḥammad ‘Alī Furūghī Dhakā’ al-Mulk (d. 1321/1942)**

Muḥammad ‘Alī Furūghī was born in Tehran in 1294/1877 into a family of Işfahānī origin. Furūghī was the eldest child of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Dhakā’ al-Mulk Furūghī, a Qājār

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<sup>261</sup> Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran (1866–1951)*, p. 110.

<sup>262</sup> Algar (trans.), *Mīrzā Malkam Khān*, pp. 3–7.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4–10.

<sup>264</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Şabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, pp. 321–22.

<sup>265</sup> *Yāddāshthā-yi Qazvīnī*, ed. Iraj Afshar, vol. 7, 1332 Sh./1953, pp. 132–36. Cf. Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 98.

<sup>266</sup> Ḥ. Aşil, *Zindaġī va andisha-yi Mīrzā Malkam Khān* (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1376/1998), p. 83. Cf. Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 111.

writer, poet, translator and official.<sup>267</sup> Furūghī completed his early education under the direction of his father. He studied French and English before enrolling in medical school at the *Dār al-Funūn*. However, he developed a change of interest and redirected his studies to literature and philosophy.<sup>268</sup> According to Itihād, Furūghī was a prominent scholar and intellectual thinker of the time.<sup>269</sup> In 1312/1894, he was employed at the Translation Bureau (Dār al-Tarjuma), managed by his father. He also taught a variety of subjects in different schools, contributed to the literary newspaper (*Tarbīat*) directed by his father, and in 1316/1899, began to teach at the College of Political Science (Madrasa-i ‘Ulūm-i Sīāsī), where his father was a teacher and, later, director. Furūghī later considered education in its broad sense (*tarbīat*) to be a requirement not only of civilization (*tamaddun*), but also of the very endurance of nations in the contemporary world.<sup>270</sup>

Another distinguishing feature of Furūghī’s learning was his readiness to work in partnership with other scholars, and to search for proficient guidance. Among the scholars of his time, Nāshrullāh Taqawī helped plan his anthology of selections from Ḥāfiz, the *Zubda-i Ḥāfiẓā* (Tehran, 1316/1937). He also collaborated with Qāsim Ghanī in editing the *Rubā’īyāt* of ‘Umar Khayyām (Tehran, 1320/1941), and with Muḥtabā Mīnuvī on the anthology of selections from the *Shāhnāma*, the *Khulāṣa-i Shāhnāma* (Tehran, 1313/1934). Ḥabīb Yaḡmā’ī worked with him for eight years on several literary projects, including selections from the *Shāhnāma*, the *Muntakhab-i Shāhnāma* (Tehran, 1320/1941), and his edition of the works on Sa‘dī (Tehran, 1320/1941).<sup>271</sup>

Muḥammad ‘Alī Furūghī was one of the most important intellectual thinkers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>272</sup> His views were highly respected by contemporary scholars and experts in literature and literary criticism. He believed that the Iranian people

<sup>267</sup> A. Milani, *Eminent Persians: The Men and Women Who Made Modern Iran 1941–1979* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), Vol. 1, p. 152.

<sup>268</sup> M. Mīnuvī, *Naqd-i ḥāl* (Tehran: [n. p], 1351/1972), pp. 534–50.

<sup>269</sup> H. Itihād, *Pazhūhishgaran-i mu‘āṣir-i Iran* (Tehran: Farhang-i Mu‘āṣir, 1382/2004), Vol. 1, pp. 54–55.

<sup>270</sup> Fakhreddin Azimi and Iraj Afshar, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, ‘Forūgī, Moḥammad-Alī Ḍokā’-Al-Molk,’ *EI*, Vol. 10, pp. 108–11.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 111. Cf. Ī. Afshār (ed.), *Nathr-i Fārsī-i mu‘āṣir: muntakhabātī az bihtarīn āthār-i muvarrikhīn va muhaqqiqīn-i nāmī-i Irān az ṣadr-i mashrūṭīyat tā mu‘āṣir* (Tehran: Kānūn-i Ma‘rifat, 1330/1951), pp. 67–68.

<sup>272</sup> Itihād, *Pazhūhishgaran-i mu‘āṣir-i Iran*, p. 61.

possessed cultural wealth but did not appreciate its importance and value. In his essays, he mentioned that the work of the classical poets, in particular those of the pre-Tīmūrīd era, presented significant literary value to the national and cultural heritage of Iran and, as a consequence, should be considered as material of great importance.<sup>273</sup> Furūghī believed that the key to humane and decent social behaviour for the Iranian people (and indeed for the whole of mankind) was to observe and practise the profound and meaningful advice inherited from medieval masters; otherwise, one would remain in ignorance and lack any mental and moral improvement. In an ironic tale, he emphasises his points of view:

A passing pedestrian saw a person lying on his stomach, drinking water from a stream.  
Said the pedestrian to the man: My dear fellow, do not drink like this, drinking in this position will cloud your mind. Asked the man: What is a mind? The passing pedestrian said: Forgive me and never mind. I was in the wrong, carry on.<sup>274</sup>

Furūghī believed Ḥāfiz’s poetry to be free from exaggeration and blandishment; in fact, he emphasised that the source of the profound words and poetry of this great classical poet was his vast knowledge and mystical wisdom.<sup>275</sup> He quotes the following verse from Ḥāfiz, a statement pertinent to the story above.

زحمتی می کشم از مردم نادان که می پرس...<sup>276</sup>

Do not ask of the hardship I suffer from the ignorant!

Furūghī believed that this manner of encouragement by means of teasing or irony distinguished Ḥāfiz’s work from that of the nineteenth and twentieth-century poets. As Milani asserts:

[. . .] this rich cultural legacy is, in his opinion, based on the foundation of the works of Ferdowsi, Sa’di, Hafez, and Rumi. His masterful praise of Sa’di’s prose is itself a masterpiece of modern Persian Prose.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> M. ‘Alī Dhakā’ al-Mulk Furūghī, *Maqālāt-i Furūghī* (Tehran: Tūs, 1354/1976), Vol. 1, pp. 224–26.

<sup>274</sup> Furūghī, *Maqālāt-i Furūghī*, Vol. 1, p. 226.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 203–08.

<sup>276</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 271, v. 3.

<sup>277</sup> Milani, *Eminent Persians*, Vol. 1, p. 156.

Furūghī further asserts that what makes Ḥāfiẓ so admirable is the vastness of his imagination; the depth of his vision; the greatness of his spirit; the profundity of his words; the sweetness in his mystical and divine wisdom; his ability to soothe the mind of his readers whilst giving them hope; the tenderness of his words; and finally, the precise balance that he employs between the meaning and the words. However, in expressing his opinion of Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ, he states that in his view, Sa‘dī is an ocean and Ḥāfiẓ is a mountain; thus, how can one compare them?<sup>278</sup> With regard to the neoclassical movement, Furūghī asserts that he personally prefers the poets of the pre-Şafavid period, such as Ḥāfiẓ and Sa‘dī, but this does not mean the works of other poets have no literary value or are less desirable; this is purely his personal preference.<sup>279</sup>

Furūghī’s views on Ḥāfiẓ and literary criticism are fair and just. He greatly respected the poetry of Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ, and declared that if anyone criticised them he would be deeply insulted; however, he welcomed valid criticism made with the aim of questioning true faults. As long as these views pertained to their literature, he considered them fair and acceptable.<sup>280</sup>

#### ‘Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf (d. 1329/1911)

Mīrzā ‘Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf was one of the modern literary critics of Iran in the nineteenth-century.<sup>281</sup> According to Qazvīnī, he travelled to Georgia (a republic in Asia Minor on the Black Sea separated from Russia by the Caucasus Mountains) at the age of sixteen and stayed there to complete his studies.<sup>282</sup> While as a creative thinker Ṭālibuf’s writings were mainly concerned with social and political ideas, this section of the chapter is concerned with his views on literature and particularly the language of Ḥāfiẓ. Ṭālibuf’s literary thought is dispersed throughout his work, a fact which demands a somewhat thorough examination of a vast part of his writings, in order to reach a complete depiction of his critical philosophy. In pursuit of such an analysis, it can be determined that for Ṭālibuf, literary criticism is a

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<sup>278</sup> Furūghī, *Maqālāt-i Furūghī*, Vol. 1, pp. 252–55.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 232–43. Cf. Milani, *Eminent Persians*, Vol. 1, pp. 156–57.

<sup>280</sup> Furūghī, *Maqālāt-i Furūghī*, Vol. 1, pp. 238–41.

<sup>281</sup> F. Ādamīyat, *Andishahā-yi Ṭālibuf Tabrīzī* (Tehran: Damāvand, [n.d]), p. 1.

<sup>282</sup> M. Qazvīnī, ‘Ṭālibuf Tabrīzī’, *Majala-yi Yādīgār*, Nos. 4/5 (1327/1949), p. 86. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Şabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, p. 287.

substitute for critically handling the social and political tribulations of his time.<sup>283</sup> ‘In institutions of his time, Ṭālibuf is also brought to address critically the literature which served and supported them.’<sup>284</sup>

Ṭālibuf was mainly concerned with social reform; he did not apply himself specifically to literary criticism.<sup>285</sup> However, references to literature are found in his work, especially when he felt the writing was unhelpful in its social implications. Some of his works that include literary criticism are *Nukhba-i sipihrī* (*The Best of the Spheres*) (Istanbul, 1310/1892); and a brief biography of Islam’s prophet, *Kitāb-i Aḥmad yā safīni-i Ṭālibī* (*The Book of Aḥmad or the Ṭālibī Anthology*) (Istanbul, 1311/1893), in two volumes.<sup>286</sup> This second book is a reflection of a discussion between Ṭālibuf and his imaginary son, Aḥmad, on physics, nature and the important issues of their time.<sup>287</sup> The *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* (*The Principles of the Beneficent*) (Cairo, 1323/1905), is a collection of philosophical deliberations and socio-literary criticism based on an imaginary travelogue.<sup>288</sup> *Ḥayāt-i jadīd* (*Modern Life*) (Istanbul, 1311/1893) is the translation from Russian to Persian of one of C. Flammarion’s (1842–1925) works on astronomy, among other subjects.<sup>289</sup>

In addition to these works, Ṭālibuf published articles in the papers of the time, such as *Anjuman* and *Ḥabl al-matīn*. Moreover, he composed a number of poems dealing with the political and social ideas of Iranians.<sup>290</sup> It is often said that he was the first Iranian political poet. Ṭālibuf was interested in modernism and political issues of the period and was a supporter of the Constitutional Revolution. As a nationalist who loved his country, he stated ‘I am not a tycoon in Iran; I am a man who understands responsibility and believes in fairness and strongly oppose injustice; I neither seek power nor titles.’<sup>291</sup> Ṭālibuf’s moral beliefs seem to parallel Ḥāfīz’s social philosophy, as the following verse by Ḥāfīz clearly states:

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<sup>283</sup> Parsinejad, ‘Ṭālebof-e Tabrīzī’ *Iran shināsī*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Autumn 1990), p. 40.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>285</sup> Malakī, ‘Mashrūḥiyat va Riḍā Khān’, p. 66.

<sup>286</sup> Ādamīyat, *Andishahā-yi Ṭālibuf Tabrīzī*, p. 5.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>288</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 361. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, pp. 294–95.

<sup>289</sup> Ī. Afshār, ‘*Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf Tabrīzī: Āzādī va sīyāsāt*’ (Tehran: Sahar, 1357/1979), pp. 18–22.

<sup>290</sup> Kasravī, *Tārikh-i mashrūḥa-i Iran*, pp. 43–46.

<sup>291</sup> ‘A. R. Ṭālibuf, *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* (Tehran: Shabgīr, 1356/1978), p. 2.

که زور مردم آزاری ندارم<sup>292</sup>

من از بازوی خود دارم بسی شکر

Very grateful am I to my arm,  
Because I lack the strength of an injurer of men.<sup>293</sup>

With regard to literature, he favoured simplicity of prose and despised the classical style of poetry and writing.<sup>294</sup> We only come across literary criticism in three of his books, however, in one of these, *Masā'il al-ḥay'at*, Ṭālibuf stresses that we should learn from our forefathers and, in particular, from the 'poetry and literature' of the classical masters.

Ṭālibuf approved of neoclassical poetry mostly because it helped to revive the poetry of the master poets of the past. Moreover, he expressed some critical views about the purity of the Persian language because, for a short time, Prince Jalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā (d. 1289/1872) and Yaghmā Jandaqī set the task of writing in pure Persian, their aim being to extract all Arabic words that they deemed too difficult to grasp.<sup>295</sup> Ṭālibuf expressed his views on the issue, pointing out that the Arabic language, which had intermingled with the language of Persia for over fourteen hundred years, could not be extracted without causing irreversible harm to Persian.<sup>296</sup>

### Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Marāgha’ī (d. 1329/1911)

Ḥājj Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Marāgha’ī was a remarkable nineteenth-century author and analyst of Iran, who, in the process of expressing his reformist and modernist social conceptions, also dealt with literary criticism.<sup>297</sup> Like Ṭālibuf, Marāgha’ī did not write any works specifically on literary criticism—his views about literature, past and present, can be found in the

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<sup>292</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 323, v. 5.

<sup>293</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 395; *ghazal* 318.

<sup>294</sup> ‘A. R. N. Tabrīzī, *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahāmi-i Kitābhā-i Jibī, 1323/1906), pp. 4–8.

<sup>295</sup> F. Ādamīyat, *Andishihā-i Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1357/1978), p. 267.

<sup>296</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma: Muqadama* (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1336/1958). Cf. Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 361.

<sup>297</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 361. Cf. Ī. Parsinejad, ‘Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Marāgha’ī, muntaqid-i adabī’ *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer 1991), p. 427.

*Sīyāḥat-nāma* (Travelogue).<sup>298</sup> In his travelogue, Marāgha'ī says that so far Iranian writers have not written about love of their country, or offered words of any value to ordinary men. Whatever they have written about the passion of the nightingale's love towards the rose or that of the moth and the candle is only the author's praise of unworthy patrons.<sup>299</sup> He believed Iranian writers and poets should recognise other loves—besides that of the Laylī and Majnūn and Shīrīn and Farhād.

This erotic love dominates their work and they speak of nothing else in their books and poems. He further asserts that this is no time for masters of literature and intellectuals to waste their time with madness, nonsensical stories and meaningless words; like the writers of the past, they will learn nothing but fantasy.<sup>300</sup> Rather, they should educate the masses in humanism and culture, as do European and Japanese intellectuals, and teach them that the blessed name of the homeland is the source of all good fortune and that her protection is necessary for every Iranian.<sup>301</sup> Clearly, patriotism is a central concern that Marāgha'ī highlights in his literary criticism.<sup>302</sup> In fact, allegiance to one's country was a primary aspect of the philosophy of Iran's reformist thinkers in the nineteenth-century.<sup>303</sup> Although many of these writers, such as Hidāyat, Bahār and Malkam Khān exhausted much of their energies outside Iran, or possibly because of this, they remained intensely patriotic. Identifying the Russian and British colonial authorities as sponsors of the Qājār state, and consequently as an impediment to legitimate government, they regarded it as their obligation to combat these powers. For them, nationalism was necessary to the project of assessing literary works.<sup>304</sup>

In an essay in the *Sīyāḥat-nāma*, Marāgha'ī stresses that the time has come for poets and authors who invested their lives in praising tyrants to write ballads glorifying the love of country. He argues that just as they used to mourn every hardship, they should now sing

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<sup>298</sup> Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 467. Cf. Parsinejad, 'Zayn al-'Ābidin Marāqa'ī, muntaqid-i adabī', p. 428; E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), p. 25.

<sup>299</sup> Parsinejad, *History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 147.

<sup>300</sup> Kasravī, *Tārikh-i mashrūṭa-yi Iran*, p. 46.

<sup>301</sup> Marāgha'ī, *Sīyāḥat-nāma-i Ibrāhīm Bayk, yā, balā-yi aū*, ed. B. Mu'minī (Tehran: Nashr-i Andīsha, 1353/1975), Vol. 3, pp. 27–30. Also cited by Parsinejad, *History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 148.

<sup>302</sup> Marāgha'ī, *Sīyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayk*, p. 208.

<sup>303</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, pp. 304–7.

<sup>304</sup> Parsinejad, *History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 147.

elegies for their native land and weep for her difficulties because without a country one would be denied the right to give service. Marāgha'ī felt that some poets of the period who used to disapprove of nationalists should now criticise the cruelties of those who betray their country in poetry and praise.<sup>305</sup> Marāgha'ī did not tolerate any form of exaggeration in prose and poetry. He believed that it is essential that writers of literature avoid fantasy and ostentation. The works of the Qājār writers provoked him because they were excessive and deceitful in their flattery of kings.<sup>306</sup>

Marāgha'ī goes so far as to establish the criteria for being a poet. He emphasises that poetry is one of the more difficult arts, because it needs to be both traditional and logical. The poet must be eloquent and proficient in direct and indirect ways, in allegory and metaphor, orderly and disorderly speech, and in rhetoric, philosophy and astronomy. He must also be fluent with ease of expression, be unequalled in performing ethical deeds, be accurate in moral judgment and possess a powerful memory and love his country. He praises Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ for meeting these criteria.<sup>307</sup>

### **Preliminary Conclusions on Literary Critics and Criticism in Iran (1848–1923)**

This section draws some preliminary conclusions about a number of important issues discussed in this chapter, in an effort to analyse the following questions:

- Were the critics a positive or negative force? Did they encourage decadence or advancement?
- In what way did literary criticism contribute to the advancement of Ḥāfiẓology in Iran?
- How did these critics view Ḥāfiẓ in relation to important issues in the neoclassical period and in relation to Iranian nationalism more generally?

Our first critic, Kirmānī, was a poet and a writer whose opposition to fanaticism and religious extremism was consistent with Kasravī's philosophy; however, in contrast to Kasravī, he favoured neoclassical literature. He did not like panegyrists because he believed their works carried little literary value. We know that he was a Muslim and while he expressed interest in

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<sup>305</sup> Marāgha'ī, *Sīyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayk*, Vol. 1, p. 241. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, p. 309; Parsinejad, 'Zayn al-'Ābidin Marāqa'ī, muntaqid-i adabī', p. 433.

<sup>306</sup> Marāgha'ī, *Sīyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayk*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

mystical language and philosophy, he nonetheless believed that extreme religious beliefs and superstition would impede progress. However, Riḍā Qulī Hidāyat had somewhat different views to Kirmānī's and was a firm believer in the classical literature while favouring innovation in poetry.

Although Mīrzā Faḥr-ʿAlī Ākhūndzāda was an extremist in his views of poetry, yet he believed that poetry, while simple in language, must reflect the natural surroundings/environment and be realistic. He insisted on classical poetry and the philosophy and styles of the classical masters, emphasising that we must learn from them; indeed he saw poetry as an essential element for the advancement of education in literature. Although his understanding of classical Persian literature was not vast, he favoured Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ and insisted that their style and expression were worthy of attention and preservation. He was an atheist, a nationalist and a modernist.

Malkam Khān was not impressed by elegists, believing that their poetry represented wasted time and effort. He believed that most of the poets of the Qājār period were unoriginal; they only praised kings and officials and their work had little literary value.

An important scholar of the nineteenth-century, Muḥammad ʿAlī Furūghī, believed that the cultural wealth of Persia was a treasure to be explored and learnt from. He was very concerned that this national heritage, including Persian literature, was not fully appreciated. Furūghī admired the work of the classical masters, in particular those of the fifth/twelfth to seventh/fourteenth-century. He had a high regard for the wisdom of their words, particularly those of Ḥāfiẓ. He emphasised that their advice to humanity was the key to orderly and decent social behaviour and human advancement.

Ṭālibuf admired neoclassical poetry not only for its role in reviving the poetry of the classical masters, but also for its function in preserving the Persian language so that the messages of Persian poets such as Firdawsī, Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ could be understood. He was a patriot and a nationalist, and his main concern was the welfare of his nation and the censure of dishonesty and deception.

Marāghaʿī was a true patriot who spoke continually about the importance of allegiance to one's country. He frequently wondered why so few poets wrote patriotic poems and he

considered Persian verses that spoke of a beloved, whether human or divine, a waste of time, or efforts that carried no literary value whatsoever. Marāgha'ī insisted that love of one's country is more important than any other love, because, he thought, without one's country all literary efforts would mean nothing. He admired Ḥāfiẓ as a patriotic poet whose verses stood against tyranny and deceit. Marāgha'ī believed that a poet should meet a certain criteria of eloquence and rhetoric.

The intellectuals considered in this chapter may not have all revered Ḥāfiẓ, but none of them dared to criticize, much less, condemn him. Ḥāfiẓ's influence has never been limited to ordinary people, rather it has even extended to kings, who used his verses in communications to other sovereigns and even to their own officials. It has been said that when Nīẓām al-Saltāna, a government official during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, wrote a letter asking the Shāh to grant him the governorship of the province of Fārs, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh responded with one of Ḥāfiẓ's verses:

ای مگس حضرت سیمرغ نه جولانگه توست      عرض خود می کنی و زحمت ما می داری<sup>308</sup>  
 O fly! The realm of Sīmurgh<sup>309</sup> is not a place for display,  
 You dishonour yourself and cause us trouble!

Many poets of the Qājār period attempted to imitate Ḥāfiẓ but all, without exception, failed to equal his lyricism. Ḥāfiẓ's conflict with ascetics, clerics and religious hypocrites came at a time when Iran was plagued by conservative religious extremists, and this was another reason that scholars, particularly the poets of the Qājār era, deemed him laudable. Ḥāfiẓ was the voice of his people and he battled the deceit and dishonesty of the clergy.

‘Abdullāh Rāzī (d. 1334/1955), a scholar of the Qājār period, stated that Ḥāfiẓ's poetry benefited from the wisdom of Sa'dī's articulation, the beauty of Nīẓāmī's words and the philosophy of Rūmī, yet there was always something extra to Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. He also said that no one had been able to equal him to this day.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 449, v. 5.

<sup>309</sup> A mythical bird which symbolises luck and glory, it was mentioned in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī.

<sup>310</sup> ‘A. Rāzī, *Tārīkh-i Iran* (Tehran: Sipīhr, 1316/1938), p. 518.

منم آن شاعر ساحر که به افسون سخن

از نی کلک همه شهد و شکر می بارم<sup>311</sup>

That poet-magician I am, who, with the sorcery of speech  
From the reed-pen, all sweetness I pour.

I believe that the views of the critics named above enhanced the reputation of the classical masters, particularly Ḥāfīz. Somewhat surprisingly, even the adverse views held by Kasravī strengthened Ḥāfīz's status in the minds of his supporters and aroused curiosity in those who knew little about him. Literary criticism has helped the advancement of Ḥāfīzology, as proven by the many improved commentaries and editions of Ḥāfīz's work, as explained in detail throughout this study. Ḥāfīz's philosophy is more popular today than ever before, particularly in the West. His verses are being translated into many languages and his popularity in Iran continues to increase.

It is clear that nineteenth-century Persian critics and poets held Ḥāfīz in high esteem. Throughout the turbulence of the constitutional era, a number of poets, such as 'Ārif Qazvīnī, Bahār and many others composed nationalistic poems, all inspired by Ḥāfīz and other classical masters.

Moreover, as already observed in this study, Persia has suffered wars, political turmoil and economic disasters; and it has witnessed numerous dynasties emerge and disappear through the centuries. The one element that has remained constant is the language of the classical master poets, in particular Ḥāfīz, who has influenced the poets and writers of Persia. It has been demonstrated that poets like Bābā Fighānī and Muḥammad Taqī Bahār were inspired by, and have imitated Ḥāfīz in one way or another.

The intellectuals and modernisers of the Qājār period, as we have already observed, had different views on literature and poetry. For example, Kirmānī was a writer and a poet who opposed panegyric poetry, yet admired the works of master poets such as Sa'dī and Ḥāfīz. Kirmānī detested extremism and believed that erroneous religious attitudes and superstitions prevent progress. There are some indications that Kirmānī admired the poetry of a few classical poets, in particular Sa'dī and Ḥāfīz, for they held the same ideas.

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<sup>311</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 324, v. 5.

We know not the shaykh or the ascetic,  
Let us have the cup of wine; or cut the story short.

Hidāyat also admired the classical masters, in particular Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiz. Although his views on the rhyme and regulation of classical poetry differed from those of the master poets, he was overwhelmed by their poetic diction. Hidāyat believed that a poet should focus on meaning rather than rhyme. Ḥāfiz’s poetry in general impressed him, for the poet’s utterance reflects day to day life and the problems society faced at the time.

دوستی کی آخر آمد دوستداران را چه شد  
مهربانی کی سرآمد شهریاران را چه شد<sup>313</sup>

یاری اندر کس نمی بینم یاران را چه شد  
شهریاران بود و خاک مهربانان این دیار

I see no friendship in anyone. What’s become of friends?  
When did friendship come to an end? What’s happened to friends?  
This land was ‘the city of friends’ and ‘the dust of the kindly’.  
When did kindness come to an end? What’s happened to the city of friends?<sup>314</sup>

In contrast to the views of the two previously mentioned scholars, Ākhūndzāda points out that poetry should be easy to comprehend, and that the speech of a good poet should be easily understood by ordinary men, not just scholars.<sup>315</sup> However, his understanding of classical Persian literature was somewhat narrow. It is emblematic that, of all the Persian poets, he believed only five (Firdawsī, Nizāmī, Rūmī, Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiz) to be praiseworthy and fit for recognition.<sup>316</sup> Malkam distinguishes between the quality of effectiveness, on the one hand, and the prerequisite requirement of clarity, on the other. Therefore, in a sense, Malkam establishes the need for transformation without directly involving himself in the task of effecting such a change, whereas Ākhūndzāda and Kirmānī thought involvement was essential.<sup>317</sup>

In sum, writings of men such as Ākhūndzāda, Kirmānī and Malkam exemplify the preliminary stages of an enduring cultural evolution by which the yearning to change Iranian

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 418, v. 4.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 169, v. 1, 4.

<sup>314</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 221; *ghazal* 164.

<sup>315</sup> Parsinejad, *History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 30.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>317</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 57.

culture has acceded to the notion of conventional Persian poetry undergoing continuous critical review and reassessment.

## **Chapter III**

### **The Influence of Ḥāfiẓ on the Poets of Zand and Qājār Persia**

In the first few pages of this chapter I offer a general overview of literary developments in Persian poetry from the earliest days down to the Qājār era, commenting briefly on the various Persian poetic styles. I also briefly discuss the literary revival that occurred during that period. Next, I focus on the views of modern critics and scholars of Persian literature and poetry concerning new developments that took place in poetry during the Qājār period and the impact of translations from European literature on the literary milieu of Qājār poets. I follow this with an examination of the influence of western literature, particularly French, on Persian poets. In the final and longest section of this chapter, I discuss the influence of Ḥāfiz’s language on seven key poets of the Zand and Qājār era.

### **Key Developments in Persian Poetry during the Qājār Period**

In order to familiarise the reader with the significant changes poetry underwent during this period, it is necessary to briefly discuss the different styles of poetry that poets were accustomed to in Persia from the earliest Islamic period and the reasons and extent to which these styles changed.

The early poets of Islamic Persia based their poetry on the Turkish style (*sabk-i Turkistānī*), which was very similar to the Khurāsānī style (*sabk-i Khurāsānī*). In terms of geography, early Persian literature developed in Central Asia, which comprised the provinces of Khurāsān and Turkistān, where most of the classical poets lived. The popularity of this style lies in the plain nature of its wording and the clarity of the subject and metaphors: the verse is easily understood by the reader.<sup>1</sup>The major poets of this period were Rūdakī (d. 329/912),<sup>2</sup> Firdawsī (d. 416/999),<sup>3</sup> Farrukhī,<sup>4</sup> Daqiqī (d. 370/953),<sup>5</sup> Shahid Balkhī (d. 325/908)<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. J. Maḥjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shi‘r-i Fārsī: bar rasī-i mukhtaṣṣāt-i shi‘r-i Fārsī, az āghāz-i zuhūr tā pāyān-i qarn-i panjum-i hijri* (Tehran: Firdawsī, 1363/1985), pp. 48–49. Cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i adabīyāt-i Iran* (Tehran: Firdawsī, 1378/2000), Vol. 4, pp. 236–37.

<sup>2</sup> Rūdakī Samarqandī, *Dīvān-i Rūdakī Samarqandī*, ed. S. Nafisī (Tehran: Niḡāh, 1376/1998), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 10, p. 15046, s.v. ‘Firdawsī’.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. 10, p. 15039, s.v. ‘Farrukhī’.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 9640, s.v. ‘Daqiqī’.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 12897, s.v. ‘Shahīd’.

and Abū Shakūr Balkhī (d. 334/917)<sup>7</sup> among others.<sup>8</sup> A further genre of poetry was written in the 'Irāqī style (*sabk-i 'Irāqī*). After the fifth/eleventh-century, Persian literature developed complexity in prose and poetry. This was due to the proximity of the Persian capital to Baghdad and the Islamic centres of the time; this propinquity also inspired the majority of the poets of the period to use mystical, theological and spiritual words in their poetry. As Arabic idioms and metaphors were also commonly used, this style of poetry was named *sabk-i 'Irāqī*. Some of the key poets who used this style were Khāqānī, Anvarī (d. 585/1168), Nizāmī and Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 688/1287).<sup>9</sup>

The third approach to poetry was that of the Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī*), which reached its peak during the Ṣafavid dynasty (1501–1722). The Indian style of poetry moved radically away from the styles of earlier Persian poetry. In fact, in searching for new skills and themes, and in pursuit of ever more novel content and meaning, many aspiring or struggling poets of the time produced work which could not strictly be classed or identified as poetry. However, for the most part, poets working in the Indian style portrayed a notable truthfulness *vis-à-vis* their social environment.<sup>10</sup>

The Indian style developed during the late Tīmūrīd period, and soon became greatly admired and widespread in India.<sup>11</sup> As Rypka observes, this can be considered the golden age for the 'application of a trope or allegoric expressions' (*irsāl-i mathal*). The poets enjoyed and employed proverbs and figures of speech, humorous sayings and contradictions, and implications and elicitions. This style of dividing the couplet into two parallel parts is, as an isolated process, nothing new.<sup>12</sup> The style was labelled 'Indian', at least in part because most of the talented poets of Persia migrated to India during the Ṣafavid period. Poets like Ṣā'ib Tabrizī, 'Urfī Shīrāzī and Bidil Dihlavī (d. 1133/1731) are some of those who used, for the most part, the Indian style in their poetry.<sup>13</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, many scholars maintain that the foundation for the Indian style was laid by Ḥāfiz.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 471, s.v. 'Abū Shakūr'.

<sup>8</sup> Tajrubikār, *Sabk-i shi'r dar 'aṣr-i Qājārīya* (Tehran: Mas'ūd Sa'd Mihr, 1350/1972), pp. 35–61.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, Vol. 4, p. 237.

<sup>10</sup> Tajrubikār, *Sabk-i shi'r dar 'aṣr-i Qājārīya*, pp. 35–61.

<sup>11</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 295.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 296. Cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārikh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, Vol. 4, p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 362.

One of the significant transformations in the literary history of Persia took place during the Qājār period (1193/1779–1344/1925). Because almost all the poets of this period took their inspiration from the master poets of the third/ninth and the eighth/fourteenth-century (those who wrote in the Khurāsānī and ‘Irāqī styles), this turning point is called the neoclassical period.<sup>14</sup> The new intellectuals of the Qājār period, many of whose views were discussed in chapter II, however, expressed a deep-seated passion with regard to the value of the poetic tradition of the Persian language.<sup>15</sup>

The poetry of the Qājār period took a turn towards something more demanding, in particular during the period before the Constitutional Revolution. The economic and cultural contact with the West, which had greatly increased from the middle of the nineteenth-century, was a core element in bringing qualitative change to the way of life in many countries of the East, and Iran was no exception. Literature was affected by a transformation that shaped its flow, transforming it into a literature that is controversial and belligerent, able to confront the nation as a whole, to educate and encourage people to awaken from their apathy. The best poets of the country, for as long as could be remembered, had composed *qaṣīdas* in praise of the kings and their courts. They now focused on limiting, and finally overthrowing, the monarchal dominance, and on the enlightenment and liberation of their fellow countrymen.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Tajrubikār, *Sabk-i shi‘r dar ‘aṣr-i Qājārīya*, pp. 35–61.

<sup>15</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 362.

## Westernisation, Modernisation and Persian Poetry of the Late Qājār Period

During the Qājār period, elegy writing took precedence over *ghazals*.<sup>17</sup> *Mathnavī* writings were also favoured in this period and, as was mentioned in the last chapter, the *Shāhanshāh-nāma* of Ṣabā Kāshānī (d. 1238/1822) is an incomplete reproduction of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*.<sup>18</sup> The neoclassical movement slowly began its course during this period and gradually broadened.<sup>19</sup> For this, we are indebted to poets such as Qā'ānī and Yaghmā Jandaqī, who are discussed below.

The expansion of British and Russian imperialism in the nineteenth-century brought about the beginning of modernisation in Iran.<sup>20</sup> The polytechnic institute (*Dār al-Funūn*) catered to the new demand for foreign languages, in particular French; and thousands of other cultural, social and political changes all reflected the movement towards modernisation and westernisation.<sup>21</sup> It was close to the end of the Qājār dynasty that Iranian literature took a new turn towards the West.<sup>22</sup>

Hakkak asserts that, to a large degree, the consciousness of a European literature was also becoming understood in relation to an association between literary and political history. This was considered an exceptional occurrence in Iranian history and an enormous step towards the future. The Constitutional Revolution created an ambiance wherein poets akin to those in Europe could flourish.<sup>23</sup> Bahār informs us that the newspapers and journals of the pre-constitutional period were written in classical styles and, although they were subtle and pleasant to read, they lacked profundity.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 320–37.

<sup>18</sup> Faṭḥ-‘Alī Khān Ṣabā Kāshānī, with the pen name Ṣabā (d. 1238/1822), was the poet laureate to Faṭḥ-‘Alī Shāh. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 480–85.

<sup>20</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 355. Cf. A. K. Karimi-Hakkak, ‘Naqd-i adabī’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 3–5.

<sup>21</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 355. Cf. Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i mashrūta-yi Iran*, p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 388.

In accord with Bahār, Kasravī states that during the constitutional period many intellectuals, such as Ṭālibuf and Ākhūndzāda, were in agreement that poets should concentrate on patriotic poetry more than anything else and that they should free themselves from rhythmic rules and styles and concentrate more on politically meaningful themes.<sup>25</sup>

The role of literary prose in the contemporary literature of Iran is, Rypka believes, a fundamental and often-debated question among conservatives and modernists.<sup>26</sup> It was the modernists of the Qājār period who promoted prose as a literary genre. They courageously declared that superior value lay in writing good, simple prose, rather than a few lines of rhyming verse, and they presented their perspective with illustrations from western prose. In this debate, the final word with regard to both the theoretical and practical expressions of the issue was ultimately articulated decades later by Muḥammad ‘Alī Jamālzāda (d. 1376/1997).<sup>27</sup> His views on the social, cultural and educational implications of literary prose are accurately outlined in his first book of short stories, *Yakī būd yakī nabūd (Once Upon a Time)*, in which he clarified his ideas about new techniques of writing prose.<sup>28</sup> As observed in chapter II, Iranian scholars had already distinguished between the plainness and clarity of early Persian poetry and the elaborate rhetoric and perplexed character of poetry in later centuries.<sup>29</sup>

In the aftermath of the Constitutional Revolution this cultural decline that referred back to the decline during the Mongol invasions expanded to such an extent that it connected poetry to its social context. ‘The classical age was imagined not just as a glorious era of esthetic creativity but also as one of concern with the life of the community on the part of poets and other cultural figures.’<sup>30</sup> The poets of this period soon began using new words in their poetry, such as ‘telegraph’ or ‘watch’, and so on. As these observations were new to poetry and prose, a new subject had to be found to match them; hence, the birth of the *Shi‘r-i naw*, or

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<sup>25</sup> Kasravī, *Tārikh-i mashrūṭa-yi Iran*, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 380.

<sup>27</sup> Nahid Mozaffari, ‘Jamalzadeh, Mohammad-Ali’, *Encyclopedia Iranica* online, <http://www.iranica.com/articles/jamalzadeh-i>.

<sup>28</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, pp. 380–81.

<sup>29</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 109.

<sup>30</sup> Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 109.

New Poetry during the Pahlavi period, with influences unseen in the poetry of the classical poets.

Qā'ānī was one of the first poets of the Qājār era who was familiar with European languages and in particular French, 'from which he translated a text-book on botany—and to a smaller extent English'.<sup>31</sup> However, with regard to the classical style of poetry, numerous contemporary scholars, such as Kadkanī, have also expressed critical views to the effect that poets of this period, with the exception of a few, were devoid of originality and initiative. Kadkanī insists that their *ghazal* writings are mere imitations of such predecessors as Ḥāfiz and Sa'dī and that their elegies and odes are simulations of classical Saljūq and Ghaznavid period poets. Kadkanī further states that since most of these poets devoted much of their time and effort to obsequiously lauding kings and government officials, their works have no literary value.<sup>32</sup> I do not entirely agree with this view, as will be explained later on below.

Although it can be said that there was a substantial move away from traditional poetry, there were some who argued that there existed an implicit attachment to it. However, the debate on poetry quickly shifted to a concern with the characteristics of a new poetry and the scope and tempo of the poetic transformation. The greater the exposure to European poetry and poetic customs, the greater the tendency of a poet to employ general material to form the new poetry of Iran. Conversely, the more absorbed a poet or critic was in the classical tradition, the more he or she was prepared to depend on the terminology associated with the Persian poetry of the early classical period.<sup>33</sup>

Hakkak further asserts that we can witness the most fluent phase of a developing social discussion a decade after the Constitutional Revolution. Although the majority of the poets of this period followed in the footsteps of the classical poets, through their focus on the traditional principles of poetic neoclassicism, they nevertheless provided an invaluable contribution to the revival of forgotten words and themes, and in some cases expanded these expressions even further. Poets like Baṣṭāmī, Sabzivārī and Nishāṭ thus ensured that the words of masters such as Sa'dī, Ḥāfiz and Rūmī continued to be remembered.

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<sup>31</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 330.

<sup>32</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 477–82.

<sup>33</sup> 'A. Ḥ. Zarrinkūb, *Advār-i shi'r-i Fārsī: Az mashrūfīyat tā suqūt-i salṭanat* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1359/1980), pp. 34–48. Cf. Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, p. 103.

## Ḥāfiẓ and the Poets of Zand and Qājār Persia

The purpose of this section is to give a short biographical sketch of seven important poets of the Zand and Qājār period and then to attempt to demonstrate the influence Ḥāfiẓ had on their work. The entire collections of *ghazals* of each poet have been carefully studied and examined, and examples are offered to illustrate Ḥāfiẓ's influence. Verses are presented in a comparative manner, juxtaposed with those of Ḥāfiẓ.

Although the poets analysed here represent only a fraction of those of the Zand/Qājār period, they are some of the most important poets of nineteenth and twentieth-century Persia. Listed below are some of the other poets of the period; however, due to space limitations it has not been possible to refer to them all in detail.

1. Nād Darvīsh Qāyīnī (d. 1173/1756)
2. Rafīq Iṣfahānī (d. 1212/1795)
3. Salīm Kurdistānī (d. 1214/1797)
4. Saḥāb Iṣfahānī (d. 1222/1805)
5. Mijmar (d. 1225/1810–11)
6. Rawnaq Iṣfahānī (d. 1225/1808)
7. Unays Nahāvandī (d. 1237/1820)
8. Ulfat Kāshānī (d.1240/1823)
9. Nishāṭ (d. 1244/1827)
10. Bīdil Shīrāzī (d. 1250/1833)
11. Bismil Shīrāzī (d.1263/1846)
12. Qurrat al-‘Ayn (d. 1268/1851)
13. Surūsh Iṣfahānī (d. 1285/1868)
14. Shahāb Iṣfahānī (d. 1291/1874)
15. Shūrida Shīrāzī (d. 1305/1887)
16. Shaybānī (d. 1308/1890)
17. Īraj Mīrzā (d. 1344/1926)
18. Adib Nayshābūrī (d. 1344/1927)
19. Mīrzā Abū'l Qāsim ‘Ārif Qazvīnī (d. 1349/1930)

The poets whose work has been chosen for close examination are listed below.

1. Ādhar Bigdilī (d. 1195/1778)
2. Viṣāl Shīrāzī (d. 1262/1845)
3. Qā'ānī Shīrāzī (d. 1270/1853)
4. Furūghī Bastāmī (d. 1274/1857)
5. Yaghmā Jandaqī (d. 1276/1859)
6. Ḥājj Mullā Hādī Sabzivārī (d. 1289/1872)
7. Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan Iṣfahānī 'Şafī 'Alī Shāh' (d. 1316/1898)

In order to better understand the debate regarding the conflict between imitation and originality in Persian poetry, it is necessary here to mention, briefly, the various terms related to literary imitation in the Persian poetic tradition. All the Persian poets imitated each other carefully, and did so by using some of the following devices: poetic imitation (*tattabu' va taqlīd*), which means following another poet's style (*sabk*);<sup>34</sup> verse parallelism (*naẓīra*), which means poetic 'paraphrase' or imitation of a previous poet's poems;<sup>35</sup> verse insertion (*taḍmīn*), which means the quotation of a hemistich from original poetry in any verse of a poet's composition<sup>36</sup>; verse homage (*istiqbāl*), which means "javāb: composition of a poem of varying length and form in 'response' and direct reference, sometimes to refute, sometimes to emulate the ideas of the source poem,"<sup>37</sup> and poetic plagiarism (*sirqat-i shi'rī*), or the plagiarism of a verse by another poet. In my discussion of the seven poets below, I will draw attention to their usage of these devices in the act of imitation of and paying homage to Ḥāfiz.

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<sup>34</sup> Huma'i, *Funūn-i balāghat*, p. 395

<sup>35</sup> Leonard Lewisohn, 'The Life and Poetry of Mashreḳī Tabrizi', *The Journal of the Society for Iranian Studies*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 2-3 (1998), p. 115. "Mohammad Qazvini summarizes the relationship of four of these devices as follows: 'The principle and basis of *taḍmīn*, *eqtebās*, *ersāl-e methāl*, and *talmīh* is the poet's adoption of something from someone else without consciously intending to 'use' it or to 'plagiarize' it (*serqat*), yet also without this happening after the manner of an 'inspired coincidence between two poems' (*tavvarod*). In reality, if the item adopted by the poet be someone else's verse or poem, this art is called *taḍmīn*; if it be something from the Koran or Prophetic tradition it is called *eqtebās*; if it be proverb it is called *ersāl-e methāl*; and if it be an illusion indirectly pointing to one of these things, or to famous historical tale, then it is termed *talmīh*.'"— Leonard Lewisohn, 'The Life and Poetry of Mashreḳī Tabrizi', Vol. XXII, Nos. 2-3 (1998), pp. 115-116.

<sup>36</sup> Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, p. 215.

<sup>37</sup> Leonard Lewisohn, 'The Life and Poetry of Mashreḳī Tabrizi', Vol. XXII, Nos. 2-3 (1998), p. 115.

### Ādhar Bigdilī (d. 1195/1778)

Ādhar Bigdilī, the poet and author of the famous biographical anthology entitled *Ātashkada-yi Ādhar*, was born in 1134/1721. His *tadhkira*, which provides the biographical details accompanied by citations from some 850 Persian poets, was compiled in 1174/1760 and dedicated to Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1163/1751–1193/1779).<sup>38</sup>

He was born in Iṣfahān, where his family had settled during the early Ṣafavid period. His birth closely corresponded with the Afghan invasion of Iran and subsequent turmoil in Iṣfahān. Ādhar's family escaped to Qum, where he remained for fourteen years. Around 1148/1736, Nādir Shāh assigned his father to the governorship of Lār and the coasts of Fārs.<sup>39</sup> After his father's death, Ādhar made a journey to Mecca, travelled to the holy places in Iraq and later moved to Mashhad, where his appearance coincided with Nādir Shāh's return from India. He joined Nādir Shāh's troops and went to Māzandarān, Azerbaijan, and 'Irāq-i 'Ajam before settling in Iṣfahān. Subsequently, he retired to his small estate near Qum and concentrated on poetry.<sup>40</sup>

Ādhar allegedly lost 7,000 verses of his poetry during the plundering of Iṣfahān by 'Alī-Mardān Khān Bakhtīyārī in 1074/1657, but a *Dīvān* consisting of *qaṣā'id*, *ghazalīyāt*, *qaṭi'āt*, and a *mathnawī* ('Yūsuf va Zulaykhā') has survived.<sup>41</sup> Influenced by his concerned uncle, Valī Muḥammad Khān Bigdilī (killed 1177/1763), and the master poet Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Mushtāq Iṣfahānī (d. 1192/1778), Ādhar thrived as a poet.<sup>42</sup>

Ādhar is mainly recognised because of his *tadhkira*, *Ātashkada-yi Ādhar* (*Ādhar's Fire Temple*). Using terms related to fire, he divided it into two main chapters, which he called censers (*majmiras*). The first *majmira* is further divided into a flame (*shu'la*) on the poetry of kings, princes, and rulers; three embers (*akhgars*) concern the poets of Iran, Tūrān (Central Asia), and India; and there is a light on poetesses. The three *akhgars* are further divided in

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<sup>38</sup> Ādhar Bigdilī, *Ātashkada*, ed. Sādāt (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1339/1961), Vol. 3, pp. 15–17. Cf. Ṣafā, *Ganj-i sukhan* (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1339/1961), Vol. 3, p. 143.

<sup>39</sup> Lār (Persian: لار) is a city in Fārs Province in the south of Iran. It is the capital of Lāristān County.

<sup>40</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, p. 319.

<sup>41</sup> Hidāyat, *Majma' al-fuṣṣahā*, Vol. 1, p. 159.

<sup>42</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: Modern Times*, Vol. 4, pp. 282–84.

terms of geographical sections, into five, three, and three sparks (*sharāra*) respectively, each one opening with a brief account of the region concerned. The second *majmira* comprises two beams (*partaw*). The first *partaw* relates to poets contemporary with the author and the second comprises the author's biography and a collection of his poetry. Represented in this section are poets known by their pen names (the book is generally arranged in alphabetical order).

Ādhar's prose in the *Ātashkada*, in spite of certain impediments common to Persian writing of the twelfth/eighteenth-century, is simple and articulate. In the foreword, he uses rhymed prose, into which he brings words that relate to fire; his theme is the defence of poetry. The long introduction to the account of contemporary poets contains some fine pieces of poetic prose.

Ādhar was one of the leaders of the movement against the so-called Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī*) and an exponent of neoclassical poetry; as such he is bluntly critical of the poetry of Ṣā'ib and his followers. However, for those such as Mushtāq, who denied the Indian style and tried to revive the language of the early poets, he has nothing but commendation. For some poets, he gives detailed biographies; however, for the majority he finds two or three lines sufficient. He is equally prudent in his attitude to their work. Thus he revived *sabk-i 'Irāqī*. In a couplet, he confirms his talent as a poet and compares himself with a nightingale:

آذر، کسان که با تو دم از شاعری زنند      جغدند و جغد را نفس بلبل آرزوست<sup>43</sup>  
 Ādhar, your rivals in poetry are owls!  
 Thus, an owl desires the voice of a nightingale.

### Ādhar and Ḥāfiz

In examining Ādhar's *Dīvān*, it is clear that only a small portion of his verses are similar to those of Ḥāfiz. In his *ghazals*, we encounter different types of verse imitation (both *naẓīra* and *tattabu'*) of Ḥāfiz.<sup>44</sup> He also follows Ḥāfiz's style of combating hypocrisy and deceitful ascetics. We witness further similarities between Ādhar's poetry and Ḥāfiz's language in terms of topoi, themes, imagery and symbolism. In the following poem, Ādhar's meaning

<sup>43</sup> Ādhar Bigdilī, *Dīvān-i Lutf- 'Alī Bayk Ādhar Bigdilī*, ed. N. Sādāt (Tehran: Jāvīdān, 1366/1988), p. 232.

<sup>44</sup> J. Humā'ī, *Funūn-i balāghat va ṣanā'āt-i adabī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1363/1985), Vol. 2, p. 395.

matches that of Ḥāfiẓ in regard to religious questions, hypocrisy and the issues of the *sharī'a*. It is necessary to present the whole poem, since the full meaning manifests itself only in the poem's entirety.

<p>Ādhar</p> <p>بدین امید که از جود، خواهدش نان داد "جواب ندادی، نبایدت نان داد" برد آیش و نانش نداد تا جان داد به بنده نه روزی به شرط ایمان داد که جام می به کف کافر و مسلمان داد<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>به شیخ شهر فقیری ز جوع برد پناه هزار مسئله پرسیدش از مسائل و گفت: نداشت حال جدال آن فقیر و شیخ غیور عجب که با همه دانایی این نمی دانست من و ملازمت آستان پیر مغان</p>
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A starving man sought the help of the town's ascetic  
Hoping that, out of decency, he would share his food.

The puritan asked him thousands of questions and said:  
'If you do not give the correct answers, you do not deserve food.'

The poor destitute [man] had no strength to speak, and the eminent ascetic  
Denied him food and water, and hence, the man died!

It is a marvel that, with all his wisdom, he did not know  
That sustenance from the Lord is not conditional on faith.

Therefore, I seek the estate of the sage of Magi,  
For he gave wine to Muslims and the faithless.

In the following verse by Ḥāfiẓ, one can see exactly the same topoi, which precisely echo the meaning and philosophy expressed by Ādhar in the above lines:

<p>Ḥāfiẓ</p> <p>ورنه لطف شیخ و زاهد گاه هست و گاه نیست<sup>46</sup></p>	<p>بنده پیر خراباتم که لطفش دائم است</p>
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I am the servant of the sage of Kharābāt,<sup>47</sup> whose generosity is constant,  
While the generosity of the ascetic and the cleric, is not!

The following verses are examples of *naẓīra*; the underlined words in the verse's rhyme and meter correspond to parallel or identical expressions found in Ḥāfiẓ's verses:

<sup>45</sup> Bigdilī, *Dīvān-i Lutf- 'Alī Bayk Ādhar Bigdilī*, ed. N. Sādāt, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shirāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 71, v. 10.

<sup>47</sup> The word *kharābāt* means, literally, ruins; in mystical poetry it is used to mean an estate in which taverns and cheerful places for rogue and footloose libertines are located.

Ādhar      48      که پیش از صبح ساقی را نظر بر منظر اندازیم      شب عید است در میخانه باید بستر اندازیم

It is the time of celebration; we must make our bed at the door of the tavern  
So we can gaze on the face of Sāqī at dawn.

Hāfīz      49      بود کان شاه خوبان را نظر بر منظر اندازیم      صبا خاک وجود ما بدان عالی جناب انداز

O breeze, to the majestic beloved, the dust of our existence cast,  
So that we may glance at the king of fair ones.

Ādhar      50      بیا تا ما حساب خود به روز دیگر اندازیم      حساب زاهدان در روز محشر مشکل است آذر!

Ādhar, judgement of the ascetics will be arduous on the day of reckoning,  
Come; let us delay our own judgements until another day.

Hāfīz      51      بیا حافظ که تا خود را به ملکی دیگر اندازیم      سخن دانی و خوش خوانی نمی ورزند در شیراز

In Shīrāz, they appreciate neither articulation nor verse,  
Come Hāfīz, into another land we may cast ourselves!

Ādhar      52      گر گشاید در و گر بندد تأمل بایدش      تا تماشایی ز گلشن باز داند باغبان

If the gardener knows that one can gaze on the garden,  
Whether the garden gate is opened or shut to him, he must have patience.

Hāfīz      53      کار ملک است آنکه تدبیر و تأمل بایدش      رند عالم سوز را با مصلحت بینی چه کار؟

The *rind*, with an all-consuming passion, has no business with prudence,  
It is the business of sovereigns which requires heed and planning.

<sup>48</sup> Bigdilī, *Dīvān-i Lutf-‘Alī Bayk Ādhar Bigdilī*, ed. Sādāt, *ghazal* 140, v. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 374, v. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Bigdilī, *Dīvān-i Lutf-‘Alī Bayk Ādhar Bigdilī*, ed. N. Sādāt, *ghazal* 140, v. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 374, v. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Bigdilī, *Dīvān-i Lutf-‘Alī Bayk Ādhar Bigdilī*, ed. Sādāt, *ghazal* 110, v. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 276, v. 3.

Ādhar                      54 تَحْمَلْ بَیْدِش      گر ز نندش کودکان سنگی      هرکه عشق کودک سنگین دلش دیوانه کرد

He who has become insane through loving a hardhearted youth,  
Must bear it if kids throw stones at him.

Ḥāfiẓ                      55 تَحْمَلْ بَیْدِش      مرغ زیرک چون بدام افتد      ای دل اندر بند زلفش از پریشانی منال

O heart, entangled in her tresses, bewail not your state,  
When the wise bird falls into the snare, resignation is required.

### Viṣāl Shīrāzī (d. 1262/1845)

Mīrzā Shafī' Shīrāzī, known as Mīrzā Kūchak, with the pen name 'Maḥjūr', and later 'Viṣāl', was born in Shīrāz in 1193/1791. He was one of the greatest poets during the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh Qājār (1798-1834). Due to his talent for poetry and also his pleasant voice, he was known throughout the city and when Fath-'Alī Shāh Qājār learned of him, he invited him to the court. Viṣāl showed considerable interest in the subjects of mysticism, *irfān* and literature. He became blind at the age of sixty-nine, and died during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.

His style of poetry is elegiac and laudatory of kings such as Fath-'Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh, Shujā' al-Saltāna (who was a prince), and also various state officials. Most of his poetry is composed in the style of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ and belongs to the neoclassical school. One of his most important works is called *Ṣubḥ-i Viṣāl (Dawn of Union)*, and is a close imitation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. His style of *ghazal* composition leans more towards that of Ḥāfiẓ, and also inclines somewhat towards mystical concepts. According to Browne, who states that he met some of Viṣāl's gifted sons and grandsons at Shīrāz in 1888, 'He is regarded by his fellow countrymen as one of the most eminent of the modern neoclassical poets.'<sup>56</sup> The Fārs News Agency recently reported that Viṣāl had handwritten the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ and that this was shown at an international exhibition in Shīrāz by the Academy of Arts (*Farhangistān-i hunar*). Before his death, Viṣāl realised the unimportance of panegyric

<sup>54</sup> Bigdilī, *Dīvān-i Lutf-'Alī Bayk Ādhar Bigdilī*, ed. Sādāt, *ghazal* 110, v. 7.

<sup>55</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 276, v. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: Modern Times*, Vol. 4, p. 316–18.

poetry and had some feelings of remorse about his profession.<sup>57</sup> Viṣāl's *Dīvān* consists of approximately 22,000 couplets, including *ghazalīyāt*, *tarjī'-band*, *qaṣā'id*, *qaṭa'āt* and *mathnavīhā*.<sup>58</sup> He had a major impact upon the development of Persian poetry.<sup>59</sup> Viṣāl died in Shīrāz in 1262/1845.

### Viṣāl and Ḥāfiz

Viṣāl Shīrāzī was greatly influenced by Ḥāfiz in his lyric writing.<sup>60</sup> In some of his verses, we can see imitations of Ḥāfiz's rhyme and meaning. The verses quoted below are clearly imitations of Ḥāfiz's rhymes and metres, and demonstrate Viṣāl's similar use of symbolism, imagery and content.

Viṣāl                      از جفا ترسی و راه وصل میپرسی وصال  
هیچ کس بی نیش خاری زین گلستان گل نچید<sup>61</sup>

O Viṣāl, you fear cruelty, yet you search the path of union,  
No one has picked a rose from this garden without the sting of a thorn.

Ḥāfiz                      درین چمن گل بی خار کس نچید آری  
چراغ مصطفوی با شرار بولهیست<sup>62</sup>

No one in this field has gathered a thornless rose. Yes,  
The lamp of the Prophet with the sparks of an Abū Lahab!<sup>63</sup>

The following verses are an example of *nazīra*; the rhyme and metre correspond to Ḥāfiz's style.

<sup>57</sup> See the article prepared by Grūh-i Farhangī-yi ḥuza-yi adabīyāt va kitāb in an article at the following website: <http://www.farsnews.net/newstext.php?nn=8707260390> (accessed 16 July 2009).

<sup>58</sup> Viṣāl Shīrāzī, *Kullīyyāt-i Viṣāl Shīrāzī, Ganjīna-i adab va 'irfān-i Iranī*, ed. A. Muḥammad (Tehran: Fakhr Āzād, 1339/1960), p. 726.

<sup>59</sup> Hidāyat, *Tadhkira-yi rīyāḍ al- 'arīfīn*, p. 598.

<sup>60</sup> Viṣāl Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Viṣāl Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Ṭāvūsī (Shīrāz: Navīd Shirāz, 1378/2000), Vol. 1, p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 342, v. 10.

<sup>62</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 64, v. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 102; *ghazal* 65.—“Abū Lahab (Literally, ‘Father of the Flame’) was the Prophet Muhammad’s half uncle. He became the Prophet’s implacable foe in opposition to the preaching of Islam. Sura cxi of the Koran names him and says that he will roast in Hell, his wife carrying the fuel.”

حریفان را می باقی و ما را لعل ساقی بس      چه باید عیش شیرین تلخ کردن زان شر و شورش<sup>64</sup>  
Viṣāl

For the rivals, the eternal wine is fit, but for us, the Sāqī's ruby lip is enough.  
Why should we ruin a good time with their wickedness and noise?

شراب تلخ میخوام که مردافکن بود زورش      که تا یکدم بیاسایم ز دنیا و شر و شورش<sup>65</sup>  
Hāfīz

I desire a bitter wine, whose power knocks men out,  
Perchance, I may rest a moment from the world's wickedness and noise.

گرچه دریای غمش را خطری نیست که نیست      صبر ای دل، که در آنجا گه/ری نیست که نیست<sup>66</sup>  
Viṣāl

Although there is no danger not found in your ocean's grief,  
Be patient, O Heart, for no treasure exists that is not there.

روشن از پرتو رویت نظری نیست که نیست      منت خاک درت بر بص/ری نیست که نیست<sup>67</sup>  
Hāfīz

There is no glance not illuminated by the radiance of your face;  
There is no eye not bound by the dust of your threshold.

آمد از ناز رخس سیر ندیدیم و برفت      شکوه کردیم و جوابی نشنیدیم و برفت<sup>68</sup>  
Viṣāl

She came, and we did not see enough of her coy countenance, and she left!  
To our complaints, we heard no response, and she left!

شربتتی از لب لعلش نجشیدیم و برفت      روی مه پیکر او سیر ندیدیم و برفت<sup>69</sup>  
Hāfīz

From her ruby lips, a sip we tasted not, and she's gone!  
Her beautiful face, we beheld not enough, and she's gone!

<sup>64</sup> Viṣāl Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Viṣāl Shīrāzī*, Vol. 2, *ghazal* 650, v. 9.

<sup>65</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 278, v. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Viṣāl Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Viṣāl Shīrāzī*, Vol. 2, *ghazal* 254, v. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 73, v. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Viṣāl Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Viṣāl Shīrāzī*, Vol. 2, *ghazal* 287, v. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 85, v. 1.

## Qā'ānī Shīrāzī (d. 1270/1853)

Mīrzā Ḥabībullah Shīrāzī, who wrote under the pen name 'Qā'ānī', was born in 1223/1808 in Shīrāz.<sup>70</sup> His father, Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Gulshan, was also a poet. Qā'ānī lost his father at the age of eleven and faced extreme poverty.<sup>71</sup> He spent several years in Iṣfahān studying mathematics and Islamic studies; he later returned to Shīrāz where he commenced teaching poetry. In the year 1239/1823, he became tutor to the son of Faṭḥ-'Alī Shāh, 'Shujā' al-Salṭāna', following in the footsteps of Khāqānī and Anvarī.<sup>72</sup> After travelling to Khurāsān, Yazd, Kirmān, Māzandarān, Azerbaijan and Mashhad, he went to Tehran. There, he was acquainted with Maḥd 'Ulīyā, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's mother, and became the court poet; he spent the rest of his days in Tehran. His style of poetry follows that of Sa'dī.<sup>73</sup>

Bahār affirms that since Qā'ānī followed Ṣabā's style, he should also be counted among the votaries of the neoclassical school, following such elegant poets as Sa'dī and Ḥāfiz.<sup>74</sup> He eventually developed his own independent style, and the poets of Tehran followed his example for some time. Shiblī Nu'mānī, the author of *Shi'r al-'ajam*, however, claims that there was no innovation in Qā'ānī's poetry, saying 'he just awakened 700 years of forgotten poetry'.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 493–97. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, p. 93.

<sup>71</sup> Subḥānī tells us that Qā'ānī tells his own story: 'I was so impoverished that all I possessed was a mat and a piece of bread. The poverty I was now facing forced me to act as my own father. I went to Bābeleh School, which was one of the well-known schools in Shīrāz; and there, I began my education. Due to my talent for poetry and panegyrics, I started to praise the governor of Fārs. As a token of appreciation, he granted me a small amount of state pension. This helped me to further my education and, hence, in a space of no more than two years, I became better than others and gained popularity among my classmates'. Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 493–97.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp. 493–97. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, pp. 93–7.

<sup>73</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 326.

<sup>74</sup> Maḥmūd Khān Ṣabā was born in 1228/1813 in Tehran during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh Qājār, whose son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, paid Ṣabā considerable attention. Nāṣir al-Dīn gave Ṣabā the title 'Malik al-Shu'arā', a name which had been passed down the generations. Maḥmūd Khān Ṣabā was interested in calligraphy and painting. His paintings, under the title of '*bandi-yi āstān, Maḥmūd*', were kept at court and are still there today. He was also famous for story writing and exegesis. He died in Tehran two years prior to the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1313/1896. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, pp. 20–29.

<sup>75</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 497. Cf. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 9, p. 12464, s.v. 'Shiblī'.

Qā'ānī's *Dīvān* has been published numerous times in Tehran, Tabriz, and also in India, with the first complete version published four years after his death in Tehran in 1274/1857. His *Dīvān* consists of 21,000 to 22,000 couplets, including *qaṣā'id*, *musamaṭāt*, *tarjī'āt*, *ghazalīyāt*, *mathnavīyāt*, *qaṭa'āt* and *rubā'īyāt*.<sup>76</sup> According to Browne, Qā'ānī is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets. He further asserts that while Qā'ānī's command of the language is vast, he lacked honour and moral standards. Qā'ānī commended men of authority as long as they were in power, and criticised them as soon as they fell.<sup>77</sup> He was also one of a very few Persian poets who mimicked actual mannerisms of speech or diction. He did this, for example, in a well-known conversation between an old man and a child, both of whom are distressed with a stammer. He made a significant, if not the most major, contribution to the development of neoclassical Persian poetry in the nineteenth-century.

### Qā'ānī and Ḥāfiz

Qā'ānī's poetry is similar to that of Ḥāfiz in terms of symbolism and imagery, and exhibits some parallels with his in its use of similar themes and topoi. The following comparisons demonstrate these similarities. The first couplet is an example of *sirqat-i shi'r*.

Qā'ānī      گفت مارا جلوۀ معشوق در این کار داشت<sup>78</sup>      گفتمش در عین وصل این ناله و فریاد چیست

I asked: Why this crying and lament at the moment of union?  
It replied: The manifestation of the Beloved has caused my disarray!

Ḥāfiz      گفت مارا جلوۀ معشوق در این کار داشت<sup>79</sup>      گفتمش در عین وصل این ناله و فریاد چیست

I asked: Why this crying and lament at the moment of union?  
It replied: The manifestation of the Beloved has caused my disarray!

<sup>76</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 1, pp. 96–97. Cf. M. Muhājir, *Vāzhigān-i adabīyāt va guftimān-i adabī* (Tehran: Āgāh, 1343/1964), and M. S. Kadkanī, *Mūsīqi-i shi'r* (Tehran: Āgāh, 1381/2002), pp. 595–606, for a good description of these various types of poetic forms.

<sup>77</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 329.

<sup>78</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, ed. M. J. Mahjūb (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1336/1957), p. 897.

<sup>79</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal 77*, v. 2.

The example below demonstrates *taḍmīn*, the quotation of a hemistich of another poet's composition in one's own poem.<sup>80</sup>

Qā'ānī                      شیوه جنات تجری تحتها الانهار داشت<sup>81</sup>                      الغرض با آب غلمان چشمه سار حور را

In sum the fountain head of the maidens of paradise through the aqua vitae of the angelic heavenly men  
Seemed to be like an apparition of paradise under which streams of water flowed

Ḥāfīz                      شیوه جنات تجری تحتها الانهار داشت<sup>82</sup>                      چشم حافظ زیر بام قصر آن حوری سرشت

Beneath the roof of the castle of the one whose nature is like that of an angel, Ḥāfīz's eyes  
Seemed to be like an apparition of paradise under which streams of water flowed

The following verses are an example of *naẓīra*; their rhyme and metre mimicking the style and methods used by Ḥāfīz.

Qā'ānī                      با دوستان بهل که بصدق و صفا رود<sup>83</sup>                      این پنج روز عمر گرامی عزیز دار

Treasure these five valuable days of life;  
Humbly spend them with friends in honesty and purity.

Ḥāfīz                      چون صوفیان صومعه دار از صفا رود<sup>84</sup>                      حافظ بکوی میکنده دایم بصدق دل

With wholeheartedness, Ḥāfīz always goes to streets of the wine-house,  
Like the cloister-keeping Sufis, he goes out of sincerity.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Losensky, *Welcoming Figḥānī*, p. 106.

<sup>81</sup> Qā'ānī *Shīrāzī*, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 897.

<sup>82</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 77, v. 8.

<sup>83</sup> Qā'ānī *Shīrāzī*, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 903.

<sup>84</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 220, v. 7.

<sup>85</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

Qā'ānī<sup>86</sup> حیفت از آن نفس که به چون و چرا رود چون کس خبر ندارد از اسرار علم غیب

Because no one knows the mystical secrets,  
It would be a shame if a breath was wasted in debate.

Hāfīz<sup>87</sup> زان رهگذر که بر سر کویش چرا رود مارا به آب دیده شب و روز ماجراست

Day and night our obsession is crying,  
As to reason why someone might walk on her street.

Qā'ānī<sup>88</sup> بیگانه آید از بدرون آشنا رود روی گشاده دار و لبی بسته تا ز در

Have a cheerful face and closed lips so that  
If a stranger comes in, he leaves as a friend.

Hāfīz<sup>89</sup> بر روی ما رواست اگر آشنا رود بر خاک راه یار نهادیم روی خویش

Our face is placed on the dust of the friend's path,  
It would be lawful if the friend were to walk all over us.<sup>90</sup>

Qā'ānī<sup>91</sup> آشفته روز آنکه ترا در قفا رود زلفت چو ما نگون و پریشان و در همست

Your hair, like us, is dishevelled, forlorn and gloomy,  
How gloomily pass the days in your absence.

Hāfīz<sup>92</sup> گر ماه مهر پرور من در قبا رود خورشید خاوری کند از رشک جامه چاک

From envy, the eastern sun splits her garment,  
If under a gown my loving moon hides.

<sup>86</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 904.

<sup>87</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 220, v. 6.

<sup>88</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 904.

<sup>89</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 220, v. 4.

<sup>90</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>91</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 904.

<sup>92</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 220, v. 3.

Qā'ānī<sup>93</sup> پنجه انداخته در پنجه شاهین دارم دست در حلقه آن طره پر چین دارم

My hands are curled in those wavy locks,  
My fists are twisted in falcon claws.

Hāfiz<sup>94</sup> تکیه بر عهد تو و باد صبا نتوان کرد دست در حلقه آن زلف دوتا نتوان کرد

There can be no reaching into that tangled lock,  
There can be no depending on your promises and the eastern breeze!

Qā'ānī<sup>95</sup> عشق با سرو و گل و سنبل و نسرين دارم در هوای قد و اندام و خط و عارض یار

In yearning for the stature, tallness, dusky line and visage of the beloved,  
I have a love for the cypress, rose, hyacinth and jasmine.<sup>96</sup>

Hāfiz<sup>97</sup> نه میل لاله و نسرين نه برگ نسترن دارم چو در گلزار اقبالش خرامانم بحمدالله

When I am strolling in the rose bed of her acceptance, praise be to God,  
For I have no desire for tulips and roses, or the petals of the narcissus.<sup>98</sup>

The verses below demonstrate *tattabu'* because they imitate an original style and method of poetry, in this case, that written by Hāfiz.

Qā'ānī<sup>99</sup> خلاف من که نباشد خبر ز خویشتم ز خویشتن بجهان هر کسی خبر دارد

Everyone has some awareness of themselves in this world,  
Except I who have no knowledge of myself!

Hāfiz<sup>100</sup> دریغ و درد که غافل ز کار خویشتم عیان نشد که چرا آمدم کجا رفتم

It did not become clear why I came or where I went,  
Alas, I am oblivious to my own affairs!

<sup>93</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 913.

<sup>94</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 136, v. 1.

<sup>95</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 914.

<sup>96</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>97</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 327, v. 9.

<sup>98</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>99</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 914.

<sup>100</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 342, v. 3.

Qā'ānī                      101 زسوز آتش دل دود خیزد از کفتم                      پس از هلاک تنم گریه دجله غرق کنند

If after death, my body in a Tigris they drown,  
From the flames of the heart's fire, smoke shall rise from my shroud.

Ḥāfīz                      102 کاز آتش درونم دود از کفن برآید                      بگشای تربتم را بعد از وفات و بنگر

After death, open my tomb and look,  
For from the fire within, smoke shall rise from the shroud.<sup>103</sup>

Qā'ānī                      104 من خود از عیب خود ابا نکتم                      دوستی گفت عیب من با غیر

A friend spoke of my faults with a stranger,  
I shall not hesitate to mention my own faults.

Ḥāfīz                      105 ای عزیز من نه عیب آن، به که پنهانی بود                      دی عزیزی گفت حافظ میخورد پنهان شراب

Last night a dear one said, Ḥāfīz drinks wine in secret,  
O my dear, this is no crime, however, it is better done in secret.

### **Furūghī Baṣṭāmī (d. 1274/1857)**

Mīrzā 'Abbās Furūghī, the son of Āqā Mūsā Baṣṭāmī, was born in Iraq in 1213/1798. He lost his father when he was sixteen and then travelled to Iran with his mother. There he resided in Sārī, a town in the northeast province of Gīlān with his uncle, Dūst 'Alī Khān. The young Mīrzā 'Abbās Furūghī was determined to learn to read and write, and became literate through reading the *dīvāns* of great poets, such as Sa'dī and Ḥāfīz. He also developed a talent for poetry and became a popular poet, choosing the pen name, 'Miskīn'.<sup>106</sup>

With the help of his uncle, Dūst 'Alī Khān, Mīrzā 'Abbās Furūghī was introduced to Faṭḥ-'Alī Shāh. He composed a *ghazal* for the Shāh which the monarch found pleasant and, as a result, Furūghī was ordered to go to Khurāsān to serve Shujā' al-Salṭana (one of the Shāh's sons). In 1249/1833, Furūghī accompanied Shujā' al-Salṭana to Tehran. He remained there

<sup>101</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 915.

<sup>102</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 233, v. 2.

<sup>103</sup> The first line of this translation follows that of Peter Avery.

<sup>104</sup> Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Qā'ānī Shīrāzī*, p. 971.

<sup>105</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 218, v. 9.

<sup>106</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 12, p. 18443, s.v. 'Miskīn'.

during the reign of Fath-‘Alī Shāh and part of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, then left Tehran for Iraq.

Furūghī familiarised himself with the works of mystics such as Bāyazīd Baṣṭāmī and al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr ibn Ḥallāj; his interest in their school of thought influenced his decision to spend time in solitude. The news of his solitary state reached Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who summoned him to court, where he grew fond of him and treated him with kindness. Although he wrote occasional panegyrics for the monarch, he never became a full-time court poet. In his poetry, there is some evidence of the influence of Sa‘dī’s style of writing. His attraction towards Sufism is reflected in most of his *ghazals*, and a feeling of mysticism is also apparent. There is no evidence of innovation, novelty or originality in his poetry, but because of his dynamic usage of the language of Sufism, this apparent unoriginality has been charged with fresh beauty and meaning. From his works, there remains only his *Dīvān*, consisting of approximately 6,500 couplets.<sup>107</sup>

### **Furūghī and Ḥāfiẓ**

Furūghī Baṣṭāmī is one of the mystical poets of the Qājār period who emulates Ḥāfiẓ in the realm of meaning and rhyme. With regard to mysticism, he follows Ḥāfiẓ by using similar mystical terms and themes, including words such as separation, (desire for) union, sage, beloved, asceticism, compassion, and so on. In composing ironic verses, his imitation of Ḥāfiẓ is quite apparent.<sup>108</sup> In examining his *Dīvān*, it is clear that his poetry was heavily influenced by Ḥāfiẓ. Literary plagiarism (*sirqat-i shi‘rī*) is also apparent in his poetry, where two or more similar words or phrases taken from another poet are inserted into one’s own poems to form the metre and rhyme. In terms of terminology and content, he also makes use of Ḥāfiẓ’s lexicon of love mysticism, his anticlericalism, and his opposition to hypocrisy. Although numerous examples of these similarities exist, only a few examples can be provided here.

The following verse is an example of *nazīra*, its rhyme and metre imitate Ḥāfiẓ’s style and methods:

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<sup>107</sup> Furūghī Baṣṭāmī, *Dīvān-i Furūghī Baṣṭāmī*, ed. Ḥ. R. Qilichkhānī (Tehran: Rūznih, 1376/1998).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11–20.

Furūghī                   <sup>109</sup> استخوانم/ ز لحد رقص کنان برخیزد/                   گر پس از مرگ قدم بر سر خاکم بنهی

If after death, you come to pass my tomb,  
My bones will rise from the grave, dancing!

Hāfiz                   <sup>110</sup> تا به به بویت/ ز لحد رقص کنان برخیزم/                   بر سر تربت من با می و مطرب بنشین

At the head of my tomb, with wine and minstrel sit,  
So that by your scent, dancing, I may rise!<sup>111</sup>

In the following verses, Furūghī follows Hāfiz's poetic rhyme and wording, referred to as *tattabu'* in literary terms.

Furūghī                   <sup>112</sup> برق یاس آمد و بر کشت طلبکاران زد                   تا خط سبز تو از یاسمن چهره دمید

Since the dusky line sprung from the jasmine of your countenance,  
The lilac stem [of despair] came out and dashed [the hopes of] the field of the seekers.

Hāfiz                   <sup>113</sup> دست غیب آمد و بر سینه نامحرم زد                   مدعی خواست که آید به تماشگاه راز

The adversary sought to come to the spectacle of the mystery,  
An invisible hand came out and struck the chest of the intruder!

In examining Furūghī's *Dīvān*, many more examples could be exhibited here to show the deep influence of Hāfiz on his style and expression. However, due to reasons of space the few verses presented above must suffice to indicate this.

### Yaghmā Jandaqī (d. 1276/1859)

Mīrzā Raḥīm Yaghmā Jandaqī was born in 1196/1781 in the village of Jandaq. His family was poor and he had to work as a camel-driver to earn the only income supporting his family. As a young man, he began writing poems under his chosen *nom de plume*, 'Majnūn'. As a result of constant slander by jealous rivals, Yaghmā fell into the hands of a governor called

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 195, v. 9.

<sup>110</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shūrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 336, v. 4.

<sup>111</sup> The first line of this translation follows that of Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>112</sup> Furūghī Baṣṭāmī, *Ghazalīyāt-i Furūghī Baṣṭāmī*, ed. M. Mushfiq (Tehran: Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh, 1336/1958), p. 131.

<sup>113</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shūrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 152, v. 4.

Ja'far Sulṭān, who had him arrested, beaten and subsequently thrown in jail. Sheriffs then sent soldiers to his place of residence to confiscate all his possessions. After escaping from prison, Yaghmā changed his name to Abū'l Ḥasan and also changed his pen name to 'Yaghmā' (meaning plundered, usurped). By wearing a Sufi frock to conceal his identity, he left his home town for Baghdad, where he spent some time until his innocence was proven. He then returned home for a time before travelling to Tehran where he met the prime minister, Ḥājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, who was an exponent of Sufi teachings. Āqāsī grew fond of Yaghmā and appointed him to a ministerial position in Kāshān. After a short while, Yaghmā left Kāshān and began travelling before returning to his home town where he died at the age of eighty.

His style of poetry follows the path of the classical masters, though he showed a vision far beyond his time: Yaghmā is one of the few Persian poets who wrote only in Persian, free of foreign (Arabic) words.<sup>114</sup> Not surprisingly, he never praised any king or government official or composed panegyric verses.<sup>115</sup> His *ghazals* are close to the style of Ḥāfiz's poetry, and he is known for his condemnation of religious hypocrisy and for his anticlerical writings.<sup>116</sup>

His *Dīvān* consists mostly of *ghazals* and some prose; his poetry adds up to 10,886 verses. Yaghmā made a major contribution to Persian poetry. He is most commonly remembered for his disdain of the Arabic language, and his great effort to preserve his work independent of any foreign words.

### **Yaghmā and Ḥāfiz**

In studying the poetry of Yaghmā, one can observe that in his battles with clerics, he often used Ḥāfiz's style to transmit his message. In his *ghazals* there are many other similarities to those of Ḥāfiz—similarities both in meaning and rhyme, which the following comparisons demonstrate:

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<sup>114</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Dīvān-i ash'ār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, ed. S. 'A. A. Dāvūd (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1369/1990), p. 5.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>116</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, Vol. 1, pp. 496–500.

Yaghmā      117 واعظ از وی خوبتر می داند این افسانه را      سر سالوس و ریا پرسیدن از یغما چه سود

What good is it to ask Yaghmā the mysteries of hypocrisy and deceit?  
The preacher knows this myth better than he!

Hāfiz      118 در حضورش نیز می گویم نه غیبت می کنم      واعظ ما بوی حق نشنید بشنو کاین سخن

Perceived not the scent of truth our preacher, hear this word,  
In his presence I also speak, no calumny I make.

Yaghmā      119 چیست غیر از جان سپاری در رهش تدبیر ما      دوست دشمن، مدعی داور، وفا تقصیر ما

Friend is a foe, the adversary an arbiter, and our fault is fidelity.  
What is our plan, other than leaving the soul on her path?

Hāfiz      120 چیست یاران طریقت بعد از این تدبیر ما      دوش از مسجد سوی میخانه آمد پیر ما

Last night, our sage came out of the mosque and went to the tavern,  
So now, peers of the way, what must be our plan?<sup>121</sup>

Yaghmā      122 تا چه خواهد کرد با جهال امت پیر ما      شیخ و قاضی سر زدند از ملت اسلام عشق

The shaykh and the judge have denied love for Muslims,  
Let us see what Our Master has in mind for this ignorant tribe.

<sup>117</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Dīvān-i ash'ār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, p. 99, v. 11.

<sup>118</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 352, v. 3.

<sup>119</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu'ī-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, ed. S. 'A. A. Dāvūd (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1357/1979), Vol. 1, *ghazal* 8, v. 1.

<sup>120</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 10, v. 1.

<sup>121</sup> This translation follows that of Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>122</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu'ī-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 8, v. 9.

Ḥāfiẓ                      روی سوی خانهٔ خمّار دارد بیر ما<sup>123</sup>                      ما مریدان روی سوی قبله چون آریم چون

How can we, the disciples, turn our faces towards the Kaaba,  
When Our Master has set his on the tavern?<sup>124</sup>

Yaghmā                      گردن ما و به پای تو کمند افتادست<sup>125</sup>                      دام نیرنگ تو نازم که به بند افتادست

I revel in your deceit, for it has enchained the neck,  
And hence, a lasso has fallen at your feet!

Ḥāfiẓ                      دل سودا زده از غصّه دو نیم افتادست<sup>126</sup>                      تا سر زلف تو در دست نسیم افتادست

As soon as the end of your tresses fell into the hands of the breeze,  
The devoted heart broke into two halves with sorrow.

Yaghmā                      ایزدم در صف آن قوم که هوشیار انند<sup>127</sup>                      گر به کوثر نبرم مستی می حشر کند

May the Lord interrogate me in the line of the sober,  
If I do not deliver the intoxicating wine to the river of paradise.

Ḥāfiẓ                      خراب بادهٔ لعل تو هشیار انند<sup>128</sup>                      غلام نرگس مست تو تاجدار انند

The captives of your drunken eye are the wearers of crowns;  
Those wrecked on the wine of your ruby lips are the sober.

<sup>123</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 10, v. 2.

<sup>124</sup> This translation follows that of Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>125</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu‘i-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 50, v. 1.

<sup>126</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 36, v. 1.

<sup>127</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu‘i-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 74, v. 5.

<sup>128</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 195, v. 1.

Yaghmā                      <sup>129</sup>گر تو ضحاکى و زلفين سيه مار انند                      خون خلقى به تکلف بخورى اى لب پار

O Beloved, your lips drink the blood of the whole of creation.  
If you are *Ḍaḥḥāk*,<sup>130</sup> your tresses are black snakes.

Ḥāfiẓ                      <sup>131</sup>مرو به صومعه کانجا سيه کار انند                      بيا به ميکده و چهره ار غوانى کن

Come to the tavern and put some colour in your cheek,  
Do not go to the cloister, where sinners abide.

The following are examples of *naẓīra*:

Yaghmā                      <sup>132</sup>که نثار قدم پيک صبا نتوان کرد                      گر غبارى ز کف پاى تو آرد سر چيست

If the messenger of the eastern breeze brings the dust trodden under your feet,  
What value has a head to be gifted to the messenger's feet?

Ḥāfiẓ                      <sup>133</sup>تکيه بر عهد تو و باد صبا نتوان کرد                      دست در حلقه آن زلف دوتا نتوان کرد

There can be no reaching into that tangled lock,  
There can be no relying on your pact and the eastern breeze!

Yaghmā                      <sup>134</sup>کاین گناهی است که در مذهب ما نتوان کرد                      زاهد از توبه پیمانہ مرا عذر بده

O ascetic, exempt me from repentance for drinking,  
Because in our order, contrition for this would be a sin one cannot commit.

Ḥāfiẓ                      <sup>135</sup>طاعت غير تو در مذهب ما نتوان کرد                      بجز ابروى تو محراب دل حافظ نيست

Aside from your eyebrow, there is no prayer niche for Ḥāfiẓ's heart;  
In our sect, there can be no allegiance other than to you.

<sup>129</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu'ī-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 74, v. 6.

<sup>130</sup> *Ḍaḥḥāk* is the name of a mythical tyrant king who frequently appears in Firdawsī's epic of kings (*Shāhnāma*).

<sup>131</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 195, v. 8.

<sup>132</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu'ī-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 76, v. 5.

<sup>133</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 136, v. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu'ī-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 76, v. 6.

<sup>135</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 136, v. 10.

The following are examples of the poetic device of *tattabu* :

Yaghmā                    <sup>136</sup>روزگاری زده ام دست به دامن/ی چند                    تا کنم چاک به کوی تو گریبان/ی چند

A few days have passed since I decided  
To tear my clothes in your street.<sup>137</sup>

Ḥāfīz                    <sup>138</sup>محرمی کو که فرستم به تو پیغام/ی چند                    حسب حالی ننوشتی و شد ایام/ی چند

You have not written how things are for a few days,  
Where is a bosom friend that I may send you a message or two?<sup>139</sup>

Yaghmā                    <sup>140</sup>هزار کوكب بخت است و كوكب مسعود                    فراز سرو تو يك نيزه آفتاب جمال

The acclivity of your cypress-like stature is a spear of the sun,  
It is a thousand lucky and prosperous stars.

Ḥāfīz                    <sup>141</sup>زمین باختر میمون و طالع مسعود                    شد از خروج ریاحین چو آسمان روشن

From the burgeoning of sweet basil, the earth became bright as shining heaven,  
Blessed with lucky stars and auspicious ascendant.

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<sup>136</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu' i-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 84, v. 1.

<sup>137</sup> To tear one's clothes in the street is a metaphor representing a state of love and insanity.

<sup>138</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 182, v. 1.

<sup>139</sup> This translation follows that of Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>140</sup> Yaghmā Jandaqī, *Majmu' i-yi āthār-i Yaghmā Jandaqī*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 90, v. 2.

<sup>141</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 219, v. 4.

## **Ḥājj Mullā Hādī Sabzivārī (d. 1289/1872)**

Ḥājj Mullā Hādī Sabzivārī, the great Iranian philosopher and poet, was born in 1204/1797 in Sabzivār, in the province of Khurāsān, where he also died in 1289/1872. He wrote *Asrār al-ḥikmat (The Secrets of Philosophy)*, which, together with his Arabic treatise, *Sharḥ manzūma-yi ḥikmat (A Commentary on the Poem on Philosophy)*,<sup>142</sup> remain some of the most renowned works in the field of traditional philosophy in Iran today.

Not limited to philosophy, he also wrote poetry under the name Asrār and completed a commentary on the *mathnavī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlavī (Rūmī), the great mystic poet of Islam. In addition, Asrār was the faithful interpreter of Mullā Ṣadrā and wrote on transcendent theosophy.<sup>143</sup> His interpretations of Mullā Ṣadrā contributed to his becoming the ‘Master Thinker’ of Iranian philosophers. It could even be said that if circumstances had permitted him to give free rein to his genius as a mystical theosopher, he may have written more than Mullā Ṣadrā.<sup>144</sup> In his poetry Ḥāfiz’s influence is apparent, and hence, the language of *irfān* can be seen throughout his *ghazals*.<sup>145</sup> His *Dīvān* suggests a predilection towards Sufism and Sufi thought, and though he never openly claimed to be a Sufi, his lifestyle is evidence that he was and research suggests that he was a *sālik*.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 6, p. 8046, s.v. ‘Ḥikmat’. Cf. R. Q. Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣṣahā*, ed. Muṣaffā (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1388/2009), Vol. 1, p. 339.

<sup>143</sup> S. J. Āshtīyānī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl va ārā-yi falsafī-yi Mullā Ṣadrā* (Tehran: Bahār, 1378/1999), pp. 21–25. Cf. Shamīsā, *Naqd-i adabī*, p. 63. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā Qavāmī Shīrāzī, known as Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1051/1641), was a Persian philosopher and intellectual.

<sup>144</sup> Hādī Sabzivārī, *Dīvān-i asrār: Kullīyyāt-i ‘ash‘ār-i Fārsī-i Ḥājj Mullā Hādī-yi Sabzivārī*, ed. S. H. Amīn (Tehran: Ba‘that, 1380/2001), pp. 30–40.

<sup>145</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, pp. 343–44.

<sup>146</sup> J. Nurbakhsh, *Farhang Nūrbakhsh, Iṣṭilāḥāt-i taṣawwuf*, Vol. 3, p. 291–302, s.v. ‘Sālik’. This is usually said to a devoted individual whose only aims are to seek the truth through faith and to unite with the Beloved, God. A *sālik* is a person engaged in an Islamic spiritual path or Sufism. The word is derived from the Arabic word *sulūk*, which means to walk a spiritual path to God. To become a *sālik*, one must follow both the outer path and the inner path, the *ṭariqa* and the *ḥaqīqa* of Islam virtuously. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 8, p. 11759, s.v. ‘Sālik’.

It has been said that Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh visited Sabzivārī one day, and after being in his presence for some time, was so influenced by what he said that he decided to abdicate the throne. Sabzivārī advised him to remain as king, but to be a just and kind one.<sup>147</sup>

Sabzivārī's significance in Persian literature lies in his mystical language and his neoclassical poetry. He frequently allowed the mysticism and ambiguity, which have always been part of classical poetry, to remain in his verses, hence, his pen name: 'Asrār' ('Mystery'). His *Dīvān* consists of *ghazalīyāt*, miscellaneous verses, one *tarji* 'band, *mathnavīhā*, *rubā* 'īyāt, *du baytī* and *qaṭa* 'āt. He wrote approximately 1,600 couplets.

### Sabzivārī and Ḥāfiẓ

In studying Sabzivārī's collection of verses, it is evident that his *ghazals* closely parallel those of Ḥāfiẓ, in rhyme, meaning, metaphors, and even in the phonetic arrangement of syllables. Sabzivār's mystical language is also similar to that of Ḥāfiẓ and *sirqat-i shi* 'rī is apparent in his poetry. The following comparisons are an illustration of Sabzivārī's poetry and its similarity to that of Ḥāfiẓ. He composed an entire *ghazal*, an example of *istiqbāl*, in praise of Ḥāfiẓ, the rhyme-word of which is 'Ḥāfiẓ', and the first verse of which is as follows:

Sabzivārī

<sup>148</sup> همه غرقیم در احسان حافظ

هزاران آفرین بر جان حافظ

A thousand praises upon the spirit of Ḥāfiẓ,  
We are all drowned in the beneficence of Ḥāfiẓ!

<sup>147</sup> Sabzivārī, *Dīvān-i Asrār*, ed. Amīn, p. 79.

<sup>148</sup> Mu'īn, *Ḥāfiẓ-i shirīn-sukhan*, Vol. 1, p. 743.

The following are examples of *naẓīra*:

Sabzivārī      149 منظر روی تو زیب نظری نیست که نیست      شورش عشق تو در هیچ سری نیست که نیست

There is no head that is not full of the excitement of your love;  
There is no eye that does not adore the beauty of your face.

Ḥāfiẓ      150 منت خاک درت بر بصری نیست که نیست      روشن از پرتو رویت نظری نیست که نیست

There is no glance that is not illuminated by the radiance of your face;  
There is no eye not bound by the dust of your door.

Sabzivārī      151 که خوانند داستان ما به داستان در دبستانها      چنان کارم ز عشق او به رسوائی کشید اسرار

Because of her love, all my affairs have caused such disgrace, 'Asrār',  
These tales will be read in every school.

Ḥāfiẓ      152 نهان کی ماند آن رازی کز آن سازند محفلها      همه کارم ز خودکامی به بد نامی کشید آری

By following my own fancy, all my affairs led to disrepute,  
How do secrets remain secrets if spoken in every assembly?

Sabzivārī      153 کیمیای نظر کامل درویشان است      نقد عالم همه قلب است، ولی نقد صحیح

The world's coinage is all counterfeit, but the true coin  
Is the glance of the perfect dervishes!

Ḥāfiẓ      154 فتح آن در نظر رحمت درویشان است      گنج عزلت که طلسمات عجایب دارد

The compassionate vision of dervishes holds the key  
To the treasure of solitude, the talismanic mysteries.

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 737.

<sup>150</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 73, v. 1.

<sup>151</sup> Sabzivārī, *Dīvān-i Asrār*, ed. Amīn, *ghazal* 24, v. 7.

<sup>152</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 1, v. 6.

<sup>153</sup> Sabzivārī, *Dīvān-i Asrār*, ed. Amīn, *ghazal* 45, v. 3.

<sup>154</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 49, v. 2.

### **Ḥājj Mīrzā Ḥasan Iṣfahānī ‘Şafī ‘Alī Shāh’ (d. 1316/1898)**

Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Iṣfahānī, also known by his Sufi title, Şafī ‘Alī Shāh, was born in 1251/1835 in Iṣfahān. His grandfather, Muḥammad Bāqir Iṣfahānī, also known as Şafī, was a trader who died in Yazd during one of his trips. Şafī ‘Alī Shāh stayed in Yazd for twenty years to complete his education.<sup>155</sup>

In 1280/1863, he planned to travel to Mecca via India. Once in India, he met many dervishes and Sufi masters; during this time he completed his book, *Zubdat al-asrār*, which he had started writing in Kirmān in praise of his master (*pīr*), Raḥmat ‘Alī Shāh. *Zubdat al-asrār* was completed and published in Bombay.

His two-volume versified interpretation of the Qur’ān is, according to Baraq and Lewisohn, a ‘literary and spiritual masterpiece’.<sup>156</sup> During his youth, he travelled to Kirmān, Shīrāz, India and, finally Tehran, where he lived for the rest of his life and passed away in 1316/1899 at the age of sixty-five.<sup>157</sup> Excluding his *Dīvān*, which contains *ghazals*, *qaṣā’id*, as well as poems in many other verse genres, his collected poetical works include a number of interesting mystical *mathnawī* poems, such as: *Baḥr al-ḥaqā’iq* (*The Sea of Truth*), *Mizān al-ma’rifā* (*The Balance of Knowledge*), *Irfān al-ḥaqq* (*Wisdom of God*) and *Zubdat al-asrār* (*The Best of Mysteries*); these total approximately 8,040 couplets. This does not include his immense versified Qur’ānic *tafsīr*, known as *Tafsīr-i Şafī ‘Alī Shāh*, which was “consists of over 32,000 rhyming couplets in the same meter as Rūmī’s *mathnavī*.”<sup>158</sup> According to Ma’şūm ‘Alī Shāh Shīrāzī, this work “in its total eloquence [is] one of most novel works and marvelous expressions of this imperial [i.e. Qājār] age.”<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Şafī ‘Alī Shāh, *Dīvān-i Şafī ‘Alī Shāh*, ed. A. K. Baraq (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1336/1957), p. 1.

<sup>156</sup> Leonard Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism’, *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 61 (1998), part 1, p. 454.

<sup>157</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 9, pp. 13218–19, s.v. ‘Şafī ‘Alī Shāh’.

<sup>158</sup> Lewisohn, ‘An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism’, p. 454.

<sup>159</sup> Cited by Lewisohn, *Ibid.*, p. 454.

His Qur'ānic work consists of over 32,000 rhyming couplets in the same meter as Rūmī's *mathnavī*, and was considered by Shīrāzī to be in its total eloquence one of most novel works and marvelous expressions of this imperial [i.e. Qājār] age.<sup>160</sup>

He was a neoclassical poet of the Khurāsānī and Turkistānī styles, and made a great literary contribution to classical Persian and Sufi poetry.

Şafī 'Alī Shāh founded a branch of the Ni'matullāhī Sufi order in Tehran, and among his dedicated followers were many princes, aristocrats and court officials.<sup>161</sup> His verses are evidence of his Sufi affiliations:

صلح کل بر هر گروه و مذهب<sup>162</sup>

من تو خود دانی که صوفی مشربم

You know that I behave as a Sufi;  
I am completely at peace with every group and religion.

Many literary historians believe that Şafī, because of his religious, Sufi and philosophical beliefs, should not be classed as a poet. Other critics consider him a great mystical poet of Persia.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Lewisohn, 'An Introduction to the History of Modern Persian Sufism'', part 3, pp. 437–64.

<sup>161</sup> 'A. Anwār, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 'Anjoman-e Okowwat,' *Elr*, Vol. 2, p. 88.

<sup>162</sup> 'A. K. Baraq, *Justujū dar aḥvāl va āthār-i Şafī 'Alī Shāh* (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1352/1973), p. 22.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

## Şafî 'Alî Shâh and Hâfiz

A close study of Şafî 'Alî Shâh's *Dīvân* reveals that his poetry follows that of Hâfiz in terms of rhyme, mystical themes, metaphors and metre. In his *ghazals*, he adheres to the mystical language and style of Hâfiz. The themes used in his poetry resemble those of Hâfiz in terms of *tattabu'* and *naẓīra*. The following examples show the resemblance between Şafî's poetry and that of Hâfiz:

Şafî 'Alî Shâh      <sup>164</sup> مست از خانه برون رفت و قیامت برخاست      دلبر امروز کمر بست و بقامت برخاست

Today, the beloved rose and dressed up,  
Intoxicated, she left the house and stirred up the resurrection.

Hâfiz      <sup>165</sup> بتماشای تو آشوب قیامت برخاست      مست بگذشتی و از خلوتیان ملکوت

Intoxicated you passed by, and from the solitude of angels,  
The tumult of resurrection arose at the sight of you!

Şafî 'Alî Shâh      <sup>166</sup> گشت افسانه و بر هر سر بازار بماند      راز عشق تو که از خلق نهان می کردم

The secret of your love that I tried to conceal,  
Became a tale in every marketplace.

Hâfiz      <sup>167</sup> قصه ماست که بر هر سر بازار بماند      محتسب شیخ شد و فسق خود از یاد ببرد

The sheriff became a cleric and forgot his sin,  
Our tale remained in every marketplace.

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>165</sup> Hâfiz, *Dīvân-i Hâfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 21, v. 5.

<sup>166</sup> Baraq, *Justujū dar ahvāl va āthār-i Şafī 'Alī Shāh*, p. 72.

<sup>167</sup> Hâfiz, *Dīvân-i Hâfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 178, v. 4. For further comparative examples of Hâfiz and other poets of the Qājār period, refer to the appendix.

## Conclusion

As Iran experienced the turbulence of the constitutional era, poets joined the ranks of the overtly patriotic by composing nationalistic poems. Poets such as ‘Ārif Qazvīnī, Bahār and many others were inspired by Ḥāfiẓ and other classical masters. Ḥāfiẓ was considered a true Persian and a poet beyond compare. He was admired for many things, including his honesty, wit, and his stance against hypocrisy and deception, but perhaps the most important element in the reception of Ḥāfiẓ in nineteenth and twentieth-century Persia is patriotism. We must bear in mind, when calling on Ḥāfiẓ as an Iranian nationalist, that the discourse of Iranian nationalism adopted in the Qājār period was particular to that day and age. Classical poets such as Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ did not share the concerns of constitutional nationalists. Nevertheless, these poets played a key role for them; the one poet that has been universally admired by nationalists and nationalist poets alike is Firdawsī. A brief reading through the *Dīvān* is enough to demonstrate that Ḥāfiẓ himself was influenced by Firdawsī—at least with regard to his love of Persia. We can find numerous examples of kings and heroes from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī echoed in the verses of Ḥāfiẓ, including names such as Rustam, Tahamtan, Tūr, Bahman, Dārā, Zardusht, Jamshid, Afrāsīyāb, Bārbud, Bahrām Gūr, Sīyāmak, Shīda, Shirin, Firaydūn, Qubād, Kāvūs, Kasrā, Kay, Kīyān, Kay-qubād and Kaykhusraw.<sup>168</sup>

The following are a few of Ḥāfiẓ’s verses that refer to characters from Firdawsī’s epic poem:

شرمی از مظلّمه خون سیاووشش باد!<sup>169</sup>

شاه ترکان سخن مدعیان می شنود

The king of the Turks was listening to the word of caluminators;  
May some shame be his for the wronging of Sīyāvūsh.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>168</sup> J. Kh. Muṭlaq, ‘Ḥāfiẓ va ḥimāsa-yi milli-yi Iran’, *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Summer 1988), pp. 565–572.

<sup>169</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 105, v. 4.

<sup>170</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 144; *ghazal* 101.

The above verse is a reference to the story of Sīyāvūsh, who, in the *Shāhnāma*, is killed in Tūrān.

شاه ترکان چو پسندید و به چاهم انداخت  
دستگیر ار نشود لطف تهمتَن چه کنم؟<sup>171</sup>

When the king of the Turks approved and threw me into the pit,  
If Tahamtan proves no rescue, what can I do?<sup>172</sup>

This is a reference to the story of Bizhan and Manizha.

سوختم در چاه صبر از بهر آن شمع چگل  
شاه ترکان فارغ است از حال ما، کو رستمی؟<sup>173</sup>

In the well of patience I burned for the sake of that candle of Chigil.<sup>174</sup>  
The king of the Turks disdains our condition. Where a Rustam?<sup>175</sup>

While many poets of the Qājār period imitated Ḥāfiẓ (as we have seen repeatedly throughout this chapter) and attempted to follow in his footsteps, none equalled him in the genre of lyric poetry. Ḥāfiẓ was also deemed worthy in the eyes of the elite and scholars, particularly the poets of the Qājār era, because of his opposition to ascetics, clerics and religious hypocrites. Ḥāfiẓ was the voice of his people, continuously battling deceit and dishonesty.

منم آن شاعر ساحر که به افسون سخن  
از نی کلک همه شهد و شکر می بارم<sup>176</sup>

That poet-magician I am, who, with the sorcery of speech  
From the reed-pen, all sweetness I pour.<sup>177</sup>

As Islāmī so rightly observes, ‘Ḥāfiẓ has squeezed the essence of the entire history of Iran into a comparatively small collection—this is his miracle.’<sup>178</sup> This perception of Ḥāfiẓ is not limited to any particular group or philosophical trend. The concept of the close attachment between Ḥāfiẓ and the national spirit of Iran is shared, from the most zealous Aryan

<sup>171</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 345, v. 5.

<sup>172</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 416; *ghazal* 337.

<sup>173</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 470, v. 5.

<sup>174</sup> ‘Chigil is situated to the southwest of Lake Issyk’kul’. Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 88.

<sup>175</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 556; *ghazal* 501.

<sup>176</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 324, v. 5.

<sup>177</sup> This translation follows that of Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>178</sup> M. ‘Alī Islāmī Nudūshan, *Chihār sukhangu-yi vijdān-i Iran, Firdawsī, Mawlavī, Sa’dī va Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Nashr-i Qatra, 1381/2002), p. 183. Cf. Ferdowsi, ‘The “Emblem”’, p. 670.

nationalists to the supreme leader of the Islamic Republic. Even in disagreements over the essence and sources of this connection, this strong bond of affection continues to grow stronger.<sup>179</sup> Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry, though written in a Sunni Sufi language, has always been—and remains—relevant in both the Sufi (and, in certain instances, anti-Sufi) and the Shi’i contexts, because his language is based on Qur’ānic verses, the basis for both Sufi and Shi’i orders, as the following verse indicates:

حافظا می خور و رندی کن و خوش باش ولی      دام تزویر مکن چون دگران قرآن را<sup>180</sup>  
 Ḥāfiẓ, drink wine, play the rapsallion and be joyful, but  
 Do not, as others do, falsify the Qur’ān.<sup>181</sup>

It should not go without mention that the sharp tongue of Ḥāfiẓ in criticizing the hypocrisy and deceit has in addition been always an area of interest to the poets, writers and scholars of Persian literature and poetry. As we can see from the examples from the seven selected poets of Persia featured in this chapter, the mystical turns of speech and the anti-clerical language of Ḥāfiẓ seems to have had a greater impact on their verse than any other factors found in his poetry.

By choosing these seven poets of the Zand and Qājār period I have tried to make a case that in some remote cases even unconsciously some poets have implemented ambiguous language and mystical terms to further promote their poetry, but whether this has been an intended act or merely a preference in composing poems remains to be discovered. However, my intention here has been to provide solid evidence that amongst all the various layers that exist in the poetic language of Ḥāfiẓ, the most popular dimensions of his expression remain his mystical language, anticlericalism and romanticism. The popularity of Ḥāfiẓ’s brilliant poetization of these key themes, remains in my opinion the reason why so many of the *ghazal* writers of this period were inspired by Ḥāfiẓ and why their poetry is filled with similar mystical and romantic concepts and ambiguous poetic language that ultimately largely derive from him.

The reception of Ḥāfiẓ can also be observed in the period immediately after the end of the Zand era. For example, Ādhar Bigdilī condemned the Indian style of poetry and those who

<sup>179</sup> Ferdowsi, “The “Emblem””, p. 670.

<sup>180</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 9, v. 13.

<sup>181</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 31; *ghazal* 9.

composed in that style merely because it lacked the necessary components of the ‘Irāqī style, which was more commonly used during the Qājār period. Ādhar followed Ḥāfiz’s style, thus we come across different types of verse imitation of Ḥāfiz.<sup>182</sup> He also followed Ḥāfiz’s style of confronting hypocrisy and deceit. In terms of theme and symbolism, there are further similarities between Ādhar’s poetry and Ḥāfiz’s language. Two years after the death of Ādhar Bigdilī, a famous poet of the early Qājār period was born—Viṣāl Shīrāzī. He was also greatly influenced by Ḥāfiz, and, as demonstrated in this chapter, he clearly imitated Ḥāfiz’s rhymes and metres; we see further examples of this imitation of Ḥāfiz in Viṣāl’s similar use of imagery, similes and content. Another poet and contemporary to Viṣāl was Qā’ānī Shīrāzī, who also followed Ḥāfiz in terms of imagery, metaphor, themes and topoi, as has been demonstrated in some detail in this chapter.

The language of Ḥāfiz continued to inspire poets of this period. Furūghī Bastāmī was greatly influenced by the mystical side of Ḥāfiz’s poetic language, meaning and rhyme. He followed Ḥāfiz by using similar numinous terms. His ironic verses are imitations of Ḥāfiz’s style and the terminology and content of his poetry matches Ḥāfiz’s vocabulary of love mysticism and anticlericalism.

Yaghmā Jandaqī, not surprisingly, was another poet influenced by the magical poetic language of Ḥāfiz. In his collections we cannot find any trace of praise for monarchs or government officials, and we definitely do see clear similarities in his verse to Ḥāfiz’s philosophy of inspired libertinism (*rindī*). His *ghazals* are similar in style to Ḥāfiz’s poetry, and he is particularly recognised for his disapproval of religious hypocrisy and for his anticlerical views, which are largely reflections of Ḥāfiz’s school of thought.

By studying the work of Ḥājī Mullā Hādī Sabzivārī, the great Iranian philosopher and poet, one can clearly see that his *Dīvān* suggests a fondness towards Sufism and Sufi reflection, and though he never overtly claimed to be a Sufi, his lifestyle indicates that he was. However, in the history of Persian poetry, as Lewishon asserts, ‘Sabzivārī figures as only a very minor poet, he authored a number of memorable *ghazals* which display not only extraordinary

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<sup>182</sup> J. Humā’ī, *Funūn-i balāghat va ṣanā’āt-i adabī* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1363/1985), Vol. 2, p. 395.

passion and feeling but great insight and depth.’<sup>183</sup> Lewishon further asserts that Savzivārī’s *Dīvān* represents Ḥāfiẓ as the most dominant and influential figure on his poetry.<sup>184</sup> Sabzivārī’s verse, being influenced by Ḥāfiẓ’s imagery and expressions, offers examples of *naẓīra*, or in some cases *istiqbāl*, which indicate that he often followed Ḥāfiẓ almost line by line in his poetry.<sup>185</sup>

Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Iṣfahānī, also known by his Sufi title, Ṣafī ‘Alī Shāh, was another follower of Ḥāfiẓ. A rigorous examination of Ṣafī ‘Alī Shāh’s *Dīvān* reveals that his poetry follows that of Ḥāfiẓ in many aspects, including rhyme, mystical themes, metaphors and metre. In his *ghazals*, he coheres with the mystical poetic language and style of Ḥāfiẓ. The themes used in his poetry bear a resemblance to those of Ḥāfiẓ in terms of *tattabu’* and *naẓīra*.

To sum up, the above snapshot from the *Dīvāns* of seven of the most important poets of the late Zand and the Qājār period may not give a comprehensive summary of Ḥāfiẓ’s impact on the poets of this period, but it does hopefully provide an impressive synopsis of the undeniable literary impact that this great fourteenth-century poet had upon the neo-classical poets and poetics of nineteenth-century Persia.

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<sup>183</sup> L. Lewishon, “Ḥāfiẓ and Islamic Philosophy,” in *Journal of Persianate Studies* (forthcoming 2013) – private manuscript lent to me by the author.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

## **Chapter IV**

### **Ḥāfīz and the Poets of Pahlavi Iran**

This chapter examines Ḥāfiz’s place among the poets of the Zand and Pahlavi eras. I begin with a brief summary of the sociopolitical situation in Iran from 1925 to 1978, followed by a glimpse at the literary milieu of Pahlavi Persia, in which I assess the work and thought of Aḥmad Kasravī, Šādiq Hidāyat (d. 1330/1951) and Muḥammad Taqī Bahār. I then undertake an overview of literary developments in Iran from 1925 to 1978, referring briefly to the late Qājār period but focusing mainly on the Pahlavi era. I assess five poets of the period and the influence of Ḥāfiz on their work. These poets are Malik al-Shu‘arā’ Bahār, Nimā Yūshij, Suhrāb Sipihri, Shahriyār and Aḥmad Shāmlū.

### **A Summary of the Sociopolitical Circumstances of Iran (1925–78)**

In the period prior to the rise of Riḍā Shāh (d. 1323/1944) in 1925, the sociopolitical situation in Iran was marked by chaos, particularly in the economic realm. Shuster (the former treasurer-general of Iran) observed that the constitutional government experienced such financial hardship that it was unable to pay a large number of pensions. Pension warrants, which were issued with substantial regularity at this time, were difficult to change into hard cash at the treasury.<sup>1</sup> Shuster further reports:

Numbers of small shop-keepers, and, at times, wealthy merchants bought up these warrants for a song and put them into the hands of professional ‘pension-collectors’. These men, having accumulated a number of warrants, would hire crowds of miserable-looking men and women to stand around the Treasury pay-office and shout, moan, beat their breasts, tear their hair, and roll on the ground in well-feigned fits—all the while waving their pension warrants and calling on Allah to save them and their children from starving.<sup>2</sup>

During Riḍā Shāh’s reign, a number of significant shifts took place, leading to a slow change of course in the sociopolitical and economic decline. These improvements came at a price,

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<sup>1</sup> W. M. Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia: A Personal Narrative* (Washington, D.C.: Mage Publishers, 1987), p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Interestingly, but not surprisingly, I came across the verse by Ḥāfiz, with which Shuster starts his book (p. 1). It is appropriate to note it, as it is clear evidence that Ḥāfiz influences nations other than the Iranians. The verse reads:

ما بدین در نه پی حشمت و جاه آمده ایم      از بد حادثه اینجا به پناه آمده ایم

Not in pursuit of pomp and pageant, to this door we have come:  
For shelter from ill fortune, here we have come.

and in spite of the formal preservation of constitutional and parliamentary elections, decision making became increasingly and exclusively controlled by the Shāh himself. Political life was extremely restricted as a result of the Shāh's tyrannical control and censorship of political opponents.<sup>3</sup> The death of 'Ishqī (d. 1303/1924), a famous contemporary poet and a nationalist, was later blamed on Riḍā Shāh. The clerical opposition leader, Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris (d. 1316/1938), a broadminded reformist, was imprisoned in 1929 and killed nine years later.<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad Muṣaddiq (d. 1345/1967), an eminent western-trained liberal, nationalist scholar, continued to attack Riḍā Shāh's programs in the *majlis*.<sup>5</sup> He was soon put out of office and confined to his estate.<sup>6</sup> Other important opponents were forced into silence; some were, for a time, tolerated by the regime. One of these was the former democratic leader of the Constitutional Revolution, Ḥasan Taqizāda (d. 1348/1970), who later became minister of finance.<sup>7</sup> He was a great scholar and a controversial cultural and political figure.<sup>8</sup>

More conspicuous was the fate of some of Riḍā Shāh's top advisers and aides-de-camp. 'Abdul Ḥusayn Timūrtāsh, an able counselor on whom the Shāh relied a great deal, died in prison after the oil negotiations of 1933. The Shāh had assumed that he was dishonest in his dealings. Lesser men accused of betrayal were similarly treated; other politicians continued to serve Riḍā Shāh to the end of his reign.<sup>9</sup> In order to effectively suppress any opposition to his reign, the Shāh allowed only official nationalism accentuating national homogeneity, anticlericalism, modernity and strength to thrive.<sup>10</sup>

The years 1925–41 witnessed the partial accomplishment of a transformation program far larger than had ever been attempted in Iran.<sup>11</sup> This was a period of secularism and

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<sup>3</sup> Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> 'A. Ḥ. Baniṣard, *Muqī'iyat-i Iran va naqsh-i Muṣaddiq* ([n.p], 1356/1978), p. 2. Cf. Ḥ. Makki, *Muddaris qahrimān-i āzādī* (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1358/1980), p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> A. Milani, *Eminent Persians*, Vol. 1, p. 236. Cf. J. Buzurgmihr, *Risidigi-yi farjāmī dar Dīvān-i kishvar* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahāmī-i Intishār, 1367/1989), p. 5–9.

<sup>7</sup> Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> Milani, *Eminent Persians*, Vol. 1, p. 321.

<sup>9</sup> Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. Cf. J. Groot, *Religion, Culture and Politics in Iran from the Qājārs to Khomeini* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007), pp. 167–68.

<sup>11</sup> C. Ghanī, *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1998), pp. 43–44.

modernisation that clearly rejected religious extremism.<sup>12</sup> Ākhūndzāda stated that religion and fanaticism had ruled Iran for over a millennium and yet the country had not benefited from such beliefs.<sup>13</sup> He asserted that the people of Iran should change their ways to see if progress could be made by the rejection of religious extremism; if it failed, they could always return to earlier ways. He offered a verse, written by Ḥāfīz, in support of his statement:<sup>14</sup>

از قیل و قال مدرسه حالی دلم گرفت  
یک چند نیز خدمت معشوق و می کنم<sup>15</sup>

Now I've sickened of the disputation of the schools  
Let me awhile again take up attendance upon wine and the beloved.<sup>16</sup>

During Riḍā Shāh's reign, culture and the arts were promoted, and Persian literature was given special attention.<sup>17</sup> Abrahamian asserts that 'the contact with the West—through travel, translations, and educational establishments—created modern ideas'.<sup>18</sup> It was during this period that the cornerstones of a more comprehensive transformation were laid. Public education became more widely available and Iran's identity as a monarchy was firmly established.<sup>19</sup>

In 1941, when the Allied Forces invaded Iran, Riḍā Shāh renounced the throne, ushering in a new epoch of independence; along with it came the unrestrained criticism of previous policies. This was a period of fervid reaction, not only against the previous political regime, but also against the literary customs that had been imposed during Riḍā Shāh's sovereignty. The Soviet-supported Tuda Party furnished a Marxist political platform and membership in the Party was popular among those in artistic and academic circles.<sup>20</sup> This new era, if not advantageous to successful government, proved a strong motivation for the world of arts and scholarship.

<sup>12</sup> Malakī, 'Mashrūṭīyat va Riḍā Khān', p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> B. Mu'minī, *Dīn va dawlat dar 'aṣr-i mashrūṭīyat* (Sweden: Bārān, 1993), p. 336.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 351, v. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 422; *ghazal* 343.

<sup>17</sup> Malakī, 'Mashrūṭīyat va Riḍā Khān', p. 72.

<sup>18</sup> Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup> E. Yarshater, *Iran Faces the Seventies* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 289.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

It was during this period that Ṣādiq Hidāyat began to attract notice and Jamālzāda resumed writing. In addition, a number of new scholars, notably Āl-i Aḥmad (d. 1348/1970)<sup>21</sup> and Ṣādiq Chūbak (d. 1377/1999),<sup>22</sup> all of whom promoted revolutionary principles, emerged. At the same time, Nimā began to be more widely read and cherished by a new cohort of poets that included Nādirpūr, Shāmlū and Farrukhzād.<sup>23</sup>

The sociopolitical situation and widespread rejuvenation program under Riḍā Shāh led to the development of a new literary movement. The new style of poetry by Nimā and short stories by Jamālzāda and Ṣādiq Hidāyat helped bring about this new literary movement.<sup>24</sup> Nimā's New Poetry (*Shi'r-i naw*) violated the rigid patterns of the division of syllables into short, long, and overlong, and disregarded earlier forms and styles. This move led to the emergence of Persian free verse.<sup>25</sup> Modernists contended that traditional styles could not meet the needs of contemporary society, and claimed that metre and other rudiments of classical poems obstructed the poetic phrasal idiom. This stream of New Poetry reached its zenith in the works of Nimā, who developed free verse. He substituted religious themes for social matters of interest by exploiting non-religious metaphors. Creative writing also began to profit from a straightforward and clear language that employed new styles and forms. It experienced a complete break with the earlier popular, but exaggerated neoclassical style. Like the poets, short story writers did not commend any Muslim public figures; rather they held Islam responsible for society's tribulations and regarded the West with admiration. They, too, encouraged good and accurate writing according to the new system that more closely resembled everyday language.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> H. Gulshirī, *Jidāl-i naqsh bā naqqāsh dar āthār-i Simin-i Dānishvar* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Nilūfar, 1376/1998), p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> 'A. Dastghayb, *Naqd-i āthār-i Ṣādiq Chūbak* (Tehran: Kānūn-i Taḥqīqāt-i Iqtisādī va Ijtimā'ī-i Pāzand, 1353/1974), p. 5. Cf. M. Ḥasan, *Naqd va taḥlīl va guzīda-yi dāstānhā-yi Ṣādiq Chūbak* (Tehran: Nashr-i Rūzgār, 1381/2002). 'Born on 5<sup>th</sup> August 1916; and died in Berkeley, Calif., 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1998, one of most acclaimed Persian short story writers and novelists of the twentieth-century'. M. R. Ghanoonparvar, 'Chubak, Sadeq', *Encyclopedia Iranica* online, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/chubak-sadeq>.

<sup>23</sup> Yarshater, *Iran Faces the Seventies*, p. 289. These poets will be properly introduced later in this chapter.

<sup>24</sup> K. Talatoff, *The Politics of Writing in Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), p. 22.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

## The Literary Milieu of Pahlavi Persia

This section of the chapter analyses the philosophical and literary discourses of nineteenth/twentieth-century Iranian thought; that is, those articulated by Aḥmad Kasravī, Šādiq Hidāyat and Muḥammad Taqī Bahār. To prepare a purposeful analysis of the formation of literary criticism in twentieth-century Iran, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate some of the issues discussed in the last two chapters regarding the literary trends that occurred at the start of the nineteenth-century.<sup>27</sup> The literature of Iran in this period must be described as one of replica and duplication. This loss of originality was even more apparent than in the Šafavid period. The aridity of a society whose artistry was in decline was exposed.<sup>28</sup> As a consequence of this decline, a new style emerged in late nineteenth-century Persian literary criticism, one that had little tolerance for complicated poetry ornamented with ambiguity. This new approach sought a literature that echoed the real life of the people, their aspirations, passions and difficulties.<sup>29</sup>

Some of the most important Qājār anthologists, such as Riḍā Qulī Hidāyat,<sup>30</sup> followed their predecessors and indulged in unnecessary word play and verbosity. Nonetheless, Hidāyat believed that the works of the poets of the period were spoiled by flattery and the biased favouritism they exhibited in their evaluation of literary works. According to Rypka, Hidāyat was a faithful follower of the classical poets and the old masters.<sup>31</sup> This was not the case for all the poets of this period; indeed some considered their work superior to the master poets, for example, Faṭḥ-‘Alī Khān Šabā vaunted his own work over Firdawsī’s and was convinced of its superiority.<sup>32</sup>

With the commencement of the reign of Faṭḥ-‘Alī Shāh, Persian poetry returned to the styles of the past (the Khurāsānī and ‘Irāqī styles). The composition of panegyric odes (*qaṣā`id*) and lyrical odes (*ghazalīyāt*) continued as in the past among most of the poets. Scholars usually argue, I believe quite unfairly, that the poetry of this period, if not all insignificant

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<sup>27</sup> Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 27.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> Mu‘īn, *Farhang-i Mu‘īn* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1373/1994), Vol. 6, p. 2262, s.v. ‘Hidāyat’.

<sup>31</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 340.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

panegyrics or satire, was superficially romantic in nature, boring and insincere in character. The conventional critique levelled by literary historians of Persian about the Qājār period is that there appeared but few quality works of poetry and none with a commanding expression of national awareness, a voice that might have been considered a response to real life, rather than an echo of court gossip.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, Bahār, perhaps the greatest poet of the late Qājār and early Pahlavi period, observes that Fath-‘Alī Shāh’s reign (1797–1834) was a brilliant period for poetry. His view stands in marked contrast to those scholars who held that the poetry of this period was essentially useless.<sup>34</sup> Although Bahār’s view is barely supported by evidence, it is clear that the poets of the Qājār period performed a great service to neoclassical literature by reviving the words and thematic styles of the master poets of the past, even though in some cases they were referred to as unoriginal imitators by some contemporary critics. Poets such as Šabā, Furūghī Baštāmī, Šafī ‘Alī Shāh, Sabzivārī and many others continually manifest the influence of classical poets like Rūmī, Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ. Their attempts to emulate this remarkable literature and poetry and their appreciation of these great works led to a revival of neoclassical literature and poetry.

I do not entirely agree with the negative views held by many contemporary critics of these nineteenth-century poets. These commentators claimed that the poets were only able to imitate the classical poets. But one of the main roles of the neoclassical movement was to prevent the deterioration of the great works inherited from masters such as Firdawsī, Rūmī, Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ. In this sense, then, the movement proved highly successful and is thus deserving of our appreciation and gratitude.

In what follows, I will examine the work of three critics and writers of the late Qājār and middle Pahlavi period, writers whose views on literary criticism are of great significance. While there were certainly other relevant writers and critics, an examination of all of them is beyond the scope of this study. The three examined here are Aḥmad Kasravī, Šādiq Hidāyat and Muḥammad Taqī Bahār.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>34</sup> Bahār, *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī* (Tehran: Kitabhā-yi Jibī, 1351/1932), Vol. 1, p. 49.

### **Aḥmad Kasravī (d. 1325/1946)**

Kasravī's writings on literary criticism are extremely important, not so much for their substance as for their lack of substance, that is to say, the impact made by his largely sensational and unbalanced extremist views, which for many years were (and among some still are) widely influential in Iran. In fact, it does appear odd that a scholar of Kasravī's character, who was led by a scientific and logical approach in his historical and critical works, permitted himself to be influenced by personal prejudice in literary scholarship.<sup>35</sup> Fortunately, we have accurate biographical details about Kasravī from his autobiography, in which he provides insight into the sociocultural and personal factors that helped shape his ideas.<sup>36</sup> He was born in September 1880 in the district of Hukmāvar (Tabriz). His father, Mīr Qāsīm, gave him the name Mīr Aḥmad, which was the name of his own father (Kasravī's grandfather). Although his father had studied religion, he ultimately took up the rug trade. While a religious man, he did not approve of popular religious practices; nor did he wish to see his son become a preacher.<sup>37</sup> While a native speaker of Azerbaijani Turkish, young Kasravī studied the traditional curriculum of Persian, Arabic and the Qur'ān in elementary school and showed great ability in his studies.<sup>38</sup>

In general, Kasravī was a scholarly descendant of Ākhūndzāda, Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī, Malkam Khān, 'Abdul Raḥīm Ṭālibuf and Zayn al-'Ābidīn Marāgha'ī. Like them, he thought it was his nationalistic obligation to fight illiteracy and misconceptions in Iranian culture, in order to establish a reasonable and structured ground for education. Kasravī pointed out that ignorance, whether literary, economic, or political, is a core source of social problems. Kasravī took up literary analysis as a mode of criticising poetry and literature that did not advance social improvement.<sup>39</sup> He approached the works of classical poets and what he called 'wisdom' with a twentieth-century point of view. This prompted him to make rash and ill-considered attacks on Ḥāfiẓ. For instance, he failed to understand that the sensual and

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<sup>35</sup> Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 175. Cf. Ī. Parsinejad, 'Aḥmad Kasravī va naqd-i adabī', *Iran Nameh*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 481–83.

<sup>36</sup> A. Kasravī, *Zindigānī-yi man: Dah sāl dar 'adliya, va chirā az 'adliya bīrūn āmadam* (Tehran: Pāzand, 1377/1960), p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>39</sup> Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, pp. 176–78.

permissive nature of the work of Ḥāfiẓ was caused, for the most part, by his reaction to the religious orthodoxy of his time and his desire to subvert that hardline viewpoint.<sup>40</sup>

Kasravī considers Ḥāfiẓ a *kharābātī*.<sup>41</sup> He ruthlessly attacks Ḥāfiẓ and accuses him of being an evil poet. Kasravī's opinion of the poet is derived from the belief that he was an individual with few ethical values, consumed by laziness and despair, and that he suffered from confused thoughts.<sup>42</sup> He criticises the poet for praising tyrants such as Shāh Shujā', who blinded his own father, and Shāh Yaḥyā, who was known for his cowardly acts. Ḥāfiẓ, the criminal, he adds, wasted his life by spreading and composing foolish words with no meaning whatsoever. He states that if Ḥāfiẓ spent his life laying bricks he would have provided a greater service to mankind than writing so much rubbish.<sup>43</sup>

### Şādiq Hidāyat (d. 1330/1951)

Şādiq Hidāyat was born in 1282/1903 and died in 1330/1951. During the first half of the twentieth-century, much had transpired in Persian literature and Şādiq Hidāyat's participation in this evolution was vast.<sup>44</sup> An assessment of Şādiq Hidāyat's legacy in literary criticism proves that, in addition to being a celebrated writer, he was a scholar in literary criticism and widely read in world literature.<sup>45</sup> Today, Hidāyat is considered one of the most important literary figures in modern Persian literature.<sup>46</sup> Hidāyat's popularity among readers and scholars has, similarly, been dominated by his psycho-fiction, which deals with universal

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 178–79.

<sup>41</sup> L. Ridgeon, *Sufi Castigator: Ahmad Kasravi and the Iranian Mystical Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 147–48. Cf. A. Kasravī, *Ḥāfiẓ chi migūyad* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Mihr, 1335/1956). Kasravī admits that this is a term he has coined. He expands on the meaning of *kharābātī* in some depth in his work '*Ḥāfiẓ chi migūyad?*' and makes somewhat daring claims concerning the appearance of the *kharābātīs* in Iran. For Kasravī, *kharābātīs* were characters who considered the world purposeless and vain. It was impossible to understand the world's objective and for that reason, the *kharābātīs* even criticised its maker.

<sup>42</sup> 'A. Dastghayb, *Naqd-i āthār-i Aḥmad Kasravī* (Tehran: Pāzand, 1357/1979), p. 175.

<sup>43</sup> Ridgeon, *Sufi Castigator*, pp. 181–83. Cf. A. Kasravī, *Dar pīrāmūn-i falsafa* (Tehran: Pāydār, 1344/1966), p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> H. Katouzian, 'Hedayat,' *Elr*, Vol. 12, p. 121.

<sup>45</sup> Parsinejad, *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran*, p. 201.

<sup>46</sup> Khawsrū Ardāqī, 'Şādiq-i Hidāyat nivisanda-yi buzurg-i mu'āşir-i Iran darguzasht,' *Rūz-nāma-yi parcham-i sulh*, Year 1, No. 2490 (Tehran: 1330/1950), p. 11.

problems; this is particularly notable in *Būf-i kūr* (*The Blind Owl*).

Hidāyat's prose is easy to read and understand, and is without literary embellishment. He employs common, well-liked, informal, natural expressions and proverbs where appropriate, and refrains from bookish and pedantic words of Arabic origin.<sup>47</sup> Occasionally, and indeed frequently in certain works, Hidāyat stammers in his grammar and speech. This is more common in his psycho-fiction than in other works, and most striking in *Būf-i kūr*. This gives the impression that he wrote in a rush, with overwhelming feeling. Metaphors and imagery, his literary devices of choice, are particularly apparent in *Būf-i kūr*.<sup>48</sup>

Hidāyat said that he was not particularly fond of rhythmic lyrics, such as Persian *ghazals*, but that he believed Ḥāfiẓ's work was somewhat exceptional. He stated that there were some giants in Persian literature, such as Ḥāfiẓ, who was a master storyteller, and adds that there will never be another like him.<sup>49</sup> In his opinion, Ḥāfiẓ, Sa'dī and others are the mirrors of Persian literature and culture and the invaluable heritage of Iran.<sup>50</sup>

### **Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (d. 1330/1952)**

Born in 1265/1886, Muḥammad Taqī Bahār ranks as the greatest modern and classical Persian poet of the last 300 years. In addition to his talent in poetry, Bahār was a professional publisher, writer, critic and researcher. He was also the poet laureate of Iran who received a yearly stipend from Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh in the first decade of the twentieth-century.<sup>51</sup> Some of his valuable published works are available, but unfortunately, many are out of print or have not been published at all.<sup>52</sup> Bahār's literary presentation was vast, but in his own mind and in the memory of his readers, he was most of all a poet. His *Dīvān* was published posthumously in two volumes by his brother, Muḥammad Malikzāda.<sup>53</sup> These two volumes

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<sup>47</sup> D. S. Kumisarov, *Ṣādiq Hidāyat muḥaqiq va mutarjim*, trans. A. Āzmūda (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Sipih, [n.d.]), p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Katouzian, 'Hedayat', *Elr*, Vol. 12, p. 124.

<sup>49</sup> M. F. Farzāna, *Āshinā'ī bā Ṣādiq Hidāyat: Ānchi Ṣādiq Ḥidāyat bi man guft* (Tehran: Nashr-i Markaz, 1372/1994), pp. 209–10.

<sup>50</sup> R. Muṣṭafavī, *Baḥth-i kūāhī dar murad-i Ṣādiq Hidāyat va āthārash* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1350/1972), p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Ṣafā, *Ganj-i sukhan*, Vol. 3, p. 327.

<sup>52</sup> Gulbun, *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> M. G. Morony, 'Bahār', *Elr*, Vol. 3, p. 477.

represent the poet's work from his adolescence to the last few days of his life.

Bahār follows the Khurāsānī style in his panegyric writings and adheres to the 'Irāqī style in his lyrics.<sup>54</sup> We cannot say that all his works are masterpieces, but the majority of his poetry is clear in meaning and easy to understand.<sup>55</sup>

یاد باد آن عهد که ام بندی به پای اندر نبود      جز می اندر دست و غیر از عشقم اندر سر نبود<sup>56</sup>

May it be remembered, the time when my feet were not chained  
Apart from wine in hand and love in mind, there was naught.

Bahār was primarily a panegyric poet. However, he also composed *ghazals*, exercising the traditional style of the elegant masters Sa'dī and Ḥāfīz. His style of poetry in panegyric writing matches the poets of fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh-century Persia, while his *ghazals* follow the styles of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century master poets, yet he displays a certain originality of thought and expression that goes beyond pure imitation of the classical masters.<sup>57</sup> Bahār can rightfully be named as a poet who, while supporting and following the style of classical poetry, did much to advance new genres and widen the spectrum of Persian poetry, hence aiding the advent of modernist poetry.<sup>58</sup> More detailed biographical and poetic information about Bahār is given in the following section.

### **An Overview of Literary Development in Iran (1925–78)**

During the period of fifty-eight years between 1299/1920 and 1357/1978, forty-five different governments came to office.<sup>59</sup> This instability and the rise of so many prime ministers was caused by the uncertain foreign policies of the court and the changing views of the people. Riḍā Shāh at first focused on national improvements, bringing the state a degree of security

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<sup>54</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 602.

<sup>55</sup> Bahār, *Dīvān-i ash'ār*, Vol. 1, p. 38.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 203, v. 1.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 479.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 633.

and stability;<sup>60</sup> but this came at a price. Throughout his reign the metropolitan police closely monitored the press.<sup>61</sup> Only journals and magazines supporting government policies were allowed circulation. The editors of some newspapers of the time experienced extreme hardship. Farrukhī Yazdī (d. 1318/1939), a political poet and writer, was among those who were imprisoned and later killed.<sup>62</sup> In the midst of the Constitutional Revolution in 1311/1905, and probably a result of the sociopolitical turmoil, a transformation in the literature of Iran took place. The Persian poetry and prose of four individuals who lived during the pre- and post-constitutional movement took a different course and became easier in context and style than works in the classical style. The first of these writers was Zayn al-‘Ābidin Marāgha’ī, who introduced simplicity in prose, producing a work entitled *Sīyahat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayk*. The second was Ṭālibuf, who introduced simplicity and innovation in writing educational stories. Third was Dihkhudā, famous for his witticisms and his articles entitled ‘*Charand u parand*’ (*Claptrap*); and finally, the fourth, was Jamālzāda, who introduced simple language for short stories and proverbs in his book entitled *Yakī būd yakī nabūd* (*Once Upon a Time*).<sup>63</sup> In fact, they competed over printing works with new concepts and meaning. Sometimes they were unsuccessful in producing the expressions they desired, consequently they used Western vocabulary in their writings.<sup>64</sup> In 1288/1909 alone, ninety-nine new journals were published.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, these journals regularly published the works of poets such as ‘Ārif, ‘Ishqī and Yazdī, whose poems were manifestations of fluency and lucidity. These journals certainly had an immense effect on the common writing style.<sup>66</sup>

These scholars played an important role in the transformation of the Persian language in general. This change in language encouraged people to read more newspapers and books; this had always been an activity of the minority. As relations with the West increased, and the population became more acquainted with European countries, the school of romanticism

<sup>60</sup> Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, p. 149. Cf. Keddie and Richard, *Modern Iran*, pp. 88–89; S. Mackey, *The Iranians: Persia, Islam and the Soul of a Nation* (New York: Penguin, 1998), pp. 158–59, and Talattof, *Politics of Writing in Iran*, p. 20.

<sup>61</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 633.

<sup>62</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 10, p. 15039, s.v. ‘Farrukhī’.

<sup>63</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 634. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, pp. 278–79.

<sup>64</sup> Talattof, *Politics of Writing in Iran*, p. 20.

<sup>65</sup> M. Sipanlu (ed.), *Bāz āfarinī-yi vaqi’iyat: Bist u haft qiša az bist u haft nivisanda-yi mu’āšir-i Iran* (Tehran: Niğāh, 1366/1988), introduction.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

began to flourish in Iran. Translations of western articles and short stories began to thrive. Western scripts gained popularity, and replaced the religiously based plays of the Qājār period. Ḥasan Muqadam (d. 1304/1925) was the founder of Iranian theater.<sup>67</sup> After Jamālzāda's short stories, the stories of Šādiq Hidāyat slowly found their way into the literary atmosphere of early Pahlavi Iran.

During this period, poets concentrated on patriotic poetry; among poets such as Bahār, 'Ārif Qazvīnī, Mīrzāda 'Ishqī (d. 1303/1924) and Adib Nayshābūrī this theme took precedence over any other subject.<sup>68</sup> However, some poets of this period still followed the style of the old masters such as Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ, and avoided politics. Parvin I'tiṣāmī was a famous poetess of the early Pahlavi period who mainly composed *qaṣīda*, *qaṭ'a* and *mathnavī*, her masterpieces can be found in her couplets, and throughout her poetry one can sense a certain mysticism.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, after the Constitutional Revolution, poetry moved in two different directions: new poetry and classical poetry. The classical poetry included all those types of poetry that followed the styles of the old masters and was bound by the rules of prosody and metre. New poetry was different; it was not limited to prosody and metre, rather a verse was only bound by the profundity of its meaning, not the rhyme.<sup>70</sup> Gradually, new writers faced the traditionalists in a more structured way. The traditionalists, naturally, already had their own societies—for instance, Maktab-i Sa'dī (Sa'dī's School) and Anjuman-i Niẓāmī (Niẓāmī's Society)—and they published articles in journals such as *Naw Bahār* (New Spring) and *Āzādistān* (The land of freedom). The modernists formed similar official establishments, such as Dānishgāh (The place of knowledge), and informal groups such as Rab' (The four), headed by Šādiq Hidāyat.<sup>71</sup>

All in all, the term *Persianism* (Pārsīgīrā'ī) best describes the nature of the literary movement in this period. Its advocates had various important objectives to implement immediately,

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<sup>67</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, pp. 302–04.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 20.

<sup>69</sup> Parvin I'tiṣāmī, *Dīvān-i ash'ār-i Parvin I'tiṣāmī*, ed. A. I'tiṣāmī and V. Durūdiyān (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1382/2003), pp. 13–18.

<sup>70</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 634.

<sup>71</sup> Talattof, *Politics of Writing in Iran*, p. 21.

namely to condemn the use of Arabic terms and expressions; to attempt the refinement of the Persian language through poetry; to support a real language closer to common idiomatic language; to connect ancient Iran to the present and wipe out centuries of Islamic authority from the memories of the population.<sup>72</sup> In a personal interview with H. Katouzian, this issue was raised and his reply was as follows:

This national sensitivity about *Persianism* began during the period of Riḍā Shāh's reign. It advanced to such an extent that some elites and scholars established a literary society called 'Farhangistān'; its role was to extract all Arabic words from the Persian language and replace them with similar words in Persian and then submit them to the Shāh, once approved, it would be officially recognised as a new vocabulary.<sup>73</sup>

Katouzian further asserts that this became somewhat ridiculous, when Taqizāda, who lived in Berlin at the time, wrote an article criticising this method of language purification, claiming that it would do more harm than good, for Arabic had been so well blended with Persian that any attempt to reverse this would cause the collapse of the very structure of the Persian language. Riḍā Shāh was so enraged by his article that Taqizāda, out of fear for his life, did not return to Iran until Riḍā Shāh was deposed.<sup>74</sup>

### **Five Poets of the Late Qājār and Early Pahlavi Period**

Listed below are five poets from the late Qājār period to the end of Pahlavi era. The life and work of each poet will be discussed, followed by an analysis of Ḥāfiz's influence upon them. These five poets are arguably some of the most important and popular figures in modern Persian poetry. Although the poets analysed here represent only a fraction of those of the late Qājār and the whole Pahlavi period, they are some of the most important poets of early twentieth-century Persia.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>73</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Homayoon Katouzian, Oxford, 20 July 2009.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

1. Malik al-Shu‘arā’ Bahār (d. 1330/1952)
2. Nimā Yūshij (d. 1338/1960)
3. Suhrāb Sipihri (d. 1358/1980)
4. Shahriyār (d. 1366/1988)
5. Aḥmad Shāmlū (d. 1379/2000)

### **Malik al-Shu‘arā’ Bahār (d. 1330/1952)**

Muḥammad Taqī Bahār was born in 1265/1886 in Mashhad, in northwest Iran. He is considered Iran’s greatest twentieth-century poet. He was, in addition, a great politician, scholar, journalist, historian and professor of literature. Although he was a contemporary poet, his poems were fairly traditional and strongly nationalistic in character. Some scholars believe that Bahār’s style of writing, the beauty of his poetry, and his deeply patriotic sentiments earn him a place among the giants of Persian literature, such as Firdawsī, Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>75</sup>

Bahār began his primary education when he was three, with his father, Muḥammad Kāzim Ṣabūrī, as his tutor. Muḥammad Kāzim Ṣabūrī was the poet laureate of the court of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh Qājār; Ṣabūrī was given the honorific title the ‘Malik al-Shu‘arā’ (‘King of Poets’). In addition to his private schooling, Bahār attended a traditional school in Mashhad.<sup>76</sup> To enhance his knowledge of Persian and Arabic, he further attended classes given by Adib-i Nayshābūrī.<sup>77</sup> It has been said that Bahār knew a good portion of the Qur’ān by heart from a very early age. According to Bahār himself, by the age of seven he had read the *Shāhnāma* and fully grasped the meaning of Firdawsī’s epic poem.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> C. Bahār (ed.), *Muḥammad Taqī-yi Bahār* (Tehran: Ṭūs, 1380/2001), Vol. 2, pp. 5–20. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, pp. 332–40.

<sup>76</sup> Maktab Khāna.

<sup>77</sup> Adib-i Nayshābūrī was a traditional poet and a literary scholar who promoted the style of the poets of Khurāsān in the early Islamic era, in the tradition of the so-called *bāzgasht-i adabī* (neoclassical school). Bahār (ed.), *Muḥammad Taqī-yi Bahār*, Vol. 2, pp. 5–20.

<sup>78</sup> M. B. Loraine, ‘Bahār, Malek al-Šo‘arā’, i. Life and Work’, *Elr*, Vol. 3, pp. 476–79.

At the age of eight Bahār composed his first poem and chose the name ‘Bahār’, meaning spring, as his pen name (*takhalluṣ*).<sup>79</sup> By the time he was fourteen Bahār was fluent in Arabic and he later mastered French. At eighteen, he lost his father and started to work as a Muslim preacher. It was during this time that he composed a long ode (*qaṣīda*) and sent it to Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, who was so deeply impressed by it that he immediately appointed Bahār as court poet and, by royal decree, granted him the title of ‘Malik al-Shu‘arā’.<sup>80</sup>

At the start of the Constitutional Revolution of Iran in 1906, Bahār gave up his position as poet laureate and joined the revolutionary movement to establish a parliamentary system of democracy in Iran; he became an active member of the Mashhad branch of the Society for Prosperity (Anjuman-i Sa‘ādat) that campaigned for the establishment of a parliament (*majlis*) in Iran. He published the semi-covert newspaper, *Khurāsān*, in collaboration with Ḥusayn Ardibīlī, and other periodicals such as: *Naw Bahār* (*New Spring*) and *Tāza Bahār* (*Fresh Spring*) in collaboration with his cousin, Ḥājī Shaykh Aḥmad Bahār.<sup>81</sup> Throughout his life, Bahār wrote poems in all the classical forms; he tried a few times with canto forms of foreign style, but he utterly abandoned new forms of verse and came back, even at the end of his life, to the old convention. Yet his subjects, and frequently his speech, are distinctly contemporary.<sup>82</sup> Bahār’s poetry employs the Khurāsānī and ‘Irāqī styles but replaces some of the older and more difficult words and themes with a more contemporary and simpler idiom.<sup>83</sup>

Bahār’s scholarly works include *Sabk shināsī* (3 vols., Tehran, 1321/1942), a thorough set of the history of Persian prose exemplified by many instances; *Tārīkh-i mukhtaṣar-i aḥzāb-i sīyāsī* (Tehran, 1323/1944), a personal view of political developments of the time, important both as a primary historical source and for Bahār’s biography; and *Tārīkh-i taṭavur-i shi‘r-i Fārsī* (Mashhad, 1334/1955), a work on poetry originally intended to be similar to his *Sabk shināsī*; only a few sections of *Tārīkh-i taṭavur-i shi‘r-i Fārsī* were written before illness prevented him from working. His papers and miscellaneous works have been published by M. Gulbun in *Firdawsī-nāma-yi Bahār* (Tehran, 1345/1966), *Tarjuma-yi chand matn-i*

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<sup>79</sup> It has been said that Bahār chose this pen name after the death of Bahār Shirvānī, a poet and close friend of his father. Shirvānī was a famous poet during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār.

<sup>80</sup> Bahār (ed.), *Muḥammad Taqī-yi Bahār*, Vol. 2, pp. 23–41. Cf. Loraine, ‘Bahār,’ *Elr*, Vol. 3, 476–79.

<sup>81</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, pp. 332–40.

<sup>82</sup> Loraine, ‘Bahār,’ *Elr*, Vol. 3, pp. 477–78.

<sup>83</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 602–07.

*Pahlavi* (Tehran, 1347/1968), and *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī* (2 vols., Tehran, 1351/1972). Bahār also composed a number of songs (*tašnīfs*), some of which are still quite popular. He published scholarly editions of *Tārīkh-i sīstān* (Tehran, 1314/1935), *Mujmal al-tawārīkh va 'l-qīṣāṣ* (Tehran, 1318/1939), and Bal'amī's *Tārīkh-i Bal'amī* (published after his death by M. Parvīn Gunābādī, Tehran, 1341/1962).<sup>84</sup>

Bahār's contribution to Persian poetry is vast and of great significance. His *Dīvān* consists of more than 40,000 couplets which include *rubā'ī*, *ghazal*, *qaṣīda*, *qaṭ'a*, and *mathnavī*.<sup>85</sup> Bahār died in Tehran in 1330/1952.

### Ḥāfiẓ and Bahār

On examining Bahār's *Dīvān*, it is clear that his poetry has a style of its own. In some aspects, namely meaning and rhyme, Ḥāfiẓ's influence can be detected, but only a small portion of his poetry was inspired directly by Ḥāfiẓ, as illustrated by the following examples:

Bahār	جز شب، آن هم میان شام مخور <sup>86</sup>	می خور و خوری مدام مخور
	Drink wine, but do not drink continuously, Drink only at night, but not in between meals.	

Ḥāfiẓ	دل چون آینه در زنگ ظلام اندازد <sup>87</sup>	روز در کسب هنر کوش که می خوردن روز
	By day, strive in the acquisition of skill. For drinking wine by day Casts the heart-like mirror into the blight of darkness.	

Between the two poets, we find that Ḥāfiẓ influenced Bahār more in profound sayings than in rhyme and metre.

<sup>84</sup> Loraine, 'Bahār', *Elr*, Vol. 3, pp. 477–78.

<sup>85</sup> S. 'A. Khalkhālī, *Tadhkiri-yi shu'arā-yi mu'āṣṣir-i Iran* (Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1331/1953), p. 28.

<sup>86</sup> Bahār (ed.), *Muḥammad Taqī-yi Bahār*, Vol. 2, p. 158.

<sup>87</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 150, v. 5.

کمال سرّ محبت ببین نه نقص گناه      که هر که بی هنر افتد نظر به عیب کند<sup>88</sup>  
Ḥāfīz

Look at the perfection of the sincerity of love, not at the shortcomings of sin:  
It is whoever turns out lacking virtue that has an eye for faults.<sup>89</sup>

عیب جوئی چو گشت عادت تو      بسته گردد در سعادت تو<sup>90</sup>  
Bahār

Once fault finding becomes your habit,  
The doors to your prosperity shall close.

به پیر می‌کده گفتم که چیست راه نجات      بخواست جام می و گفت عیب پوشیدن<sup>91</sup>  
Ḥāfīz

To the sage of the wine-house I spoke, saying 'Where is the path to salvation?'  
He demanded the cup of wine, and said 'Concealing faults!'

بده ساقی آن می که خواب آورد      شرابی که در مغز تاب آورد<sup>92</sup>  
Bahār

Sāqī, hand me the wine that brings sleepiness,  
The wine that brings joy to the mind.

بیا ساقی آن می که حال آورد      کرامت فزاید کمال آورد  
Ḥāfīz

وزین هردو بی حاصل افتاده ام<sup>93</sup>      بمن ده که بس بیدل افتاده ام

Sāqī come, give me the wine that brings raptures and perfection,  
That increases blessings, for I have become heart-bereft, through lack of these.

In the following verse, he follows Ḥāfīz to some extent in meaning and ideas. There are also some similarities in rhyme and metre as in the following *taḍmīn* (insertion of another poet's hemistich into one's own poem):

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 188, v. 2.

<sup>89</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 243; *ghazal* 183.

<sup>90</sup> Bahār (ed.), *Muḥammad Taqī-yi Bahār*, Vol. 2, p. 129.

<sup>91</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 393, v. 3.

<sup>92</sup> G. F. Rastigār, *Muntakhab-i shi'r-i Bahār va barrisi-i kūtāhī az ash'ār-i aū* (Tehran: Bāstān, 1351/1973), p. 38.

<sup>93</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *Sāqī-nāma*, p. 356.

Bahār هزار نکته باریکتر ز مو اینجاست<sup>94</sup> «بهار» پرده مو بین حجاب عفت نیست  
 'Bahār', the hair-like veil bears no honour!  
 Here are a thousand points finer than a hair.

Ḥāfiẓ نه هر که سر بتراشد قلندری داند<sup>95</sup> هزار نکته باریکتر ز مو اینجاست  
 Here are a thousand points finer than a hair:  
 Not everyone who shaves the head knows what it is to be a wandering dervish.<sup>96</sup>

Bahār's discussion of the principles of neoclassical poetry appears in a two-volume anthology of his works entitled *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī*. In it, while speaking about the Indian style during the Ṣafavid period, Bahār emphasises that many poets of the post-Ṣafavid period emulated the old masters of poetry, such as Rūmī, Sa' dī and Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>97</sup>

Bahār openly acknowledged Ḥāfiẓ as a master poet whose unique and pre-eminent style has had a profound impact on the general public of Iran as well as on scholars and specialists. Bahār refers to him as a genius, a miracle in the world of poetry and adds that Ḥāfiẓ was a mystic and a spiritual man.<sup>98</sup> Bahār believes that the love in a poet's heart is expressed in his compositions, which thus comprise the very essence of his spirit. His verse says,

ز قلب کسان قلب شاعر جداست  
 دل شاعر آماج سهم خداست<sup>99</sup>  
 The poet's heart is different from all others;  
 The heart of the poet is the target of God's arrow.

Bahār was a political activist who could have enjoyed a comfortable life and high governmental position; instead he chose a humble existence, in keeping with his moral beliefs.<sup>100</sup> According to Rastigār, Bahār spent most of his life defending his people against tyranny and hypocrisy; many examples of his love of freedom and condemnation of bigotry

<sup>94</sup> Rastigār, *Muntakhab-i shi'r-i Bahār*, p. 52.

<sup>95</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 177, v. 7.

<sup>96</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 232; *ghazal* 174.

<sup>97</sup> Gulbun, *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī*, pp. 54–55.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>99</sup> Rastigār, *Muntakhab-i shi'r-i Bahār*, p. 26.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13. Cf. Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, p. 328.

appear in his *Dīvān*.<sup>101</sup> This conduct brings to mind Ḥāfiẓ's philosophy, which Bahār had admired from the age of fifteen.

### **Nimā Yūshij (d. 1338/1960)**

ʿAlī Nūrī, known from his early youth as Nimā Yūshij, was born in 1275/1897. He was a Persian poet who started the New Poetry (*Shiʿr-i naw*) movement, also known as the Nimāic poetry (*shiʿr-i Nimāʿī*) trend in Iran.<sup>102</sup> He is considered by supporters of modernist poetry as the father of modern Persian poetry.<sup>103</sup>

Nimā Yūshij was the firstborn son of Ibrāhīm Nūrī of Yūsh.<sup>104</sup> He spent his youth helping his father on their farm. The images of this life, caring for cattle and walking the plains, telling stories of village and tribal life, touched him greatly. As a young poet, when he was able to articulate his ideas, he wrote of these images. Nimā recorded the events of his life, both great and small, in hundreds of letters, occasional memoirs, personal sketches, journals and daily notes. Most of these have recently come to light, making the biography of this significant poet easier to write.<sup>105</sup> Nimā attended the St. Louis School in Tehran. Niẓām Vafā (1889–1965),<sup>106</sup> a major poet of the time, took Nimā under his wing and nurtured his poetic talent.<sup>107</sup> Even though Nimā continued to write poetry in the tradition of Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ for quite some time, the way he expressed himself gradually and steadily altered, until it became more illustrative

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<sup>101</sup> Rastigār, *Muntakhab-i shiʿr-i Bahār*, p. 14.

<sup>102</sup> The impact of Nimā's poetry was felt in Iran after World War II, and a decade or two later in Afghanistan and Tajikistan. His influence there grew, indirectly at first, mostly through the works of the Iranians who followed his path; poets such as Mihdi Akhavan Thālis, Sīyāvash Kasrāʿī, Furūgh Farrukhzād and Nādir Nādirpur.

<sup>103</sup> C. Ṭāhbāz, *Kamāndār-i buẓurg-i kuhistān: zīndigi va shiʿr-i Nimā Yūshij* (Tehran: Thāliṭh, 1380/2002), p. 19. Cf. Khalkhālī, *Tadhkiri-yi shuʿarā-yi muʿāṣir-i Iran*, pp. 413–20.

<sup>104</sup> This is a village in Nūr county, which is situated in Māzandarān province of Iran. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 14, p. 21130, s.v. 'Yūsh'.

<sup>105</sup> A. K- Hakkak, 'Poetic Signs, Critical Frames', *Critique: Journal for Critical Studies of the Middle East*, 4 (1994): 35–50.

<sup>106</sup> Khalkhālī, *Tadhkiri-yi shuʿarā-yi muʿāṣir-i Iran*, pp. 395–411. Niẓām Vafā was born in the village of Aran, near Kāshān. He was the son of the village preacher and prayer leader. His mother wrote poetry under the pen name 'Ḥayā' (Modesty). In his youth, Vafā went to Tehran and joined the constitutional movement. In 1923, he published a journal by the name of *Vafā*, a name he later adopted as his own pen name and surname.

<sup>107</sup> Niẓām Vafā, *Dīvān-i Niẓām Vafā*, ed. A. Karīmi (Tehran: Tālār-i Kitāb, 1362/1984), p. 2.

of the new style than classical poetry. In general, Nimā manipulated rhythm and rhyme and allowed the length of the line to be determined by the depth of the thought being expressed rather than by the conventional Persian metres that had, traditionally, dictated the length of a couplet (*bayt*). Nimā realised that while some readers were enthused by verses on the charms of lovers and the coquettish ways of the beloved, the majority preferred heroes with whom they could identify. His use of symbols, too, was different from the classical masters, in that he based the structural integrity of his creativity on the steady development of its symbols. In this sense, Nimā's poetry could be read as a dialogue between two or three symbolic references building up into a cohesive, semantic unit. In the past, only Ḥāfiẓ had attempted such creations in his mystical *ghazals*. The basic device Nimā employed, however, was thematic, rather than symbolic unity.<sup>108</sup>

Muḥammad Zīā' Hashtrūdī and Abū'l Qāsim Jannatī 'Aṭā'ī are among the first scholars to have studied Nimā's life and works.<sup>109</sup> The former included Nimā's works in an anthology entitled *Contemporary Writers and Poets*. The selections presented were 'Afsāna' (Myth), 'Ay Shab' (O Night), 'Maḥbas' (Prison) and four short stories. Nimā's verses number 17,283.<sup>110</sup> Nimā died of pneumonia in Shimirān, in northern Tehran, and was buried in his native village of Yūsh, as he had willed.<sup>111</sup>

### **Ḥāfiẓ and Nimā**

Nimā was generally dissatisfied with the way in which the public viewed his poetry. In a letter to Furūzānfar, Nimā complains about this situation and the lack of appreciation shown to him by the populace. He stresses that he is not as valued as he deserves because he does not fully follow the style of the classical poets.<sup>112</sup> He adds that one day he will be truly appreciated. He writes, 'My dear friend, the worst thing that can happen to a human being is

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<sup>108</sup> A. K-Hakkak, 'Nima Yushij: A Life', in A. Karimi-Hakkak and K. Talattof (eds.), *Essays on Nima Yushij: Animating Modernism in Persian Poetry* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 28–34.

<sup>109</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

<sup>110</sup> Nimā Yūshij, *Majmū'a-yi kāmīl-i ash'ār-i Nimā Yūshij*, ed. S. Ṭāhbāzī (Tehran: Nigāh, 1371/1993). This book has only been used to count Nimā's verses.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>112</sup> S. Ṭāhbāz (ed.) *Nāmahā-yi Nimā Yūshij* (Tehran: Nashr-i Ābī, 1363/1972), pp. 72–75.

that he is not comprehended by others; his thoughts and words are not understood and appreciated. This is like a living hell!<sup>113</sup>

Nimā believed that everyday problems need not be broadcast in an exaggerated manner; rather the poet should separate himself from these difficulties while illustrating them with an artistic view.<sup>114</sup>

According to Miḥdī Akhavān Thālith, Nimā is a painter of meaning rather than a writer of it. In other words, he did not bind himself by the rules of poetry, but would end the verse wherever he perceived it necessary.<sup>115</sup> Thālith further believes that Ḥāfiẓ had a very important influence on Nimā's purity of speech and his complete honesty. Ḥāfiẓ says,

رنگ تزویر پیش ما نبود<sup>116</sup>

With us, the colour of deception exists not.

Furthermore, Īraj Jannatī 'Aṭā'ī, in his book, *Nimā Yūshij: Zindigānī va āthār-i ū* (*Nimā Yūshij: His Life and Works*), speaks of Nimā's revolutionary style of poetry and confirms that his mode of composition differs from that of all classical poets, including Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>117</sup>

'Aṭā'ī asserts that Nimā's mother taught her son the verses of Ḥāfiẓ which he memorised them as he grew up.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, we can see in some of his own verses that Nimā speaks to Ḥāfiẓ, asking him questions or challenging him in connection with his philosophy:

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>116</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 381, v. 9.

<sup>117</sup> 'A. J. 'Aṭā'ī (ed.), *Nimā Yūshij: Zindigī va āthār-i aū* (Tehran: Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh, 1346/1955), pp. 15–16.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

حافظ—این چه کید و دروغیست  
کز زبان می و جام و ساقی است؟  
نالی ار تا ابد، باورم نیست  
که بر آن عشق بازی که باقی است  
من بر آن عاشقم که رونده است!<sup>119</sup>

Hāfiz, what deceit and lies are these,  
Which you speak in the tongue of wine and cup and Sāqī?  
If you wail for all eternity, I will not believe  
That you are in love with that which is eternal,  
I am in love with that which is passing.

Firoozeh Papan-Matin believes that Nimā's 'Afsāna' (Myth), first published in 1922, is an exemplary composition, one that delineates the boundaries between the old and the new in Persian poetry.<sup>120</sup> Matin further asserts that in 'Afsana', the figure on the stage who presents the play of love lives in isolation, much like the paradigmatic lover in Hāfiz's verses.<sup>121</sup> Matin emphasises that

In Hāfiz's *ghazals*, as in Afsāna, the poetic narrator perceives himself as a wanderer mystified on the path of love. This path is not definable; it may best be named as a nexus of anticipation, desire, wandering, and wayfaring. The path itself is not separate from the journey of the wayfarer or from his manner of travelling upon it: in an important sense, it is his way. The lover comes into contact with the tangibility of love as he passes upon the path.<sup>122</sup>

In Hāfiz's words:

از هر طرف که رفتم جز وحشتم نیافزود  
زنهار از این بیابان وین راه بی نهایت<sup>123</sup>  
From every direction I went, my terror only increased.  
Beware of this desert and this never-ending road!<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> F. P. Matin, 'Love: Nima's Dialogue with Hafez', in Hakkak and Talattof (eds.), *Essays on Nima Yushij*, p. 173.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>123</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 94, v. 7.

<sup>124</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 134; *ghazal* 93.

In Ḥāfiz’s verses, as well as in ‘Afsāna,’ the stricken lover, following his own persistent desire, discovers himself in a state of constant agony and ecstasy; an indescribable state, one like the torment of being in love.<sup>125</sup> Below are some exemplary verses by Nīmā that illustrate this condition:

سرگذشت منی ای فسانه!  
 که پریشانی و غمگساری؟  
 یا دل من به تشویش بسته  
 یا که دو دیده اشکباری؟  
 یا که شیطان رانده ز هر جای؟

قلب پر گیر و دار منی تو  
 که چنین ناشناسی و گمنام؟  
 یا سرشت منی که نگشتی  
 در پی رونق شهرت و نام؟  
 یا که بختی که از من گریزی؟

هر کس از جانب خود ترا راند  
 بی خبر که تویی جاودانه  
 تو که ای؟ ای از هر جای رانده!  
 با منت بوده راه دوستانه؟  
 قطره اشکی آیا تو، یا غم؟<sup>126</sup>

Are you my destiny, Afsāna!  
 You who are dishevelled and sorrowful.  
 Or are you my heart, bound with anxiety  
 Or are you two tear-stained eyes?  
 Or the devil chased out of every place?

Are you my preoccupied heart  
 You who are so unrecognised and anonymous?  
 Or are you my nature, that you didn’t search  
 After splendour, fame and name?  
 Or are you fortune, you who escape me so?

Everybody has driven you away,  
 Not knowing that you are eternal.  
 Who are you?—Oh you, cast out of all places!—  
 for me you have been a companion:  
 Are you a tear-drop? Are you sorrow?<sup>127</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Matin, ‘Love’, p. 182.

<sup>126</sup> Nīmā Yūshij, *Majmū‘a-yi kāmīl-i ash‘ār-i Nīmā Yūshij*, p. 44. Also cited by Matin, ‘Love’, p. 180.

<sup>127</sup> Matin, ‘Love’, pp. 179–80.

It is easy to see how the following verses by Ḥāfiẓ express the same romantic ambience of erotic perplexity in very similar terms, without there being direct influence of rhyme or metre by Ḥāfiẓ on Nimā.

در زلف چون کمندش ای دل مپیچ کانا  
سرها بریده بینی بی جرم و بی جنایت<sup>128</sup>

Do not tangle with his lasso-like tresses, because there  
You will see heads severed, guiltless and without crime.<sup>129</sup>

در این شب سیاهم گم گشت راه مقصود  
از گوشه ای برون ای ای کوکب هدایت<sup>130</sup>

In this dark night, the way to my desire has been lost.  
From a corner, O guiding star, shine out!<sup>131</sup>

Nimā's poetry was profoundly influenced by Ḥāfiẓ in many ways, although Nimā himself tried very hard to separate his style from that of the classical masters, in particular Ḥāfiẓ. Yet still, subconsciously, his poetic language reflects some thematic similarities with Ḥāfiẓ, granted, perhaps not in rhyme and rhythm, but in many other aspects, as the examples above illustrate. Both Ḥāfiẓ and Nimā warn the heart against the trials and the excitement of the itinerary to the final destination. The lover's pursuit to fulfil his needs is a courageous course of self-realisation. Just as for Nimā, the lover's sincere heart, the place of his desires, is enthralled far afield from salvation, so in Ḥāfiẓ's verse the heart is potentially subject to a vicious death.<sup>132</sup>

### Suhrāb Sipihri (d. 1358/1980)

Suhrāb Sipihri was born in 1307/1929 in Kāshān, in the province of Iṣfahān. His father worked as a post office employee and enjoyed painting and playing the *tār*; Sipihri learnt calligraphy and painting from him. Sipihri is considered one of the five most famous Persian members of the school of New Poetry (*Shi'r-i naw*).<sup>133</sup> Others who wrote in this form were

<sup>128</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 94, v. 4.

<sup>129</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 134; *ghazal* 93.

<sup>130</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 94, v. 6.

<sup>131</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 134; *ghazal* 93.

<sup>132</sup> Matin, 'Love', p. 182.

<sup>133</sup> This refers to the modernist school of poetry founded by Nimā, in which verse was, more often than not, written with scant regard for metre and rhyme.

Nimā Yūshij, Aḥmad Shāmlū, Mīhdī Akhavān Thālis, and Furūgh Farrukhzād. Suhrāb Sipihrī was also one of Iran’s foremost modernist painters.<sup>134</sup> Sipihrī’s ideas about institutional religion in general and Islam in particular were quite enlightened and reflected the younger generation’s way of thinking. He believed in faith, dignity and truth, but was not particularly religious in his poetry. His god was not Allah; Sipihrī’s creator lies by the water, among the trees and all around him. He created a free and open environment in his poetry, giving people the right to question everything before believing. His most enthusiastic readers were and still are younger generation students of high school and college age. His poetry has become their language. In Iran today many men and women look up to Sipihrī almost as a spiritual teacher and guide.<sup>135</sup>

Sipihrī’s poetry shows his concern for human values. He loved nature and referred to it frequently. Well-versed in Buddhism, mysticism and western traditions, he gently mixed western concepts with eastern culture, thereby creating a type of poetry that cannot be easily compared to other poetry in the history of Persian literature.<sup>136</sup> His poetry has been translated into many languages, including French, English, Spanish, Italian, Swedish and Russian. In 1976, he published his final book, *Hasht kitāb (Eight Books)*, which was a collection of almost all of his published poems in one volume, consisting of the following works.<sup>137</sup>

• ‘Death of Colour’	( <i>Marg-i rang</i> )	مرگ رنگ
• ‘Lives of Dreams’	( <i>Zindigī-i khābhā</i> )	زندگی خوابها
• ‘Clash of the Sun’	( <i>Āvār-i āftāb</i> )	آوار آفتاب
• ‘East of Sorrow’	( <i>Sharq-i andūh</i> )	شرق اندوه
• ‘The Sound of Water’s Footfall’	( <i>Šidā-yi pā-yi āb</i> )	صدای پای آب
• ‘Traveller’	( <i>Musāfir</i> )	مسافر
• ‘Measure of Green’	( <i>Hajm-i sabz</i> )	حجم سبز
• ‘We Naught, We Look’	( <i>Mā hīch, mā nīgāh</i> ) <sup>138</sup>	ما هیچ، ما نگاه

<sup>134</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 642–44.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> K. ‘Ābidī, *Az muṣāhibat-i āftāb: Ta’amulāt va justujūhā’ī dar shi’r-i Suhrāb Sipihrī* (Tehran: Rivāyat, 1996), pp 18–99.

<sup>137</sup> S. Sipihrī, *Hasht kitāb* (Tehran: Tahūrī, 1383/2004).

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

Sipihri made a significant contribution to Persian poetry; the number of lines in his collection reached approximately 8,850.<sup>139</sup> He died of cancer in Tehran in 1358/1980.

### **Ḥāfiẓ and Suhrāb Sipihri**

Sipihri is generally considered more of a painter than a poet. However, his achievements in poetry are impressive, hence his influence on modern Persian poetry.<sup>140</sup> His paintings are reflections of his poetry and his poetry is the painting of his thought.<sup>141</sup> His work in both areas reflects his beliefs regarding Sufism and his pantheistic love of nature.<sup>142</sup> The *semi-précis* metaphors of his verses ‘like the ochers and browns of his canvases—inspired by the desert around his native Kāshān—are always unexpectedly refreshing, and rarely artificial’.<sup>143</sup> His remarkable shifts in poetic themes are similar, in a poetic sense, to his love of chiaroscuro. Ultimately, the Cubist nature of his poetry recollects the world of his dramatic taste.<sup>144</sup>

Sipihri’s tendencies towards mysticism are apparent in his *Sharq-i andūh (East of Sorrow)*, a compilation of twenty-five poems, many of which reveal the conspicuous influence of Rumi’s *Dīvān-i Shams*, which is as transparent in ideology as it is in content, rhythm and inner rhyme.<sup>145</sup> The modest simplicity of verse in *Sharq-i andūh* forms an unusual blend of Sufism and eastern philosophy, permitting the first *coups d’oeil* at Sipihri’s vision of a superior spiritual being: an ubiquitous, yet momentary, creator whose mien can be felt in everything from nature to objects of daily life.<sup>146</sup> The poems in *Sharq-i andūh* also divulge Sipihri’s extensive view on all faiths, their fundamental harmony, and the ineffectuality of their doctrines. These verses distinguish Sipihri from his coevals, not only as a poet continuously searching for an unequalled personal voice, but also as an intellectual impelled

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 1–5.

<sup>140</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 642–44.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 643.

<sup>142</sup> Hakkak, *Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*, p. 95.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> D. Āshūrī, K. Imāmī, Ḥ. M. Hamadānī (eds.), *Payāmī dar rāh: naẓarī bih shi’r va naqāshī-i Suhrāb Sipihri* (Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1358/1980), pp. 84–86.

<sup>146</sup> S. Bihbahānī, *Yik rūz bā Hasht kitāb* (Tehran: [n.p.], 1376/1998), pp. 327–71.

by a vital force to conceive and convey a collective vision of life above and beyond the routine sociopolitical kinetics of everyday existence. During his youth, he studied the poetry of Šā'ib and Bidil, both of whom were undoubtedly influenced by Ḥāfiz and clearly influenced Sipihrī's work.<sup>147</sup>

In 1965, Sipihrī published *Šidā-yi pā-yi āb* (*The Sound of Water's Footfall*), a generally autobiographical work that presents not only another phase in his poetry, but also an original and, so far, unique voice in modern Persian poetry.<sup>148</sup> While the simple diction and common syntax of colloquial Persian give clear directions, the poem's *précis* imagery and baffling concepts make for road signs that are impossible to pursue. Yet, the frail balance between the plainness of the syntax and the complexity of the images summons the reader to enter into a meaning where none otherwise exists, 'ultimately to recognise that "the friend's house" (in the poem) is an otherworldly place beyond the familiar and ordinary parameters of day-to-day reality'.<sup>149</sup> While other characteristics add to the originality of Sipihrī's dialogue, his achievement in generating easily reachable abstractions in a straightforward and highly readable idiom rests at the centre of his accomplishment in striking a diction that has become so perfectly linked with him that the echo of its charm remains familiar to any reader of modern Persian poetry.<sup>150</sup> During his adolescence, Sipihrī was inspired by Nimā's poetry, considering it the most advanced style of poetry of his time.<sup>151</sup> The literature and poetry written during Sipihrī's lifetime reflect the depression and decline of the sociopolitical situation in the country, a recession clearly apparent in his own poetry.<sup>152</sup> In order to understand the situation society faced during this period, I quote from a letter Nimā wrote to his young friend, 'Jalāl Āl-i Aḥmad':

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<sup>147</sup> Ş. Ḥusaynī, *Gulhā-yi niāyish: Shi'r va naqd-i Suhrāb Sipihrī* (Tehran: Nilūfar, 1996), pp. 131–64. Cf. Ḥ. Ḥusaynī, *Bidil, Sipihrī va sabk-i Hindī* (Tehran: Surūsh, 1368/1989).

<sup>148</sup> S. Shamīsā, *Nigāhī bi Sipihrī* (Tehran: Murvārid, 1371/1993), pp. 185–91.

<sup>149</sup> H. Sarshar, 'Sepehri, Sohrab', *Encyclopedia Iranica* online, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sepehri-sohrab>.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Yarshater, *Iran Faces the Seventies*, p. 300.

<sup>151</sup> M. Ḥuqūqī, *Shi'r-i zamān-i mā: Suhrāb Sipihrī* (Tehran: Nigāh, 1371/1993), p. 7.

<sup>152</sup> M. Nūrbakhsh, *Bi surāgh-i man agar miā'id: Sirr-i andisha-yi Suhrāb Sipihrī dar ā'ina-yi ash'ārash* (Tehran: Murvārid, 1376/1998), p. 29.

It is obvious that we are going through a hot and dry desert. We do not know whether we are going through night or day. There is blood evaporating from the ground instead of dust. People are naked and hungry. Eyes are cold and wondering. They are told to pick up a weapon and shoot one another, but in reply, they say: ‘we cannot’ [...].<sup>153</sup>

While Nimā’s poetry reflects the problems faced by his fellow men, the key factor in Sipihrī’s poetry is that it, unlike most of the contemporary poets who invested their time and effort in composing poetry manifesting sociopolitical issues, remains true to himself, for he carries the weight of his valuable heritage and is conscious of the profundity of the language of the classical poets, such as Rumī, ‘Aṭṭār, Ḥāfiẓ and many others.<sup>154</sup> He informs us in some of his verses that he is inclined towards mysticism and that he seeks mystical wisdom:

من به مهمانی دنیا رفتم:  
 من به دشت اندوه،  
 من به باغ عرفان،  
 من به ایوان چراغانی دانش رفتم.<sup>155</sup>

I went to the banquet of the world:  
 to the field of sorrow,  
 to the garden of gnosticism,  
 I went to the bright foyers of wisdom.

Nūrbakhsh asserts that the following verses by Ḥāfiẓ provide evidence of this statement. He compares it to a poem by Sipihrī, to show that Sipihrī was under Ḥāfiẓ’s influence, not in style, but rather in meaning and theme.<sup>156</sup>

Ḥāfiẓ	خوشا دمی که از این چهره پرده بر فکنم روم به گلشن رضوان که مرغ آن چمنم <sup>157</sup>	حجاب چهره جان می شود غبار تنم چنین قفس نه سزای چو من خوش الحانی است
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The dust of my body is becoming the veil in front of the face of the soul.  
 O happy the moment when from that face I cast the veil aside!

A cage like this is unworthy of a sweet singer like me.  
 I will go to the rose bed of Paradise, because I am the bird of that Garden.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Ṭāhbāz (ed.), *Nāmahā-yi Nimā Yūshij*, p. 179.

<sup>154</sup> Sipihrī did not discuss sociopolitical issues directly. He is conscious of the heritage of classical poets—but that is not the way he wrote.

<sup>155</sup> Sipihrī, *Hasht kitāb*, p. 276.

<sup>156</sup> Nūrbakhsh, *Bi surāgh-i man agar miā’id*, p. 31.

<sup>157</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 342, v. 1, 2.

<sup>158</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 413; *ghazal* 334.

In the following verses by Siphirī we see these same themes of spiritual alienation clearly reflected:

Siphirī

دیر زمانی است روی شاخه این بید  
مرغی بنشسته کو به رنگ معماست  
نیست هم آهنگ او صدایی، رنگی:  
چون من در این دیار، تنها، تنهاست.<sup>159</sup>

On the stem of this willow, has been sitting awhile,  
a bird with the colour of mystery,  
One whose likeness doesn't exist in sound and colour,  
in this land, he is all alone, just like me.

Further examples are given below:

Hāfiẓ      کمتر از ذره نه ای، پست مشو مهر بورز      تا به منزلگه خورشید رسی چرخ زنان<sup>160</sup>

You are not less than a mote. Do not be degraded. Practise love,  
So that whirling now this side up, now that, to the private chamber of the sun you might arrive.<sup>161</sup>

Siphirī

به روی شط وحشت برگگی لرزانم  
ریشه ات را بیاویز.<sup>162</sup>

Like a shaky leaf, I am flowing on the river of awe,  
Swing your roots.

Hāfiẓ      هرکه ترسد ز ملال انده عشقش نه حلال      سر ما و قدمش یا لب ما و دهنش<sup>163</sup>

For whoever is afraid of affliction, the grief of love is not sanctified;  
It is a case of, our head and his foot, or our lip and his mouth.<sup>164</sup>

Siphirī

می بویم، بو آمد. از هر سو، های آمد، هو آمد. من رفتم،  
"او" آمد، "او" آمد.<sup>165</sup>

I smell, a fragrance came. From every direction, a sound came. I left,  
'He' arrived, 'He' arrived.

<sup>159</sup> Siphirī, *Hasht kitāb*, p. 20.

<sup>160</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 387, v. 4.

<sup>161</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 463; *ghazal* 380.

<sup>162</sup> Siphirī, *Hasht kitāb*, p. 135.

<sup>163</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 281, v. 8.

<sup>164</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 344; *ghazal* 275.

<sup>165</sup> Siphirī, *Hasht kitāb*, p. 226.

شهر خالیست ز عشاق بود کز طرفی  
مردی از خویش برون آید و کاری بکند<sup>166</sup>

The city is empty of lovers. It might be that from some quarter  
A man comes out of himself, and into action.<sup>167</sup>

Sipihīrī

بدی تمام زمین را فرا گرفت  
هزار سال گذشت  
صدای آب تنی کردنی به گوش نیامد  
و عکس پیکر دوشیزه ای در آب نیفتاد.

The ugliness has covered the earth,  
A thousand years have passed,  
There was no sound of swimming to be heard  
And there was no reflection of a virgin in the water.

While it is clear that the influence of Ḥāfiẓ on Siphirī cannot be understood in terms of the modern Iranian poet's use of traditional modes of poetic imitation such as *tattabu'*, *naẓīra*, *istiqbāl*, or *taḍmīn* after the manner of the neoclassical poets (discussed in chapter III) who directly imitated their past masters (these devices were utterly alien to his modernist style), it is clear that Siphirī's verse is, as it were, 'haunted' by a Ḥāfiẓian ambience. This ambience, however, is quite elusive and only identifiable intuitively by the reader who is familiar with the symbolism and imagery of classical Persian poetry in general and Ḥāfiẓ in particular. The comparisons made above between the two poets remain unfortunately to a large degree subjective for this reason.

<sup>166</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 189, v. 6.

<sup>167</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 244; *ghazal* 184.

## Shahriyār (d. 1366/1988)

Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahriyār was born in 1285/1907 in Tabriz. Shahriyār is considered one of the greatest lyricists/poets of twentieth-century Iran.<sup>168</sup> He started his primary education in 1912 and studied the Qur'ān and the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz.<sup>169</sup>

He later emphasised that one of the greatest fortunes in his life was his acquaintance with these works, adding that, since childhood, he had loved the musical verses of Ḥāfīz and had begun to memorise them.<sup>170</sup> It has been said that he composed his first poem at the age of four.<sup>171</sup> In 1914, he started studying Arabic and French with the aid of private tutors and four years later he composed his first *ghazal* in Persian. In 1921, he moved to Tehran and a year later met the great Persian music teacher, Abū'l-Ḥasan Ṣabā. In the same year, he enrolled in the polytechnic institute (*Dār al-Funūn*). In 1925, at his father's insistence, he entered medical school. He met Īraj Mīrzā, the most famous poet of the time, in 1925. He tells the story of their meeting as follows:

In 1304/1925 at the age of twenty, Bahār took me to meet Īraj Mīrzā, the famous poet of the time. After I was introduced to Īraj by Bahār, I asked for permission to read a poem I had recently composed. After hearing the poem, Īraj Mīrzā said: 'You are not one of us, you are more on Ḥāfīz's level.'<sup>172</sup>

Two years later, in 1306/1927, he entered a poetry competition with the great poet and songwriter 'Ārif Qazvīnī and won. He refers to 'Ārif as a patriot and a sensitive man.<sup>173</sup> A collection of his poems, with a foreword by Bahār, Sa'īd Nafīsī, and Pizhmān Bakhtīyārī, was published in 1932.<sup>174</sup> Three years later, in 1935, he met with the famous painter, Kamāl al-Mulk, and stayed at his house for ten days. In 1943, he met with Nimā Yūshij, and later

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<sup>168</sup> Kāvīyānpūr, *Zindagi-yi adabī*, p. 192.

<sup>169</sup> A. Mīhrin, *Tārīkh-i zabān va adabīyāt-i Iran az zamān-i Qājār tā 'aṣr-i Pahlavi* (Tehran: Mānī, 1353/1934), p. 198.

<sup>170</sup> J. 'Alī Zāda (ed.), *Bi hamīn sādigi va zibā'ī: Yādnāmi-yi ustād Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahriyār 1285–1376* (Tehran: Nashr-i Markaz, 1374/1995), p. 546.

<sup>171</sup> A. Kāvīyānpūr, *Zindagi-yi adabī va ijtimā'ī-yi ustād Shahriyār* (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1381/2001), p. 6.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>174</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nimā*, Vol. 2, p. 18.

became friends with the eminent poet, Hūshang Ibtihāj.<sup>175</sup> While the poetry of his youth was characterized mainly by romanticism, distinct traces of mysticism appeared in his verse towards the end of his life.<sup>176</sup> According to Kāvīyānpūr, who wrote a biography on Shahriyār, the poet (Shahriyār) was greatly influenced by Ḥāfiẓ throughout his life. Kāvīyānpūr further asserts that Ḥāfiẓ was his role model, teacher, and guide, and it was his lifelong desire to equal, or perhaps to follow him.<sup>177</sup> One of his masterpieces is *Hidar bābā-yi salām* completed in 1330/1951, in which he writes of the memories of his youth. To date this work has been translated into over seventy-five languages.

Shahriyār was a musician as well as a poet. He played the *sitār* very well which he was taught by the grand maestro Abū'l Ḥasan Ṣabā, who was one of the most outstanding musician of his day. He always believed that a poet must also be familiar with music, he used to say: 'poetry without music is not poetry'.<sup>178</sup> According to the biography written by Zāhidī (this is a different biography than that mentioned above) Shahriyār fell in love during his youth for the first and the last time.<sup>179</sup> His style of poetry in *ghazal* writing follows that of Ḥāfiẓ, although in his *Dīvān* we can also see the influence of the new poetry style, which follows that of Nimā. In general, Shahriyār was more recognised as a *ghazal* writer than for his work in any other style of poetry.<sup>180</sup> Shahriyār's inspiration has always been Ḥāfiẓ and his poetic language. His utmost desire was to equal himself with Ḥāfiẓ, an aspiration which the following verse bears witness to:

کسی به خواجه و اوج کمال او نرسید<sup>181</sup>                      بلی از این همه شاعر اگر ز من پرسید  
 Yes, if you ask me, among all these poets,  
 No one has been able to match Ḥāfiẓ's wisdom

Shahriyār believed that the so-called 'New Poetry' is not really new, but in fact was based on the groundwork of classical Persian poetry. This view is apparent in the following verse:

<sup>175</sup> 'Alī Zāda (ed.), *Bi hamīn sādigi va zibā'ī*, pp. 1–10.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, biography by Zāhidī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Nigāristān-i Kitāb, 1388/2009), Vol. 1, p. 12.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 30.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 60.

This kind of poetry which is called (free verse),  
Is made out of *tavīl* and *mustazād* metres.

Shahriyār was opposed to the Pahlavi dynasty and welcomed the Islamic revolution in 1979. Although patriotism and the love of country is visible throughout his poetry, his Islamic roots and beliefs drove him to compose a number of poems for officials of the Islamic Republic, Khomeini in particular, thus contributing to Khomeini's fame at the time. Today, however, these compositions stain his reputation, at least in the view of many now opposed to the figures he wrote of. Yet his ability and talent as a great poet should not be measured solely based on poems he composed at a specific time, in which he praised Khomeini and Rafsanjānī, the president of Iran at the time. Shahriyār died in 1988 in Tehran after an illness. His contribution to Persian poetry is deemed to be of major value. His entire collection of poetry consists of approximately 20,250 verses.<sup>183</sup>

### Ḥāfiẓ and Shahriyār

Shahriyār's *ghazals* generally follow those of Ḥāfiẓ, although in his *Dīvān* we can also see the influence of the 'New Poetry' style with verses occasionally composed in the vein of Nimā's school of poetics. The fact that Shahriyār always strove to emulate Ḥāfiẓ and to match the genius and poetic language of Ḥāfiẓ is reflected in the following verse:

Shahriyār	<sup>184</sup> <u>منم که شهره شهرم به عشق ورزیدن</u>	به شهر عشق منم شهریار و چون حافظ
	In the city of love, like Ḥāfiẓ, I am the king, It is I who am famous in town for love making	

Ḥāfiẓ	<sup>185</sup> <u>منم که دیده نیالوده ام به بد دیدن</u>	<u>منم که شهره شهرم به عشق ورزیدن</u>
	I'm the one who is the talk of the town for love-making. It is I whose sight is not polluted by looking at evil. <sup>186</sup>	

After studying Shahriyār's *Dīvān* and reviewing his notes and the forewords to his volumes of poetry, it is clear that this contemporary poet was greatly influenced by Ḥāfiẓ. A close

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Shahriyār, *Kullīyāt-i Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, ed. M. H. Shahriyār, 3 vols. (Tabriz: Maṭbū'āt-i Sa'dī, 1345/1967).

<sup>184</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 343.

<sup>185</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 393, v. 1.

<sup>186</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 470; *ghazal* 385.

study of Shahriyār's collection of poetry, and a juxtaposition of his *ghazals* with those of Ḥāfiẓ reveals his admiration of Ḥāfiẓ. The similarities between the two poets are so numerous that a lengthy essay would be required to show all of them. Below, I have only given a few of Shahriyār's most popular verses, paralleling them with similar verses by Ḥāfiẓ:

Shahriyār <sup>187</sup> طالع مگو که چشمه خورشید خاور است تا چشم دل به طلعت آن ماه منظر است

For as long as the eye of the heart is set on the countenance of that moon-face  
Do not say that the fountain of the sun is located in the east!

Ḥāfiẓ <sup>188</sup> شمشاد سایه پرور من از که کمتر است باغ مرا چه حاجت سرو و صنوبر است

What need of cypress and pine has my garden? Less than whom  
is my home-grown box tree?<sup>189</sup>

Shahriyār <sup>190</sup> چنانکه قول و غزل نیز در پناه من است منم که شعر و تغزل پناهگاه من است

It is I who find sanctuary in poetry and lyrics,  
For it is I who provide sanctuary for them both

Ḥāfiẓ <sup>191</sup> دعای پیر مغان ورد صبحگاه من است منم که گوشه میخانه خانقاه من است

I am he whose dervish hospice is a corner of the wine-bothy  
Prayer for the Magian elder is my dawn litany.<sup>192</sup>

Shahriyār <sup>193</sup> دلم به دولت یاد است اگر دمی شاد است به پیری آنچه مرا مانده لذت یاد

All I have left in old age are sweet memories  
If I seem for a moment happy, it is owed to those memories

Ḥāfiẓ <sup>194</sup> بیار باده که بنیاد عمر بر باد است بیا که قصر امل سخت سست بنیاد است

Come, for the foundation of the mansion of hope is most unsound.  
Bring wine: life's foundations are on wind.<sup>195</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 105.

<sup>188</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 39, v. 1.

<sup>189</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 72; *ghazal* 40.

<sup>190</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 110.

<sup>191</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 53, v. 1.

<sup>192</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 91; *ghazal* 54.

<sup>193</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 103.

<sup>194</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 37, v. 1.

<sup>195</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 68; *ghazal* 37.

Shahriyār <sup>196</sup> وی جام بلورین که خورد باده نایت ای چشم خمارین که کشد سرمه خوابت

O drunken-eye, who will now decorate your sleepy eyes with collyrium,  
O crystal-cup, who will now drink your pure wine?

Ḥāfiẓ <sup>197</sup> وی مرغ بهشتی که دهد دانه و آیت ای شاهد قدسی که کشد بند نقابت

O hallowed beauty, who might unfasten your veil?  
Alas, bird of the celestial garden, who should your seed and water supply?<sup>198</sup>

Shahriyār <sup>199</sup> چه خرم سرزمینهایی که در پیش است و منزلها جبین بگشا که می بندیم از این غمخانه محملها

Smooth out the wrinkles on your brow  
for we are fastening down the camel leaders to depart from this house of sorrow  
Pleasant the territories and destinations we shall explore!

Ḥāfiẓ <sup>200</sup> که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشکلیها الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کاسا ونا ولها

O Sāqī, pass the bowl round and offer it;  
At first love seemed easy, snags have cropped up.<sup>201</sup>

Shahriyār <sup>202</sup> چراغان می کند قندیل راهب دیر ترسا را اگر آن دختر ترسا بیاراید کلیسا را

If that Christian girl decorates the church  
The latticed lampshade of the monk shall illuminate the church.

Ḥāfiẓ <sup>203</sup> به خال هندویش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل مارا

If that Shīrāzī Turk captures our heart,  
For his Hindu dark mole I would forgive Samarqand and Bukhara!<sup>204</sup>

In the introduction to his *Dīvān*, Shahriyār emphasises that great poetry in order to truly touch the soul and spirit must maintain a balance between meaning, rhyme, and subject-matter. In this regard, he adds that the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ, written in ‘sweet Persian’, represents the zenith of Persian poetic tradition.<sup>205</sup> As if to prove this point, further on in the *Dīvān* of

<sup>196</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 100.

<sup>197</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 15, v. 1.

<sup>198</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 42; *ghazal* 16.

<sup>199</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 92.

<sup>200</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 1, v. 1.

<sup>201</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>202</sup> Shahriyār, *Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, Vol. 1, p. 75.

<sup>203</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 3, v. 1.

<sup>204</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 21; *ghazal* 3.

<sup>205</sup> Shahriyār, *Kullīyāt-i Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, ed. M. Ḥ. Shahriyār, Vol. 1, p. 10.

Shahriyār, we come across a poem called ‘The School of Ḥāfiẓ’ (*Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ*), a title chosen by Shahriyār himself. The eleven-verse *ghazal* ends with this couplet, which stresses Shahriyār’s literary attachment to Ḥāfiẓ and the strong influence this poet had on him:

سفر مپسند هرگز شهریار از مکتب حافظ  
سیر معنوی اینجا و کنج خانقاه اینجا<sup>206</sup>

Shahriyār, do not travel away from Ḥāfiẓ’s school,  
For the path to spirituality is here, the corner of the monastery is here.

It is also said that Shahriyār chose his pen name from the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ; while making a wish and opening the *Dīvān*, the following verse appeared, hence, his pen name ‘Shahriyār’:

غم غریبی و غربت چو بر نمی تابم  
به شهر خود روم و شهریار خود باشم<sup>207</sup>

When I cannot bear the misery of being alien and away from home,  
Let me go to my own city and be my own prince.<sup>208</sup>

There are numerous *ghazals* written by Shahriyār, in addition to those presented above, which were deeply influenced by Ḥāfiẓ, but it is not possible to cite them here for reasons of space. However, it seems indisputable, and his poem ‘Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ’ suffices to prove, as he himself admits, that all he has in the way of sweetness of verse is due to the influence of Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>209</sup>

هر چه دارم همه از دولت حافظ دارم<sup>210</sup>

All I possess I owe to Ḥāfiẓ’s rich largesse.

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 96.

<sup>207</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 337, v. 2.

<sup>208</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 409; *ghazal* 330.

<sup>209</sup> Gulbun, *Bahār va adab-i Fārsī*, p. 209.

<sup>210</sup> Shahriyār, *Kullīyāt-i Dīvān-i Shahriyār*, ed. M. Ḥ. Shahriyār, p. 5.

## Aḥmad Shāmlū (d. 1379/2000)

Aḥmad Shāmlū was born in 1304/1925 in Tehran. Details of his adolescent life are scant. His poetry was initially very much influenced by the tradition of Nimā Yūshij.<sup>211</sup> Shāmlū's poetry is complex, yet his imagery, which greatly contributes to the quality of his poems, is simple. He begins with traditional imagery familiar to his Iranian audience through the works of Persian masters like Ḥāfiẓ and Umar Khayyām. For structure and impressions, he uses a kind of everyday imagery in which personified oxymoronic principles are illustrated by a false combination of the abstract. The finished material, thus far unprecedented in Persian poetry, has made some admirers of traditional poetry very unhappy.<sup>212</sup> He has written a number of plays and edited the works of major classical Persian poets, including Ḥāfiẓ. His six-volume work, *Kitāb-i kūcha* (*The Book of the Alley*) is a major contribution to the understanding of Iranian folklore beliefs and languages.<sup>213</sup> Shāmlū has translated extensively from German and French into Persian and his own works are translated into a number of languages. He died after an illness in 2000. The following table illustrates his works, poetry, prose and the approximate number of verses.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> 'A. Dastghayb, *Naqd-i āthār-i Aḥmad Shāmlū* (Tehran: Chāpār, Shāhanshāhī 2537), p. 1.

<sup>212</sup> Hakkak, *Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*, p. 53.

<sup>213</sup> N. Taqīpūr, *Ta'amulī dar shi'r-i Aḥmad Shāmlū* (Tehran: Ābān, Shāhanshāhī 2537), pp. 3–5.

<sup>214</sup> Shāmlū, *Havā-yi tāza* (Tehran: Nigāh, 1363/1985).

Shāmlū, *Dashna dar dīs* (Tehran: Murvārīd, 1372/1994).

Shāmlū, *Laḥzahā va hamāshahā* (Tehran: Nigāh, 1372/1994).

Shāmlū, *Marthīyahā-yi khāk va shikuftan dar mih* (Tehran: Nigāh, 1372/1994).

Shāmlū, *Darhā va dīvār-i buzurg-i chīn* (Tehran: Nimūna, 1352/1974).

Shāmlū, *Qaqnūs dar bārān* (Tehran: Nīl, 1344/1966).

Shāmlū, *Bāgh-i āyana* (Tehran: Murvārīd, 1338/1960).

Shāmlū, *Āidā dar āyana* (Tehran: Nīl, 1343/1965).

Name of Poetry Collection		Number of lines	Year of publication
'Fresh Air'	هوای تازه	8/352	1363/1985
'Fragments'	قطعه نامه	6/264	1363/1985
'Dagger in Plate'	دشنه در دیس	18/792	1372/1994
'Moments and Always'	لحظه ها و همیشه ها	15/660	1372/1994
'Tales of the Dust'	مرثیه های خاک	7/308	1372/1994
'To Bloom in Fog'	شکفتن در مه	8/352	1372/1994
'The Doors and the Big Wall of China'	درها و دیوار بزرگ چین	Short stories, few poems	1352/1974
'Phoenix in Rain'	تقنوس در باران	23/1012	1344/1966
'The Garden of Mirrors'	باغ آینه	45/1880	1338/1960
'Āida in the Mmirror'	آیدا در آینه	13/572	1343/1965

Shāmlū's contribution to Persian poetry is deemed to be of moderate value. His entire collection of poetry, according to my own enumeration, consists of 6,132 lines.

### Ḥāfiẓ and Aḥmad Shāmlū

Aḥmad Shāmlū published three editions of a controversial non-critical edition of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ entitled *Ḥāfiẓ of Shiraz, According to Aḥmad Shāmlū (Ḥāfiẓ-i Shirāz, bih rivāyat-i Aḥmad Shāmlū)* between 1354/1975 and 1360/1981, followed by many reprints. A close study of his edition and a comparison between it and the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī make clear that it totally lacks any scholarly foundation. In fact, his research is based more on his own taste than on any accurate or credible sources. Despite such imperfect editing, it has met with vast public popularity, especially among the younger generation.<sup>215</sup> It is believed that, to some extent, this may be due to Shāmlū's fame and his popular recorded declamation of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry.<sup>216</sup> In a broad assessment, Jalāl Matinī points out that 'In his introductions (which vary from edition to edition, and are missing in some) Shāmlū did not identify the manuscripts used and his long-standing pledge to list the verse variations in a posterior publication was never fulfilled.'<sup>217</sup>

Furthermore, Shāmlū's claims that he focused on establishing the 'logical' order of verses in each *ghazal* makes little sense if we bear in mind that in the older manuscripts the order of

<sup>215</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ: Qarā't guzīnī intiqādī*, ed. B. Khurramshāhī (Tehran: Farzān, 1378/2000), p. 7.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>217</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ mīrath-i girānqadr-i farhangi-i mā*, ed. J. Matinī (Tehran: Iran-nāma Majala-yi Tahqīqāt-i Iran Shināsī, 1376/1998), pp. 606–07.

verses was highly consistent and in need of little, if any, improvement or alteration.<sup>218</sup> The texts of the *ghazals* vary from edition to edition; verses are excluded or interchanged together with entire poems, in some instances without logical reason.<sup>219</sup>

Āshūrī, in a critical attack on Shāmlū in an article in the *Iranshenasi* journal, emphasises that Shāmlū's views and interpretations of Ḥāfiẓ are without any scholarly foundation; they are based purely on his own taste and beliefs. Āshūrī further asserts that Shāmlū's edition shows his lack of adequate knowledge of Ḥāfiẓ and that the author proves himself incompetent on the subject. Āshūrī adds that B. Khurramshāhī, in a critical and accurate article published thirty years ago, attacked Shāmlū over his interpretation of Ḥāfiẓ, rejecting his views and pointing out his lack of knowledge and competence.<sup>220</sup> To conclude his review, Āshūrī adds that anyone attempting to undertake research on Ḥāfiẓ must have adequate knowledge of the poet before even beginning such a great task.<sup>221</sup> Khurramshāhī, in his *Dhihn va zabān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, criticises Shāmlū's edition and questions his methods. Khurramshāhī quotes Shāmlū's own statement in the introduction of his edition: 'I have gathered all the manuscripts and the editions of the *Dīvān*, old and new, subsequently juxtaposing all the verses one by one, identifying the flaws'. In a sarcastic fashion, Khurramshāhī replies to Shāmlū, saying, 'I see, and that is easy I suppose'. Khurramshāhī continues to criticise Shāmlū, adding, 'It is amazing and beyond me, how he has managed to put this edition together'. He expresses his opinion, saying, 'We have not seen such method since the appearance of Islam!' In general, Khurramshāhī states that Shāmlū's edition is a work based on purely subjective criteria

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., pp. 609–11; pp. 627–38.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., pp. 627–38.

<sup>220</sup> D. Āshūrī, 'Ḥāfiẓ bi rivāyat-i 'Abbās Kīārustamī', *Iran shināsī*, No. 4 (Winter 1386/2008), pp. 757–58.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., p. 761.

In an article in *Kilk*, a monthly cultural journal, Shāmlū engages in a debate with Khānlarī after interpreting a verse of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. He rejects Khānlarī's view on the verse:

مرید فرقه دردی کشان خوش خویم

عبوس زهد به وجه خمار بنشیند

Let the gloomy, ill-tempered asceticism match the appearance of the hangover,  
I am the disciple of the order of pleasant drunkards.

There have been many debates in connection with this verse, suggesting that the influence of Ḥāfiẓ on scholars and men of letters is a topic ripe for exploration. The debate continues in a ten-page article by Khānlarī, Shāmlū, Khurramshāhī, Islāmī, 'Alavī, Khaṭīb Rahbar and Shu'ār.— 'A. Ravāqī, 'Shab-i tārik va bīm-i mūj va...', *Māh-nāma-yi Kilk*, No. 21 (Autumn 1370/1992), pp. 70–81.

invented by the poet himself (Shāmlū) which one cannot judge by normal academic or scholarly standards.<sup>222</sup>

‘Alī Dastghayb brings to the discussion yet another critical view, when he writes that Shāmlū acts as two different poets, one who speaks about the social, day-to-day life of ordinary people and a second, who speaks about love. Dastghayb emphasises that the second personality is more influenced by Ḥāfiẓ than by any other poet.<sup>223</sup>

## Conclusion

Given the evidence provided throughout this section of the chapter, it is hoped that the extent of Ḥāfiẓ’s influence over some of the key poets of the Pahlavi period has now been adequately demonstrated. The discussion of Ḥāfiẓ among contemporary poets and in the politics and literature of Pahlavi Persia is an extensive and complicated issue which would require a monograph in itself, but given the evidence provided throughout this section of the chapter, it is hoped that the extent of Ḥāfiẓ’s influence over some of the key poets of the Pahlavi period has now been adequately demonstrated. The poets selected in this chapter were carefully chosen to illustrate the differences in views of at least one or two of them—as has been demonstrated with Nimā and Shahriyār; while they were both contemporaries, one was more influenced by Ḥāfiẓ than the other. As was seen in the case of Shahriyār, Ḥāfiẓ has long been admired and emulated, but is admitted to be virtually impossible to equal.

This exercise thus shows the various degrees of influence that Ḥāfiẓ had on different poets. For example, Nimā grew up learning and memorising Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry and absorbing his style but, later in life he developed his own style of poetry; though his work continued to reflect Ḥāfiẓ’s philosophy. Shahriyār, too, was brought up with Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry, and this influence continued; indeed he found himself deeply inspired by Ḥāfiẓ and he followed his style, philosophy, beliefs and tendency to spirituality.

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<sup>222</sup> B. Khurramshāhī, *Dhihn va zabān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Nāhid, 1384/2005), pp. 381–88. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 2010. — believes Shāmlū’s edition has no credibility or scholarly value; ‘it is just a view by someone who likes Ḥāfiẓ, not an academic work’.

<sup>223</sup> ‘A. Dastghayb, *Naqd-i āthār-i Aḥmad Shāmlū* (Tehran: Āfarīn, 1373/1995), p. 115.

Other cases throughout this study also demonstrate the influence Ḥāfīz's teachings had on many scholars and poets of Persia—on their poetry, personalities, social behaviour or other aspects of life.

As Shahram Pazouki (I believe rightly) affirms, Ḥāfīz is a cultural treasure who has collated all the qualities of the spiritual masters and literary geniuses who flourished before him, improving and passing them on to the rest of humanity.<sup>224</sup>

There is no poet in Persia who has not been influenced by Ḥāfīz. Even those who claim they are not, just don't realise it. Ḥāfīz is like a reservoir that has collected all the good qualities before him and passed them to all who came after him and those still yet to come. The spirit of Ḥāfīz flows in every Iranian who has the slightest interest in poetry and literature, not just the professional poets.<sup>225</sup>

The last word regarding the impact of Ḥāfīz on Iranian poets of the last century I leave to Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī:

Reading the question of which particular poet was the more influenced by Ḥāfīz, I can only say that anyone with the slightest familiarity with Persian poetry is under Ḥāfīz's influence. No one has been able to escape this. This is a reality, a factual statement. Now, if some choose not to believe it, that is unfortunate.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

<sup>225</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

<sup>226</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

## **Chapter V**

### **From Medieval to Modern Ḥāfizology: 500 Years of Editions and Compilations of Ḥāfiz's *Dīvān*, from (1500–2000)**

This chapter examines some of the most important commentaries of Ḥāfiẓ's work produced by scholars and investigates the history of compilations of critical and non-critical editions of his *Dīvān*, while highlighting some of the most important critical studies of the poet. Commentaries on the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ have improved over time, particularly in terms of literary analysis; however, his symbolic lexicon and deeper mystical allusions continue to elude scholars and we still lack a single commentary that addresses both the literal and mystical aspects of Ḥāfiẓ's verses. Another central problem for commentators relates to verses that appear to be extremely libertine, if not altogether irreligious; these have been addressed by authors such as Riḍā Nūr Ni'matullāhī and Sayyid Yaḥyā Yathrabī, both of whom have interpreted Ḥāfiẓ from a mystical point of view. Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī's commentary, by contrast, focuses on a select number of the most arcane and problematic *ghazals* in the *Dīvān* and explains the accurate pronunciation of difficult words.

In terms of the compilations of the *Dīvān* made by editors, the two most reliable editions available today (which both serve as a basis for many other studies) are those of Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī. Other authors have tackled what they feel are the most significant issues in *Ḥāfiẓ-shināsī* in need of clarification; as a researcher I am indebted to them all for their contributions.

In section one of this chapter, I will outline a selection of compilations of the *Dīvān* chosen from the vast array of studies undertaken on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and I will discuss some of the important critical studies produced in the twentieth-century. The information presented here illustrates the plethora and complexity of Ḥāfiẓology research. We must accept, however, that the lack of an accurate and authentic version of the *Dīvān* is a major problem facing Ḥāfiẓology today in Iran and throughout the world.

Section two examines, in closer detail, eleven commentaries on Ḥāfiẓ written in Persia during the period from 1939 to 2010. The study of texts written on Ḥāfiẓ is not new; the practice goes back approximately 400 years; the purpose of this section is to assess in detail the most significant works produced in Persia over the past seventy odd years.

As other very important and much earlier commentaries on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz have been produced outside Persia, in section three I will assess two of the most significant of these, those of Sūdī and Lāhūrī, before drawing some final conclusions.

## **An Outline of the Study of Ḥāfīz in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

This section outlines a selection of the most significant studies on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and some of the important critical studies of Ḥāfīz produced in the twentieth-century. Bibliographies produced by Niknām in 1988 and by Rādfar in 1989 reference over 300 and 225 printed editions respectively.<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of these two bibliographies, further editions have materialised.<sup>2</sup> However, only those of specific significance will be addressed here.

The first lithograph volume of Ḥāfīz was published in Calcutta in 1791 by Richard Johnson.<sup>3</sup> This edition had been collated by Abū Ṭālib Khān Landanī and was based on twelve different manuscripts; 1,200 copies were published.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M. Niknām, *Kitāb shīnāsī-i Ḥāfīz* (Shīrāz: Markaz-i Ḥāfīz Shināsī, 1381/2003), Vol. 2, pp. 1–30. Cited in B. Khurramshāhī, ‘Ḥāfīz. Printed Editions,’ *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 477. Cf. ‘A. Q. Rādfar, *Majmu‘a-yi zabān va adabīyāt-i Fārsī: Ḥāfīz pazhuhān va Ḥāfīz pazhuhī* (Tehran: Gustara, 1367/1989), Vol 3, pp. 247–63. Cited in Meisami, ‘Manuscripts of Hafez’, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Meisami, ‘Manuscripts of Hafez’, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 477.

<sup>3</sup> Khurramshāhī, ‘Ḥāfīz. Printed Editions’, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 479. Cf. Abū Ṭālib Khān, *Masīr-i Ṭālibī*, ed. Ḥusayn Khadiv-i Jam, *The Travels of Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Khān, 1213/1796–1218/1801* (Tehran: Kitabhā-yi Jibī, 1352/1974), pp. 13–15. Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Khān was an Iranian traveller who lived about 160 years ago and was known as ‘Landanī’. Landanī is not famous amongst many Iranians. He travelled mostly to Asia, Africa and Europe. He compiled a travelogue entitled *Masīr-i Ṭālibī: The Travels of Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Khān, 1213/1796–1218/1801*. Landanī resided in India. His father was born in Iṣfahān and died in Murshid Ābād in 1183/1766. In addition to his travelogue, Landanī also published another book entitled *Khulāṣāt al-afkār* comprised of the anthologies of a number of Persian poets. Copies of this are currently kept at the British Library. Landanī’s *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz was published in 1791.

<sup>4</sup> Abū Ṭālib Khān, *Masīr-i Ṭālibī*, p. 9. Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 479.

Further editions followed: one, edited by Muḥammad ‘Alī Pāshā (d. 1849),<sup>5</sup> was printed in 1243/1827 and another, with the traditional foreword by Gulandām, was edited by Badr-‘Alī ‘Azimābādī.<sup>6</sup>

In 1854, Hermann Brockhaus published an edition of Ḥāfiẓ’s *Dīvān* based on the version used by Sūdī (d. 1006/1589) for his commentary in Turkish.<sup>7</sup> Jarrett’s reproduction of the Brockhaus edition was based on that Turkish analysis. In 1838, the initial lithograph of this version (Jarrett’s reproduction of the Brockhaus edition) of the *Dīvān* was printed in Persia. Subsequently, the number of editions printed in Iran gradually increased, although the figure was, for a long time, surpassed by the number printed elsewhere, such as Calcutta, Bombay (now Mumbai) and Istanbul.<sup>8</sup>

In 1881, a noteworthy edition of the *Dīvān*, edited by H. S. Jarrett was printed in India and used by the military and civil services for their examination. H. Wilberforce Clarke made comprehensive references to this book in his interpretation.<sup>9</sup> My careful inspection of Jarrett’s edition has revealed 573 recorded *ghazals* together with some *mathnavīhā*, *qaṭa‘āt* and *rubā‘īyāt*.

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<sup>5</sup> Abū Ṭālib Khān, *Masīr-i Ṭālibī*, p. 391. Landanī speaks of Muḥammad Pāshā in his travelogue, recording his good manners, honourable behaviour and hospitality; he asserts that Pāshā was a famous Ottoman minister.

<sup>6</sup> Nīknām, *Kitāb shīnāsī-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Vol. 2, pp. 1–2. Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 479. According to Nīknām, this book was published in Calcutta in 1827. However, I have not had any success in obtaining a copy for further comparative studies; therefore, the accuracy of this claim relies heavily on Nīknām and Khurramshāhī’s statement.

<sup>7</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Diwan-i Hafiz: For The Degree of Honor Examination in Persian for Officers in the Military and Civil Services*, ed. M. H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta: Urdu Guide Press, 1881), English introduction. During the nineteenth century, a few editions were also published in Europe, including *Die Lieder des Hafis* (The Songs of Ḥāfiẓ), edited by H. Brockhaus (Leipzig, 1854–56) and *Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis* (The *Dīvān* of the Great Lyric Poet Ḥāfiẓ), edited by Rosenzweig Schwannau.— V. R. v. Rosenzweig Schwannau, *Der Diwan: des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis im persischen Original / herausgegeben ins Deutsche metrisch übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen vesehenvon* (Vienna: K. K. Hof-und Staatsdruckerei, 1858–64). Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 479.

<sup>8</sup> V. R. v. Rosenzweig Schwannau, *Der Diwan: des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis im persischen Original / herausgegeben ins Deutsche metrisch übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen vesehenvon*. Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 479.

<sup>9</sup> H. Wilberforce Clarke, (trans.), *The Dīvān...Ḥāfiẓ-i-Shīrāzī* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Printing Office 1891), 2 vols. Reprinted as *Dīvān-i-Ḥāfiẓ* (Bethesda, MD.: Ibex Publishers 1998), 1 vol.

A credible edition based on a manuscript dated 827/1423 was published by ‘Abdul Raḥīm Khalkhālī in 1306/1927.<sup>10</sup> He produced three subsequent editions based on manuscripts dated 898/1492–93, 901/1495–96 and 984/1576–77.<sup>11</sup> As editor, he later became cognizant of his many errors.<sup>12</sup> ‘When I first heard Mr. Qazvīnī’s views on my edition of the *Dīvān*, I felt so proud that I almost disregarded the flaws in the manuscript. However, after a while, I realised the errors and faults in my edition.’<sup>13</sup> He then quotes this verse from Ḥāfiẓ:

از آن گناه که نفعی رسد به غیر چه باک

Fear not the sin that benefits others.

Khalkhālī asserts that he compiled his edition of the *Dīvān* because he had in his possession a rare and valuable manuscript of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ. He refers to this valuable copy as very old and thus closer to the time of the poet; this encouraged Khalkhālī to compile an edition of the *Dīvān* and later pass the same manuscript to Qazvīnī.<sup>14</sup> Khalkhālī informs us that in his edition of the *Dīvān* he juxtaposed the verses of many other poets contemporary to Ḥāfiẓ, in order to be reasonably certain that the verses he had in his possession did not belong to other poets and that they were authentic and from Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>15</sup> This method is referred to by Khurramshāhī and Jāvid as the most reliable.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Khānlarī asserts that the most reliable and effective method for compiling the *Dīvān* is to rely on the evidence as close to the time of the poet as possible; he adds that to date only a few have used this method, and refers to Khalkhālī as one of the very few who have implemented it.<sup>17</sup> This fact is also

<sup>10</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī: Az rū-yi nuskhā-yi khaṭṭī kih dar tārikh-i 827 Hijrī Qamarī 35 sāl ba ‘d az vafāt-i Khwāja taḥrīr shuda ast*, ed. S. ‘A. R. Khalkhālī (Tehran: Dunyā-i Kitāb, [n.d]). Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 480.

<sup>11</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Ḥāfiẓ-nāma*, ed. S. ‘A. R. Khalkhālī (Tehran: Majlis, 1320/1942), pp. 1–15.

<sup>12</sup> S. Naysārī, *Muqadama’ī bar tadvīn-i ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī, 1376/1998), p. 43. Cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Ḥāfiẓ-nāma*, ed. S. ‘A. R. Khalkhālī, pp. 2–3.

<sup>13</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Ḥāfiẓ-nāma*, ed. S. ‘A. R. Khalkhālī, p. 80.— Khalkhālī asserts that he collected various editions of Ḥāfiẓ’s *Dīvān* over a period of thirty years. He emphasises that he had neither the financial means nor social connections to print and publish any valuable study in Iran. Moreover, most of the lithograph books were published and printed in India at that time.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. H. Jāvid and B. Khurramshāhī (Tehran: Farzān, 1378/1999), p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. P. N. Khānlarī (Tehran: Khārazmī, 1362/1984), Vol. 2, pp. 1125–26.

mentioned by Qazvīnī in the introduction to his edition of the *Dīvān*.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Khurramshāhī expresses his view about Khalkhālī's edition and states:

Khalkhālī was not aware of the detailed problems embedded throughout the *Dīvān* and for this reason alone his edition bore many flaws, which were later corrected by Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Minuvī. Later Khalkhālī became aware of such flaws and because of his personality (he was a person who was 'open to criticism') he subsequently published a very profound book entitled: *Hāfiẓ-nāma*; in it he explained the errors in his edition in detail.<sup>19</sup>

Khurramshāhī claims that Khalkhālī's edition contained over 400 errors, one of which I will give here as an example:

سحر بلبل حکایت با صبا کرد      که عشق روی گل با ما چها کرد<sup>20</sup>

At dawn the nightingale related to the breeze,  
'What things love of the face of the rose has done to us!'<sup>21</sup>

صبا<sup>23</sup> بلبل حکایت با صبا کرد      که عشق روی گل با ما چها کرد<sup>22</sup>

At the beginning the nightingale related to the breeze,  
'What things love of the face of the rose has done to us!'<sup>24</sup>

سحر بلبل حکایت با صبا کرد      که عشق روی گل با ما چها کرد<sup>25</sup>

At dawn the nightingale related to the breeze,  
'What things love of the face of the rose has done to us!'<sup>26</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. Q. Ghanī and M. Qazvīnī, *muqadama-yi muṣṣaḥiḥ*, pp. kab, kaj. [n.p.ns]

<sup>19</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. B. Khurramshāhī (Tehran: Dūstān, 1385/2006), p. 36.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 130, v. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 173; *ghazal* 126.

<sup>22</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Khwāja Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. Khalkhālī, *ghazal* 130, v. 1.

<sup>23</sup> The word *ṣabā* is a noun in Persian bearing two different meanings, one is 'the beginning' and the other is a name chosen for the eastern breeze; thus, in these verses edited by Khalkhālī, the more acceptable one would be 'the beginning'. It has been changed and corrected by Khurramshāhī because of the repetition of the word in the same hemistich, which I have underlined.

<sup>24</sup> This translation follows that of Avery, with some modifications. Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 173; *ghazal* 126.

<sup>25</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, *ghazal* 126, v. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 173; *ghazal* 126.

Khalkhālī's manuscript has served as the foundation for many printed editions of Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīvān*, not least for that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī. In the preface of this collaborative version, Muḥammad Qazvīnī/Ghanī, the pioneers in publishing a critical edition of the *Dīvān* in Persia, identified numerous uncorrected mistakes in Khalkhālī's first edition. It should be noted, however, that the essentials for their edition were gleaned from Khalkhālī's prior publication.

A well-known early publication was produced by Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, a scholar whose pen name was 'Qudsī' (d. 1361/1944).<sup>27</sup> Qudsī's edition, which took eight years to complete, was the result of a comprehensive study of fifty manuscripts and published books.<sup>28</sup> A. Ḥikmat, the editor of another edition of the *Dīvān*, maintains that Qudsī was a fervent admirer of Ḥāfiẓ and that he had loved his poetry since childhood. Qudsī's edition was published in two lithographed volumes in 1314/1896 and 1322/1904 in Bombay.<sup>29</sup>

According to Ḥ. Dhulfaqārī and A. 'A. Muḥammadī, the editors of the latest edition (1381/2002) of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ, originally edited by Mir Sayyid Muḥammad Qudsī and entitled *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Qudsī* (1314/1896), Qudsī's edition was one of the most credible editions of the *Dīvān* prior to that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī.<sup>30</sup> Dhulfaqārī and Muḥammadī add that Qudsī's edition is comprised of six hundred *ghazals*. In addition to this, they further believe that the most reliable editions to date are those of Qazvīnī/Ghanī, Khānlarī, Naysārī and Sāya.<sup>31</sup> By juxtaposing this edition with those of Qazvīnī/Ghanī, Khānlarī, Naysārī and Sāya I have observed many discrepancies for which none of the mentioned editors provides any explanation. For example, Qudsī records one hundred extra *ghazals*, for which we have no reasonable explanations for where they have come from, or why the editor believes that,

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<sup>27</sup> Rādfar, *Majmu'a-yi zabān*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>28</sup> Some of the facts and figures in the above statement are also cited in Khurramshāhī, *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 480.

<sup>29</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī az rū-yi chāp-i Qudsī*, ed. 'A. A. Ḥikmat (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1342/1964), pp. 13–15.

<sup>30</sup> 'A. A. Ḥikmat, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ bi taṣḥīh-i Muḥammad Qudsī*, ed. 'A. A. Ḥikmat, Ḥ. Dhulfaqārī and A. 'A. Muḥammadī (Tehran: Nashr-i Chishma, 1381/2002), p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

contrary to the belief of other scholars, they belong to Ḥāfīz.<sup>32</sup> Qudṣī's edition, as stated earlier, is also flawed, yet was considered one of the best, until the appearance of the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī, after which it gradually lost popularity. All in all, in my opinion, Qudṣī provides a valuable edition of the *Dīvān* whose accuracy I believe is reasonably credible, excluding the extra one hundred *ghazals*.

In 1315/1937 Ḥusayn Pizhmān Bakhtīyārī published an edition of the *Dīvān*.<sup>33</sup> In it, he condemns the methods employed by Qazvīnī/Ghanī in compiling their edition.<sup>34</sup> While Bakhtīyārī emphasises that his own copy is not without flaws, he stresses that Qazvīnī/Ghanī fail to identify the true meaning and beauty of Ḥāfīz's verses and they tended to judge a verse's authenticity or lack thereof purely on the basis of its so-called historical context—this is a result of Qazvīnī's and Ghanī's academic backgrounds and expertise in history.<sup>35</sup> Bakhtīyārī further asserts that the popularity of the edition of Qazvīnī/Ghanī is due mainly to the fame of one of the authors (Qazvīnī) rather than the intrinsic value of the work. He adds that such an important task should have been given to poets and scholars such as Humā'ī or Furūzānfar.<sup>36</sup> In agreement with Bakhtīyārī, Dr. Meisami believes that

Every edition has its pluses and minuses. Working on Ḥāfīz, I tend to use Pizhman's edition; I think he had a better feeling for the poetry. But I also compare with Qazvīnī-Ghanī and Khānlarī. Later (post-Revolution) editions, if there are any new ones (i.e., not re-editions of earlier ones), I'm not familiar with.<sup>37</sup>

Pizhmān Bakhtīyārī's *Dīvān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī* was a popular edition of the *Dīvān* and was widely accepted by the general public. Bakhtīyārī's edition comprises fifty-five pages of introduction and foreword, with a total of 489 *ghazals*, falling

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<sup>32</sup> The total number of *ghazals* in Qazvīnī and Ghanī's edition are 495 and in Khānlarī, there are 486. However, the difference in Qudṣī's edition exceeds 100 *ghazals*, without any explanation as to why the editor believes they are authentic material.

<sup>33</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. H. P. Bakhtīyārī (Tehran: Birukhīm, 1315/1937). Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 480. Rādfar asserts that Ḥusayn Pizhmān Bakhtīyārī (d. 1352/1973) was the first to publish a critical edition of Ḥāfīz in Persia.

<sup>34</sup> Rādfar, *Majmu'a-yi zabān*, p. 16. Cited in Khurramshāhī, *EIr*, Vol. 11, p. 480.

<sup>35</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī*, ed. Bakhtīyārī, pp. 19–22.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Julie Meisami, Berkeley, 24 October 2011.

six short of Qazvīnī's and Ghanī's edition. Scholars such as Bakhtīyārī, have relied on their own personal biases and tastes while editing the *Dīvān*. Thus, in Khurramshāhī's view, scholars such as Bakhtīyārī, Īnjavī, Yiktā'ī and Shāmlū have not adhered to the standard rules and regulations necessary for compiling an accurate edition.<sup>38</sup> Without naming a particular scholar in his critical note, Khurramshāhī further adds that some scholars do not consider it essential to rely on the manuscripts close to the time of the poet.<sup>39</sup> In this respect, Qazvīnī believes that editors and scholars must not rely solely on their own taste in compiling editions of the *Dīvān*, rather their task is to concentrate on accuracy.<sup>40</sup>

According to Khurramshāhī, who wrote his own commentary on the *Dīvān* in *Ḥāfiẓ-nāma* (*The Book of Ḥāfiẓ*), although Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition is considered one of the best published, it is far from perfect. Their publication is based on the manuscript used by Khalkhālī dated 827/1424 in his 1927 edition of the *Dīvān* together with seventeen manuscripts. In further detailed reviews, Khurramshāhī adds that the editors do not systematically annotate their deviations from Khalkhālī's manuscript, nor do they identify the sources for the additional verses provided.<sup>41</sup> However, Khurramshāhī adds that the most reliable edition of the *Dīvān* still remains that written by Qazvīnī/Ghanī, because of the very simple fact that they have not based their research on just one old edition and have employed a comparative method to reach a conclusion.<sup>42</sup>

According to Khānlarī, Qazvīnī/Ghanī relied heavily on the edition of Khalkhālī and some other manuscripts close to the time of the poet. Khānlarī believes that Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition is one of the most reliable editions to date, with the exception of some minor errors, which Khānlarī claims he has corrected in his edition.<sup>43</sup> Khurramshāhī also seems to agree with Khānlarī in believing that Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition is one of the most reliable editions produced to date for the very reasons mentioned before—that they have gone as far back to

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<sup>38</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. H. Jāvid and B. Khurramshāhī, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Q. Ghanī and M. Qazvīnī, introduction, p. 23, marked as (*kad*)

<sup>41</sup> Khurramshāhī, 'Ḥāfiẓ', *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 480. Cf. S. Naysārī (ed.), *Muqadama'ī bar tadvīn-i ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī, 1376/1998), pp. 44–142.

<sup>42</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ: Qarā'ī quzīnī intiqādī*, ed. Khurramshāhī, pp. 7–8.

<sup>43</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, Vol. 2, pp. 1126–28.

the time of the poet as possible.<sup>44</sup> This is a view shared by Dr. Meisami as well.<sup>45</sup> Khurramshāhī further asserts that this marks a revolution in editions of the *Dīvān*.<sup>46</sup>

In agreement with Khurramshāhī, Īnjavī states that Qazvīnī's edition is one of the most credible editions to date. Mīnuvī's edition of the *Dīvān* published in 1346/1968 is also based on that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī.<sup>47</sup> Following Qazvīnī's death, M. Mīnuvī professed that Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition of the *Dīvān* is one of the most reliable copies available today and a solid base for many published editions.<sup>48</sup> Hiravī agrees that Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition is still considered the most accurate, even after over forty years.<sup>49</sup> Hiravī, in connection with Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition, says: 'I am deeply fond of this copy, because I have enjoyed its accurate contents many times and have not come across any other more credible editions.'<sup>50</sup> I must agree that Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition, to date, is the most reliable edition available for students and researchers of Ḥāfīzology. In his work, entitled *Dawlat-i pīr-i mughān (The Wisdom of the Sage of Magi)*, Kirmānī juxtaposes some verses from Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition with those of Khānlarī to demonstrate dissimilarities between the two editions, favouring Khānlarī's version over that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī. I believe, after studying the views of many scholars about this issue that it would be accurate to confirm that Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition remains the most credible today, thus my view remains the same as that of Khurramshāhī. Clearly, Qazvīnī/Ghanī's work is of major significance in the field of Ḥāfīzology.

Īnjavī Shīrāzī first published his edition of the *Dīvān*, entitled *Dīvān-i Khawja Ḥāfīz-i Shīrāzī*, in 1346/1967. In the introduction he informs us that to date there is no completely reliable edition of the *Dīvān* on which researchers can totally rely.<sup>51</sup> In his view, this is because Ḥāfīz did not compile his verses in his lifetime and therefore, the burden of this task has fallen to scholars and admirers. He further asserts that every scholar, according to his

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<sup>44</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. H. Jāvid and B. Khurramshāhī, pp. 4–8.

<sup>45</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Julie Meisami, Berkeley, 24 October 2011.

<sup>46</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. B. Khurramshāhī, p. 37.

<sup>47</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Khawja Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī: Kashf al-Abyyāt va kashf al-Lughāt*, ed. 'A. Q. Īnjavī Shīrāzī (Tehran: Jāvidān, 1360/1982), pp. 10–18.

<sup>48</sup> Ī. Šārimī, *Ḥāfīz az dīdgāh-i 'Allāma Muḥammad Qazvīnī* (Tehran: 'Ilmī, 1366/1988), pp. 53–55.

<sup>49</sup> Ḥ. 'A. Hiravī, *Maqālāt-i Ḥāfīz* (Tehran: Kitābsarā, 1368/1990), pp. 204–08. Khurramshāhī, 'Printed Editions of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz, *Elr*, Vol. 11, p. 481.

<sup>50</sup> Hiravī, *Maqālāt-i Ḥāfīz*, p. 208.

<sup>51</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. S. 'A. Īnjavī Shīrāzī (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1346/1967), p. 2.

own comprehension and taste, has inserted verses in the *Dīvān* and this has become a major problem over the centuries. For researchers, the question remains, which verses are authentic and which ones are dubious?<sup>52</sup> Injavī asserts that in many cases those who attempted to produce an accurate version of the *Dīvān* have failed, mistaking some words, either because the original handwriting is unclear, or for other unknown obstacles. Below he provides an example.<sup>53</sup>

اسم اعظم بکند کار خود ای دل خوش باش      که ز تلبیس و حیل دیو مسلمان نشود<sup>54</sup>

[Invocation of] the Supreme Name of God shall [in due course] work its own effect—rest content, O heart/Because by means of fraud and deceit, the demon shall never become ‘Muslim’ (*musalmān*).

اسم اعظم بکند کار خود ای دل خوش باش      که ز تلبیس و حیل دیو سلیمان نشود

[Invocation of] the Supreme Name of God shall [in due course] work its own effect—rest content, O heart/Because by means of fraud and deceit, the demon shall never become ‘Solomon’ (*Sulayman*).

Injavī believes that the correct verse should read as Sulayman, not Muslim, as underlined above. Injavī’s edition, according to Khurramshāhī, however, is one of those editions that rely more on personal taste rather than objective scholarship.<sup>55</sup>

Khānlarī’s two-volume *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad* (1362/1983) is widely believed by many scholars to be a great improvement on that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī. As Khānlarī himself claims, his edition is free from the errors found in Qazvīnī/Ghanī’s edition. Khānlarī informs us that his primary sources were the edition by Mīnuvī, along with a manuscript he had access to at the British Museum, dated 813–14/1431–32. This manuscript is therefore very close to the time of the poet and various other manuscripts, which are mixtures of poems of Ḥāfiẓ and some of his contemporaries, poets such as Sāvājī.<sup>56</sup> Khānlarī’s edition is very similar to Qazvīnī/Ghanī’s, though he (Khānlarī) states that the various errors in their edition have been corrected in his edition. Clearly, most recent editions of the *Dīvān* are based, in one way or another, on either Qazvīnī’s/Ghanī’s or Khānlarī’s

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 22, v. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Jāvid and Khurramshāhī, p. 7.

<sup>56</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, Vol. 2, pp. 1130–33.

edition. Khānlarī was considered a poet as well as a scholar, thus he is more skilful in modifying verses in an agreeable and stylish manner.<sup>57</sup>

Naysārī records that his own edition, the *Dīvān daftar-i dīgarsānīhā dar ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfiẓ* (*The Book of Variation in the Lyrics of Ḥāfiẓ*), was based on, and compared to, that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī, as well as thirty-two other editions, and for this reason he claims that his version was an improvement on theirs.<sup>58</sup>

In 1372/1993, Hūshang Ibtihāj, otherwise known as Sāya, produced an edition of the *Dīvān*, entitled *Ḥāfiẓ bi sa‘-yi Sāya*. Ibtihāj’s edition is comprised of only 484 *ghazals*; according to the author, his edition was produced based on the editions previously produced by Qudsī, Khalkhālī, Qazvīnī/Ghanī, Farzād, and by examining various manuscripts currently held in Tajikistan, Istanbul, the British Museum, India and America. The evidence of the existence of these manuscripts is given at the end of his edition of the *Dīvān*, where Sāya provides reproductions of their title pages and colophons.<sup>59</sup>

Sāya informs us that he has produced this edition with major help from Kadkanī; he emphasises that because Kadkanī was a poet, the task of identifying and replacing errors with correct words was considerably eased.<sup>60</sup> In my interview with Khurramshāhī, he stated that Sāya’s edition is one of the most credible ones to date and that many scholars prefer it to other editions currently available.<sup>61</sup> Dr. Pazouki also agreed with Khurramshāhī’s statement.<sup>62</sup> In my opinion, Sāya’s edition, because of the talent of the author and his

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Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. J. Maṣṣūr (Tehran: Dawrān, 1382/2003), p. 1.— J. Maṣṣūr states in the introduction to his edition of the *Dīvān* that the basis for his research was the edition produced by Qazvīnī and Ghanī, as well as those by Khānlarī, Sāya, Naysārī, Khalkhālī, Nā’īnī and Nadhir Aḥmad.

<sup>57</sup> Kirmānī, *Ḥāfiẓ az dīdgāhhā-yi mukhtalif* (Tehran: Ādhar Ābādīgān, 1364/1986), p. 28–32. While the above examples are not statements of preference, they are, however, indications of perceptible discrepancies in the two mentioned editions. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i ghazalīyāt-i Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. Kh. Rahbar (Tehran: Ṣafī ‘Alī Shāh, 1365/1987), p. 23.

<sup>58</sup> S. Naysārī, *Muqadama ‘-i bar tadvīn-i ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī, 1376/1998), introduction.

<sup>59</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ, Ḥāfiẓ bi sa‘-yi Sāya*, ed. Hūshang Ibtihāj, known as Sāya (Tehran: Nashr-i Kārnāma, 1376/1997), pp. 706–16.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>61</sup> Personal communication from Bahā’ al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>62</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

profession as a poet, is of immense help to the student of Ḥāfīz's poetry in need of a reliable edition of the *Dīvān*, and the fact that Sāya has benefited from other contemporary poets and scholars such as Kadkanī makes his edition quite credible and reliable for the researcher of the *Dīvān*.

### **Important Critical Studies of Ḥāfīz**

In 1319/1941, Muḥammad Mu'īn published his book, *Ḥāfīz-i shīrīn sukhan* (*Sweet-spoken Ḥāfīz*), in two volumes. It addresses many aspects of Ḥāfīz's life, including many biographical details: his birthplace, pen name, family name and ancestry, education, marital status and other matters of literary, historical and anecdotal interest for the student.<sup>63</sup> The first volume ends with an analysis and a close study of the meaning of some of Ḥāfīz's verses, with illustrative poetry as supportive evidence. Mu'īn's method of analysis relies heavily on the words of the poet, though some historical facts are taken into account as primary sources of reference.

The second volume begins with an analysis of Ḥāfīz's poetry, an examination of his style and some technical aspects of the lyrics.<sup>64</sup> Key words, metaphors, ambiguities and imagery are assessed and a study of major events at the end of the poet's life is offered. The book continues with discussions about Ḥāfīz's tomb and his *Dīvān* and an analysis of the influence of Ḥāfīz on the people and literature of Iran. This examination provides insights on a number of critical views, articles and essays about Ḥāfīz, the views of international scholars, and finally, a general analysis of his poetry.<sup>65</sup>

With regard to Mu'īn's *Ḥāfīz-i shīrīn sukhan*, I must emphasise the importance of this book in the realm of research. According to Mahdukht Mu'īn (Mu'īn's daughter), her father utilised the editions of Khalkhālī, Bakhtiyārī, and Qazvīnī/Ghanī to produce this book and thus it is considered highly accurate by contemporary scholars.<sup>66</sup> According to Mu'īn, in order to write about the life of a poet, one must base one's research on three primary sources: narrations directly attributed to the poet, statements about him given by his contemporaries

<sup>63</sup> M. Mu'īn, *Ḥāfīz-i shīrīn sukhan* (Tehran: Sukhan, 1319/1941), Vol. 1, pp. 110–13.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 527–69.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 741–83.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

and any additional details given by those who have come after the poet. These three elements form the basis for the analysis conducted in Mu‘īn’s book, thus making it a very valuable tool for the purpose of research. I have partly relied on this book for this research and believe that most of its details are largely accurate.<sup>67</sup>

Javād Majd Zāda Şahbā published *Sukhanī chand dar bāb-i ahvāl va ash‘ār-i Ḥāfiẓ* (A Brief Discussion about the Life and Poetry of Ḥāfiẓ) in 1321/1943.<sup>68</sup> Later, Şahbā speaks about the Muẓaffarīd dynasty, presenting illustrative verses as supportive evidence for his various statements and connecting some verses to the beliefs and philosophy of Ḥāfiẓ. For example, the following verse from the *Dīvān* is offered as evidence that Ḥāfiẓ was a teacher who conferred lessons about humanity and moral behaviour:

نگویمت که همه ساله می پرستی کن      سه ماه می خور و نه ماه پارسا میباش<sup>69</sup>

I do not tell you: Worship wine throughout the year,  
For three months drink wine, but for nine be abstinent.<sup>70</sup>

The book consists of 103 pages with no index or table of contents.

In 1321/1943, Sa‘īd Nafisī published *Dar pīrāmūn-i ash‘ār va ahvāl-i Ḥāfiẓ* (An Overview of Ḥāfiẓ’s Poetry, Life and Times). His book contains 279 pages comparing 100 *ghazals* by Ḥāfiẓ with those in Khalkhālī’s edition of the *Dīvān*. In the foreword of this book, Nafisī expresses his admiration for Ḥāfiẓ with a profound passion, unsurpassed as far as I have witnessed, by any other devotee of Ḥāfiẓ. The book includes a foreword by ‘Abbās Iqbāl. In the introduction, Şahbā claims that the verses chosen for his book rely on an undated and unnamed manuscript in his possession, and are, therefore, more authentic than other available manuscripts.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> J. M. Şahbā, *Sukhanī chand dar bāb-i ahvāl va ash‘ār-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Ispāhān, 1321/1943).

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 103. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 274, v. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 338; *ghazal* 269.

<sup>71</sup> Şahbā, *Sukhanī chand dar bāb-i ahvāl va ash‘ār-i Ḥāfiẓ*, p. 6. Strangely, there is no reference to such an important book by Şahbā; even the name of its author is not mentioned.

Not long after Nafisī's book was published in 1943, a major two-volume study by Qāsim Ghanī (d. 1331/1953), *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Ḥāfiẓ* (*A Discussion About the Works, Thought and Life of Ḥāfiẓ*), was produced in 1322/1944. It begins with a foreword by Qazvīnī, detailing the history of his friendship with Ghanī. Qazvīnī expands his discussion, acknowledging the great poets of Persia and categorising them into three different classes. Class one consists of poets like Rūmī, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ and so on. Class two is made up of 'second-class poets,' such as Khwājū and Salmān Sāvajī, and the third class consists of poets from the Ṣafavid period. The book begins by considering the name and pen name of Ḥāfiẓ, moving on to his early years, education and relationship with kings and rulers.

Ghanī emphasises that researchers must not waste valuable time conducting research on the third or even the second class of poets, but rather they should concentrate on the superior poets.<sup>72</sup> To conclude his criticism, Ghanī quotes the following verse by Rūmī:

من بنده خوبانم هر چند بدم گویند      با زشت نیامیزم هر چند کند نیکی

I am the servant of the fair ones; however much they criticise me!  
With the ill and ugly I do not associate; however much good they do!

I believe that the above quote is somewhat different in meaning than Ghanī suggests and actually indicates that all works of scholarly value should be explored without prejudice. Ghanī's introduction establishes the aims and importance of such research. He stresses that in order to understand Ḥāfiẓ, we must first familiarise ourselves with the period in which he lived, those he associated with, and the political and historic situation of his time. Ghanī believes that to understand Ḥāfiẓ, one must take daring steps in exploring these matters.<sup>73</sup> In addition, he believes that artists are products of (or influenced by) their environment, and Ḥāfiẓ was no exception to this reality.

Ghanī's book consists of extensive research into Ḥāfiẓ's era and includes an analysis of the impact of different sovereigns on the city of Shīrāz. Ghanī begins with the Chūpānīd era and ends with the last part of the Muẓaffarīd dynasty. The most significant method of Ghanī's analysis of Ḥāfiẓ is his reliance on the words of the poet—these he uses more than any other source, while juxtaposing such verses with the available historical facts.

<sup>72</sup> Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va afkār va aḥvāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*, pp. 12–14.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

In 1338/1960, over a decade after the publication by Ghanī, a work by Muḥammad ‘Alī Bāmdād, *Ḥāfiẓ-shīnāsī yā ilhāmāt-i Khwāja* (*Ḥāfiẓology or Khwāja’s Inspirations*), was published. As Bāmdād asserts in his foreword, the book concentrates mostly on the meaning of Ḥāfiẓ’s verses. He focuses on defining frequently used metaphors and key phrases in the *Dīvān*. Illustrative verses are followed by detailed explanations of the intended meaning. There are also references to the life and education of Ḥāfiẓ during his youth and throughout his old age.<sup>74</sup> Further on, we come across references to kings and the rulers of the time, in particular to Shāh Shujā‘ and his family.<sup>75</sup> Bāmdād goes on to investigate Ḥāfiẓ’s personality, with the aim of presenting an accurate statement of his philosophy. The book is 174 pages, with a partial glossary and line index.

In 1344/1966, a few years after Bāmdād’s publication, Maḥmūd Hidāyat produced *Muntakhabātī az Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī* (*Selections from the Dīvān of Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz*).<sup>76</sup> This book focuses mainly on the different periods of Ḥāfiẓ’s life and is illustrated by appropriate *ghazals* from the *Dīvān*. It consists of 329 pages, with a line index and corrections of some words in previous publications of the *Dīvān*.

Muḥammad ‘Alī Mu‘ayyirī published *Ḥāfiẓ rā ham az Ḥāfiẓ bishnāsīm* (*Let’s Learn Ḥāfiẓ from Ḥāfiẓ Himself*) in 1354/1974.<sup>77</sup> Interestingly, the book begins with a picture of the tomb of Ḥāfiẓ and a *ghazal* composed by Mu‘ayyirī, praising Ḥāfiẓ. The *ghazal* starts with the verse:

بوی جان میوزد از تربت حافظ به جهان      زنده عشق در این خاک گرفته است مکان<sup>78</sup>

The tomb of Ḥāfiẓ exudes the scent of spirit to the world,  
He, who is alive with love, rests here in this ground.

In the foreword of this book, Mu‘ayyirī courageously attacks those who slander Ḥāfiẓ and express opinions without solid evidence. He emphasises that there are two very important

<sup>74</sup> M. ‘A. Bāmdād, *Ḥāfiẓ-shīnāsī yā ilhāmāt-i Khwāja* (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1338/1960), pp. 10–12.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>76</sup> There is no publication date on this book; however the John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester has registered this date in their catalogue.

<sup>77</sup> M. ‘A. Mu‘ayyirī, *Ḥāfiẓ rā ham az Ḥāfiẓ bishnāsīm* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitāb Furūshī-i Dihkhudā, 1354/1974).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

rules that must be taken into account before any research on Ḥāfiẓ is conducted: fairness and concentration.<sup>79</sup> Illustrative verses are presented to support his belief, for example:

شعر حافظ همه بیت الغزل معرفتست      آفرین بر نفس دلکش و لطف سخنش<sup>80</sup>

Each of Ḥāfiẓ's verses is a masterpiece of wisdom,  
Bravo to his fascinating words and the charm of his utterance!

Another important and interesting point in this book, frequently emphasised by the author, is Ḥāfiẓ's references to wine-drinking. Mu'ayyirī claims that these should be interpreted purely in a literal sense and that no other assumption can be derived from his poems, apart from a few exceptional verses. He further asserts that Ḥāfiẓ did have a tendency towards wine and that he very openly admitted such behaviour. One of the most appealing points about Ḥāfiẓ's verses is 'his honesty', which is what makes people love his poetry; he makes no attempt to hide his behaviour, but rather openly admits it and emphasises that drinking wine is no sin, but that deception and deceit are!<sup>81</sup> Mu'ayyirī presents the following verse as an example to support his claim:

من و انکار شراب؟ این چه حکایت باشد!      غالبا اینقدرم عقل و کفایت باشد<sup>82</sup>  
Me, deny wine? What tale is this?  
I do, apparently, have just enough reason and character never to do that.

The rest of the book is written in the same manner, with references to Ḥāfiẓ's religiosity, beliefs, education and Ḥāfiẓ as a mystic, with relevant illustrative verses to support the author's claims. This book consists of 122 pages and, in the field of Ḥāfiẓology, it is considered moderately significant.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 7–8.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 7. Cf. Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 281, v. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Mu'ayyirī, *Ḥāfiẓ rā ham az Ḥāfiẓ bishnāsīm*, pp. 14–24.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 14, Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 158, v. 1.

## Commentaries and Studies on Ḥāfiẓ Published in Persia from 1939 to 2010

Having outlined a selection of important critical editions and studies of the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in this section I will concentrate on commentaries on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ published in Persia between 1939 and 2010. Sūdī's work is not included here, although it is considered one of the most important commentaries. However, given its importance, I will address it towards the end of this chapter in a separate section devoted to "Commentaries and Studies on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Published Outside Persia."

Here, my main focus will be on conducting a detailed examination and assessment of the works of the following scholars:

Muḥammad Dārābī	<i>Laṭīfi-yi ghaybī (Subtleties of the World of the Invisible)</i>
Riḍā Nūr Ni 'matullāhī	<i>Nubūgh-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shirāz va nūr-i ash 'ārash (The Genius of Ḥāfiẓ of Shirāz and the Light of his Poetry)</i>
M. Murtaḍavī	<i>Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ (The School of Ḥāfiẓ)</i>
Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī	<i>Ḥāfiẓ-nāma (The Book of Ḥāfiẓ)</i>
Sa'īd Niāz Kirmānī	<i>Dawlat-i pīr-i mughān (The Magian Master's Kingdom)</i>
Sayyid Yaḥyā Yathrabī	<i>Āb-i ṭarabnāk (Delightful Waters)</i>
Raḥīm Dhū'l-Nūr	<i>Dar justujū-yi Ḥāfiẓ (In Search of Ḥāfiẓ)</i>
Muḥammad Riḍā Khāliqī	<i>Shākh-i nabāt-i Ḥāfiẓ (A Stalk of Sugarcane from Ḥāfiẓ's Verse)</i>
M. S. Kadkanī	<i>In kimīyā-yi hastī (This Elixir of Existence)</i>
Ḥusayn Hiravī	<i>Sharḥ-i Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ (Commentaries on the Dīvān of Ḥāfiẓ)</i>
Muḥammad Isti'lāmī	<i>Dars-i Ḥāfiẓ (Ḥāfiẓian Studies)</i>

### Muḥammad Dārābī

The commentary by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Dārābī, *Laṭīfi-yi ghaybī (Subtleties of the World of the Invisible)*, was originally published in 1317/1939. The book is 154 pages, beginning with a ten-page introduction extolling Ḥāfiẓ's greatness and the charm of his utterances.

Unlike the commentary by Sūdī (discussed below at the end of this chapter), Dārābī's commentary is a patchwork study of enigmatic and difficult verses in the *Dīvān* and is by no means comprehensive. Although his approach is primarily mystical, some of Ḥāfiẓ's poems

are defined in almost the same literal manner as in Sūdī's work. There are also references to the poems of Rūmī, Sa' dī, Shabistarī, Maghribī and 'Aṭṭār.<sup>83</sup>

The book is divided into several thematic sections. The first offers explanations of Ḥāfiẓ's more difficult poems; the second details relevant points in relation to Sufism; and finally, Dārābī presents a comparison of Ḥāfiẓ's verses with verses from the Qur'ān. This commentary includes some useful explanations of difficult words and phrases; however, the style in which the research is conducted is not of a scholarly standard, thus causing problems for the student and researcher. Consequently, although it is one of the older commentaries, it cannot be relied on as a sole source of reference. Furthermore, only a handful of *ghazals* are included, without proper justification or explanation of their selection. It should be noted, however, that Dārābī's commentary does offer some mystical views and interpretations that are not present in anybody else's work, and the mystical depth of his exegesis is often exceedingly revealing and helpful to the modern students.<sup>84</sup>

It should be underlined that Dārābī's incomplete commentary does contain one of the most important mystical analyses of Ḥāfiẓ. Although brief and random in its reference to *ghazals* as a whole, Dārābī breaks a poem into fragments and analyses those elements with a spiritual meaning verse by verse, in order to uncover deeper mystical aspects of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. While he does explain the chosen verses, the full meaning of the *ghazal* is often lost, given that Ḥāfiẓ sometimes introduces up to seven different subjects in any one poem; if only the mystical verses are studied, we do not do justice to the entire poem. Although Dārābī's approach may have been acceptable a few decades ago, it certainly is not now.<sup>85</sup> In order to define Ḥāfiẓ's poetry, Dārābī relies heavily on verses from the Qur'ān, and utilises Qudṣī's edition of the *Dīvān*. Definitions of mystical verses are given, as well as the meanings of difficult verses, and Dārābī tries to resolve some problems of ambiguity in his commentary; however, a number of his definitions and conclusions are without academic foundation; there

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<sup>83</sup> M. Dārābī, *Laṭīfa Ghaybī: Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī bi ḍamīma-yi bayān-i iṣṭilāḥāt-i ahl-i 'irfān* (Shirāz: Kitāb-Khāna- yi Aḥmadī, 1357/1979).

<sup>84</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

<sup>85</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Mohammad Reza Movahedi, Tehran, 23 May 2010.

are no credible references or sources on which the reader can rely.<sup>86</sup> His work is considered only moderately significant in the field of Ḥāfīzology.

### **Riḍā Nūr Ni‘matullāhī**

In a personal interview conducted in 2010 in Tehran with Dr. Shahram Pazouki, a well-known scholar of Islamic mystical philosophy and Sufism, I was shown a copy of the commentary by Riḍā Nūr Ni‘matullāhī, *Nubūgh-i Ḥāfīz-i Shirāz va nūr-i ash‘ārash (The Genius of Ḥāfīz of Shirāz and the Light of his Poetry)*, which is no longer in print and almost impossible to find. It is a mystical commentary on the *Dīvān*, undertaken by a mystic whose intended audience were dervishes and mystics. Since Sufism is an important element in Ḥāfīz’s poetry, this commentary is quite important, as Dr. Pazouki observes:

Becoming a companion in the world of Ḥāfīz is not a task everyone can manage. It requires far more than knowledge and research alone—one must be a genius to be able to think in parallel with Ḥāfīz and comprehend his language in detail. Many have tried and failed.<sup>87</sup>

Since the author was familiar with Sufi mysticism and considered a gnostic, his work belongs in the same genre of commentaries as Dārābī and Lāhūrī. No publication date is recorded in this book; however, by examining the introduction and explanations given by the author, it can be estimated at around 1328/1950. Unlike more contemporary commentaries, this book draws on randomly selected *ghazals* from the *Dīvān*, the roots of which are considered mystical by the author.

The book consists of 917 pages, with a foreword by the author explaining the difficulties involved in compiling a commentary on Ḥāfīz, along with information on the methods employed. Ni‘matullāhī claims that his commentary is based on the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khalkhālī; he also mentions the credibility of the versions produced by Qudsī, Khānlārī and Naysārī. Ni‘matullāhī’s interpretation of Ḥāfīz’s poetry is based purely on his knowledge

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<sup>86</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010. The poems of Sa‘dī and Rūmī are viewed in comparison with those of Ḥāfīz, providing illustrative evidence. Such verses are very similar to one another.

<sup>87</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

of Sufi mysticism, and this makes his work different from many others published to date. Poems and verses from Rūmī, ‘Aṭṭār, Sa‘dī and Khwājū are presented as evidence of mystical connotations in the wording and meaning of Ḥāfiz’s verses, and analysed for their influence on Ḥāfiz. In addition, the details of Ḥāfiz’s biography and the period in which he lived are included and Ḥāfiz’s relationship with kings and rulers is studied in some detail. Further on, some interesting passages consider Ḥāfiz’s advice to all mankind. Supported by his verses, these words of wisdom are as follows:

- Listen to the spiritual masters—this is the key to prosperity and the avoidance of harm and misfortune.
- Live by your own hard work, obtain knowledge and be thankful.
- Do not believe that your misfortune is the worst kind, for what lies ahead might be worse—if you are not thankful.
- I am thankful to God that my arms lack the strength to cause harm to others.
- Do not drink during the day, for this is the time to learn and work.
- Constantly search to improve and find wisdom in these efforts.
- Be kind to your friends and patient with your enemies.
- Learn from love, for it is the ultimate healer.
- Live in such a manner that when you die you will not be considered dead.

The evidence for verses supporting the above claims is given below, in the same order as found in the original text.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• که این حدیث ز پیر طریقتم یاد است</li> <li>• ز همت توشه ای بردار و خود تخمی بکار آخر</li> <li>• رو شکر کن مباد که از بد بدتر شود</li> <li>• که زور مردم آزاری ندارم</li> <li>• دل چون آینه در زنگ ظلام اندازد</li> <li>• بیخ نیکی بنشان و ره تحقیق بجوی</li> <li>• با دوستان مروت با دشمنان مدارا</li> <li>• قرآن زبر بخوانی با چارده روایت</li> <li>• که چون مرده باشی نگویند مرد</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• نصیحتی کنمت یاد گیر و در عمل آر</li> <li>• چو باد از خرمن دوان ربودن خوشه تا چند</li> <li>• روزی اگر غمی رسد تنگدل مباش</li> <li>• من از بازوی خود دارم بسی شکر</li> <li>• روز در کسب هنرکوش که می خوردن روز</li> <li>• شکر آنرا که دگر باز رسیدی به بهار</li> <li>• آسایش دو گیتی تفسیر این دو حرف است</li> <li>• عشقت رسد بفریاد گر خود بسان حافظ</li> <li>• چنان زندگی کن اندر جهان</li> </ul> |
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Similar examples of wise verse-adages appear throughout the *Dīvān* and this is one of the few commentaries to identify them one by one, discussing them for easy comprehension while presenting a mystical definition.<sup>88</sup>

The commentary of Ni‘matullāhī is an exceptional book for two reasons: first, the author was a mystic and familiar with mystical poetry; and, second, he was a poet himself. (At the end of his book he includes a profound mystical *ghazal* that he composed.)<sup>89</sup>

Ni‘matullāhī’s method of examining the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ is not scholarly in the modern sense of the word, rather it is mystical. If one is to come to an accurate understanding of Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry, it is necessary to have an insight into this dimension as well. Although I do not believe that all of Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry bears mystical interpretation, in order to identify those verses which do, such an approach and background is necessary. The main shortcoming of this book is that it is not a full commentary; only a fraction of the poems are analysed, for reasons not clearly explained. The author also examines verses of *ghazals* that would seem to be randomly chosen, those that he considers mystical; thus the structure of each poem is broken into fragments. With regard to mystical concepts, the significance and importance of this commentary is major.

## M. Murtaḍavī

Murtaḍavī’s book, *Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ (The School of Ḥāfiẓ)*, makes no attempt to unlock the mystery of Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry; however, it does focus on some difficult words and symbols that have been the cause of ambiguity. Murtaḍavī believes that in order to understand Ḥāfiẓ’s language, one must unpack and decipher the key phrases in his verses and investigate words

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<sup>88</sup> R. N. Ni‘matullāhī, *Nubūgh-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Shirāz va nūr-i ash‘ār-i āū* (Tehran: Zindagī, [n.d]).

<sup>89</sup> Two verses of which merit citation here:

خاتمه در مرحله عشق نیست	خاتمه حد است، حد عشق چیست
عشق بود اول بی ابتدا	عشق بود آخر بی انتها

There is no end to the degrees of love,  
An end has a limit but love has no limit,

Love comes with a first that has no beginning;  
Love is a last without any termination.

such as *rind*, *qalandar*, *wine*, *pīr* and so on. He emphasises that the key to understanding such words lies with the poet's philosophy.<sup>90</sup>

This study, which is 478 pages long, consists of various articles previously published elsewhere. The first section of the book presents some information about Sufism (*taṣawwuf*). This chapter mentions figures such as Abū Sa'īd Abū'l Khayr, 'Irāqī, Rūmī and Sa'dī, and examines their philosophies, comparing their thought to that of Ḥāfiẓ.<sup>91</sup> After studying this section carefully, it is clear that the author's purpose is to distinguish Ḥāfiẓ from the Sufis, to prove that the poet had a tendency towards gnosticism rather than asceticism.<sup>92</sup> The author tries to acquaint the reader with what he conceives to be 'Ḥāfiẓ's school of thought', thus trying to make it easy to understand why the poet criticises the formalist ascetics and the fake Sufis. He hypothesises that Ḥāfiẓ created a new school of philosophy, which he calls: *Maktab-i rindī* (The inspired libertine's school)—*rindī* being one of the most troublesome terms in the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ.

The second chapter discusses piety through obedience and love. Brief histories of the beliefs and philosophies of mystics such as Rābi'ā al-Adawīyya, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm Adham, Ibn Khafif, Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn Maṣṣūr al-Ḥāllāj and many others are recounted in order to connect them to Ḥāfiẓ and his love of God.<sup>93</sup>

Overall, this book concentrates more on the mystical aspects of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry than on any other aspect of Ḥāfiẓ. Randomly selected illustrative *ghazals* are followed by explanations and definitions of difficult words, with some references to the poetry of Rūmī and 'Aṭṭār; thereby Murtaḍavī implies that Ḥāfiẓ also adhered to the thought of such mystical poets who followed a philosophy of divine love.

The fundamental aim of the Murtaḍavī's book is to prove that Ḥāfiẓ is not an ascetic, but a mystic filled with the love of God—a mystic whose mission is to combat hypocrisy and anything that deceives people by distracting them from righteousness and absolute honesty. By presenting arguments from various philosophies, thinkers and theologians and providing

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<sup>90</sup> M. Murtaḍavī, *Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ: Muqaddama bar Ḥāfiẓ shināsī* (Tehran: Ibn Sinā, 1344/1966), p. 4.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12–18.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

an insight into the history and roots of Sufism, Murtaḍavī makes a solid argument to support his hypotheses, and although only a fraction of Ḥāfiẓ's poems are discussed in this book, the analysis of those included are most often cogently presented, and, to a large extent convincingly argued.

### **Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī**

The commentary by Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, *Ḥāfiẓ-nāma (The Book of Ḥāfiẓ)*, consists of 654 pages concentrating on the exposition and explanation of certain *ghazals* that contain phrases and words in the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ. In his twenty-four page foreword, Khurramshāhī explains that other commentaries and works on Ḥāfiẓ are great in quantity, but not in quality.<sup>94</sup>

Khurramshāhī commends the greatness and status of Ḥāfiẓ among other Persian poets, and describes his philosophy. He goes on to discuss difficult phrases such as *rind* and *rindī*, before moving on to demonstrate Ḥāfiẓ's position in the realm of mysticism and spirituality.<sup>95</sup> He explains Ḥāfiẓ's status in Iranian society and examines the witticism of his language, the music of his poetry and the melody of his verses.

Khurramshāhī investigates the influence some of the great poets had on Ḥāfiẓ and his contemporaries, juxtaposing their verses with those of Ḥāfiẓ as illustrative evidence. He discusses poets such as Sanā'ī (d. 538/1137), Anvarī, Khāqānī, Fāryābī (d. 598/1197), Nizāmī, 'Aṭṭār (d. c. 618/1217), Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl Iṣfahānī (d. 635/1234), 'Irāqī, Sa'dī, Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 720/1319), Amīr Khusraw (d. 725/1324), Awhādī Marāgha'ī (d. 738/1337), Khwājū Kirmānī, 'Ubayd Zākānī, Nāṣir Bukhārā'ī, Salmān Sāvajī and Kamāl Khujandī.<sup>96</sup>

Not every *ghazal* of the *Dīvān* is analysed, only those which are problematic and abstruse. The first *ghazal* is followed by nine pages of interpretation.<sup>97</sup> Other *ghazals* follow in the

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<sup>94</sup> B. Khurramshāhī, *Ḥāfiẓ-nāma: Sharḥ-i alfāz, a'lām, mafāhīm-i kilidī va abyāt-i dushvār-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Surūsh, 1366/1988), p. 15.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., pp. 40–90.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp. 91–100.

same manner, with the number of each *ghazal* given at the top of the page, as recorded by Qazvīnī.

Khurramshāhī explains words which might, in some way, bear mystical meanings and, because the meaning of ‘love’ could be mystical, earthly, or literal, he classes the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiz into these different categories. In this sense, he perceived the *ghazals* as being written in three different languages.<sup>98</sup>

According to Movahedi, Khurramshāhī’s commentary is a valuable one, not least because, at the time of writing, there were many useful sources to which he could refer. Thirty to forty scholars are named in this book, each of whom specialised in Ḥāfizology. Movahedi, referring to his own work as a professor of literature at the university, observed: ‘I have used Khurramshāhī’s books in all my classes as a reference and I believe them to be the most balanced and realistic commentaries published today.’<sup>99</sup>

### **Sa‘īd Niāz Kirmānī**

In his study, *Dawlat-i pīr-i mughān (The Magian Master’s Kingdom)*, Kirmānī introduces Ḥāfiz as a superior mystical poet-genius. In this 362-page book, Kirmānī writes mostly about Ḥāfiz’s views in connection with the mystical and religious issues of the time, presenting verses from other known mystical poets such as Rūmī, ‘Aṭṭār, ‘Irāqī and others as supportive evidence.

He begins with an exploration of the poet’s philosophy and sociopolitical issues of the era, mentioning Shāh Shujā‘ and the Muẓaffarīd dynasty. Much like Murtaḍavī’s book, Kirmānī focuses on Ḥāfiz’s philosophy and attempts to define the mystical aspects of his poetry, though he includes somewhat less detailed studies on the different ideologies of various mystics. Kirmānī does not include many illustrative *ghazals* as a whole, but instead offers some verses with a commentary and different angles of interpretation. Certain verses, however, are interpreted in three aspects: social, political and mystical. There are also

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<sup>98</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Mohammad Reza Movahedi, Tehran, 23 May 2010.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

explanations of key words, phrases and certain imaginary figures in Ḥāfiẓ's poetry, such as the old Magī and the inspired libertine (*rind*).<sup>100</sup>

After a careful study of this commentary, I cannot see any reliable evidence to back up the interpretations of the author, which seem to be pure speculation on his part and thus easily challenged.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, in some instances he presents a poem followed by an interpretation, claiming: 'This is what Ḥāfiẓ intended to say,' without any credible evidence. Kirmānī tries to portray Ḥāfiẓ as a great mystical poet rather than a superior literary genius. In a few rare instances, he demonstrates that some verses can also be related to sociopolitical issues.

### **Sayyid Yaḥyā Yathrabī**

The work *Taḥlil-i muḍū'ī-yi Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (*A Thematic Analysis of the Dīvān of Ḥāfiẓ*) by Sayyid Yaḥyā Yathrabī is a 488-page study of the mystical issues of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. The book is not, in itself, a commentary, but as the title explains, is a thematic analysis. It begins with an introduction to the world of mysticism and the rules and regulations by which mystics should abide. A detailed explanation is offered of the divine beloved, the phenomenon of love, the definition of union and separation in mystical language, and so on.<sup>102</sup> Explanations of human love and mystical love follow, as well as a description of the way to purify one's soul by choosing solitude, sleeplessness and hunger, defining each stage as a condition of walking on the path to enlightenment.<sup>103</sup> In addition, he examines Ḥāfiẓ's style of poetry and the perfect poetic style in general, naming various rules necessary for the composition of flawless verses.

Yathrabī emphasises that the fundamental problem facing commentators of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry is that some do not perceive his verses as mystical, instead they regard them literally. Although this commentary recognises the poet as a mystic, only random verses are selected to support the author's stance.

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<sup>100</sup> S. N. Kirmānī, *Dawlat-i pīr-i muḡhān* (Tehran: Pāzhang, 1374/1996), pp. 20–38.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19–33.

<sup>102</sup> S. Y. Yathrabī, *Āb-i Ṭarabnāk: Taḥlil-i muḍū'ī-yi Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Fikr-i Rūz, 1374/1996), pp. 13–15.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Further on, explanations about creation and the mystic's philosophy are given, with illustrative verses by Ḥāfiẓ offered as supportive evidence.<sup>104</sup> In addition, there is a chapter about love and the endless difficulties it presents; this relates to a particular *ghazal* in the *Dīvān*:

روز اول که سر زلف تو دیدم گفتم      که پریشانی این سلسله را آخر نیست<sup>105</sup>

The very first day I saw your tresses, I said:  
‘There will be no end to this dishevelled bond!’

This commentary is more a study of mysticism than an interpretation of Ḥāfiẓ's verses. By familiarising the reader with mystical knowledge, words and phrases, the author attempts to unveil the ambiguities of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. Yathrabī approaches the problem presented by Ḥāfiẓ's language through the lens of mysticism; however, very little evidence is given to support his interpretations of verses and, although some explanations might seem reasonably acceptable, one is left with more questions than answers.

### **Raḥīm Dhū'l-Nūr**

In the fourth publication of his two-volume book, *Dar justujū-yi Ḥāfiẓ (In Search of Ḥāfiẓ)*, published in 1381/2003, Raḥīm Dhū'l-Nūr explains his methods of investigation and states that his commentary on the *ghazals* is based on the edition of Qazvīnī/Ghanī. In this book he offers a commentary on each and every line in the *ghazals* in the Qazvīnī/Ghanī edition, explaining that he used the same calligraphy and style of writing as in Qazvīnī/Ghanī's version and that the numbers allotted to the *ghazals* are also the same for easy reference. All the *ghazals* in Dhū'l-Nūr's commentary have been juxtaposed with those in Khānlārī's version, and the differences in readings are inserted as footnotes.<sup>106</sup> Dhū'l-Nūr explains that all the previously missing phrases and overlooked words have been reprinted and added to his book. The number on the top right-hand side of each *ghazal* is the same as the number in Qazvīnī/Ghanī's edition, while the numbers on the top left of each *ghazal* are those found in Khānlārī's edition.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>106</sup> Dhū'l-Nūr (ed.), *Dar justujū-yi Ḥāfiẓ*, p. 1.

Dhū'l-Nūr claims that his method of commentary is closer to that of Mu'īn and Humā'ī than any other scholars (he adds that the classes at the University of Tehran he found most interesting were those given by Mu'īn and Humā'ī; indeed, he spent most of his time attending their lectures).<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, in producing his commentary, he claims that his standard of methodology matches that of Mu'īn and Nafisī. Dhū'l-Nūr contends that, since 1946, the situation of Ḥāfiẓology has improved considerably and that now a scholar or teacher of the subject can at least find a few *ghazals* in alphabetical order and be confident that he can accurately comment on the chosen poems, knowing that the text has some academic foundation.<sup>108</sup>

Dhū'l-Nūr admits that his commentary is far from perfect and that, prior to his version, the most reliable commentary available was that of Sūdī. He further adds that a researcher in Ḥāfiẓology must expand his research and not rely solely on this book. For this reason alone, he adds, 'I have therefore named this book *Dar justujū-yi Ḥāfiẓ (In Search of Ḥāfiẓ)*, for I claim nothing more than that, it most certainly does not mean that a researcher is necessarily a discoverer; he is, I insist, only a researcher, nothing more.'<sup>109</sup> In addition, he states that all the explanations given in the two-volume book are based on interpretations by other credible scholars whose names are given in footnotes. According to the author, this commentary on Ḥāfiẓ is only a compilation and juxtaposition of the works of the reliable scholarly sources previously published.

After studying both volumes closely, I believe that it is a fairly reliable source for the study of Ḥāfiẓ for beginners and enthusiasts who wish to know more about his verses; it does explain the meaning of some difficult words and phrases. As the author so honestly and openly admits, his edition is by no means the only source of reference and wider research must be conducted to develop a more accurate enlightenment of this endless subject.

Like Khurramshāhī, Dhū'l-Nūr does not claim to have made a mystical commentary on Ḥāfiẓ, although there are some mystical interpretations of various words and phrases in his commentary. Because his edition is based on the scholarly works of Mu'īn, the life and times

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., pp. 8–9.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

of Ḥāfiẓ and the poems of Ḥāfiẓ (based on the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlārī), his interpretations thus appear to be quite genuine and fair-minded, inspiring confidence in the reader.

### **Muḥammad Riḍā Khāliqī**

*Shākh-i nabāt-i Ḥāfiẓ* (*A Stalk of Sugarcane from Ḥāfiẓ's Verse*), written by Muḥammad Riḍā Khāliqī, is a commentary on every *ghazal* of the *Dīvān*. It consists of one large volume of 1,145 pages and contains the accurate pronunciation of difficult words, a guide to the correct reading of verses and a glossary of mystical words and phrases.

In the preface, Khāliqī offers, somewhat randomly, specific verses from the *Dīvān* as evidence of statements presented on mystical issues. He does not support this selection by any logical evidence; rather it would seem to be based purely on his personal preferences. Throughout the book, although he identifies *ghazals* and the metres and prosody for each poem verse by verse, and he interprets some mystical words and phrases, but does not provide references or sources for further research.

Some of the sources to which Khāliqī refers, such as Dawlatshāh Samarqandī and others, are not reliable and are essentially the same as that of earlier commentaries. The level of scholarship and research in this book is, in my opinion, inadequate for the serious researcher in the field of Ḥāfiẓology. For instance, in connection with Ḥāfiẓ's date of birth and death, he refers to E. G. Browne and other early scholars. Therefore, this work is not truly a commentary, but rather a compilation and comparison of works of other scholars and thus not particularly innovative.<sup>110</sup>

In summary, while Khāliqī's commentary demonstrates his general knowledge of Ḥāfiẓ's life and philosophy, it is based purely on the works of scholars such as Hidāyat, Zarrinkūb and Khānlārī. There are also references to western scholars and historians, such as Browne. The interpretations of mystical words and phrases are pure speculation on the part of the author, and although some may be correct, no solid reference is given for his definitions. This is not

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<sup>110</sup> M. B. Khāliqī, *Shākh-i Nabāt: Sharḥ-i ghazalhā* (Tehran: Zavvār, 1382/2004).

an academic work of high quality, and although it does contain much useful material, in my opinion it is not a credible source of reference for a researcher on Ḥāfīz's poetry.

### **Shafī'ī-Kadkanī**

*In Kimīyā-yi hastī (This Elixir of Existence)*, a study by Kadkanī, is a collection of his previously published articles on Ḥāfīz, not a comprehensive study in itself. According to Durūdīyān, the editor of the book, all Kadkanī's previous works on Ḥāfīz were collected and compiled in this single-volume book of 464 pages.<sup>111</sup> Durūdīyān adds that he referred to the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī, Khānlarī, Ibtihāj and Injavī Shīrāzī, emphasising that these sources were also referred to by Kadkanī in all of his works on Ḥāfīz.

The book begins with a *ghazal* in praise of Ḥāfīz, clearly demonstrating the admiration the author has for him:

هر کس درون شعر تو جویای خویش و تو      آیینه دار خاطر هر مرد و هر زنی<sup>112</sup>

Everyone, within your verse goes in search of themselves and you  
Are the holder of every man and woman's mirror of the mind.

After studying this work and examining Kadkanī's interpretations, it is clear that the majority of its content relates to the style of Ḥāfīz's poetry rather than interpretations of his verses; it concentrates on purely literary, phonetic and syntactical aspects of the poetry of Ḥāfīz more than it does any of the deeper mystical and philosophical characteristics of his verse.<sup>113</sup> Kadkanī asserts that Ḥāfīz, in his opinion, is a political poet, and he names two other poets, Firdawsī and Nāṣir Khusraw, who he considers to be in the same category and of a similarly high calibre.<sup>114</sup> In this context, he presents and analyses the political significance of some social observations and witticisms found in Ḥāfīz's poetry.

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<sup>111</sup> V. A. Durūdīyān, *In Kimīyā-yi hastī: Maqālihā va yāddāshthā-yi ustād Shafī'ī Kadkanī dar bāra-yi Ḥāfīz* (Tehran: Āydn, 1385/2007), pp. 5–7.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 363.

Often, only fragmentary verses, those the authors consider difficult to understand, are presented instead of an entire *ghazal*. An example of one such complex phrase is given below:

در نهانخانه عشرت صنمی خوش دارم      کز سر زلف و رخس نعل در آتش دارم<sup>115</sup>

In the secret place of pleasure, I have a sweet idol,  
Because of whose tresses and cheek, I have a horseshoe in the fire.

In this verse, the word ‘horseshoe’ creates a difficulty in understanding the verse since it personifies a love charm and, without knowing this interpretation, the phrase is meaningless. According to Kadkanī, in medieval times, there was a superstition that by throwing a horseshoe in the fire and making a wish to charm one’s beloved, one’s love could be enticed to return.<sup>116</sup>

Although this book is a collection of Kadkanī’s articles and is, therefore, somewhat different from the studies previously mentioned, it can be considered a valuable tool for the researcher of Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry. Kadkanī examines selections of key definitions and interpretations using verses from other poets to provide supporting evidence and also analyses some aspects of Ḥāfiẓ’s poetry that are not dealt with in other commentaries. However, in my opinion, since it is merely a collection of academic studies and essays on Ḥāfiẓ and not a complete interpretation of his poetry, Kadkanī’s book, while useful, is of limited value for the researcher.

#### Ḥ. Hiravī

Hiravī’s three-volume commentary, *Sharḥ-i Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (*A Commentary of the Dīvān of Ḥāfiẓ*), comes with a slim volume with a general index, an index to verses, and a bibliography.

The thirty-page preface focuses briefly on the life and times of Ḥāfiẓ and refers the reader to a more comprehensive discussion by Ghanī, *Baḥth dar āthār va aḥvāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*. It also

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 362.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

discusses Ḥāfīz's status among the Iranian people.<sup>117</sup> Hiravī believes that Ḥāfīz is not just any poet; he is a poet whose words and wisdom attract all classes and religions. He states that Ḥāfīz's language is cherished by every household in Iran and people of every profession enjoy his wisdom and the sweetness of his utterances.

The first volume consists of an introduction with information about the poet, his life, the charm of his poetry and the magnificence of his words. It includes the first *ghazal* of the *Dīvān*, the opening verse of which has long been the subject of doubt and criticism, as it resembles the work of Yazīd. Hiravī confirms that he is in possession of the full printed collections of Yazīd's poetry and that no such verse is to be found there.<sup>118</sup>

According to Hiravī, the absence of a complete commentary on Ḥāfīz represents a serious gap in Persian literature, a gap that is more significant because of the way that Ḥāfīz's work encompasses the realms of literature, culture and the socioreligious traditions of Persia. He adds that the most complete commentary available is that of Sūdī, which, however, is not accurate in many respects regarding the Persian language, and is certainly an inadequate source of reference for Iranians interested in Ḥāfīz today.

In the preface, Hiravī discusses the edition by Qazvīnī/Ghanī, emphasising that Qazvīnī/Ghanī used Sūdī's commentary written in Turkish (it had not yet been translated into Persian). Sūdī's commentary was first translated into Persian in 1342/1964.<sup>119</sup> Many commentaries have been produced since that of Sūdī, and many have considerable flaws. Every edition on the *Dīvān* produced to date contains errors, including that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī; therefore, any commentary based on such editions is bound to include flaws. This particular commentary is no exception.

Hiravī discusses the technical points of Ḥāfīz's poetry, taking key words (such as *zulf*, *turra*, *khāl*, *kamand*, *kamān-i abrū* and so on) that may be ambiguous and tries to resolve them. In addition, he presents them in a simpler, more straightforward language so that they can be more widely comprehended. He claims that if the reader refers to his commentary often, he

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<sup>117</sup> H. 'A. Hiravī, *Sharḥ-i ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfīz* (Tehran: Nashr-i Naw, 1386/2008), Vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 49.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 7.

will gain a better understanding of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry.<sup>120</sup> Hiravī breaks the *ghazals* down by verses, and explains each verse in detail, sometimes over quite a few pages. The poems, however, are not recorded as a whole in his commentary—a major fault that B. Khurramshāhī emphasised in his communication with me.

The author also examines the language of Ḥāfiẓ, contending that the witticisms in his utterances play an important role in the sweetness of his poetry.<sup>121</sup> Finally, Hiravī explains his technique of handling the problem of interpreting mystical issues and emphasises that only in very clear and unquestionable instances has he defined specific mystical words. He is the first to admit that his commentary on Ḥāfiẓ is far from being a book of mystical interpretation.<sup>122</sup>

In sum, Hiravī's commentary concentrates on the literal, rather than the mystical meaning of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. While the commentary seems accurate, it is, in my opinion, of more use to Ḥāfiẓ's admirers than to serious researchers of Ḥāfiẓology. It can be used as a point of reference at some stage by students, but it is not of a standard that can be used as a complete guide to comprehending Ḥāfiẓ's language.

### **Muḥammad Isti'lāmī**

This two-volume commentary, *Dars-i Ḥāfiẓ (Ḥāfiẓian Studies)*, consists of a thorough analysis of every line in all 497 *ghazals* of the Ghanī/Qazvīnī edition of the *Dīvān*. The foreword by Isti'lāmī attracted my attention because in it, he asks the reader, very openly and honestly, a series of questions. The translated text follows:

1. You, who read this book, what is it you want of me and this book? What are your expectations?
2. Do you want to read the *Dīvān* smoothly and easily, while understanding every verse?
3. Do you want me to juxtapose the other scholarly works and analyse them so you can agree and disagree with whichever you like?
4. Do you want to just read a poem and enjoy it?

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<sup>120</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Mohammad Reza Movahedi, Tehran, 23 May 2010.

<sup>121</sup> Hiravī, *Sharḥ-i ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfiẓ*, Vol. 1, p. 14.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 31–32.

5. Do you want me to use difficult words and show off my knowledge?
6. Do you want to hear something sensational about Ḥāfiz?
7. Do you want...?

Let me make it clear right now. I have no problem acting as a teacher for the second question. However, if there is anything else you, the 'reader', are after, let us just say goodbye and part company this very minute.<sup>123</sup>

The author's questions make the intention of this commentary very straightforward. The first thirty-eight pages of the introduction present discussions about Ḥāfiz's philosophy, with various relevant illustrative verses given as evidence of his statements.

The second part consists of a number of explanations on the language of Ḥāfiz's verses. The third part discusses the logical comprehension of Ḥāfiz's poetry and, finally, in the fourth part, Isti'lāmī speaks about miscellaneous issues and his method for compiling the *ghazals*.

Isti'lāmī asserts that his commentary is based on the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī,<sup>124</sup> and adds that the numbers allotted to each *ghazal* are consistent with those in their edition. This commentary, I believe, is among the more reliable studies published to date. It is noteworthy that Isti'lāmī's explanations of the *ghazals* have one structure: for each poem he provides a short paragraph of commentary summing up the gist of the *ghazal*, followed by an analysis of its key themes and terms. He divides the *ghazals* into various types or combinations of types: gnostic ('*ārifāna*), romantic-erotic ('*āshiqāna*), etc. The commentary examines nearly every line of every *ghazal* and his explanations are very easy for the reader to understand. Isti'lāmī's commentary is composed mainly from a literary viewpoint although he also presents some mystical definitions.

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<sup>123</sup> M. Isti'lāmī, *Dars-i Ḥāfiz: Naqd va sharḥ-i ghazalhā-yi Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiz* (Tehran: Sukhan, 1388/2010), p. 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

## Commentaries and Studies on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ Published outside Persia

According to ‘A. Nūshāhī, during a one-hundred-year period beginning in the ninth/sixteenth-century, commentaries on Ḥāfiẓ reached a peak in the Punjab and Turkey.<sup>125</sup> He adds that during this time nine commentaries on Ḥāfiẓ, short and long, were produced in these two areas of the Muslim world.

Author’s Name	Composition Date
Surūrī	c. 959/1558
Sham‘ī (Turkey)	c. 1000/1591
Sūdī (Turkey)	c. 1006/1589
Mawlānā ‘Abdullāh Khūishī Qaṣūrī	1106/1697
Khātmī Lāhūrī	1077/1668
Shāh Bahūl Kūl Barakī	1119/1710
Badr al-Dīn Akbarābādī	1254/1845
Yusif ‘Alī Shāh Chashtī Nizāmī (Punjab)	1307/1897

Below, I examine the two best known and, I believe, most important commentaries, those by Sūdī and Lāhūrī.<sup>126</sup>

### Sūdī

One of the most important, although not the most scholarly, commentaries on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ is that of Sūdī (d. 1006/1589). The foreword of this four-volume book was written by Sa‘īd Nafisī; in it he gives a brief account of Sūdī’s origins. According to Nafisī, Sūdī was originally from Bosnia, but spent most of his life in Turkey.<sup>127</sup> He adds that his commentary on Ḥāfiẓ was published almost three hundred years ago and that he wrote other commentaries on the works of Rūmī and Sa‘dī.

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<sup>125</sup> ‘A. Nushāhī, ‘*Nakhushtīn sharḥ-i fārsī-yi Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ dar shibh-i qārra*,’ in *Sukhan-i ahl-i dil, majmū‘a-yi maqālāt* (Kungara-yi bayn ulmilālī-i buzurgdāsht-i Ḥāfiẓ, kumisiūn-i Unisco dar Iran, [n.d.]), pp. 761-771. Cf. A. ‘A. Kh. Lāhūrī, B. Khurramshāhī, K. Manṣūrī, and Ḥ. M. Amīn (eds.), *Sharḥ-i ‘irfānī-i ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Qaṭra, 1374/1996), Vol. 1, p. 2.

<sup>126</sup> None of the above-mentioned commentaries, aside from those by Sūdī and Lāhūrī, have been published; because of the difficulty of accessing them in manuscript form, examination of their significance to Ḥāfiẓology must await a future study.

<sup>127</sup> M. S. Bosnavī, *Sharḥ-i Sūdī bar Ḥāfiẓ*, trans. ‘I. Sattārzāda (Tehran: Zarrīn, 1374/1966), Vol. 1, foreword.

This commentary begins with the first *ghazal* in the *Dīvān*, explaining the first verse and stating that it originally belonged to Yazīd b. Mu‘āwīya:

ادركاسا و ناولها الا يا ايها الساقى<sup>128</sup>                      انا المسموم ما عندى بترياق ولا راقى  
O Sāqī, pass the bowl around,  
For I am poisoned and in need of an antidote!

Sūdī presents evidence to support his claim and further states that the poet also used the second verse, changing its original arrangement, as the first verse of a *ghazal* in his own *Dīvān*. He presents a couple of verses by Ahlī Shīrāzī as illustrative evidence for this statement:

خواجه حافظ را شبی دیدم به خواب                      گفتم ای در فضل و دانش بی حساب  
از چه بستی بر خود این شعر یزید                      با وجود اینهمه فضل و کمال<sup>129</sup>  
I saw Khwaja Ḥāfiẓ in my dream one night.  
I said to him: ‘You, who have endless knowledge and wisdom,  
Why did you use this verse from Yazīd  
With all that wisdom you possess?’

A poem from Kātibī Nishābūrī is presented as further evidence:

عجب در حیرتم از خواجه حافظ                      بنوعی کش خرد زان عاجز آید  
چه حکمت دید در شعر یزید او                      که در دیوان نخست از وی سر آید<sup>130</sup>  
I am awed by Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ,  
In a way that reason cannot comprehend.  
What wisdom did he perceive in Yazīd’s verse,  
To make him make his own *Dīvān* begin with a verse by him?.

There are interpretations of 569 *ghazals* in the four volumes produced by Sūdī. Each *ghazal* is broken into couplets (*bayt*) with a minimum of two to six, and sometimes even eight lines of explanation given. Sūdī named this interpretation ‘the couplet’s sense’ (*maḥsūl-i bayt*).

In some instances Sūdī explains various key words employed by Ḥāfiẓ, such as, to take the case of the first *ghazal*, love (*ishq*), ease (*āsān*) and difficulty (*mushkil*), etc. In addition,

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 2.

verses by other poets are presented to the reader as illustrative evidence of a particular word's meaning or the meaning of a theme. On the top left-hand side of each *ghazal*, the metres of the particular poem are recorded.

Sūdī's commentary, although one of the oldest and most venerable available, today is viewed as somewhat antiquated and thus considered unreliable by many scholars of Ḥāfīzology. In my opinion, it is not necessary to break down the *ghazals* and produce so many pages (2,890 in total) in order to explain the verses of Ḥāfīz. As Khurramshāhī stated, this kind of work can do more harm than good, as the message to the reader is that Ḥāfīz's poems are in themselves incomprehensible. In agreement with Khurramshāhī, I believe that each *ghazal* has a character of its own, and in order to understand the words of Ḥāfīz fully, one must analyse the *ghazals* as a total unit rather than decipher and interpret the poem as if it were composed of independent verses.

According to Khurramshāhī, Sūdī's commentary is detailed but has many flaws, in particular, it has a number of grammatical errors. In fact, given that many better scholarly commentaries have been produced over the past sixty years, in many respects Sūdī's work is now quite dated. Sūdī's saving grace may be in the exhaustive quantity of detail he provides, an amount of detail seldom found in other commentaries.<sup>131</sup>

### **Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khatmī Lāhūrī**

One of the most credible and complete commentaries on Ḥāfīz is the four-volume book entitled, *Sharḥ-i 'irfānī-i ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfīz (A Mystical Commentary on Ḥāfīz's Dīvān)* by Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khatmī Lāhūrī.<sup>132</sup> It was originally written in India in the seventeenth-century and an introduction was added by its editors, Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Kūrush Maṣṣūrī and Ḥusayn Muṭī'ī-Amīn.<sup>133</sup> By examining the whole of this four-volume commentary and comparing it with those similar to it in scope, such as the

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<sup>131</sup>Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010, and personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

<sup>132</sup>Lāhūrī, *Sharḥ-i 'irfānī-i ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfīz*.

<sup>133</sup>The work contains all the *ghazals* of Ḥāfīz based on the editions of Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī, an index on Qur'ānic verses, hadith, Arabic verses, a subject index, an index of proper names, an index of places, an index of all verses (*kashf al-abyāt*) in the commentary and finally a bibliography of reference works.

works of Sūdī and Isti‘lāmī, one can perceive vast differences between them. Just like Sūdī and Isti‘lāmī, Lāhūrī breaks down the structure of each *ghazal* and presents a detailed explanation for each verse, also giving the whole of the *ghazal* at the beginning of the commentary on each poem (with variant readings of verses in Khānlarī’s edition recorded in notes added by the editors). As in the two commentaries, this book also contains verses from other poets as evidence of statements, while explaining the verses in great detail. Lāhūrī’s commentary is entirely Sufī and mystical in its approach.

In some instances, Lāhūrī goes into great detail, defining a verse over four pages. The commentary on the first *ghazal* in the *Dīvān* occupies fifteen pages in total.<sup>134</sup> However, after comparing the *ghazals* in this commentary with the editions by Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī, I encountered a number of discrepancies in the length of the *ghazals*, because Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī unaccountably excluded some verses with no apparent reason or justification. For example, the following *ghazal*, named as the twentieth *ghazal* (*ghazal-i bistum*), begins with this verse:

بی مهر رخت چشم مرا نور نماندست      وز عمر مرا جز شب دیجور نماندست<sup>135</sup>

Without the sun of your face, the light has left my eye,  
And of my life, except a dark night, there is nothing left.

The following verses were excluded from the original *ghazal* recorded by Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī, and although the authors state in the footnote that there was an exclusion, they do not offer any reason.

هنگام وداع تو ز بس گریه که کردم      دور از رخ تو چشم مرا نور نماندست  
صبرست مرا چاره هجران تو لیکن      چون صبر توان کرد که مقدر نماندست

I cried so much at the time of your departure,  
Away from your countenance, the light of my eye is gone.

The cure for my separation is patience, but  
How can I be patient, when I am not able?

In my opinion this commentary is one of the best I have so far examined—despite its exclusively mystical approach. As Ḥāfiẓ says:

<sup>134</sup> Lāhūrī, *Sharḥ-i ‘irfānī-i ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfiẓ*, Vol. 1, pp. 1–15.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 159.

فکر معقول بفرما گل بی خار کجاست؟

Think about it rationally: Tell me, where is a flower free of thorns?

In the course of interviewing Khurramshāhī, I asked for his opinion about this particular commentary. He stated:

I can only say that Professor Manūchihr Murtaḍavī, the prominent Ḥāfiz researcher at the Tabriz University, approved this book and greatly encouraged me [to use it], emphasising that it is a very valuable scholarly work and therefore should be appreciated. Anyway, if you ask me: Which one is the best? I must say that I do not know! This is an impossible question to answer.<sup>136</sup>

## Conclusion

According to Khurramshāhī, Ḥāfiz's literary works are the result of the 500 years of poetry that came before him. In turn, Ḥāfiz affected the poets who have followed him, and no doubt will continue to influence those who have yet to come. Ḥāfiz did not compose lyrics like other poets; instead he blended his poetry with his culture and wrote with reason and intelligence.<sup>137</sup> Khurramshāhī adds that the readers of Ḥāfiz's poetry are divided into two different categories: serious researchers and ordinary readers.<sup>138</sup>

In recent years, commentaries such as those by Khurramshāhī, Hiravī, Isti'lāmī, Khāliqī and others have vastly enhanced the field of Ḥāfizology. Sūdī's commentary, in comparison with the most recent ones published in Iran, differs greatly in terms of meaning and the resolution of key issues and difficulties in understanding Ḥāfiz's language. Ḥāfiz's poetry is, on the surface, easily understood, however, most verses in the *Dīvān* have deeper meanings that can be gleaned from more detailed examinations of ambiguous terms and phrases. All contemporary scholars address these deeper issues by offering their own interpretations, which have various degrees of originality, depth and scope of scholarly insight. In the vast majority of cases, their interpretations are more or less the same, with very few distinctions in meaning and idiom.

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<sup>136</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>137</sup> Lāhūrī, *Sharḥ-i 'irfānī-i ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfiz*, Vol. 1, p. 77.

<sup>138</sup> B. Khurramshāhī, *Ḥāfiz* (Tehran: Nāhid, 1387/2008), p. 77.

Although some authors have gone into great detail in their interpretation of verses, and others have limited their interpretation to only a few paragraphs, the overall conclusions are quite consistent. A noteworthy aspect of recent commentaries is the scholarly manner in which research has generally been conducted; one rarely comes across any recently published commentary with a low standard of interpretation. On the contrary, I have found solid explanations of the verses supported by reasonable evidence and adequate research.

While commentary on the poetry of Ḥāfīz has vastly improved with regard to literary concepts, the mystical and symbolic context of his language remains a hotly debated topic among scholars. In my opinion, to date there has not been an adequate commentary on the *Dīvān* that interprets both literal and mystical meanings, the symbolic dimension of the language of Ḥāfīz and the enigmas voiced by both. This is a problem that can only be addressed by a scholar versed in both dimensions. Such a scholar has yet to appear and such a commentary has yet to be written.

I believe the future of Ḥāfīzology is bright; scholars and researchers are motivated to conduct ever broader research on the subject. The works of contemporary scholars continue to shed light on the language and thought of Ḥāfīz. We are indebted to scholars such as Khurramshāhī, Hiravī, Anjavī, Kadkanī, Murtaḍavī and many others who tirelessly continue their research to unlock the mystery of the poetic language of Ḥāfīz.

Yet even with the vast improvements in the research of Ḥāfīzology, as one can see from the present thesis, the study of Ḥāfīz's poetry remains a problematic and lengthy undertaking. Any commentary on Ḥāfīz must rely on his verses and, therefore, to produce a dependable academic commentary on Ḥāfīz, scholars must have on hand a completely reliable and accurately edited text of the *Dīvān*, which to date does not exist. While some more scholarly and accurate editions have been produced over the last sixty years, none of these have provided the student with a reliable text which is even relatively flawless.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Our foregoing survey of the reception of the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ in Iran during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries raises many issues. Despite the wide chronological sweep of the historical and literary ground covered in the thesis, several questions remain to be resolved. These can be roughly narrowed down to the following seven outstanding issues.

First, one may ask, what progress, if any, has been made towards producing a good critical edition of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry over the last two hundred years?

Secondly, which are the best editions of the *Dīvān* compiled and printed during the latter part of the last century, and what key approaches and what consensus exists among scholars about the principles that should govern the compilation of a critical edition of Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīvān*?

Third, in light of the material reviewed in this study, what future directions should Ḥāfiẓology take?

Fourth, what advantages does understanding Ḥāfiẓ have for Persians, and precisely what relationship do Persian readers have with their own tradition of Ḥāfiẓology?

Fifth and sixth are the issue of the reception history of Ḥāfiẓ during the Qājār and Pahlavi period (the subject of chapters III and IV). This raises two key questions: What was Ḥāfiẓ's impact on the seven poets of Qājār Persia and the five poets of Pahlavi Persia discussed above?

Seventh and last, exactly what original contributions does this thesis make to the study of the poetic legacy of Ḥāfiẓ?

Each of these questions will be carefully considered and answered to the best of my ability below.

**What progress, if any, has been made towards producing a good critical edition of Ḥāfiz’s poetry over the last two hundred years?**

Scholars have long been aware of the value and need for accurate research works on the poetry of Ḥāfiz. Because Ḥāfiz did not personally compile and collate his *Dīvān* during his lifetime, later researchers and admirers have been tasked with the compilation of his poetry. The editions that have reached us today contain numerous discrepancies, and thus there is a need for serious research into the language and variant readings of his lyrics. The editions outlined in the foregoing chapter are useful to the researcher of Ḥāfiz’s poetry. Although many credible editions are available, they are not without flaws and considerable errors and although tremendous effort has been made to overcome such problems, this task is far from complete. Much further research is necessary.

No poet in Iran has been discussed, debated or written about as much as Ḥāfiz. Current research continues to change our understanding of Ḥāfiz, even in comparison with what we knew fifty years ago. But while the quantity of research on Ḥāfiz is great, the quality does not always meet current academic standards. According to Khurramshāhī, there is much work that needs to be done in an academic and scholarly fashion.<sup>1</sup>

How should a scholar approach the task of publishing a correct edition of the *Dīvān*? How should he choose between so many editions and how should he know which poems are authentic and which ones are not? Should he base his work on copies that contain more verses, or less, or on whichever versions please him more? According to Muḥammad Qazvīnī, the only certain way a scholar can approach such a task is to go as far back to the time of the author as possible. He would then have to study the manuscripts that survived from the period of the poet and his contemporaries.

Qazvīnī emphasises that anyone with an interest in the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiz who is keen to research his poetry must eventually refer to other manuscripts. The scholar’s research should preferably include a comparison of the most ancient and relatively recent handwritten manuscripts in order to determine their authenticity; the researcher would doubtless realise

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<sup>1</sup> A. Dādbih, ‘Mājirā-yi pāyān nāpazīr-i Ḥāfiz’, *Māh-nāma-yi Kilk*, No. 30 (Autumn 1371/1993), pp. 228–30.

that no two copies of the *Dīvān* are identical and that such discrepancies are apparent in the quantity, quality and meaning of the verses.

Scholars are still far from reaching their common goal of compiling an authoritative collection of Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. Though this problem may never be solved, we may establish a good, accurate and reliable edition of Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīvān* which bears fewer errors than other editions available to date.<sup>2</sup>

Muḥammad Qazvīnī contends that the manuscripts published after the fifteenth-century are more reliable than more recent manuscripts;<sup>3</sup> however, when they are studied closely, one can see that the number of *ghazals* in the earliest manuscripts does not exceed 500, and in some cases, they do not even reach that figure. For instance, the edition of 'Abdul Raḥīm Khalkhālī, which is based on notes and handwritten evidence made no later than thirty-five years after the death of Ḥāfiẓ, comprises only 496 *ghazals*, one of which is repeated (*ghazal* 365); this leaves a total of 495.<sup>4</sup>

In the manuscripts written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the number of *ghazals* often exceeds 500. As one moves further away in time from Ḥāfiẓ's era, the number of *ghazals* grows even higher. By the end of the fifteenth-century, some editions contain over 600 *ghazals*, thus over the course of two centuries roughly 100 *ghazals* were added (we cannot know if they were added to the *Dīvān* arbitrarily or with intent). This increase, however, seems to have stopped around the end of the fifteenth-century or beginning of the sixteenth-century.

In a two-hour personal interview that I conducted with Iran's leading Ḥāfiẓologist, Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, I enquired about his opinion concerning the progress that has been made in establishing a critical edition of the *Dīvān*. He commented that 'the earliest reference here is that of Qudsī; although we cannot be sure of the methods he used in his edition. Nevertheless, it can be referred to as a fairly reliable edition'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Q. Ghanī and M. Qazvīnī (Tehran: Zavvār, 1381/2003), pp. 1–8.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts published between fifteenth-century to early sixteenth-century were more reliable than those published during early sixteenth to late eighteenth-century.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

All in all, much progress has been made towards producing a good critical edition of the *Dīvān* during the last two hundred years; yet while the achievements are noteworthy, much research remains to be done. Ultimately, a completely reliable commentary on the *Dīvān* cannot be written, nor a totally accurate understanding of the language of Ḥāfiẓ obtained, while there are yet inaccuracies in the text of his poems, and this problem has no solution because Ḥāfiẓ did not compile his own work. What we have in our possession today, although partly accurate, includes verses that remain dubious; in many instances some words have been changed and replaced with different words, even in a single verse, transmitting a totally different meaning. These changes bring into question the lifestyle and the character of the poet. One such example, given below, clearly illustrates the discrepancies among the most prominent scholars such as Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī. Cases such as these raise many unanswered questions:

*Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, *ghazal* 223

حافظ خلوت نشین دوش به میخانه شد      از سر پیمان برفت با سر پیمانه شد<sup>6</sup>

Hāfiẓ the recluse last night went to the wine-shop:  
From thought of the pledge he went to contemplating the cup.<sup>7</sup>

*Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Qazvīnī/Ghanī, *ghazal* 170

زاهد خلوت نشین دوش به میخانه شد      از سر پیمان برفت با سر پیمانه شد<sup>8</sup>

Ascetic the recluse last night went to the wine-shop:  
From thought of the pledge he went to contemplating the cup.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Khānlarī, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 165, v. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Avery, *Collected Lyrics*, p. 223; *ghazal* 165.

<sup>8</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. Q. Ghanī and M. Qazvīnī, *ghazal* 170, v. 1.

<sup>9</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

**Which are the best editions of the *Dīvān* compiled and printed during the latter part of the last century?**

The following scholars have produced, in my opinion, the principal and most important editions of Ḥāfiẓ during the past hundred years.

1. ‘Abdul Raḥīm Khalkhālī, ed., *Dīvān-i Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, 1306/1927
2. Mir Sayyid Muḥammad Qudsī, ed., *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ-i Qudsī*, 1314/1896
3. Ḥusayn Pizhmān Bakhtīyārī, ed., *Dīvān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, 1315/1937
4. Muḥammad Qazvīnī and Qāsim Ghanī, ed., *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, 1320/1942
5. Khānlarī, ed., *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad*, 1362/1983
6. Salīm Naysārī, ed., *Daftar-i dīgarsānīhā dar ghazalhā-yi Ḥāfiẓ*, 1371/1992
7. Injavī Shīrāzī, ed., *Dīvān-i Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī*, 1371/1992
8. Hūshang Ibtihāj (Sāya), ed., *Ḥāfiẓ bi sa‘yi Sāya*, 1372/1993

According to Shahram Pazouki,

One of the most outstanding scholarly works undertaken on the edition of the *Dīvān* is that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī. However, with regard to the accuracy of the scholarship, I would assert that the work of Khānlarī is superior. It is regrettable that this work [of editing Ḥāfiẓ’s *Dīvān*] has not been undertaken by a scholar and mystic; this is a fundamental problem in the area of Ḥāfiẓology and in mystical literature in general. In other words, we do not have an edition by a scholar who was also a mystic, who could edit and undertake an accurate correction of the *Dīvān*. They have all been academic scholars and men of letters, but none have been mystics. This is the fundamental weakness facing our literature today.<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Pazouki makes a very important point, that we do not have a critical edition of the *Dīvān* by a mystic scholar. This issue has always been a problem in the field of Ḥāfiẓology and in my opinion will only be resolved when such an edition is produced by a scholar with a background in Islamic mysticism.

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<sup>10</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Shahram Pazouki, Tehran, 20 May 2010.

Regarding the edition of Īnjavī Shīrāzī, I concur with Khurramshāhī's opinion that "although his research has no solid base, it is a fairly good edition."<sup>11</sup> Likewise, in respect to Naysārī's edition, I agree with his opinion that Naysārī's criticisms of the Qazvīnī and Ghanī edition are largely spurious and "although some of his critical views are not without foundation, many of them cannot be justified."<sup>12</sup>

In my opinion, Khalkhālī's edition has considerable merit because he used manuscripts close to the time of the poet and heavily relied on sources written just thirty-five years after Ḥāfiz's death. Likewise, Qudsī's edition is very important for the student of Ḥāfiz's *Dīvān* because Qudsī employed the same method as Khalkhālī and further expanded his research by including numerous additional manuscripts. As noted in chapter V, the edition by Pizhmān Bakhtīyārī is one of the best available today because Bakhtīyārī, unlike Qudsī and Khalkhālī, was himself a poet as well as a scholar. Thus he was a highly-qualified editor, able to analyse the verses in each *ghazal* and correct any discrepancies that might be invisible to the untrained eye.

With regard to more recent progress on publishing a better edition of the *Dīvān*, Khurramshāhī, when I interviewed him, sagely commented:

Now we speak of the past twenty years. After much hardship and effort, Ibtihāj produced a very good edition, on which I wrote a critical review expressing my appreciation and approval. However, to answer your original question, regarding which is the best edition so far, I must say that there is no such thing yet, although I can name some that are best so far [...] Naysārī, Sāya, Qazvīnī and Ghanī and Khānlarī [...]. Each of these researchers and scholars have worked almost fifty-odd years to achieve what has been produced [...].<sup>13</sup>

According to the earlier statements presented in chapter V, the most accurate edition of the *Dīvān*, I believe, is that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī and Khānlarī. A further edition worthy of mention is that of Sāya; most contemporary scholars approve this edition for the simple reason that Sāya is a scholar and a poet himself and thus better qualified to evaluate and juxtapose verses, identify any flaws and discrepancies. Although his edition is based on that of

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<sup>11</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Khalkhālī and Qazvīnī/Ghanī, I consider it an improvement on their versions. As Pazouki stated earlier, the one problem in producing a better edition of the *Dīvān* is the lack of a scholar versed in Islamic mysticism or Sufism.

The other problem is that, with the exception of Qazvīnī/Ghanī's, most editions have been produced by only one scholar. I believe that the only certain way to produce a better edition of the *Dīvān* is to involve more than one or two scholars. A few scholars who are experts in Ḥāfizology with different points of view about Ḥāfiz's poetry would be able to produce a superior edition. For example, Khurramshāhī believes that the edition produced by Sāya is fairly good, for the reasons already mentioned, and Pazouki believes in that of Qazvīnī/Ghanī, while Meisamī believes in that of Bakhtiyārī and also Qazvīnī/Ghanī. If scholars share their views and come to agreement about various points that continue to pose problems in the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiz and work to solve such obstacles, then an excellent edition of the *Dīvān* could certainly be produced. In this respect, there is a general consensus among scholars that the key factor to collating a correct edition lies in reference to the oldest manuscripts, those nearest in time to the poet, and that these should be relied on more than any other evidence. Likewise, another important point of agreement among scholars today is that the number of *ghazals* should not exceed 500; in general there is a consensus that Ḥāfiz did not compose more than 500 *ghazals*. The final problem scholars face is the mystical aspect of the verses of Ḥāfiz, which, as mentioned before, has still not been resolved.

### **What future directions should Ḥāfizology take, in light of the material reviewed in this study?**

There seems to be no end to the subject of Ḥāfizology. According to Āshūrī, this is due to the talent and greatness of Ḥāfiz, who immersed himself with the language and the culture of the nation to such an extent that they became inseparable.<sup>14</sup> Ḥāfiz intoxicated millions with his utterances, and it can certainly be said that his admirers, who are quite sensitive, value his words as a sacred text. Muḥammad Mu'īn, in an article in the *Kilk* journal, expands on this passion: 'Ever since I was a child and learnt to read and write I became intoxicated with Ḥāfiz's language.' He adds: 'I did not fully understand the meaning of his words at the time; however, I enjoyed the sweetness of his words very much.' In a poem that Mu'īn composed

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<sup>14</sup> D. Āshūrī, 'Ḥāfiz bi rivāyat-i 'Abbās Kīārūstamī', *Iran shināsī*, No. 4 (Winter 1386/2008), p. 757.

in praise of Ḥāfīz he admires this superior poet and the importance of his influence on the language and culture of Iran.<sup>15</sup>

According to Khurramshāhī, while the corrections and commentaries on the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz have vastly improved, he adds,

When I first started to work on my book, all I had to work on was the commentary of Sūdī and that of Dārābī, and whenever I encountered a problem I had no idea where to start in solving it. My task was very difficult, bearing in mind that Sūdī's commentary has many flaws, especially with regard to Persian grammar. The future of Ḥāfīzology, in my opinion, lies in such works as the one Jāvid has accomplished, [producing] single and multiple volumes. However, I sincerely do not see a need for multi-volume works. I do not believe in such works because, in order to complete them, one must write commentaries in prose on every single verse; this makes no sense. If we make such an attempt, do you know what it means? It means Ḥāfīz makes no sense, for if he did, there would be no need for such worthless effort. This would mean that Ḥāfīz's *ghazals* do not make sense as a whole with their full structure intact and that, therefore, there is a need to break them down and explain them one by one.<sup>16</sup>

Here Khurramshāhī refers to his book entitled *Ḥāfīz-nāma*, first published in 1366/1987 in Tehran. The book makes various references to key difficult words in the *ghazals* of Ḥāfīz, explaining the difficult phrases and verses in his *Dīvān*. He also mentions the work produced by Hāshim Jāvid, a book that also addresses key difficult words in the *ghazals* of Ḥāfīz, while ignoring the rest of the *ghazal*. It is entitled *Ḥāfīz-i Jāvid* and is much like that of *Ḥāfīz-nāma* by Khurramshāhī.<sup>17</sup> After studying this book it is clear that the editor has used many previously published editions to juxtapose and compare different variations—editions such as that of Khalkhālī, Khānlarī, Nā'inī, Viṣāl, Naysārī, Ayuḍī, Bihrūz and Sāya.

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<sup>15</sup> Ş. Rāmsarī, 'Ḥāfīz-i Shīrīn Sukhan va Muḥammad Mu'in', *Māh-nāma-yi Kilk*, No.5 (Summer 1369/1991), p. 165.

<sup>16</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>17</sup> Jāvid's book is entitled *Ḥāfīz-i Jāvid* and was first published in 1375/1996, the book consists of 611 pages and primarily addresses the difficult phrases and verses in the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz. In his book, Jāvid explains the meanings of specific verses in detail, then interprets the selected verses by juxtaposing them with those of Niẓāmī.

Khurramshāhī then continued:

There is a book recently published by Dr. K. Ḥasanlī: *Rāhnamā-yi mūdū'ī-yi Ḥāfiz Pazhūhī* (*A Thematic Guide to Ḥāfizology*) which is a very important book; it contains 130,000 subjects that the scholars of Ḥāfizology have worked on during the past century. I see the future of Ḥāfizology in such new criticism. It is said that authors must be considered dead. It is the text we have to concentrate on; we must admire the writing not the writer. It must also be said that all scholars claim that they speak from the tongue of Ḥāfiz, but this is not at all the case. Like Mr. Āshūrī, it is their own tongues they speak from, not Ḥāfiz's. Another point concerns the massive gap in the world of Ḥāfizology—the biography of Ḥāfiz. I am very well aware of the fact that we do not have accurate data on his biography, however, we can still extract some factual points about the poet, even by studying Gulandām's introduction. For example, I have written an article based on Gulandām's records, stating which books Ḥāfiz used to read. Of course, at some point we have to make guesses about some parts of such a biography, but this guesswork can be based on factual clues and starting points. Moreover, we also need a good dictionary of his key words, words mostly used in his poetry, not in the general literature of Persia.<sup>18</sup>

Contrary to Khurramshāhī's view, as far as the biography of Ḥāfiz is concerned, I believe the two-volume biography of Ḥāfiz by Mu'īn *Ḥāfiz-i shirīn sukhan* is a fairly accurate book of the life and times of Ḥāfiz. The other is one produced by Ghanī, entitled *Tārīkh-i 'aṣr-i Ḥāfiz*, which is also valuable in introducing Ḥāfiz to his admirers and researchers, and finally, there is one written by Zarrinkūb, entitled *Az kūcha-yi rindān*. These scholarly works, although not perfect, are very valuable to the field of Ḥāfizology and in my opinion, very useful to researchers.

It should also be noted that, although many edited *Dīvāns* of Ḥāfiz have been published to date, and many opinions have been expressed, there is still an enormous gap in the academic study of Ḥāfiz. In comparison with western literature and research undertaken on western poets such as Shakespeare, Dante, Homer and so on, the study of Ḥāfiz is still in its infancy!

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<sup>18</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

In this regard, I would draw attention to the following learned comments from Dr. Meisami, who I questioned about the issue. She answered me as follows:

I think it will probably go on as much as it has done in the past, with debates as to whether Ḥāfīz was, or was not, a ‘mystical poet’. (In my opinion, he was not, although mystical themes and images infuse his poetry, as they do most of the poetry of the period. This is a stylistic issue, but has seldom been addressed as such.) There will always be the search for ‘new’ or ‘earlier’ manuscripts; they don’t add much to our knowledge of Ḥāfīz’s poetry, although they may shed light on the transmission and reception of that poetry—again, an issue which has received little discussion. There has been little study of how the poems work to convey their meaning; this is a field just waiting for a breakthrough. (I’ve tried, but my efforts seem to have fallen on deaf ears.) I suppose there will always be a ‘cult of Ḥāfīz’ (just as there is a ‘cult of Rumi’, or a ‘cult of Khayyam’). Ḥāfīz needs to be studied in (a) the context of the poetic production of his time (including religious, social and political circumstances surrounding that poetry), and (b) in relation to the literary tradition on which he so creatively draws.<sup>19</sup>

In light of the above information and the views of various prominent scholars based on the editions of the *Dīvān* discussed here and considering that each and every edition is the result of decades of hard work and research, in addition to the fact that each of these editions has something completely different and new to offer the researcher, I believe that the future of Ḥāfīzology is much brighter than it was a hundred years ago. However, I also strongly believe that this task should be encouraged by governments; financial and moral support for those scholars who work tirelessly to produce better and more accurate versions of the *Dīvān* should be provided without hesitation. In agreement with Dr. Meisami, I believe there has been little research undertaken on how the poems convey their meaning in the field of Ḥāfīzology. As I have shown in this thesis, the legacy of Ḥāfīz is to be found in the poets, both past and present, both Persian and non-Persian (western or from other oriental civilizations) who revered and imitated him. So the future of Ḥāfīzology is a living and dynamic movement of ideas that is inseparable from the future of Persian poetry and poetics. There is probably a whole field of Ḥāfīz studies waiting to be inaugurated by novelists writing historical novels on his life and times.

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<sup>19</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Julie Meisami, Berkeley, 24 October 2011.

There may also be a field of Ḥāfiz studies related to the art of music (operas based on his *ghazals*, etc.) and dramatists who will write plays about him. The field of Ḥāfiz commentaries is a sub-field of Ḥāfizology which remains unexplored, particularly given that commentaries on the *Dīvān*, especially those written in India and the Ottoman empire, remain in unpublished manuscript form. The mystical dimension (*ʿirfān*, *tasawwuf* and so forth) of Ḥāfiz’s imagery and symbolism has not been adequately expounded (*cf.* Pazouki’s remarks) and understood, so this remains a future field of study.

**What advantages does understanding Ḥāfiz have for Persians and what relationship do Persian readers have with their own tradition of Ḥāfizology?**

The most important subject in Ḥāfiz’s language is the language of love; it is love that he invites us to seek and cherish, for it is the only tool one needs for self-purification. During the seventh/fourteenth-century, Ḥāfiz warned us about religious fanaticism and the danger of extremism, and today the people of Iran appreciate Ḥāfiz’s views on this aspect perhaps more than anything else, for they realise the ecumenical truth embedded in Ḥāfiz’s poetry. In this thesis, I have shown how Ḥāfiz’s language is blended with the Persian language and the Persian people in an unbreakable bond. Ḥāfiz is part of the Iranian tradition and is considered a national treasure. He is the representative of the Iranian heritage and the keeper of the Persian language. By understanding his verses and better still, his school of thought, we can move towards understanding not only what is quintessentially ‘Iranian’ but what is quintessentially poetic about the Persian language. In Khurramshāhī’s words: ‘Anyone with the slightest familiarity with Persian poetry is under Ḥāfiz’s influence. No one has been able to escape this fact, and I daresay, reality.’<sup>20</sup>

In addition to Khurramshāhī’s observation, I would add that Ḥāfiz’s influence on Persian poetry is not only limited to the poetry, but also includes the very fibre of the Persian language as well. ‘Ḥāfiz’s *Dīvān* holds the same status for the Persian-speaking people as does the Holy Qur’ān’ among Muslims.<sup>21</sup> Ferdowsi asserts that the *Dīvān*, like the holy Qur’ān, is impervious to the depredation of time; it is a book, moreover, whose equivalent

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<sup>20</sup> Personal communication from Bahā’ al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>21</sup> Ferdowsi, ‘The “Emblem”’, p. 690. For further information about the above statement, see L. Lewisohn, ‘Prolegomenon’, *Ḥāfiz and the Religion of Love*, pp. 13-18.

can never be produced.<sup>22</sup> This union of the Qur'ān and the *Dīvān* is a result of the mystical communion between the poet and the nation, for which Hazhir offers the following explanation:

It must be said that Ḥāfiz is an abstract existence and a pure spirit which is either created by blending all the souls of all the vivacious (*zinda dil*) Iranians, or is divided before birth and after death by nature, with the parts implanted in the hearts of various individuals, making them masters of awareness and purification (*ma'rifat va kamāl*). In the terminology of the mystics who see unity in plurality, we can say that Ḥāfiz is no one but the Iranian nation that is unified in one entity, and the Iranian nation is the same Ḥāfiz who is manifested as a plurality.<sup>23</sup>

With regard to the relationship that Persian readers have with their tradition, I would note that when Persians read the poetry of Ḥāfiz, they connect it not only to their traditional culture and literature, but with the current sociopolitical situation of Iran. In other words, Ḥāfiz's wise verse-adages remain still (as they have for the past six centuries) very much part and parcel of every man and woman's inner life, his poems capable of representing both the timeless ethical values and expressing the temporal political views of ordinary Iranians.

### **The reception history of Ḥāfiz during the Qājār and Pahlavi period**

Fifth and sixth, I would like to examine the impact of Ḥāfiz on the poets of nineteenth and twentieth-century Persia in general and his impact on the seven poets of Zand and Qājār Persia (discussed in chapter III) and the five poets of Pahlavi Persia (discussed in chapter IV) in particular. The transformation of Persian poetry that took place between 1797 and 1979 coincided with the start of the neoclassical school. Almost all the poets of this period, such as Mijmar, Ṣabā Kāshānī, Yaghmā Jandaqī, Baṣṭāmī and others revived the Khurāsānī and 'Irāqī styles. Here only two examples of this sort of verse may be cited

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Hazhīr, *Ḥāfiz-i tashrīḥ* (Tehran: Nashr-i 'Ilm, 1367/1988), pp. 44–45. Cited by Ferdowsi, "The "Emblem"", p. 690.

نیک چون می نگرَم، هست خیال تو زمن

شادمانم که همه شب بتو گرم سخنم<sup>24</sup>

When I focus, I see your image within me,  
Happy I am that every night I speak with you!

زیبا شود به کارگه عشق کار من

هرگه نظر به صورت زیبا کنم ترا<sup>25</sup>

Every time I look at your beautiful face,  
I shall have a beautiful portrait in the workshop of love!

The major influence on neoclassical poetry was the power of religion, specifically, Sufi mysticism, which was usually the main subject-matter in the poetry of the neoclassical period. Poets such as Nishāṭ, Ṣafī ‘Alī Shāh and Sabzivārī continued to compose mystical verses, many inspired by Ḥāfiẓ. A few examples highly typical of this tendency may be cited here:

به کس نیاز ندارم به خویش نیز مگر

یکی خدا و یکی سایه خدای من است<sup>26</sup>

I need no one, nor do I need myself,  
God alone and God’s shadow suffice.

تصوف نیست آن کز وی نشانی

توان دادن بتعریف و بیانی<sup>27</sup>

Sufism is not something from which indication can be given  
By way of explanation or exposition

آب حیوان که خضر زنده جاوید از اوست

هست یک قطره ای از چشمه جان پرور عشق<sup>28</sup>

The water of life from which ‘Khidr’ found immortality,  
Is only a drop in comparison to the reviving fountain of love!

As was demonstrated in chapter III, poets such as Sabzivārī were inspired by Ḥāfiẓ and continued to benefit from his wisdom and style of poetry throughout their lives. None of the poets mentioned in this thesis would take exception to Sabzivārī’s *ghazal*:

<sup>24</sup> Mijmar Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Mijmar*, ed. M. Ṭabāṭabā’ī (Tehran: Khayyām, 1345/1967), *ghazal* 30, v. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Furūghī Bastāmī, *Dīvān-i Furūghī Bastāmī*, ed. Qilichkhānī, *ghazal* 9, v. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Nishāṭ Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāṭ-i Iṣfahānī*, ed. Ḥ. Nakha’ī (Tehran: Sharq, 1362/1984), *ghazal* 49, v. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Baraq, *Justujū dar aḥvāl va āthār-i Ṣafī ‘Alī Shāh*, p. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Hādi Sabzivārī, *Dīvān-i Asrār*, ed. Amīn, *ghazal* 120, v. 4.

همه غرقیم در احسان حافظ  
 لسان الغیب اندر شان حافظ  
 اساطیر همه، دیوان حافظ  
 نموده کوکب رخشان حافظ  
 دلیل ساطع البرهان حافظ  
 چه گوهر هاست در عمان حافظ  
 طریقت با حقیقت آن حافظ  
 دل و جان در ره دربان حافظ  
 سخن پایانی، اندر شان حافظ<sup>29</sup>

هزاران آفرین بر جان حافظ  
 ز هفتم آسمان غیب آمد  
 پیمبر نیست لیکن نسخ کرده  
 چه دیوان کز سپهرش رجم دیوان!  
 هر آن دعوی کند سحر حلال است  
 ایا غواص دریای حقیقت  
 نه تنها آن وحسنش در نظر هست  
 بیا اسرار تا ما بر فشانیم  
 ببند اسرار لب را چون ندارد

A thousand praises upon the spirit of Ḥāfīz,  
 We are all drowned in the beneficence of Ḥāfīz!

He has come from the seventh heaven of mysteries,  
 The name 'tongue of the mysteries' truly suits Ḥāfīz.

He is not a prophet, yet the previous myths and fables  
 Have been abrogated by the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfīz...

What a *Dīvān*! For from his heaven the demons,  
 Have been driven away by the radiant star of Ḥāfīz.

Whatever claim he makes is lawful as the white magic [of poetry]  
 The tangible proof of which is [the verse of] Ḥāfīz...

O you who are a diver in the sea of truth,  
 How many jewels rest in the ocean of Ḥāfīz!

Not only do we still regard his mystery-of-beauty and loveliness,  
 The Sufi path and the divine reality are the mystery-of-beauty of Ḥāfīz.

Come 'Asrār' let us sacrifice  
 Heart and soul at the path of the door-keeper of Ḥāfīz,

Seal your lips and remain silent, O 'Asrār',  
 For there is no end to the praising of Ḥāfīz.

While the proportion of imitation of Ḥāfīz varies from poet to poet, it is evident that all the poets studied in chapter III emulated our poet from Shīrāz to some degree. Below I will summarise some of the conclusions concerning the poetry of Ādhar, Yaghmā, Viṣāl, Qā'ānī and Baṣṭāmī from chapter III.

Ādhar closely imitates Ḥāfīz in one-sixth of his *Dīvān*. In his *ghazals*, we encounter similar wording, style and rhyme. In addition, he emulated Ḥāfīz when writing of his strife with the

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 115.

hypocritical puritan ascetics. Mijmar, like many other poets of his period, generally followed Ḥāfiẓ in style, although less so in *ghazal* writing. There is some evidence of his imitation of Ḥāfiẓ in rhyme and meaning, and in themes in his *Dīvān* that are frequently similar.

In examining Viṣāl's *Dīvān*, we see that almost a quarter of his poems are similar to those of Ḥāfiẓ. Another contemporary poet, Qā'ānī Shīrāzī, was greatly influenced by Ḥāfiẓ when writing his lyric poetry. In some of Qā'ānī's verses, we can see imitations of rhyme and meaning. In examining his *Dīvān*, one-fifth of his poems are clearly similar to those of Ḥāfiẓ. Another mystical poet of this era, Furūghī Baṣṭāmī, followed Ḥāfiẓ in the sphere of meaning and rhyme. With regard to mysticism, he imitated Ḥāfiẓ by using similar mystical statements and themes. Clearly, over a quarter of his verses are similar to those written by Ḥāfiẓ. He also reflects the works of Ḥāfiẓ in his love poems and criticism of hypocrisy.

Yaghmā Jandaqī, who died fourteen years after Viṣāl Shīrāzī, was influenced by Ḥāfiẓ both in meaning and rhyme and this can be plainly observed in his collection of poems. In his hostility towards clerics, he uses Ḥāfiẓ's style to deliver his message and nearly a quarter of his *ghazals* are similar to those of Ḥāfiẓ. His mystical language is also similar.

Throughout the history of Persian literature, classical poetry reflecting the ideas of the old masters was virtually always deemed superior to any other form of poetry. As illustrated in chapter III and IV, as well as the Appendix to this thesis, the seven selected poets of the Qājār period (who largely belonged to the neoclassical school) and the five poets of the Pahlavi period (two of whom – Bahār and Shahriyār – were highly influenced by the neoclassical school) and the other poets mentioned in the Appendix followed in the steps of the classical masters, some more consistently than others. From this, we can conclude that the influence of the classical masters still prevails on the poets and poetry of Persia, so much so that it can be said to be the predominant influence.

The impact Ḥāfiẓ had on the seven selected poets discussed in chapter III was astonishing. Clearly, these poets were hugely influenced by the mastery of his lyrics and utterance. The modern poets of the new style (Nīmā, Sipihri, Shāmlū...) from the latter half of twentieth-century Persia were also affected by Ḥāfiẓ, in spite of the fact that their form of poetry was so different. However, whether in idea, essence, style, commentary or worldview, in one way or another they all followed the classical masters. Even Nīmā Yūshij, who was considered the

father of New Poetry, followed Ḥāfiz, first in his *ghazals* and, although he changed course, later towards the end of his life.

Ḥāfiz's anticlericalism continued to be an issue throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and remains a topic of discussion to the present day. Many poets of the Qājār period imitated Ḥāfiz's language in the sphere of anticlericalism, as was demonstrated in chapter III. Ḥāfiz's many reflections on deceit and hypocrisy were appreciated by readers, particularly in nineteenth-century Persia, when many poets, inspired by Ḥāfiz, emulated his language and criticism of the ascetic and religious preachers. Poets such as Baṣṭāmī, Nishāt, Mijmar, and towards the late nineteenth-century the likes of Īraj Mīrzā, 'Ārif, Bahār and Sabzivārī also used the same language when writing about religion and anti-asceticism. I have given comparisons and verse similes on this issue in chapter III.

In the nineteenth-century, Persian literature experienced a spectacular transformation and entered a new era. The prelude of this change was illustrated by an incident in the mid nineteenth-century at the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The Prime Minister, Amīr Kabīr, disciplined the poet Ḥabībullah Qā'ānī for 'lying' in a panegyric *qaṣīda* written in Amīr Kabīr's honour. Amīr Kabīr saw poetry in general, and the type of poetry that had developed during the Qājār period, as detrimental to 'progress' and 'modernisation' in Iranian society, which he believed was in urgent need of change. Such concerns were also expressed by others, such as Faṭḥ-'Alī Ākhūndzāda, Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī and Mīrzā Malkam Khān. Malkam Khan also expressed a need for a change in Persian poetry in literary terms as well, always linking it to social concerns.

The new Persian literary movement cannot be understood without an awareness of the intellectual movements in Iranian philosophical circles. The social and political climate of Persia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century that led to the Persian Constitutional Revolution (*inqilāb-i mashrūṭa*) in 1906–11, and the idea that changes in poetry were essential spread. Many argued that Persian poetry should reflect the realities of a country in transition. This idea was propagated by prominent scholars such as 'Alī-Akbar Dihkhudā and Abū'l Qāsim 'Ārif Qazvīnī, who challenged the traditional system of Persian poetry by introducing new content with new lexico-semantics and rhetorical structure. Dihkhudā, for instance, used a lesser-known traditional form to elegize the execution of a revolutionary

journalist. ‘Ārif employed the *ghazal* to write his anthem: *Payām-i āzādī* (Message of Freedom).

Some researchers argue that sociopolitical ramifications of artistic changes led to the idea of poets ‘as social leaders trying the limits and possibilities of social change’. An important question in modern Persian literature concerns the terms modernisation and westernisation—and whether these had similar meanings when describing the evolution of Iranian society. It can be argued that almost all advocates of modernism in Persian literature, from Ākhūndzāda, Kirmānī, and Malkam Khān to Dihkhudā, ‘Ārif, Bahār and Raf‘at, were inspired by the developments and changes that had occurred in western, particularly European, literature. Such inspiration did not lead to the blind imitation of western models, but rather to the adaptation of aspects of western literature.

The most important issue portrayed in the birth of ‘New Poetry’ was the advancement towards westernisation in Iran. The evolution of new literary techniques was based on modern literary tendencies in the West after 1910; it was from the beginning of this period that contemporary Persian poets became interested in foreign literature, notably French. The translation of works from European languages into Persian and their effects on the poets of the time greatly influenced a new shift from the neoclassical movement. Furthermore, the influence of communism and anti-religious attitudes among the later New Poetry poets, such as Nimā Yūshij and Aḥmad Shāmlū, also contributed to the progression and direction of neoclassical literature towards the West, thereby expanding the potential for the New Poetry.

‘Abdul Ḥusayn Zarrinkūb, a scholar in Persian literature and literary criticism and a historian, studied the works of Aḥmad Kasravī, Ṣādiq Hidāyat and many others as the wave of Iranian comparative literature and literary criticism reached a symbolic crest. This comparative literature, he notes, was influenced by Ḥāfiẓ, and reflected his style and philosophy, even in the new poetry. In some cases the poets did not realise this until many years later.

There has been an extensive discussion of Ḥāfiẓ among contemporary poets with regard to the politics and literature of Pahlavi Persia. In this thesis, I have carefully chosen poets of the period to illustrate their differences of opinion and to demonstrate the wide gap between the views of at least one or two poets, for example, Nimā and Shahriyār. While they were contemporaries, one was more influenced by Ḥāfiẓ than the other. For example, Nimā grew

up with knowledge of Ḥāfīz's poetry and style but, later in life, introduced a new style of poetry, though his own work continued to reflect Ḥāfīz's ideology and philosophy in life. The same situation was true of Shahriyār's youth. He, too, was brought up studying Ḥāfīz's poetry and later in life found his style, ideology, beliefs and spiritual tendency to be similar to those of Ḥāfīz. Likewise, Ḥāfīz exerted his influence on the political writings of twentieth-century poets such as Bahār, Shāmlū and Nādirpūr. They were all patriots who despised hypocrisy, deceit, tyranny and injustice, and came to reflect Ḥāfīz in their behaviour, words and poetry, in both prose and poetic writings.

During the Pahlavi period, and in particular between 1940 and 1978, the subject of Ḥāfīzology thrived due to the political and economic stability of the government. Financial aid was granted to scholars for research and there was no censure on the subject. On issues of classical Persian poetry, scholars were able to discuss and debate freely, without fear of reproach. Intellectual thought was generously shared and the government seldom interfered with the teaching of literature and poetry. Great scholars, such as Khānlārī, Mu'īn, Furūzānfar, Zarrinkūb, Hiravī and many others thrived during the period. Unfortunately, circumstances in modern day Iran are markedly different. For a millennium, Persian governments and central power were controlled by monarchs and kings; now, for the first time in the history of Persia this system has been replaced by an Islamic republic.

The policies of the current so-called Islamic republic have had a negative impact on the study of Ḥāfīzology because the philosophy and language of Ḥāfīz is anti-religious, against extremism, fundamentalists and hypocrisy. Unfortunately, many outstanding contemporary Iranian scholars who are actively studying Ḥāfīzology have only a limited freedom of expression and the areas in which they are able to expand their research are somewhat circumscribed. Therefore, the full potential of their research remains unrealised. Until recently, the poetry of Ḥāfīz and Umar Khayyām was forbidden in Iran and it was only because of the immense popularity of these superior poets that this prohibition was overcome.

Research in Ḥāfīzology requires broadmindedness, not fanaticism and prejudice. There are many facets to the language of Ḥāfīz, the most important being the language of criticism—specifically against religious fanaticism and hypocrisy, hence, the opposition of the current government of Iran to this aspect of his verse. In my opinion, Ḥāfīz must be studied and

interpreted with an open mind, free from prejudice. Only then can we see true progress in Ḥāfiẓology. Through the history of Persian poetry and literature, Ḥāfiẓ stands firm against dishonesty and deceit. Where there is a lack of sincerity, Ḥāfiẓ appears to defend the victims with his sharp, witty and profound language.

زاهد ار رندی حافظ نکند فهم چه شد      دیو بگریزد از آن قوم که قرآن خوانند<sup>30</sup>

If the ascetic does not comprehend Ḥāfiẓ as being a *rind*, what matter?  
A demon flees those tribes who recite the Qur'ān!

In brief, this thesis also demonstrates the influence of the teachings of Ḥāfiẓ on many poets and men of letters in Persia—on their poetry, personality, social behaviour and indeed on other aspects of their lives. Ḥāfiẓ was not just a poet; he was and still is a great spiritual teacher, showing mankind the way to humanity and a comprehension of love. Movahedi, in this context, ironically observes:

In the past, our society placed Ḥāfiẓ in the heavens, referring to him as a divine poet. Only recently has he been placed back on earth through the examination of those angles of his poetry aside from the mystical aspects. Today, Iranian society does not need a divine Ḥāfiẓ—they only want him as a divine poet during the Night of Yaldā. The rest of the time we need an earthly Ḥāfiẓ so we can understand and communicate.<sup>31</sup>

A final point concerning the reception of Ḥāfiẓ in the Persian speaking world in general and Iran in particular is the universal acknowledgement of his inimitability as a poet on the part of all critics, scholars and poets. The talent of Ḥāfiẓ cannot be matched, although many have faithfully followed and emulated him. During the past 700 years, not one Persian poet has succeeded in attaining the same level of skill, and although some have come close, Ḥāfiẓ remains unequalled.

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<sup>30</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 193, v. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Mohammad Reza Movahedi, Tehran, 23 May 2010.

### What original contributions does this thesis make?

There is a great deal of scholarly research available on the subject and the studies of Ḥāfīzology, as already discussed in chapters III, IV and V of this thesis. However, I have not encountered any research that comprehensively analyses the reception of Ḥāfīz at any particular time in the history of Persia. In my interviews with them, Khurramshāhī and Pazouki both expressed that they also have not found anyone who has to date addressed this subject.<sup>32</sup>

Part of my original intention in undertaking this research was for this research to illustrate the importance of Ḥāfīz in Persian literature, culture, sociopolitical life and the very fibre of the Iranian nation. Many of the poets who followed Ḥāfīz and who are cited above in this thesis, considered him as a beacon for the conscience and psyche of Persians, if not for all mankind in general, capable of guiding them through dark paths to enlightenment. This seems to be the message of one of his verses as well:

بعد از این نور به آفاق دهم از دل خویش      که به خورشید رسیدیم و غبار آخر شد<sup>33</sup>

My heart will light up the skies from this day onwards,  
because we have reached the Sun and the dust is now settled.

The original material, ideas and discoveries presented in this thesis hopefully provide adequate proof that both the superior classical and the significant modern poets of Persia have all, in one way or another, participated in and been influenced by the social teachings and mystico-romantic philosophy of Ḥāfīz. As we have seen above, Ḥāfīz's language continues to influence the language and thought of many scholars and poets of Persia, just as it had changed the lives and ways of thinking of their forebears. By comparing Ḥāfīz's verses with those of other poets, the fact has been amply demonstrated that since his death Ḥāfīz's poetry has always enjoyed a warm reception in Persia, and the influence of his verse has remained strong over the past seven hundred years. Hopefully as well, this thesis has opened up a new window on the future of Ḥāfīzology and has cast light on the high place of Ḥāfīz among his countrymen, as well as among Western and Eastern scholars.

<sup>32</sup> Personal communication from Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī, Tehran, 18 May 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. J. Manṣūr (Tehran: Dawrān, 1382/2004), p. 109. This particular verse has not been recorded in editions produced by Qazvīnī and Ghanī and Khānlārī.

## **Appendix**

### **The Influence of Ḥāfiz on Eight Persian Poets of the Zand and Qājār Period**

In chapter III, I discussed and demonstrated the influence of Ḥāfiẓ on seven of the most important poets of Qājār Persia. Ḥāfiẓ's influence on Persian poets and poetry of the nineteenth-century, however, was far more extensive than I was able (for reasons of space) to show there. Therefore, in this appendix, in order to widen the scope of my analysis, I examine the influence of Ḥāfiẓ on the following eight (mostly minor) poets of the Qājār period: Ḥazīn Lāhījī (d. 1180/1763), Mijmar-i Zavārayī (d. 1225/1810–11), Nishāṭ Iṣfahānī (d. 1244/1827), Surūsh Iṣfahānī (d. 1285/1868), Furṣat Shīrāzī (d. 1290/1873), Humā-yi Shīrāzī (d. 1290/1873) and Īraj Mīrzā (d. 1344/1926). I have provided short biographies of each poet, followed by some notable examples of parallels between their verse and that of Ḥāfiẓ. At the end I offer a brief conclusion containing general observations about the significance of Ḥāfiẓ's impact on these eight poets.

### **Ḥazīn Lāhījī (d. 1180/1763)**

Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib Ḥazīn Lāhījī (1103–80/1692–1763), born in Iṣfahān, was a Persian poet and scholar who emigrated to India in 1145/1734.<sup>34</sup> Ḥazīn was born into a family of scholars and landholders in Gilān (a town in the northern province of Iran); his descent traces back to Shaykh Zāhid Gilānī, who was also a learned individual and a scholar of the time. His father moved to Iṣfahān as a student during the reign of Shāh Sulayman I, thus, Muḥammad grew up at the Ṣafavid court as an intelligent learned person and a talented poet.<sup>35</sup> He learnt to read and write at the age of six and at the age of eight it is said that he learnt the Qur'ān and in a very short time became fluent in the subject of logic and theology.<sup>36</sup> He began to study various subjects such as medicine, mathematics and philosophy; he also developed an interest in other religions and studied the Bible, Torah and Zoroastranism.<sup>37</sup>

He travelled far and wide in Iran and to India and Arabia. In 1135/1722, when the Afghan army defeated the Ṣafavid forces and occupied Iṣfahān, Ḥazīn attempted, without success, to convince Shāh Sultān Ḥusayn and his own family and friends to leave the ruined capital before it was too late; eventually, he had to sell all his possessions (with the exception of his

<sup>34</sup> J. Perry, 'Ḥazīn Lāhījī', *Elr*, Vol. 12, pp. 97–98.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> M. Sālik (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Persian Language and Literature*, Vol. 2 (Tehran, 2007), p. 705.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

books—he gave away two thousand and left the rest behind). He fled only days before the Afghans under Maḥmūd entered the city of Iṣfahān.<sup>38</sup> He made several journeys by sea in and beyond the Persian Gulf, and also to Yemen. He stayed at Najaf for three years, and then travelled through Gilān to Mashhad. Returning via Tehran to Iṣfahān, he found the former capital desolated. After further adventures and voyages in the Gulf, he was so appalled by the continuing subjugation of the population under the rule of the future Nādir Shāh that he left Iran permanently.<sup>39</sup>

Of his later life and travels in India, his memoirs (compiled in 1154/1742) give us relatively few details; although Indians knew of his fame, he thought ill of India and its people and wrote satires of them.<sup>40</sup> He was for some time sponsored by the Mughal court of Muḥammad Shāh in Delhi. He later moved to Benares, where he died and is buried.<sup>41</sup> Ḥazīn (his pen name means ‘anguished’) claims to have compiled four *Divāns* of verse, of which only the fourth survives; all forms of poetry are represented, including several *mathnavīs*, though his *ghazals* were exceptional. His panegyrics *qaṣā’id* are addressed mainly to the Imams. His poetic diction is generally less elaborate than that of contemporary poets of the *sabk-i Hindi* school, such as Ṣā’ib, whose work he dismissed. Ḥazīn’s prose style is remarkably simple and direct.<sup>42</sup>

His style of poetry is known as the Indian style and the theme of his poems lean towards concepts somewhat mystical and romantic. The level of profundity in the meaning of his verses is maintained and blended with simplicity.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Perry, ‘Hazin Lāhiji’, *Elr*, Vol. 12, pp. 97–98.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> L. Richard, *Benares Seen from Within* (Washington: University Press, 1999), p. 3. It is also generally recognised as Benares or Banaras, a city situated on the left (west) bank of the River Ganga (Ganges) in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, considered as holy by Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. It is one of the oldest continually inhabited cities in the world. Cf. Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 6; Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt-i Iran*, p. 445; Sālik (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Persian Language and Literature*, p. 706.

<sup>42</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, vol. 3, p. 304. Cf. Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, pp. 3–6.

<sup>43</sup> Sālik (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Persian Language and Literature*, p. 705. Cf. Hidāyat, *Majma’ al-fuṣṣahā*, ed. Furūhar, p. 136.

In 1135/1724, Ḥazīn left Iṣfahān for Khurram Ābād.<sup>44</sup> There he suffered from a severe depression that continued for almost a year. He fully recuperated and decided to publish a book comprising his most valued works. In 1136/1725, he accomplished this task and entitled the book, *Muddat al-‘umr (Life’s Duration)*. Today, this book is at the British Library.<sup>45</sup> In 1154/1743, he wrote an autobiography entitled *Tadhkirat al-mu‘āṣirīn (Memoirs of my Contemporaries)*, which is important for its account of contemporary events.

Engraved on his stone is the following couplet:

حزین از پای ره پیما بسی سرگستگی دیدم      سر شوریده بر بالین آسایش رسید اینجا<sup>46</sup>

Ḥazīn: From travelling on these feet, so much confusion I saw,  
Here, the troubled head has reached its bed of tranquillity.

According to Ḥazīn, his collections total some 30,000 couplets in four books.

سی هزار است در چهار کتاب      نظم کلک بدایع آثاری<sup>47</sup>

The original compositions writ by my marvellous pen,  
amount to thirty-thousand verses in four books.

### **Ḥazīn and Ḥāfiz**

In examining Ḥazīn’s *Dīvān*, it is clear that a large number of his verses are similar to those of Ḥāfiz. The following comparisons illustrate some of the parallels and similarities between Ḥazīn’s and Ḥāfiz’s poetry.

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<sup>44</sup> Khurram Ābād is a city in and capital of Luristān Province, Iran. Khurram Ābād is situated in the Zagros Mountains.

<sup>45</sup> Ḥazīn Lāhījī, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Ḥazīn                      هر قطره که از دل نتر اویده حرام است<sup>48</sup>                      در مجلس ما خون دل است این که به جام است

In our assembly, the blood of the heart is in the cup,  
Any drop not spilt from the heart is unlawful!

Ḥāfīz                      بی روی تو ای سرو گل اندام حرام است<sup>49</sup>                      در مذهب ما باده حلال است ولیکن

In our order, the wine is lawful; but, O Cypress Roselike Stature,  
Without your face it is forbidden!

Ḥazīn                      چون صبح دمدم شمع سحرگاه تمام است<sup>50</sup>                      با جلوه او در چه حسابست وجودم؟

With such a manifestation of the beloved, what good is my existence?  
Because with brilliance, the dawn extinguishes the morning candle.

Ḥāfīz                      در مجلس ما ماه رخ دوست تمام است<sup>51</sup>                      گو شمع میارید در این جمع که امشب

Say: Into this assembly bring not the candle, for in our circle tonight,  
The friend's face is as radiant as the full moon.

Ḥazīn                      رسوا شده عشق تو را ننگ ز نام است<sup>52</sup>                      نامم به بدی در همه آفاق علم با

May my name be known as bad to the whole world,  
For the one exposed to your love is ashamed of his name!

Ḥāfīz                      وز نام چه پرسى که مرا ننگ ز نام است<sup>53</sup>                      از ننگ چه گویی که مرا نام ز ننگ است

Of shame, why do you speak? My name is shame.  
Of name, why do you ask? I am ashamed of my name.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>49</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 46, v. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 125.

<sup>51</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 46, v. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 126.

<sup>53</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 46, v. 8.

از سر کوی تو نبود ره بیرون شدیم  
بس که بر روی هم اینجا، دل و جان افتادست<sup>54</sup>

There is no way for me to leave off haunting your alley's entranceway,  
So many hearts and souls lie strewn about and piled up there.

تا سر زلف تو در دست نسیم افتادست  
دل سودا زده از غصه دو نیم افتادست<sup>55</sup>

Since the ends of your tresses fell into the hands of the breeze,  
My heart, distraught with grief, broke into two pieces.

در و دیوار جهان گوش بر آواز دلند  
مگشا پرده این راز که غمازی هست<sup>56</sup>

The walls and doors of the world hearken to the heart's melody,  
Do not unveil this mystery, for there is an informer about!

من با کمر تو در میان کردم دست  
پنداشتمش که در میان چی<sup>57</sup> نزی هست<sup>58</sup>

My hand, I put within your girdle,  
Within which, I thought to find something.

از دلق می آلود مپرسید حزین را  
کایام گل و جوش مل و عهد شباب است<sup>59</sup>

Do not ask Ḥazīn about the wine-stained gown,  
Because it is the time of the rose, the brewing of wine and of youth.

حافظ منشین بی می و معشوق زمانی  
کایام گل و یاسمن و عید صیام است<sup>60</sup>

Ḥāfiz, sit not a moment without the beloved,  
Because it is the time of the rose, jasmine and festival of Ṣayām.<sup>61</sup>

یارب این غنچه دهن مست ز میخانه کیست؟  
عهد و پیمان لبش با لب پیمانه کیست؟<sup>62</sup>

O Lord! That rosebud mouth, by whose tavern is it intoxicated?  
The fidelity and loyalty of Her lip rests with the lip of whose cup?

<sup>54</sup> Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 128. Similar rhyme (*Shibāhat-i radīf*).

<sup>55</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 36, v. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 128.

<sup>57</sup> The forward-slash is the indication of a break in a word where the metre (*qāfīya*) is taken place.

<sup>58</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *rubā'iyāt*, p. 376.

<sup>59</sup> Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 133.

<sup>60</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 46, v. 11.

<sup>61</sup> This is a happy time following the month of Ramaḍān, during which Muslims celebrate the end of the fasting period.

<sup>62</sup> Ḥazīn, *Dīvān-i Ḥazīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 139.

- Hāfīz      راح روح که و پیمان ده پیمانۀ کیست؟<sup>63</sup>      باده لعل لبش کاز لب من دور مباد  
 The ruby-wine of Her lip, be not far from mine!  
 Whose cup does it replenish, to whose soul does it bring joy?
- Hāzīn      سر جانانه سلامت، غم جان اینهمه نیست<sup>64</sup>      عشق اگر یار شود سود و زیان اینهمه نیست  
 In the presence of love, profit and loss is naught,  
 The health of the beloved comes first; the sorrow of the soul is naught.
- Hāfīz      غرض اینست وگرنه دل و جان اینهمه نیست<sup>65</sup>      از دل و جان شرف صحبت جانان غرضست  
 The desire of the heart and soul is the honour of the beloved,  
 This is the purpose; else the heart and soul are naught!
- Hāfīz      پیش رندان رقم سود و زیان اینهمه نیست<sup>66</sup>      نام حافظ رقم نیک پذیرفت ولی  
 The name of Hāfīz has been well-inscribed in the books, but  
 In the opinion of *rinds*, the measure of profit and loss is naught.

### Mijmar-i Zavārayī (d. 1225/1810–11)

Sayyid Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī Ardīstānī, whose pen name was 'Mijmar', was the son of Sayyid 'Alī, and was born during the late twelfth/early nineteenth-century in Zavāra near Iṣfahān. Mijmar's father, Sayyid 'Alī, had two sons. The elder was Sayyid Muḥammad Bahrī and the other Mijmar. The brothers (Mijmar and Muḥammad) never married and died without any family.<sup>67</sup> Mijmar's origins were from the Mīr 'Alī Bābā tribes, whose heritage goes back to the Ṣafavid dynasty. His place of birth (Zavāra) was home to many of the elite, and a number of poets. He studied in Iṣfahān, but as he preferred not to be indebted to anyone, he earned his livelihood solely by exhibiting and selling his literary work. In 1209/1792 at the age of nineteen, Mijmar proved a notable talent, as can be seen in an inverse description of Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār's personality. In this characterisation, he presents the diction of an individual with experience and cultural wisdom.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 67, v. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Hāzīn, *Dīvān-i Hāzīn Lāhījī*, ed. Tarraqī, p. 175.

<sup>65</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 74, v. 2.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, *ghazal* 74, v. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Mijmar, *Dīvān-i Mijmar*, ed. M. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Mijmar followed in the footsteps of Mu‘izzī, Anvarī, in the *qaṣīda*, and Sa‘dī in the *ghazal*. He imitated Sa‘dī’s *Gulistān* in a basic way.<sup>69</sup> After finishing his studies, Mijmar travelled through many Iranian cities and then visited India. On his return, he met with the distinguished poet of the time, Nishāt, and furthered his education under his supervision.<sup>70</sup> It is believed that Mijmar and Nishāt developed a firm friendship that continued to the last days of their lives. When Mijmar came to Iṣfahān, he was already a well-known poet and had no difficulty in mixing with the literary elite and poets known for their good poetic style. At an invitation from Nishāt, Mijmar left Iṣfahān in 1219/1802 and travelled to Tehran. He was introduced to Ḥasan ‘Alī Mīrzā, the son of Fath-‘Alī Shāh and a man of literature, who paid special attention to Mijmar, treating him with kindness and care.<sup>71</sup>

Mijmar can safely be placed among the poets of the neoclassical school for following the styles of Khāqānī, Mu‘izzī and Anvarī, and in *ghazal* writing, Sa‘dī and Ḥāfīz. His *Dīvān* consists of 5,000 verses, most of which were composed in Tehran. As a panegyrist, Mijmar bettered all his contemporaries. He took the poet Rafīq Iṣfahānī<sup>72</sup> as his particular model, along with the Iṣfahān group of poets as a whole, to which Nishāt had given an immense boost during his period.<sup>73</sup>

Mijmar died at the age of thirty-four, in 1225/1810–11.<sup>74</sup> There are varying accounts as to the cause of his premature death; some believe he was poisoned by his rivals or some of the Shah’s courtiers. In fact, Mijmar died from an unknown illness. His resting place is now in Qum.<sup>75</sup> Mijmar’s work was first published in 1312/1894, in Tehran.<sup>76</sup> His *Dīvān* consists of 5,000 verses, most of which were composed in Tehran. As a panegyrist, Mijmar bettered all his contemporaries. Mijmar followed in the footsteps of Mu‘izzī, Anvarī, in the *qaṣīda*, and Sa‘dī in the *ghazal*, imitating Sa‘dī’s *Gulistān* in his prose. Therefore, he can safely be placed

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<sup>69</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Vol. 1, p. 39.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

<sup>71</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia: Modern Times (1500–1924)*, Vol. 4, p. 307.

<sup>72</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 7, p. 10734, s.v. ‘Rafīq Iṣfahānī’, — Mullā Ḥusayn Rafīq Iṣfahānī (d. 1212/1795), was a well-known poet who had fluent literacy in poetry.

<sup>73</sup> Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣahā*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, p. 452.

<sup>74</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 328.

<sup>75</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, p. 487.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

among the poets of the neoclassical school. He took the poet Rafīq Iṣfahānī as his particular model, along with the Iṣfahān group of poets as a whole, to which Nishāṭ had given an immense boost during his period. He made a major literary contribution to nineteenth-century Persian poetry.<sup>77</sup>

### Mijmar and Ḥāfiz

Although Mijmar was a neoclassical poet who adhered to the style of Khāqānī and Mu‘izzī in his odes and followed Sa‘dī, Hātif and Rafīq Iṣfahānī in his lyrics, nevertheless, there are also some traces of Ḥāfiz’s style in his poetry. In particular, he imitates Ḥāfiz in rhyme, meaning and occasionally imitates him through certain phrases (*naẓīra*) and also by inserting Ḥāfiz’s verse in his own work (*tadīmīn*). This is evident throughout his *Dīvān*.

The following couplets are illustrations of the similarity of Mijmar’s poetry to that of Ḥāfiz,

Mijmar	گر بیانش به دست <u>جاهلی</u> بود <sup>78</sup>	مپرس از مجمر و زاهد که دیدم
	Ask not of Mijmar or the ascetic, for I have seen That his collar was grasped by a fool.	
Ḥāfiz	که ما دیدیم و محکم <u>جاهلی</u> بود <sup>79</sup>	مگو دیگر که حافظ نکته دانست
	Do not repeat that Ḥāfiz was subtle, For we have seen that he was a chronic fool.	
Mijmar	ور نه زین بیش شکایت همه ج/ا نتوان کرد <sup>80</sup>	چه توان کرد که میل همه بر جانب تست
	What can I do? Everyone desires you, One cannot complain incessantly!	
Ḥāfiz	روز و شب عربده با خلق خد/ا نتوان کرد <sup>81</sup>	غیرتم کشت که محبوب جهانی لیکن
	Passion and jealousy killed me. You are the beloved of the world, But I cannot be in conflict with the creatures of God day and night.	

<sup>77</sup> Hidāyat, *Tadhkira-yi riṣyād al-‘arīfīn*, Vol. 2, p. 538.

<sup>78</sup> Mijmar, *Dīvān-i Mijmar*, ed. M. Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *ghazal* 21, v. 8.

<sup>79</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 217, v. 8.

<sup>80</sup> Mijmar, *Dīvān-i Mijmar*, ed. M. Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *ghazal* 31, v. 6.

<sup>81</sup> Ḥāfiz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 136, v. 8.

Mijmar که مشکل تر شدم گر مشکلی بود<sup>82</sup> همین بود ار بعشقم حاصلی بود  
 If anything was gained by this love,  
 It was greater problems!

Hāfīz که با وی گفتمی گر مشکلی بود<sup>83</sup> مسلمانان مرا وقتی دلی بود  
 O Muslims! Once I possessed my heart,  
 And spoke to it if a difficulty arose.

Mijmar که از هر گوشه دستی بر دلی بود<sup>84</sup> مرا در دست دل تا منزلی بود  
 In my hand, the heart journeyed to a certain destination;  
 Travelling, I saw from every corner comes a hand on a heart.

Hāfīz که استظهار هر اهل دلی بود<sup>85</sup> دلی همدرد و یاری مصلحت بین  
 A heart, fellow-sufferer, friend and counsellor,  
 This was the supporter of every man of heart.

After spending many hours studying Mijmar's *Dīvān*, it is clear that a good amount of his *ghazals* closely parallel those of Hāfīz, either in rhyme, meaning, metaphor, or phonemic arrangement. In poetic terms he also practises literary plagiarism (*siraqat-i shi'rī*) of Hāfīz in his poetry.

### Nishāt Iṣfahānī (d. 1244/1827)

Mīrzā 'Abdul Wahhāb Mūsavī, pen name 'Nishāt'<sup>86</sup> was born in 1175/1761 in Iṣfahān.<sup>87</sup> He was descended from a wealthy family. Out of sheer generosity, he spent all his inherited wealth within a very short time. This brilliant and cultured poet, whose life was ruined, found a way to alleviate his poverty and make a decent living by writing panegyric verses that won him popularity at court. Further consequences of his talent were his appointment as mayor, and later, governor of Iṣfahān, which further improved his financial state. He paid special attention to the local literary scene. Still later, in Tehran, he was assigned such important

<sup>82</sup> Mijmar, *Dīvān-i Mijmar*, ed. M. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *ghazal* 35, v. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 217, v. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Mijmar, *Dīvān-i Mijmar*, ed. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *ghazal* 21, v. 1.

<sup>85</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 217, v. 3.

<sup>86</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 13, p. 19872, s.v. 'Nīshāt'.

<sup>87</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 311.

duties as being a diplomat to the court of Napoleon in Paris, the mollification of the Ghuriyān in East Khurāsān in 1233/1818; and the crushing of an uprising of certain Afghan tribes in 1237/1821.

He performed these tasks to the best of his ability and proved himself worthy of his cognomen, ‘The Trusted Man of the Empire’ (*Mu‘tamid al-Dawla*).<sup>88</sup> In the literary circle of the Shāh, he was one of the leading poets. He wrote prose in Persian, Arabic and Turkish. His *qaṣā’id* find their inspiration in the school of Ṣabā,<sup>89</sup> but are somewhat simpler in form. By decree of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Nishāṭ’s verse and prose were collected and published in a lithographed edition titled *Ganjīna* (*Treasure*).<sup>90</sup> Nishāṭ learnt to speak Turkish and Arabic and studied philosophy, calligraphy, theology, mathematics, logic and mysticism.<sup>91</sup> As a mystic he was inspired by Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiẓ in his lyrics and Anvarī in his elegy writing.<sup>92</sup> His *Dīvān* consists of around 5,000 couplets. Among the poets of his day, it may be said that he was a master of the *ghazal* genre, and indeed the best poet of his generation. He made a major contribution to neoclassical Persian poetry, as well as being a celebrated calligraphist. He died in 1244/1827.<sup>93</sup>

### **Nishāṭ and Ḥāfiẓ**

Nishāṭ greatly admired Ḥāfiẓ and closely imitated his style in all aspects of his *ghazal* writing. According to Bahār,<sup>94</sup> Nishāṭ’s talent in poetry lay in *ghazal* writing. He was truly one of the best poets of the period because of his devotion to Ḥāfiẓ and the way in which he follows his style in detail.<sup>95</sup> The comparisons below illustrate the parallels between Nishāṭ’s poetry and that of Ḥāfiẓ.

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<sup>88</sup> Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 311. Cf. J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, pp. 326–28.

<sup>89</sup> Fath-‘Alī Khān Ṣabā Kāshānī was born in 1179/1762 in Kāshān, and died at the age of 59/60 in Tehran. He was the first poet who followed the neoclassical school. — Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 483.

<sup>90</sup> Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 326–28.

<sup>91</sup> Hidāyat, *Tadhkira-yi riyāḍ al-‘arīfīn*, p. 552.

<sup>92</sup> Raẓavī-Nizhād, *Chihār-ṣad shā‘ir-i barguzīdī-yi pārsī gui*, p. 1089.

<sup>93</sup> Āryānpūr, *Az Ṣabā tā Nīmā*, Vol. 1, pp. 29–30.

<sup>94</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 2, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Nishāṭ Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāṭ-i Iṣfahānī*, p. 20.

Nishāt خیمه بیرون زدن از کون و مکانم هوس است<sup>96</sup> راه بیرون شدن از هر دو جهانم هوس است  
It is my desire to die to both worlds;  
It is my desire to dwell outside time and space.

Hāfīz خبر دل شنفتیم هوس است<sup>97</sup> حال دل با تو گفتیم هوس است  
It is my desire to speak with you about the state of the heart  
It is my desire to hear news of the heart.<sup>98</sup>

Nishāt اورا حذر از ننگ و مرا ننگ ز نام است<sup>99</sup> با ما قدحی خواجه سپردن نتواند  
The honourable ascetic would not drink with us out of fear of his good name,  
But I am ashamed of all honour and good names.

Hāfīz وز نام چه پرسى که مرا ننگ ز نام است<sup>100</sup> از ننگ چه گوئى که مرا نام ز ننگ است  
Of shame, why do you speak? My name comes from shame.  
Of name, why do you ask? I am ashamed of my name.

Nishāt دو بند زلف تو زنجیر رستگار اند<sup>101</sup> دو چشم مست تو فرهنگ هشیار اند  
The two drunken eyes of yours are guides to the sober,  
The two locks of your hair are chains to those who enjoy salvation.

Hāfīz که بستگان کمند تو رستگار اند<sup>102</sup> خلاص حافظ از آن زلف تابدار مباد  
May Hāfīz not be free of those entangling tresses,  
Because those bound by you are in salvation.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., *ghazal* 48, v. 1.

<sup>97</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 42, v. 1.

<sup>98</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>99</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, *ghazal* 44, v. 5.

<sup>100</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 46, v. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, *ghazal* 105, v. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 195, v. 9.

Nishāt <sup>103</sup> که من پیاده و این هم‌هان سوارانند چو پشت بر ره مقصود می روند چه باک

Since they are travelling away from their destination,  
Why should I fear that I am on foot while my fellow travellers are on horseback?

Hāfiẓ <sup>104</sup> پیاده می روم و هم‌هان سوارانند تو دستگیر شو ای خضر پی خجسته که من

O Khidr<sup>105</sup> of auspicious origin, be my guide, for I  
Travel on foot and my fellow travellers are on horseback.

Nishāt <sup>106</sup> سپیده سر نزند کاین سیاهکارانند شب است و بخت من و یاد زلف او آنجا

Here is the night, my fate, and the memory of the beloved's tresses,  
May there not be the gleam of dawn, for they are miscreants.

Hāfiẓ <sup>107</sup> مرو به صومعه کانجا سیاهکارانند بیا بمیکده و چهره ار غوانی کن

Come to the tavern and put some colour in your cheek,  
Do not go to the cloister, where sinners abide.

Nishāt <sup>108</sup> شیشه بر سنگ شد و تیشه به بنیاد آمد پرده افتاد و دگر حاجت مشاطه نماند

The veil fell, thus no need for the adorning;  
The glass hit the rock, so thus there's no need for the axe.

Hāfiẓ <sup>109</sup> موسم عاشقی و کار به بنیاد آمد باده صافی شد و مرغان چمن مست شدند

The wine was strained clear and the birds of the meadow drunk;  
It is the lovers' season and all affairs have become well grounded.

<sup>103</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, ghazal 105, v. 8.

<sup>104</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, ghazal 195, v. 7.

<sup>105</sup> The Muslims' icon, the 'Guardian of the water of life', is located in a place of darkness to which only he knew the path.

<sup>106</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, ghazal 105, v. 6.

<sup>107</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, ghazal 195, v. 8.

<sup>108</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, ghazal 130, v. 6.

<sup>109</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, ghazal 173, v. 3.

- Nishāt                      هوس سوری و سوسن نکم<sup>110</sup>                      بی تو میل گل گلشن نکم
- Without you, I yearn for no rose or rose garden;  
I yearn for no joyous feasting or lily.
- Hāfīz                      زلف سنبل چه کشم عارض سوسن چکم<sup>111</sup>                      بی تو ای سرو روان با گل و گلشن چه کنم
- Without you, O Walking Cypress, what would I do with a flower and a rose garden?  
Why touch a hyacinth tress? With the cheek of the lily, what would I do?
- Nishāt                      همین بس است که گویند یار من باشی<sup>112</sup>                      نشاید ار چو تویی در کنار من باشی
- It may not be for someone like you to be at my side,  
But as long as they say you are my dear companion, that will be enough.
- Hāfīz                      مراد بخش دل بیقرار من باشی<sup>113</sup>                      هزار جهد بکردم که یار من باشی
- I have attempted a thousand times to make you my dear companion;  
For you to grant my restless heart's desire.
- Nishāt                      نمیشود که دمی در کنار من باشی<sup>114</sup>                      تو کز میان دل من قدم برون ننهی
- You, who do not step out of the midst of my heart,  
Could you not stay at my side for a moment?
- Hāfīz                      بجای اشک روان در کنار من باشی<sup>115</sup>                      من این مراد ببینم به خود که نیم شبی
- For myself, I pondered this desire, that one midnight,  
Instead of running tears, you would be at my side.

In examining Nishāt's *Dīvān*, as the above few examples demonstrate, it is clear that a substantial portion of his verses are similar to those of Hāfīz and that Hāfīz had a profound impact on the style, metrics, expressions, imagery and content of Nishāt's verse.

<sup>110</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, ghazal 205, v. 1.

<sup>111</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, ghazal 345, v. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, ghazal 245, v. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, ghazal 457, v. 1.

<sup>114</sup> Nishāt Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Nishāt-i Iṣfahānī*, ghazal 245, v. 3.

<sup>115</sup> Hāfīz, *Dīvān-i Hāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, ghazal 457, v. 9.

## Surūsh Iṣfahānī (d. 1285/1868)

Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī, the son of Qanbar ‘Alī Sadihī Iṣfahānī, was born in 1228/1813.<sup>116</sup> Interested in poetry since his childhood, he finished his studies in Iṣfahān and started composing panegyric verse, but had little success. He left Iṣfahān in his late twenties, first for Qum and later Kāshān. There he stayed only three years; he left Kāshān for Tabriz, where he met with two of the Qājār princes and benefited from their hospitality. He eventually became a courtier and made the acquaintance of the crown prince, Nāṣir al-Dīn Mīrzā, who came to the throne after the death of his father Muḥammad Shāh. Surūsh accompanied the Shāh to Tehran and resided at the court where Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh gave him the title of ‘Khān’ (‘Sir’).<sup>117</sup> In addition, he was also given the title ‘Shams al-Shu‘arā’ (‘Sun of the Poets’).<sup>118</sup>

His poetry shows the influence of Anvarī, Sanā’ī and Mu‘izzī, he is thus considered to follow the style of the neoclassical school. Some of the events of his lifetime can be found in his poetry; for instance, the establishment of the electric telegraph is mentioned in his verses. He praised Faṭḥ-‘Alī Shāh a great deal; one of his most impressive works is his interpretation of famous stories from the *One Thousand and One Nights*. Surūsh also follows Sa‘dī and Ḥāfiz in his poetry and sometimes mixes their verses with his own.<sup>119</sup>

Surūsh’s works consist of *qaṣā’id* and *mathnavīhā*. Among his most well-known works are *Shams al-munāqīb*, *Ruḍatt al-anvār* and *Ziynatt al-madāyih*.<sup>120</sup> His entire collection contains approximately 30,000 verses, as he mentions in one of his elegies:

در این سی سال مدحت گستری از سی هزار افزون      بمدح شاه و مدح اولیا نظم دری دارد<sup>121</sup>

After these thirty years of panegyric writing, over thirty thousand verses  
Can be found in praise of the king and the saints in Persian verse.

<sup>116</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 9, p. 12767, s.v. ‘Shams al-Shu‘arā’.

<sup>117</sup> H. Anvari, *Farhang-i buzurgh-i sukhan* (Tehran: Sukhan, 1381/2003), Vol. 8.

<sup>118</sup> Hidāyat, *Majma‘ al-fuṣahā*, Vol. 6, pp.1336–40.

<sup>119</sup> Subḥānī, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt-i Iran*, pp. 491–93.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492.

<sup>121</sup> Surūsh Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Shams al-Shu‘arā’*, *Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Surūsh Iṣfahānī*, ed. M. J. Mahjūb (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1339/1961), Vol. 1, p. 27.

His contribution is of moderate significance in Persian poetry. Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Surūsh Iṣfahānī died in 1285/1868 in Tehran. His poetry shows little evidence of innovation and is characterised by a considerable amount of empty flattery. Indeed, Surūsh’s poetry has been criticised for the bombastic excesses he went to in self-praise; he unjustifiably and continually makes exaggerated claims that no other poet matches his talent.

نگفته هیچ سخن بدین ترتیل<sup>122</sup>  
 No elegy writer knows such elegiac techniques;  
 No speaker has ever uttered such phonemic words.

نداند هیچ ثناگر چنین ثنا ترتیب

ور هست بجز حضرت شمس الشعرا نیست<sup>123</sup>  
 Today no one deserves commendation in poetry,  
 Save His Grace, the Sun of Poets.

کس در سخن امروز سزاوار ثنا نیست

ز شعر منشان رفته است چاشنی بکلام<sup>124</sup>  
 If they write two sweet verses in an elegy,  
 My words must have inspired them.

دو شعر شیرین در یک قصیده گر گویند

از مدح و ثنا کامروا خواهی شد<sup>125</sup>  
 The heart said: You shall become the Shāh’s servant,  
 You will become prosperous by praising him.

دل گفت غلام پادشاه خواهی شد

### Surūsh and Ḥāfiz

The following comparisons illustrate the relationship between Surūsh’s style of poetry and that of Ḥāfiz. The comparisons are slightly superficial and do not reflect the poet’s preoccupation with Ḥāfiz, but these correlations, however slight, are worthy of mention.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 41.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 40.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 41.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 1.

Surūsh                      126 بنگر بدین قصیده دوشیزه تمین                      فرخنده خسروا ملکا فضل پرورا  
O Glorious King, O Prince, thou the promoter of wisdom,  
Perceive such precious, virgin elegy!

Hāfiz                      127 ای جلال تو به انواع هنر ارزانی                      خسروا دادگرا شیردلا بحرکفا  
O Prince! O Just One! O Lion-Hearted One! O Generous One!  
O thou whose glory with varied forms of art, is adorned!

Surūsh                      128 پریانند که پوشیده لباس بشرند                      شرط انصاف نباشد که قمر خوانمشان  
It is not just to refer to them as the moon,  
These nymphs in human clothing.

Hāfiz                      129 شرط انصاف نباشد که مداوا نکنی                      رنج ما را که توان برد به یک گوشه چشم  
Since with a glance from the corner of your eye you can relieve our dolor,  
It is unbecoming of justice for you to withhold the remedy.

Another method of imitation that Surūsh employs is the use of metaphors and the inclusion of the tales of the holy cup of Jamshīd (*Jām-i Jam*) and the story of the prophet Solomon in a manner similar to that of Hāfiz:

Surūsh                      130 آصف بن برخیا ستاده بر جم                      چون به بر شاه ستاده باشد گویی  
As he stands next to the Shāh,  
You might say that Āṣif, the son of Barkhīyā, stood next to the ‘Jam’.

Hāfiz                      131 که خواجه خاتم جم پاره کرد و بازنجست                      زبان مور به آصف دراز گشت و رواست  
If an ant’s tongue has gone to excess in reproaching the vizier, it’s okay  
For the owner of Jamshid’s ring let it be lost and did not seek its recovery.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 42.

<sup>127</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, p. 374.

<sup>128</sup> Surūsh Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Shams al-Shu‘arā*, ed. M. J. Maḥjūb, Vol. 1, *ghazal* 8, v. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 480, v. 3.

<sup>130</sup> Surūsh Iṣfahānī, *Dīvān-i Shams al-Shu‘arā*, ed. M. J. Maḥjūb, Vol. 1, p. 115.

<sup>131</sup> Hāfiz, *Dīvān-i Hāfiz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 28, v. 4.

### Humā-yi Shīrāzī (d. 1290/1873)

Muḥammad Riḍā Qulī Khān,<sup>132</sup> known as Humā-yi Shīrāzī, was born in 1212/1795 in Shīrāz and died in 1290/1873 in Iṣfahān.<sup>133</sup> Humā was a mystic and a dervish who was utterly disinterested in worldly possessions and unconcerned with social status, power and titles. It has been narrated that Muḥammad Shāh Qājār granted him land and properties as gifts, but he refused to accept them.<sup>134</sup> When the Shāh insisted that he accept something from him, he sent the Shāh this verse in reply:

خواستن در درویشی کفر است  
درویش را با خواست و خواسته چه کار؟<sup>135</sup>

To a dervish, desires are acts of infidelity,  
What business has a dervish with claims and demands?

As an alternative, the Shāh persisted in sending him cash, but by the sunset of the very same day, Humā had donated all the money to the destitute and needy, to the extent that he left himself nothing to buy food that night. Humā's master (teacher) was Viṣāl Shīrāzī and after his death Humā was given the title of 'Malik al-Shu'arā' ('King of the Poets'). However, his Sufi temperament did not allow him to accept the title or render his services to the Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. Flouting the custom of the court, he left the service of the king without permission and, some months later, sent a letter of apology, excusing himself on behalf of obligations concerning personal and family matters.

In addition to poetry, Humā was also a calligrapher. His three sons, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn, with the pen name of 'Anqā'; Mīrzā Muḥammad, with the pen name of 'Sahā'; and Mīrzā Abū'l Qāsim, with the pen name of 'Ṭarab', were also poets and calligraphers.<sup>136</sup> His eldest son, 'Anqā, began compiling his father's work throughout his lifetime and this continued after Humā's death.

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<sup>132</sup> This Riḍā Qulī Khān should not be mistaken with Riḍā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, who also lived during the same period as Humā.

<sup>133</sup> Humā-yi Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Ṭarab*, ed. J. Humā'ī (Tehran: Furūghī, 1342/1925), pp. 4–7.

<sup>134</sup> Humā-yi Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Humā-yi Shīrāzī: Shikkaristān*, ed. A. Karamī (Tehran: Nashriyyāt-i Mā, 1363/1946), p. 5.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

His *Dīvān*, which consists of *qaṣīda*, *ghazal*, *musammaṭ*, *rubā'ī*, *tarkibband*, *qaṭ'a* and *mathnavī* was named *Shikkaristān* (*Sugar Land*).<sup>137</sup> It consists of approximately 5,560 verses, and is the combination of all his works. His style of *ghazal* writing follows that of Ḥāfiẓ and his panegyric writing utilises the Khurāsānī style.

### Humā and Ḥāfiẓ

The phrases used in Humā's poems reveal his mystical beliefs and view of the world, resulting in some similarities with Ḥāfiẓ's poetry. The following comparisons demonstrate this.

Humā                      <sup>138</sup> تو بگشا طره پر چین و مشکین ساز محفلها                      چه غم گر کاروان چین نیارد نافع مشکین

There would be no anxiety if no perfume was delivered by  
The caravan from China, you free your wavy tresses and fill assemblies with perfume.

Ḥāfiẓ                      <sup>139</sup> نهن کی ماند آن رازی کز آن سازند محفلها                      همه کارم ز خود کامی به بد نامی کشید آری

By following my own fancy, all my affairs led to disrepute,  
How do secrets remain secrets if spoken in every assembly?

Humā                      <sup>140</sup> الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کسأ و ناولها                      حیات جاودان خواهی هما در باده باقی

Humā, you seek eternal life in the eternal wine,  
O Sāqī, pass around and offer the bowl.

Ḥāfiẓ                      <sup>141</sup> که عشق آسان نمو اول ولی افتاد مشکلها                      الا یا ایها الساقی ادر کسأ و ناولها

O Sāqī, pass around and offer the bowl,  
For love at first appeared easy, but difficulties occurred.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 579.

<sup>139</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 1, v. 6.

<sup>140</sup> Humā-yi Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Humā-yi Shīrāzī: Shikkaristān*, ed. A. Karamī, p. 580.

<sup>141</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 1, v. 1.

- Humā<sup>142</sup> گرچه رند و مست و بدنام و نظریازیم ما  
با همه آلودگی ها پاک از آلاشیم  
Despite all the sins, we are free of impurities,  
Although we're rogues, drunkards and men of ill-repute who gaze on lovely faces.
- Ḥāfiẓ<sup>143</sup> عاشق و رند و نظریازم و می گویم فاش  
تا بدانی که به چندین هنر آراسته ام  
I am a lover, libertine and play the sport of gazing on beautiful faces. I state it plainly  
So you may understand that I am decked out with so many fine arts.
- Humā<sup>144</sup> بزمی که تو ساقی شوی آن بزم بهشت است  
عیشی که نه با تو بود آن عیش حرام است  
The assembly in which you are the Sāqī is paradise,  
The joyous moments without you are thus forbidden.
- Ḥāfiẓ<sup>145</sup> در مذهب ما باده حلال است ولیکن  
بی روی تو ای سرو گل اندام حرام است  
In our order, the wine is lawful, but O Cypress Rose of Stature,  
Without your face it would be unlawful.

It is clear that Humā was influenced by Ḥāfiẓ not only in respect to meter and rhyme, but in his metaphors, imagery and mystical expressions. From my examination and analysis of Humā's poetry, it is evident that more than third of his *ghazals* were written as virtual parallels to those of Ḥāfiẓ.

### **Furṣat Shīrāzī (d. 1339/1922)**

Sayyid Mīrẓā Muḥammad Naṣīr al-Ḥusaynī-yi Shīrāzī, otherwise, known as Furṣat al-Dawla, whose pen name was 'Furṣat', was born in 1271/1854 in Shīrāz. In addition to being a well-known and accomplished poet, he was familiar with mathematics, astrology, logic and mysticism; he was also fluent in English.

Furṣat taught Arabic and literature in Shīrāz then accepted several government posts. During his retirement he chose solitude, spending most of his time in isolation reading and doing research. He never married and had plenty of time to travel. Furṣat was also a professional

<sup>142</sup> Humā-yi Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Humā-yi Shīrāzī: Shikkaristān*, ed. A. Karamī, p. 585.

<sup>143</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 311, v. 2.

<sup>144</sup> Humā-yi Shīrāzī, *Dīvān-i Humā-yi Shīrāzī: Shikkaristān*, ed. A. Karamī, p. 622.

<sup>145</sup> Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 46, v. 3.

artist whose paintings of many of the places he visited are quite valuable. As a dervish and a humble individual he spent a great deal of time helping the needy.

A few years before Furṣat's death, he sought complete solitude. He used to say: 'I am now preparing for the final journey'. He ordered his gravestone and had some of own verses engraved on it. Furṣat wanted to be laid to rest next to Ḥāfīz's tomb. He visited the shrine of Ḥāfīz and sought an answer as to whether Ḥāfīz would object to his being laid to eternal rest nearby. He referred to Ḥāfīz's *Dīvān*, searching for insight, and found the following verse:

رواق منظر چشم من آشیانه تست  
کرم نما و فرود آ، که خانه خانه تست<sup>146</sup>  
Your doorstep is the gateway to the vision of my eye,  
Show affection and enter this house as your home.<sup>147</sup>

After reading this profound verse, Furṣat became so emotional that he began to cry, and the next day he reserved a grave for himself next to Ḥāfīz's mausoleum.<sup>148</sup>

### Furṣat and Ḥāfīz

In studying Furṣat's poetry and in analysing his lyrics, it is clear that he was influenced by Ḥāfīz's *ghazals*. Almost a quarter of his *ghazals* parallel those of Ḥāfīz. The idioms used in his poems illustrate his mystical doctrines and view of the world, which reflect those found in Ḥāfīz's poetry. The following comparisons demonstrate some of these similarities and parallels between the poetry of Furṣat and Ḥāfīz:

Furṣat                      لب لعل تو دواى دل بیمار من است<sup>149</sup>                      هر زمان گویمش ای یار دلم بیمار است  
To the beloved, I constantly say: 'I have an ill heart,  
Your ruby lip is thus the remedy.'

Ḥāfīz                      نرگس او که طیبب دل بیمار من است<sup>150</sup>                      شربت قند و گلاب از لب یارم فرمود  
Her narcissus prescribed sweet nectar and rose water from  
My beloved's lips, for it is the healer of my ill heart.

<sup>146</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 34, v. 1.

<sup>147</sup> This translation follows that of Peter Avery, with some modifications.

<sup>148</sup> Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī, *Dīvān-i Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī*, ed. 'A. Zarrīn Qalam (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī Sīrūs, 1361/1982), p. 11.

<sup>149</sup> Furṣat al-Dawla, *Dīvān-i Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī*, ed. Qalam, *ghazal* 22, v. 8.

<sup>150</sup> Ḥāfīz, *Dīvān-i Ḥāfīz*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 51, v. 7.

- Furṣat                      گر ببیند زوی آشفته‌گی کار من است<sup>151</sup>                      تیغ ابرو کشد و طره خود را ببرد  
 If she sees that my business is naught but being dishevelled by her,  
 She shall draw the sword of her eyebrow to cut her curly lock.
- Hāfiẓ                      وز پی دیدن او دادن جان کار من است<sup>152</sup>                      لعل سیراب بخون تشنه لب یار من است  
 The luscious ruby, thirsty for blood, is the lip of my adored one,  
 And in longing to have a glimpse of her, my work is sacrifice of self and life.
- Furṣat                      مگرش آرم و در زلف تو زنجیر کنم<sup>153</sup>                      دلیرا با دل دیوانه چه تدبیر کنم  
 O Beloved, how prudent can I be with this crazy heart?  
 Perhaps, I may drag and entangle it in the midst of your tresses.
- Hāfiẓ                      مگرش هم ز سر زلف تو زنجیر کنم<sup>154</sup>                      دل دیوانه از آن شد که نصیحت شنود  
 The lunatic heart is beyond listening to advice,  
 Unless I were to fashion a chain for it from your tresses' strands.
- Furṣat                      کو زبانی که یکایک همه تقریر کنم<sup>155</sup>                      قصه های شب هجران تو را روز وصال  
 Where is a tongue that, on the day of union,  
 may recite one by one, in detail, the tales of the night of separation.
- Hāfiẓ                      کو مجالی که سراسر همه تقریر کنم<sup>156</sup>                      با سر زلف تو مجموع پریشانی خود  
 With your tresses distracting me entirely,  
 Where is my skill to narrate each detail?
- Furṣat                      روی زیبای تو در دیده چ/و تصویر کنم<sup>157</sup>                      محو چون صورت تصویر شوم سر تا پای  
 From foot to face, I shall become like an image erased,  
 The moment I picture before my eyes your beautiful face!
- Hāfiẓ                      در نظر نقش رخ خوب ت/و تصویر کنم<sup>158</sup>                      آنزمان کارزوی دیدن جانم باشد  
 When my desire is to see my soul,  
 I picture the image of your fair cheek.

<sup>151</sup> Furṣat al-Dawla, *Dīvān-i Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī*, ed. Qalam, *ghazal* 22, v. 5.

<sup>152</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 51, v. 1.

<sup>153</sup> Furṣat al-Dawla, *Dīvān-i Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī*, ed. Qalam, *ghazal* 96, v. 1.

<sup>154</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 347, v. 2.

<sup>155</sup> Furṣat al-Dawla, *Dīvān-i Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī*, ed. Qalam, *ghazal* 96, v. 5.

<sup>156</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 347, v. 4.

<sup>157</sup> Furṣat al-Dawla, *Dīvān-i Furṣat al-Dawla Shirāzī*, ed. Qalam, *ghazal* 96, v. 7.

<sup>158</sup> Hāfiẓ, *Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, *ghazal* 347, v. 5.

### Īraj Mīrzā (d. 1344/1926)

Īraj Mīrzā was born in 1290/1874 in Tabriz.<sup>159</sup> His ancestors were of royal blood from the house of Fath-‘Alī Shāh Qājār, the second Shāh of the Qājār dynasty (r. 1797–1834). Ghulām Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Īraj’s father, was a poet laureate of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mīrzā, the brother of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, the crown prince of Iran at the time. By the time he was fifteen, Īraj was fluent in French, Turkish and Arabic; he was also familiar with the art of calligraphy. His handwriting was very artistic and he was considered one of the notable calligraphers of Iran. At sixteen, Īraj got married and at nineteen, he lost both his father and wife. Later, like his father, he became the poet laureate of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mīrzā. In 1313/1896, at twenty-two, when Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mīrzā succeeded to the throne and became Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, Īraj was given the title ‘Ṣadr al-Shu‘arā’ (‘Head of the Poets’). He was then given a second title, ‘Jalāl al-Mamālik’<sup>160</sup> (‘Majesty of the Countries’).<sup>161</sup> In 1322/1905 he moved to Tehran where he soon became involved in the Constitutional Revolution.

Īraj’s simple poetic language is also famous for its witticism and satire.<sup>162</sup> His style is rich in the art of simile (*hunar-i tashbīh*). His striking sarcasm, caustic and venomous words point at dishonest clergy and religious hypocrisy, businessmen, merchants and statesmen. In addition to his colloquial poems, Īraj also composed elegies to praise Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, but his praise never descended into flattery. Īraj composed very good *mathnavī* and *qata‘āt* on the raising and education of children, maternal affection, love and romance.

Īraj was influenced by the political circumstances of his age, in particular the Persian Constitutional Revolution (1906–11); his environment and these events are manifested in the particular style of poetry that he created, a blend of modern and imported concepts. He criticises the social conditions of the country and employed striking originality in his use of metaphor when addressing diverse social problems. He was an enlightened, innovative poet who tended towards European thought. Despite his famous technical skills, he sometimes used similar cases of rhyme, a practice that is considered by some poetry critics as an intentional rejection of strict traditional and poetic rules. However, it is believed that he did

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<sup>159</sup> The capital city of east Azerbaijan province in Iran. Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 4, p. 5575, s.v. ‘Tabrīz’.

<sup>160</sup> Subhānī, *Tārīkh-i adabī-yi Iran*, pp. 617–21.

<sup>161</sup> Anvarī, *Farhang-i buẓurg-i sukhan*, Vol. 8.

<sup>162</sup> Īraj Mīrzā, *Dīvān-i ash‘ār-i Īraj Mīrzā*, ed. M. J. Mahjūb (Tehran: Andisha, 1342/1963), pp. 1–20.

not intend to reject those rules. Some scholars maintain that because of the time in which he lived, his depth of literary knowledge and his familiarity with French and other foreign languages, he could also have been a master of free verse had he devoted himself to it.<sup>163</sup> He is known for his ribald and profane poetry. The following is a verse that characterises this well.

از او بترس که همشیره ات خطاب کند

زمن مترس که کنم تورا خطاب خانم

Fear me not for addressing you as 'lady';  
Fear he who addresses you as 'sister'.<sup>164</sup>

Among the many poems that Īraj composed, his most well-known include 'Satan', 'Mother', 'A Letter to a Poet 'Ārīf Qazwīnī', 'Woman's Picture', 'Story of the Veil' or 'Hijāb' and the 'Story of Zuhra and Manūchihr', which is based on Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis.<sup>165</sup> In 1335/1917 he held a number of ministerial positions in the Qājār government. He died at the age of fifty-two in Tehran, 1344/1925.<sup>166</sup> Īraj is considered one of the most famous contemporary poets of Iran and the first Iranian master of colloquial poetry, making use of everyday language in his verses. Īraj held a number of ministerial positions in the Qājār government in the second decade of the twentieth-century. He died from a heart attack at the age of fifty-two in 1344/1926 in Tehran. Īraj is considered to be one of the most famous contemporary poets of Iran and the first Iranian master of colloquial poetry, making use of everyday language in his verses.<sup>167</sup> Although Īraj was one of the founders of the creative movement (*Naw āvarī*) in Persian poetry, he never abandoned the rules of classical Persian poetry.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>164</sup> A. K- Hakkak, 'Preservation and Presentation': Continuity and Creativity in the Contemporary Persian Qasida,' unpublished paper presented at the SOAS conference (14–16 July 1993), 'Qasida: The Literary Heritage on an Arab poetic form in Islamic Africa and Asia', *Draft Conference Papers*, Appendix, p. 318.

<sup>165</sup> Īraj Mīrzā, *Dīvān-i ash'ār-i Īraj Mīrzā*, ed. M. J. Mahjūb, p. 22.

<sup>166</sup> Bahār, *Sabk shināsī*, Vol. 3, pp. 600–10.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, Vol. 3, p. 3186, s.v. 'Īraj'.





This appendix is designed to provide solid and relevant evidence of the reception of Ḥāfiz in nineteenth and twentieth-century Persia. I have presented clear evidence as far back as eighteenth-century Persia, demonstrating examples of the works of poets such as Ḥazān Lāhījī in order to firmly establish the influence of Ḥāfiz on the poets of Persia even much earlier than the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This appendix aims to direct the attention of the reader to examples, which because of the limitation of space, have been excluded from the main text of this study. The poets and the comparative verses presented with those of Ḥāfiz bring to light the reception of this fourteenth-century master poet on an enormous range of Persian poets and writers. While I have already established that Ḥāfiz's influence has inspired scholars, intellectuals, writers and even the ordinary people of Iran, my main focus throughout this research has been the poets, in particular those of nineteenth to twentieth-century Persia. Ḥāfiz's influence on the eight poets mentioned above displays the strong and unbreakable bond of this superior poet on Persian literature, culture and in particular nineteenth to twentieth-century Persian poets. By adding the appendix to this study, I hope to make more clear the central focus of this research and thereby bring this research to a logical and conclusive end.

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